

**Organisational culture as a framework for male and female progression
and preferred management style**

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Abstract

Prior research on women in management and the barriers to their advancement draws on explanations from many disciplines and perspectives. This study was concerned to establish the role of organisational culture in this process. Debate about male and female management styles suggested that this might be an important determinant.

Seven case study organisations, in both public and private sectors, were selected. Investigations comprised interviews with male and female managers utilising repertory grid, group workshops, examination of documentary evidence, discussion with informants, and observation and reflection by the author. Constructs elicited by repertory grid were analysed thematically, to produce composite pictures of what constitutes a successful manager, and what constitutes a good manager. Other data were first analysed using Schein's (1992) model of organisational culture, and second interpreted from a number of symbolic perspectives.

The principal findings were that organisational cultures are gendered, with inconsistencies between policy and practice. Those organisations where women did well appeared to have a number of common features, including a time orientation towards the present and future as opposed to the past, organisational consensus about management style that was generally consultative/participative, acceptance of expression of a range of emotions, openness to learning from mistakes, and the determination to dispose of unwanted employees.

Contrary to current received wisdom, gendered job segregation did not prevent women from rising to the top of organisations that were otherwise favourable in this study. Some findings were ambiguous in relation to prior research on the efficacy of Opportunity 2000.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

This research project came about as a result of a combination of factors. The first of these was the author's experience of suffering discrimination, both directly and indirectly, whilst in employment. This led to a personal and wider interest in Equal Opportunities in employment, particularly in relation to women. The second, and crucial, trigger was reading a short book by Coleman (1989) which described the use of the co-operative inquiry method as a suitable research method for feminist enquiry. After searching for a while for a suitable subject for a PhD, suddenly the topic area became obvious, with both a personal and intellectual commitment.

Research questions

Having identified in the literature many different suggestions as to why women do not progress in organisations, it appeared potentially fruitful to focus on investigating the area of organisational culture. After some preliminary reading this led to a series of linked research questions. The first group were around gender and organisation culture:

1. Organisational culture is gendered.
2. Men and women experience organisational culture differently.
3. There are separate masculine and feminine cultures within organisations.
4. Masculine culture is dominant, feminine subordinate.
5. Organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially.
6. Difficulties women experience in organisations are linked to underlying organisational assumptions (Schein, 1992).

The second group of questions related to management style:

7. Organisational culture influences management style.
8. Men and women value different management styles.
9. There are links between how men and women progress in organisations, and the organisations' respective management styles.

In this study four hypotheses were to be tested:

- (i) Organisational culture is gendered.
- (ii) Women and men managers experience organisational culture differently.
- (iii) Men and women managers have different perceptions and values in relation to management style.
- (iv) Organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially.

Conceptual and factual areas

It quickly became apparent that there are a number of conceptual and factual areas relevant to the study. These included statistics of women in management, and current theories for their under-representation (chapter 4). Theories relating to organisational culture (chapter 3) and methodology for its investigation were important (chapters 6 and 7). The initial interest in women in management broadened to an understanding that gender was the framework in which much of the debate could be set (chapter 2). As well as general exploration of qualitative methodology, again following from the subject of my inquiry, it was decided to look at feminist research methodology (chapter 6). A doctoral seminar offered the opportunity to look at some recent theories of organisations, although these proved less central than anticipated to the study (chapter 3). Lastly was a review some of the literature on management and leadership, in particular similarities and differences between male and female management styles (chapter 5).

These areas, from an initially overwhelming morass, formed the basis of the chapters concerned with literature reviews and methodology. Findings were organised as follows: analysis of the perceptions managers had of colleagues who were respectively successful and good at their jobs (chapter 8) followed by an overview of the case study

organisations is presented (chapter 9), and gender related themes and issues follow (chapter 10), with a summary of findings in chapter 11.

Management research

There are different views on the purposes of management research, and Johnson (1996) identified four main schools of thought. First, that academic research should be primarily for the management community, adding possibly the government and other academics (Johnson, 1996). This research is concerned with academic rigour and purposive (Johnson, 1996) and whilst not actually stated, the implication is that it is also positivist. Macdonald and Hellgren (1995) question whether the organisation should be viewed as the primary customer for research and whether academic researchers have much to teach organisations directly. Second is the notion that there should be applied research for the benefit of specific organisations and their managers, and there is less emphasis on peer review, theorising and academic publishing as in the first school of thought (Johnson, 1996). By implication this may be akin to consultancy. A third view combines these approaches. Fourth is the view that the proper application of research in management is to critique; value to society rather than value to managers is the touchstone (Johnson, 1996). Macdonald and Hellgren (1995) suggest that the results of research should be treated as a public good.

This study was commenced with a commitment to the third perspective, a desire to discover something useful at the same time as making an original contribution to knowledge. Continued reading added an interest in a wish to critique. The study will therefore proceed on this basis, with a combination of intentions.

Publications from this thesis

A number of conference papers and publications have resulted from work in progress.

Two refereed papers have been published:

(i) 'Gendered Career Paths' in a special edition 'Careers at a crossroad' of Personnel Review Volume 27 no.5 1998. After briefly describing the methodology of the study, this paper draws principally on findings about organisational career paths in *Westco*, the *Trust*, *Leisure Services* and *Finco*, based on chapters 8-10.

(ii) 'Exploring gendered cultures' in Hallinnon Tutkimus/Administrative Studies (Finland) Volume 4 1997 pp. 289 – 303. This paper seeks to describe the methodology of the study as in chapter 7. It also includes extracts from chapters 3 and 6 about the nature of organisational culture and methods of investigation respectively. The second, shorter part of the paper combines selective findings from chapters 8 and 10 and Appendix 14, which are used to illustrate the efficacy of the methodology.

A further refereed paper has been accepted:

(iii) 'Inclusion, exclusion and ambiguity: the role of organisational culture' will be published in a special edition in 1999 on managing diversity of Personnel Review. This focuses on *Engco*, *the Partnership*, and *Mediaco*, drawing on elements of most chapters (except 5 and 8). As it deals with managing diversity this required a re-examination of the data, looking at a wider range of difference. Further findings emerged which it was not within the scope of the PhD to explore.

I have co-authored a refereed conference paper with Paul Iles:

(iv) Managing Diversity: Critique of an Emerging Paradigm, published in the proceedings of the British Academy of Management Conference, Aston University, 16-18 Sep 1996 ISBN 1

85449 1849. This paper includes a short summary of findings relating to *Westco*, the *Trust*, *Leisure Services* and *Finco*, principally based on chapter 10.

The following chapters in books have been published:

(v) E. Wilson (1997): 'A Women's Place? A Study of an NHS Trust' in Armistead C. and Kiely, J.: Effective Organizations: Looking to the Future, Cassell, London pp. 246 – 249, ISBN 0 304 70262 5. This is a case study of the *Trust*, looking at management style, the implications of Opportunity 2000 in the NHS and the Trust, the representation of male and female managers, and the role of the female Chief Executive. It draws on the literature review in chapter 4, and on relevant findings from chapters 8, 9 and 10.

(vi) Iles, P., Wilson, E., and Hicks-Clarke D.: 'Diversity climates and gendered cultures: a cross sector analysis' in Mabey, C., Skinner, D., Clark, T. (1997): Experiencing Human Resource Management pp. 187 – 204. This co-authored chapter contains a short summary of findings in relation to the first three organisations, similar to those used in (iii). The description of public sector culture in chapter 3 draws substantially on a previously published chapter:

(vii) 'Culture and the New Managerialism' Wilson J. and Hinton P. (1993): Public Services and the 1990s - Issues in Public Service Finance and Management, Tudor Business Books, England 1 872807 75 5, pp. 41-61.

Unrefereed conference papers are as follows:

(viii) Can Gendered Cultures be Adequately Investigated? British Academy of Management conference, Lancaster Sep 1994

(viii) The Constraints of Gendered Culture, Standing Conference on Organisational Symbolism, Turku, Finland, June 1995

These papers were the precursors of the paper eventually rewritten as (i) and (ii) above.

There were also a number of papers prior to (iv) above, which are not separately listed.

Chapter 2: Gender and organisational analysis

Introduction

This thesis concerns how women become, or fail to become, managers, and therefore their gender is an important topic area for consideration. Although originally focused around the women in management literature, it appeared that in order to make sense of women's experience in the workplace, this had to be put into a wider context of their experience in society. In this chapter the concept of gender is examined, first of all looking at distinctions that have been made between sex and gender, before discussing masculinity and masculinities, and sexuality and emotion in organisations, topics on which organisation studies are often silent. Lastly the chapter returns to the point of intellectual departure, women in management, and conclusions are drawn.

The concept of gender.

Gender is often perceived unproblematically as synonymous with biological sex, a historical and highly normative category (Brewis et al, 1995), that is, a something which exists outside its current context and determines roles and behaviour. Therefore a person found to be biologically female would also have the feminine gender. This is biological essentialism (Garrett, 1987), a belief that everyone has a pre-determined inner essence, a view challenged, for instance by de Beauvoir (1949) who wrote about becoming a woman, rather than it being innate. Lorber and Farrell (1991) similarly assert that gender is a social construct, that is, gender is a category people collectively agree to subscribe to as a concept.

Kelly (1955) was the first to describe constructs, and he developed the idea of Personal Construct Theory (PCT), which is concerned with the concepts people use to make sense of the world (Gammack and Stephens, 1994), and are assumed to be unique to each individual. Some of the key points of PCT are as follows. It is assumed that each individual has his or her

own construct system, and that these systems, which develop through life, give meaning to individuals, despite some inherent contradictions between constructs (Stewart et al, 1980). Meaning is managed through the personal construct system (Gammack and Stephens, 1994). Whilst individual construct systems are the basis of PCT, it is also acknowledged that there can be similarities between constructs employed by different people (Easterby-Smith et al, 1996). Constructs tend to be arranged hierarchically, that is, some are subordinate to others (Stewart et al, 1980). Kelly's (1955) operationalisation of this theory using repertory grid will be discussed further in chapter 7 on methodology.

Social constructs, those that may be shared between individuals, have become a commonplace concept within social science research. Despite variations in schools of social construction, some common features can be established. Social constructionists reject an epistemology where there are 'real' objects out there, which can be discovered (Paalman, 1997). They consider that everyday objects can have different meanings for different people, so that in a sense, they construct different objects, a phenomenon known as multiple reality (Paalman, 1997). Thus people construct their own reality in social interaction, and through relations with others people can create or change their realities (Paalman, 1997). In their everyday lives, people are involved in different settings, which the social constructionists describe as multiple inclusion, and there is no necessary congruence between the norms of behaviour or beliefs in different settings (Paalman, 1997). This means that people have a series of realities which can influence each other (Paalman, 1997). Whilst concluding that constructs shape our reality, there is a degree of fluidity implied by the social constructionist argument that does not explain the strong and widespread repeated patterns of, say, gender role expectations and stereotyping.

Lorber and Farrell (1991) suggest that men and women are always visually distinguishable by others, and that gender is an integral part of structures of domination and subordination with women in a position of inequality. West and Zimmerman (1991) critique the view of biological determinism, that gender status is determined by physiological sex. They reject the idea of gender as traits, variable or role, and insist that it is constituted through interaction (West and Zimmerman, 1991). Gender then becomes an active output of the social structure of organisations, not merely a passive attribute of individuals. This is the view that is commonly

known as 'doing gender', where gender is seen as processual rather than as a given characteristic (Gherardi, 1994); thus reference may be made to the production and reproduction of gender within organisations (Acker, 1990). This also means that actions, events and organisations may be referred to as 'gendered', that is partially formed on the basis of gender constructions. Gherardi (1994) contends that gender is not merely done, but also thought about beneath the level of the conscious mind. The notion of male and female, and masculine and feminine, depends of course upon bipolar constructs and it has been pointed out by many writers (e.g. Spender, 1985) that one of the pair is always privileged. In the case of male and female, it is the male that is privileged. This is accentuated by the (largely unconscious) pairing of groups of binary opposites, such as men and rational, women and emotional. Rationality is a prized ability within organisations; however, if men are perceived as rational, then women cannot be, and are therefore less worthy of organisational recognition and reward. If what is attributed to one gender is denied to the other, then the way people 'do gender' increases or decreases sexual inequality (Gherardi, 1994).

If however male and female are viewed as a continuum (Oakley, 1972, cited in Garrett, 1987), then the dualism of masculine and feminine can be seen as an oversimplification (Alvesson and Due Billing, 1992), and is questionable in the light of cross cultural studies indicating that gender roles vary widely (Garrett, 1987). Some writers go further in their criticism of gendered binary concepts (Lorber and Farrell, 1991), asserting that 'the male/female dichotomy has no intrinsic biological or other essential reality' (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994a p. 9). Fox Keller (1980) contends that masculine/feminine and subjectivity/objectivity are patriarchal concepts. Bem (1974) challenges the conceptualised divide between masculine and feminine by suggesting that some individuals may have characteristics commonly associated with the other, that is they are androgynous. By laying stress on the differences between men and women, both similarities between them, and also differences among each category can be overlooked. For instance, female managers can be old, young, better or worse educated, have domestic responsibilities or not, and be in different industrial sectors. All these differences may contribute to very different experiences of what it is to be a female manager. This study will take the view that gender is primarily a social construct.

One way of conceptualising gender, which builds on the idea of gender as process, is to see it as discourse (Burrell and Hearn, 1989). The word discourse was described by Foucault to encompass both a particular area of knowledge or social practice, and also the way that knowledge is constructed (Hardy, 1994). To put it another way, a discourse can be described as a self referential area of assertion or discussion with prescribed limits. Discourse, by privileging certain topics and excluding others, acts to reproduce organisations and management in a particular way, and imposes parameters on acceptable types of identity. Culture can thus be seen as a discursive product (Harlow and Hearn, 1995) and is rarely sex-neutral (Watson, 1992). For instance Watson (1992) described the Civil Service 'sensible chap' discourse, which privileged a certain group of candidates for 'Fast Track' promotion by virtue of their class, education, and gender. A 'discourse of masculinism' was found in the UK financial services sector, privileging men above women, and supporting the maintenance of masculinity (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993 p.659). There are of course alternative discourses (Mills, 1988) as evidenced by much of the writing referred to in this chapter, and this can be seen as resistance to the dominant discourse (Mills, 1988) (Although in strict terms Foucault envisages discourse as involving resistance which is hence not extra-discursive). Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) suggest that within the world of work there are two basic gender rules:

1. It's a man's world
2. It's a man's work

They do however point out that there are competing rules, different ways of looking at things, and different discourses, instanced for example by women in positions of authority, and legal constraints. Thus gender rules are outcomes of interaction, and not immutable (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991).

Within this study for the sake of clarity, male and female will be taken to refer to biological sex, and masculine and feminine to socially constructed gender. The understanding that gender is processual rather than essentially determined will guide this work. After this initial discussion of gender, the next section broadens consideration to looking at the impact of gender on organisational analysis.

Gender and organisational analysis

For a long time, organisational behaviour and organisation studies were regarded as gender neutral and took no account of gender (Rothschild and Davies, 1994). Another way of putting this is that the bulk of organisational theorising has been gender blind, that is, it has not taken gender into account in any way: first and most straightforwardly as a variable; second, as a process; third, as gendered power relations (Marshall, 1995), and fourth, as an influence on academic means of production (Spender, 1990).

Early studies looked at gender as a variable; for instance Bartol (1978) posed the question as to why organisations are structured along gender lines, which she observed as a ubiquitous phenomenon, rejecting as an explanation differences in male and female management styles. Mills (1988) comments on the famous Hawthorne studies, where gender as a variable was not properly taken into account in interpreting results. Tancred-Sheriff and Campbell (1992, republished from 1981) reviewed the work and influence of female organisational sociologists, which included pioneering work from writers who were generally closely allied to management, researchers who were concerned with oppression, and those who optimistically explored alternative forms of organisation. One strong influence on a number of social sciences was Gilligan (1982), who wrote about a 'women's voice'. Gilligan (1982) was an advocate of essential differences between the genders and focused attention on the lack of attention to women in research. For instance, the sexual division of labour is something that has long been noted (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991) but was taken for granted for many years. Mills and Tancred (1992) criticise the gender blind nature of most organisational analysis, which they contend leads to error, and their edited volume 'Gendering Organisational Analysis' is a corrective to this state of affairs. Including gender in organisational analysis may help comprehension of otherwise incomprehensible outcomes, such as why the best person did not get the job, and thus it has been described as a 'grid of intelligibility' (Gray, 1995).

Recent critical comment about gender in organisational theory takes a number of forms, including links with critical studies in general in the field of organisational studies, and also analyses of gendered power relations (Marshall, 1995). Critical studies in management take the view that the proper role for management research is not for managers, but should rather critique management as an activity (Johnson, 1996). For instance as detailed in chapter 3, many writers question the notion of the rational organisation (e.g. Roper, 1994), and see this as a self-serving social construction of management.

Gendered power relations have been commented on as the exercise of male power in relation to personnel processes and interpersonal relationships in organisations (Wells, 1973). Writers have examined ways in which gendered power relations are effective: by operating covertly, utilising both double messages and the co-operation of some women (Wells, 1973); by pushing women into what are considered sex appropriate roles (Acker, 1990, Roper, 1994); by offering gendered career paths and job definitions (Grant and Tancred, 1992); by drafting women managers into unimportant advisory groups, where they are powerless (Grant and Tancred, 1992); and by giving women unequal pay (Acker, 1990). Cockburn (1991) asserts that

‘What feminism proposes is that we should understand female subordination as systemic. That is, it is not casual but structured, not local but extensive, not transitory but stable, with a tendency to self reproduction’ (p. 6)

According to Cockburn (1991) membership of patriarchy is not optional, and all men benefit from it, even if unwillingly, although men today have the alternative of working collectively to overcome it. Patriarchy is taken for granted (Gaston, 1991), and affects the life and career choices of women (Cockburn, 1991). Cockburn (1991) suggests that there is a social contract operating in men’s favour which has two clauses. The first of these is a domestic clause, that every man has authority over a wife/housekeeper/child minder/sexual partner. The second clause concerns the workplace, that men guarantee each other rights over women (Cockburn, 1991). One aspect which reinforces gendered power relations within organisations is the carry over of extra-organisational roles into the workplace (Gutek, 1989), so that the secretary takes the role as helpmeet and office wife (Roper, 1994). Other ways in which these kinds of gendered actions

impede women's progress will be discussed in chapter 4, which looks at the obstacles to women advancing. Although accepting that gendered power relations are exercised in the workplace, the concept of patriarchy is too all encompassing. It implies women are helpless victims, does not explain exceptions like female sexual harassment of men (Merrick, 1995), and elides some of the nuances of gendered organisational life.

Despite the interest in gender shown by the writers cited in this study, gender has been ignored in much of organisational analysis (Mills and Tancred, 1992, Marshall, 1995), has been silenced as an organisational topic (Harlow et al, 1995), or been treated in a biased manner, by assuming all gender is male, reducing it to a variable only, or dealing in stereotypes (Burrell, 1989, and Hearn, 1994). Calas and Smircich (1990) draw attention to the (male) gendered nature of organisational theorising. They suggest as corrective measures that there are three approaches which can be taken: revising, re-flecting and re-writing. Surveying several academic disciplines, they state that revising includes completing/correcting the record, assessing gender bias in current knowledge, and making new organisational theorising. Re-flecting includes questions of epistemology; they raise the question of who does theory in whose interests, and question the gendered nature of traditional epistemology. They suggest an iterative, reflective process looking at the relationship between 'knowledge' and 'the ways of doing knowledge' (p. 240). They describe re-writing as an operation in which the politics of a text can be demonstrated by indicating what they describe as the strategies of 'truthmaking' (p. 244). They propose deconstruction as one technique for undertaking this, demonstrating that a text may be gendered even if this is not part of the content (Calas and Smircich, 1990). Although a number of writers are exercised on the topic of gender, as is obvious from this review of some of the literature, nevertheless it remains a minority interest (Hearn et al, 1989). Marshall (1995) contends that those writing from a reformist perspective are more likely to find their work accepted by others.

The author accepts the contention that organisational studies has tended to neglect gender as a powerful force shaping behaviour and outcomes. Chapter 4 will look at the social effects of gender for women in organisations, when the obstacles to women's progress are discussed. However, Alvesson and Due Billing (1992) advise that not everything can be

explained by reference to gender, and warn against 'gender reductionism'. Often the interrelationships with class, age, race (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994a), and sexuality are ignored and regrettably it is beyond the scope of this study to explore these. What this study will concentrate on is gender as a source of structural social inequality. However, given that masculinity and male cultures dominate organisations, these are discussed in the next section

Masculinity and male cultures

Men managers can be seen as socially constructed within gendered organisations (Hearn, 1994, Roper, 1994). Criticisms have been made of the fact that only one type of masculinity tends to be discussed in general terms (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994a), and in relation to organisations (Alvesson and Due Billing, 1992). This has been described as 'hegemonic masculinity', and predominates so that alternative ways of being a man are viewed as subordinate (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994a p. 3). As such it has a normative function (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994b), that is it provides a template or pattern for what 'proper' masculinity should be.

Masculinity can be deconstructed to demonstrate that there are different masculinities in different locations (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994) and different times (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993). Martin (1990) explains deconstruction as 'an analytic strategy that exposes, in a systematic way, multiple ways a text can be interpreted' (p. 340). Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) suggest that different masculinities can be seen at different levels of the organisation as responses to expectations of toughness: as aggression and competition for top managers, as coldness and lack of emotion for office workers, and as machismo among shop floor workers. They cite Willis (1977) that in the workplace, masculinity in the form of machoism is often used to hide the difficulty and danger of manual jobs. Jokes may be used to reinforce and maintain acceptable behaviour, which is assumed to be heterosexual (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991). Collinson and Collinson (1989) found two discourses at shop floor level, the first from younger men was overtly sexual and reduced women to objects; the second, associated with older men, was about their role as sire, breadwinner, and holder of domestic authority. In both cases it

appeared that manual work was expressive of their power, masculine autonomy and independence, a discourse accepted by management (Collinson and Collinson, 1989).

One image espoused by the older managers interviewed by Roper (1994) was that of the practical hands-on man, in contradistinction to the new professionally trained manager, a dichotomy between hard experience and soft academic knowledge. Just as Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) described a cult of toughness on the shopfloor, so Roper (1994) describes a cult of toughness among managers which included coping successfully with manual workers, getting dirty hands and accepting and succeeding at difficult postings (Roper, 1994). In a study of the financial services sector, Kerfoot and Knights (1993) identified two further oppositional masculinities, paternalistic masculinity and competitive masculinity. These were regarded as outcomes of shifts in management styles, from paternalistic to strategic management (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993). They describe paternalistic management as both nurturing and hierarchical, whereas competitive masculinity is rationalistic. Power in competitive masculinity is demonstrated through the accomplishment of tasks, but leads to tensions in relations with others who are viewed as either objects of conquest or competitors (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993).

Collinson and Hearn (1994) identified several masculinities that were particularly prevalent in and supportive of management. The first of these was authoritarianism, which is intolerant of any kind of difference or dissent, and achieves its ends by coercion. Paternalism by contrast seeks to portray a benevolent, protective image, exercising power by moral authority. It is more likely to be found in older managers. Entrepreneurialism by contrast is more the province of younger managers, and associated with a highly competitive, highly demanding environment. Collinson and Hearn (1994) suggest that pregnancy and domestic ties are taboo in this environment. The last masculinity they found is informalism, the way that men make informal relationships which may cut across hierarchical levels, on the basis of shared interests in sport, cars, sex and drinking. Thus masculinity may vary from being merely career enhancing to manifesting overt hostility to women (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Collinson and Hearn (1994) however warn that there remains some lack of precision in relation to the concept of masculinities, which may be taken to refer to behaviours, identities, relationships, experiences, discourses and practices.

One recent construct is that of the 'new man' who supposedly embraces equality with his partner, sharing domestic and child care responsibilities, and embodies some ostensibly feminine virtues of sensitivity and caring. This appears to be a class based construct, referring almost exclusively to middle class men, some of whom might describe themselves as feminist sympathisers. Unfortunately this concept has been exposed as a cultural myth, with a gap between what men say they do and what they actually do in the home, largely because of the long hours worked by many young men with children (Saigol, 1996). It is postulated that in their thirties most young men intent on establishing conventional middle class careers are doing so at the expense of family life (Brindle, 1996). Aaltio-Marjosola and Lehtinen (1995) state that the primary male role in family life is instrumental, as breadwinner, and so managers are expected to put their family second after work (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991). Aaltio-Marjosola and Lehtinen (1995) point out that fatherhood is an idealised part of masculinity, yet older managers advise younger ones not to take paternity leave.

A further recent construct is that of 'the lads', with the adjective 'laddish'. This refers to predominantly young men who indulge in exploits, horseplay and sex talk, and are in turn indulged for their behaviour, which is excused as letting off steam. This seems in some ways a re-working of older discourses about active sexuality (Collinson and Collinson, 1989, above), but is not restricted to manual workers, as young white collar workers may similarly be described as lads. This can be seen in a middle class interest in football, convivial drinking bouts, 'Loaded' magazine, and a general encouragement of hedonism.

Having looked at a selection of propositions about masculinities, ways in which masculine gender and identity are constructed, supported, and maintained, will be reviewed. One of the ways in which masculine gender is supported is by ensuring that women do not encroach on male territory, for instance by keeping women in sex appropriate roles, such as a secretary (Roper 1994). Collinson and Hearn (1994) note that a strong, supportive mechanism for identity for managers in particular is the concept of upward mobility in a career. Another way in which men support and reaffirm their masculine identity is by male bonding (Itzin, 1995), described

above as informalism (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). They congregate and associate with other men in places where women cannot go. Rogers (1988) investigated a series of all-male cultures in the UK. First she described men's territory, such as pubs, and sport.

Second she looked at mass membership organisations, which included working men's clubs, the Freemasons, and Rotary. She turned next to the Establishment, embodied in public schools, London clubs, the Forces, the Church of England, and the City (Rogers, 1988). These were all male bastions when Rogers (1988) did her investigations, but a series of legislative and social changes mean that the picture is no longer as clear-cut. Although still a minority in all cases, women increasingly attend sport fixtures, girls have been accepted into previously all male public schools, the Forces and the Church of England have been obliged to accept women, and women work in the City. Most of these incursions have been difficult and not without conflict. For instance the City is described as harsh, inhospitable, aggressive and with a masculine atmosphere, intensely competitive, accompanied by persistent verbal harassment, porno calendars, and loud discussion of sexual exploits (Davies, 1994). Gherardi (1994) suggests that women in organisations must do 'remedial work' to rectify the offence of intrusion into a man's world.

A third way in which masculine gender is supported is by identifying it strongly with heterosexuality. Masculinity, within as well as without the organisation, is usually constructed as strongly heterosexual; Roper (1994) asserts that there is no middle ground between masculinity and effeminacy, and Lorber and Farrell (1991) suggest that the social construction of masculinity in the US encourages homophobia.

Although the work on masculinities is interesting, what is noteworthy is that within organisation studies there is no comparable body of work on femininities. Within organisation studies, gender has tended to be taken as referring to women's interests. For a comparable focus of women to that of masculinities one would have to explore women's studies. The reasons for this imbalance can only be conjectured., but could be related to the dominant position of men within academic organisation studies.

Sexuality and emotion

Two further aspects allied to gender are sexuality and emotion. Burrell and Hearn (1989) assert that organisations are suffused with unacknowledged sexuality, even when gendered relations is the subject of study. Sexuality, which is socially constructed (Lorber and Farrell, 1991) is not part of the model of the rational organisation, but sexuality, eroticism and emotion pervade organisations (Rothschild and Davies, 1994). Sexuality is evidenced by the presence of sexual harassment, sexual relationships, sexual rumour (Burrell and Hearn, 1989); and sexual symbols such as pinups and 'sex talk'. Sexuality may be used to exclude or subordinate women who enter into male dominated areas, and women who resist may be labelled as trouble makers (Collinson and Collinson, 1989).

Despite the evidence that organisations are dominated by men's sexuality, male sexuality is seen as unproblematic (Collinson and Collinson, 1989). Sexuality tends to be associated with women, and women are therefore seen as bringing sexuality into the organisation (Gutek, 1989). This association described by Gutek (1989) as 'sexual role spillover' is damaging because women are seen as sexual objects rather than as competent workers. One of the ways in which women do this is by becoming pregnant, which breaches organisational taboos (Martin, 1990) and breaches the division between the public world of work and the private world of the marital/sexual relationship. Different values are put on the pregnant state in the different contexts.

The existence of sexuality within organisations is usually not acknowledged, although Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) state:

'Sexuality, in one way or another, serves to sustain negative images of females; to control female employee behaviour; to put females 'in their place', i.e. at the bottom layers of organisational hierarchy; and to encourage and excuse sexual harassment.' (p. 88)

Hearn et al (1989) insist that organisations produce and reproduce sexuality and gender. Workplaces are of course sites where relationships are formed, between members of the same

and opposite sex, with and without overt sexual activity. One view propounded is that sexual attraction between (opposite sex) colleagues can be manifested in intimate but non-sexual relationships which can be productive both for the couple and the organisation (Eyler and Baridon, 1992), but given the power differences between men and women in most organisations this could be a naive view of a potentially exploitative situation.

Because of the persistent notion of human beings as either male or female, homosexuality is difficult to categorise (Brewis et al, 1995) and hegemonic masculinity in organisations is strongly heterosexual and heterosexist. As a consequence, gay men and women find their sexuality personalised and problematised (Burrell and Hearn, 1989). Lesbians for instance are seen as challenging the status quo, and disclosure may affect promotion chances (Hall, 1989).

Mills (1988) writes about the denial of emotion. This is tied to points discussed earlier in this chapter; first that bipolar constructs link the concepts of men and rational, and women and emotional, and second that suppression of most emotions is seen as a desirable state for middle and senior managers. These constraints operate to permit the display of certain emotions such as anger and frustration, but disallow those emotions perceived as feminine, such as sympathy, intimacy, upset and grief. Roper (1994) suggests that the male managers he interviewed displayed ambivalence towards intimacy with their wives, whereas they talked about emotional engagement in relation to relationships with older men who had influenced their careers. Noting the use of heterosexual imagery to describe these mentor-mentee relationships, he suggests there is an unacknowledged homoerotic element to these relationships, and that emotion and managerial work go hand in hand (Roper, 1994). Thus despite the emotionally restrictive nature of most organisations, emotions can leak into the organisation, present but unacknowledged. At a personal level, emotions that are unacknowledged may be suppressed, denied, or projected onto someone else. The consequence of this is that women often do the emotional work for men.

Women in management

At this juncture consideration returns to the original research topic, women in management. Women in management is one of the main approaches to gender in organisations (Alvesson and Due Billing, 1992, Marshall, 1995), certainly in terms of volume, but can be seen as a subset of the larger topic of gender within organisations. Interestingly there is a large literature on women in management. In the UK a journal devoted to this topic (*Women in Management Review*) preceded by several years a journal on gender in the workplace (*Gender, Work and Organization*). Women in management may be an acceptable topic for study because of its reformist nature to which Marshall (1995) referred. Publications on women in management also exceed in number studies of men and masculinities in organisations: thus women managers rather than male managers are problematised. Hearn (1994) comments on the lack of critical attention given to the domination by men in research on management, and particularly top management.

Two influential early works were Kanter (1977) and Marshall, (1984). Kanter's (1977) work was interesting in focusing on men and women within an organisation. In particular she looked at roles and stereotypes, which will be discussed further in chapter 4. Marshall (1984) examined popular conceptions about the differences and similarities between men and women as managers (referred to in chapter 5), and purported reasons for women's lack of progress, which she deconstructed sequentially. The early 1990s saw an increasing volume of books about women managers in the UK and elsewhere. Of particular mention are Davidson and Burke (1994) and Tanton (1994) both edited collections covering a wide range of topics.

One criticism of the 'women in management' approach is that it ignores theorising on gender in management prior to the advent of women managers (Calas and Smircich, 1990), and a great deal of its current output suffers from this. Another criticism is that it privileges the concerns of a narrow group of female workers, mostly white middle class women, who by virtue of their background and education may already have considerable advantages over other women workers. In this study these points will be countered by studying both men and women managers, and by paying attention to how gender is 'done'.

Much of the women in management literature discusses suggested reasons for why women do not progress in organisations, which will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 4. Theoretical approaches to class, race, age and sexuality, will not be discussed, as they will form a very minor part of the empirical findings.

Implications for this study

Having reviewed the pervasiveness and embeddedness of gender in organisational life alongside silence on this topic in the bulk of organisational analysis, this study explores organisations in a way that acknowledges gendered aspects. Following on discussion in this chapter the problematising of women and women managers is rejected in favour of a more radical appraisal of organisational life. The precise ways in which this will be undertaken are discussed later in chapter 7, with the findings in chapters 8 - 11.

Having surveyed a number of aspects of gender in this chapter, discussion pertaining to organisational culture will be covered in chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Organisational Culture

Introduction

In this chapter various approaches to the theorising of organisational culture are outlined. Culture can be conceived in many different ways: as societal or national culture, as corporate culture, as homogenous or heterogeneous organisational culture. Subcultures can be based on or across departments, or on occupations or other interest groups. Similarities can also be seen across organisations (Turner, 1971). This review of the field, which is rich, complex and potentially confusing, is not intended as a thorough-going theoretical critique, although it examines the strengths and weaknesses of different perspectives. An overview of the topic area is provided, from which to select those elements, which can be operationalised within the constraints of this study.

Alvesson and Berg (1992) revisit reviews of the research field and note these can be classified in different ways, taxonomic by definition, classification by scientific discipline, paradigmatic assumptions, epistemological basis and intellectual tradition. However they suggest, following Turner (1986), that: 'in reality – most research in this field is not based on stringent, theoretically pure perspectives, concepts and schools of thought' (Alvesson and Berg, 1992), and they therefore adopt three modes of classification: level of analysis; phenomena studied; and conventions and perspectives. They suggest five main conventions: culture, meaning construction, ideology, psychodynamics and symbolism. The main ones considered in this chapter are culture and symbolism. After looking briefly at Turner's (1971) early work, in the next section the main broad-brush differences between these two perspectives will be discussed.

Turner's work on the industrial subculture and developments since

Turner (1971) was an early influential writer on culture within organisations. He coined the phrase 'the industrial subculture', to describe the similarities which could be observed across a number of industrial concerns. In describing this as a subculture he was distinguishing it from the host society in which it was situated, although noting there is no clear-cut distinction between culture (national, societal) and subculture (industrial, organisational). He defines the industrial subculture as a distinctive set of shared meanings, which are maintained by socialising new members (Turner, 1971). What he describes collectively across a number of organisations as the industrial subculture, would today be described as (the) organisational culture.

Some of Turner's (1971) observations now seem old fashioned; for instance he writes primarily about manufacturing industry, and generally assumes that protagonists are men (although he makes observations about gendered job roles). Nevertheless he introduces a number of aspects of organisational culture that have been developed subsequently. These include: the use of symbols to convey meaning; the rites and rituals of organisational life; the use of specialised language within particular concerns; socialisation and norms; the moral code transmitted by the organisation; and attempts to manipulate culture. The field subsequently developed and fragmented into a number of different, sometimes overlapping perspectives. These can however be divided into two main groupings, discussed in the next section.

The two main perspectives: independent variable or root metaphor

In an influential paper Smircich (1983a) drew attention to the main divisions and subdivisions within the field of organisational culture. Smircich (1983a) identified two main uses, the first regarding organisational culture as an independent variable, that is something separate from other features of the organisation such as structure and technology, and the second perceiving it as a root metaphor. The phrase root metaphor needs some explanation. Smircich (1983a) reviews work suggesting that both managers and organisation theorists use metaphors or images as a way

of understanding organisations and organisational life. Thus stating that an organisation is a culture is a way of stating that it can be understood *as if it were* a culture.

To put these two meanings of Smircich (1983a) into the context of this study, the first view treats organisational culture as something that may be influenced, changed and manipulated, and in turn influence, change and manipulate members and features of the organisation. Thus the number and hierarchical positions of women managers could be seen as an outcome (a dependent variable) of the organisational culture (the independent variable). The second broad approach, where culture is viewed as a root metaphor, regards the number and hierarchical positions of women managers as merely one manifestation of organisational culture. It is a facet of organisation that illuminates without assuming a cause and effect argument. The purposes of these two approaches can be seen as respectively as to promote managerial action, and to aid broader understanding (Alvesson, 1993). Smircich (1983a) emphasises that the idea of culture as either variable or root metaphor points out the emotional and non-rational aspects of organisation. These two approaches have been more simply described by Schultz (1995) as functionalism and symbolism. This basic division will be reviewed, before returning to the fine distinctions made by Smircich (1983a) and others.

In functionalism the organisation is seen as a natural system, and culture is viewed as necessary for its survival. The functionalist 'seeks to discover the role which each aspect of cultural practice plays in sustaining the culture as an ongoing system' (Morgan et al, 1983 p. 19). Symbolism is concerned with shared meanings, and the aim of the researcher is to understand these meanings (Schultz 1995). Schultz (1995) summarises the main theoretical and methodological differences between functionalism and symbolism in a useful table, which is reproduced below as Table 3.1.

Referring to Table 3.1, Schultz (1995) sees the key analytical question for functionalism as concerned with answering the question of what function culture plays in the organisation. He

SOME DIAGRAMS
EXCLUDED ON
INSTRUCTION FROM
THE UNIVERSITY

Table 3.1: Basic Theoretical and Methodological Differences between Functionalism and Symbolism, from Schultz (1995) p. 150

suggests Schein (1992) is the main protagonist of this approach, although noting that he is not a pure functionalist. There is an assumption that culture develops through problem solving within the organisation. A universal framework for culture is postulated, envisaging different levels of culture (Schein, 1992) and applicable to all organisations (Schultz, 1995). These cultural elements are therefore listed according to the categories/levels within which they fall, and the researcher's task is to find the relations between them. The functionalist approach is primarily diagnostic, and the results produced between organisations are comparable and potentially generalisable as they use the same theoretical framework (Schultz, 1995).

By contrast the symbolist approach takes a social constructionist view that culture is about the construction and reconstruction of meaning, which is necessarily specific to the organisation and its particular context (Schultz, 1995); meaning may even be specific to a small part of the organisation. Research findings are the result of ethnographic investigation, where there is a

search for associations between meanings (Schultz, 1995). Rather than a model being produced, what is forthcoming is a narrative text, uniquely describing the organisation and the aim is to achieve understanding (Schultz, 1995). Although culture is seen in a pattern in both perspectives, in functionalism the pattern is seen as shared, whereas in symbolism there may be shared or non-shared webs of meaning (Schultz, 1995).

Although symbolism views culture as an integrated pattern, it allows for the local creation of meaning, that is, sub-cultures (Schultz, 1995). The ontological bases are different. In functionalism, culture is assumed to be real and discoverable. In symbolism reality is defined as subjective and multi-dimensional, with the possibility of different meanings attached to the same phenomenon; conversely the same meaning may be conveyed by different phenomena (Schultz, 1995). It follows that culture can never be totally understood and explained, and must be discovered through interpretation (Schultz, 1995).

Having looked at the broad differences between functionalism and symbolism, distinctions within each of these schools will be examined. Smircich (1983a) makes further subdivisions within these two broad usages, tracing their development from related concepts in anthropology and organisation theory. This thesis will refer to these two perspectives as culture-as-variable and culture-as-metaphor following Smircich (1983a). The word symbolism as a general term will be avoided as not all of those who reject a functionalist approach fall into one neat category of symbolism. As discussed later, symbolism is regarded as one subdivision within the culture-as-metaphor umbrella.

One analysis that cuts across both functionalism and symbolism is that of Meyerson and Martin (1987) who criticise the assumption of cohesiveness. They suggest that there are three paradigms operating within culture research. The first of these is the integration paradigm, where consensus and cohesiveness are assumed, and culture is envisaged as social glue. The second is the differentiation paradigm, which looks at sub-cultures and lack of consensus. The third is the ambiguity paradigm, which focuses on lack of clarity, confusion, and is highlighted by lack of

information and a turbulent environment. Shared understandings in this last context are limited to specific issues and situations (Martin and Meyerson, 1988).

The location of culture

One of the key points which needs to be decided upon for both theoretical and empirical reasons is the location of culture in terms of level. Alvesson and Berg (1992) suggest a number of different levels at which culture may be studied: societal/national, industrial sectors, social sectors, organisational culture, functional subcultures, social groupings within organisations, and professional cultures. This section will look particularly at national/societal culture, subcultures of various kinds, and then discuss to what extent one can talk about an organisational culture co-terminous with organisational boundaries.

Looking at culture-as-variable Smircich (1983a) suggests that the first major subdivision is cross-cultural or comparative management, in which the unit of interest is the societal or national culture; one could add regional. The external culture is assumed to be a potent influence on the organisation, and is imported by organisational members (Smircich, 1983a). A well known example of this approach is Hofstede's (1980, 1991) cross-cultural study, where he looked at a number of variables within one multi-national company in over 50 countries. He asserted that consistent differences between countries were likely to persist over time and that these differences are highly influential in relation to the way employees behave. Alvesson (1993) warns about the ethnocentricity of much Western management theorising and suggests that some aspects of organisational life exist because members live and interact together in a particular society. This means that some features observed in an individual organisation may not be specific to the organisation. This external, societal culture is described by Alvesson (1993) as 'great' culture, a macro level view of similarities between organisations. Culture in these examples may be viewed as an external independent variable (Smircich, 1983a). One shortcoming of cross-cultural studies is that they tend to use national boundaries as natural boundaries (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). This can be challenged in two ways: first, national boundaries are less

salient than formerly, for instance in the EU; and second, regional differences can also be highly significant.

This suggests that external cultures, national, societal, and regional, form a framework within which organisations are situated. The similarities between organisations suggests that the concept of the industrial subculture (Turner, 1971) is a viable description and that the boundaries of organisational culture for the individual organisation must be permeable.

Below the level of the organisation there are also a number of subcultures within organisations (Schein, 1992), and within any organisation there may be different, possibly overlapping cultures (Sackmann, 1992). These may be based on departments, social groups, professions or other interest groups, and may overlap with each other (Sackmann, 1992, Schein, 1996). Professional cultures often extend beyond the boundaries of the organisation (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). The precise combination and arrangement of subcultures may contribute to an individual organisation's uniqueness. Wilkins (1983) suggests that understanding subcultures is essential for organisational effectiveness, and suggests that subordinate subcultures are more knowledgeable about the dominant culture than vice versa. Rousseau (1990) notes that some quantitative research has shown organisations to be more strongly sub-cultural than cultural, which supports the differentiation paradigm of Meyerson and Martin (1987). Alvesson (1993) calls subcultures 'local' culture.

Martin and Siehl (1983) discuss different types of subcultures: enhancing, orthogonal and counterculture. In an enhancing subculture they suggest that the members are more strongly committed to the dominant culture's values than other parts of the organisation; this could apply to middle managers for instance. However in an orthogonal subculture employees accept both the dominant set of values and a further set which do not conflict with the main values, and are peculiar to themselves (Martin and Siehl, 1983). Lastly, in a counterculture, there is a direct challenge to the main cultural values (Martin and Siehl, 1983).

Returning to the concept of 'the' organisational culture, use of the definite article implies a degree of coherence, which may be lacking in some organisations, characterised by complexity, a multiplicity of views (Martin 1992), and ambiguity (Alvesson, 1993). A further feature of uniqueness for each organisation is the degree or lack of coherence and congruence within the organisation. Nevertheless, organisational culture as something that may be approximately co-terminous with the company boundaries is still a useful working hypothesis, as long as the researcher is mindful of levels of analysis.

Figure 3.1: 'Levels of culture' from Alvesson and Berg (1992) p.64

Figure 3.1 Shows an illustrative figure taken from Alvesson and Berg (1992) which indicates manifestations of culture at various levels inside and outside the organisation. Whilst a most helpful figure some amendments can be suggested. On this figure national and societal culture forms the largest boundary, followed by regional and industrial culture. These latter may not be necessarily co-terminous, and would perhaps be better represented as two overlapping circles. The company is indicated as a traditional pyramidal shape, with a managerial culture

represented as a smaller triangle at its apex. Within the company a narrower triangle reaching from the top to the bottom of the organisation represents professional culture, and could have been shown alternatively as a shape with external linkages. The departmental and worker sub-cultures are drawn as circles overlapping into the regional/industrial culture. There is of course a possibility that there are other sub-cultures that are not delineated.

Corporate culture

The second conceptualisation of culture-as-variable that Smircich (1983a) outlines is corporate culture. Corporate culture is the most popular conception of culture. This section reviews some of the literature on corporate culture and examines claims that culture influences performance. Corporate culture puts extreme emphasis on culture-as-variable, and hypothesises culture as a product of the organisation as much as goods and services (Smircich, 1983a), and as a sub-system comparable to other sub-systems such as technology or strategy (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). There is emphasis on the influence of the founder and current leader, and on opportunities to change culture, for which two principal methods are used; first the management of culture in toto, as with any sub-system of the organisation; and second, symbolic management. This latter becomes the management of meaning, a necessary managerial skill (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). This study will use the term corporate culture to distinguish this perspective from others, although many writers in this field refer to organisational culture or just culture.

It may be helpful at this juncture to look at distinctions, which have been drawn between climate and culture. Reichers and Schneider (1990) describe how the idea of climate developed in industrial and organisational psychology, was originally concerned with matters such as motivation and productivity, and is often used to understand and explain organisational effectiveness. The dimensions of climate include such things as structure, reward, support and warmth (Reichers and Schneider, 1990). Within management research the distinction between these two concepts of climate and culture has become somewhat blurred, with a plethora of books and papers on corporate culture as a determinant of competitiveness, organisational

effectiveness and Total Quality Management. It could be argued that many papers about, say, 'a quality culture' are actually describing climate rather than culture (see for example Hames, 1991). Some writers criticise the use of the word culture for certain studies, contending that what is actually being studied is climate (Payne, 1991). Reichers and Schneider (1990) suggest that the two concepts are very similar, although not identical. Rousseau (1990) distinguishes climate from culture, seeing the former as a product of individual psychological processes, and the latter as a phenomenon based at unit level and arising from social interactions.

Corporate culture has a number of features, which will be discussed and critiqued, after summarising them in this paragraph. It is assumed that culture is unitary and homogenous, with impermeable boundaries. It is said to give to individuals a sense of identity, evoking commitment, and increasing social stability. Culture is seen as strongly influential both of overall performance, and individual behaviour. Although sometimes viewed as static, paradoxically it is also seen as easily changed. The underlying ontology is that corporate culture is real. It has also been described as an ideology, that is as a desired state of affairs.

The first aspect of corporate culture examined is its integrity or cohesiveness. Corporate culture is described as unitary and homogenous (Alvesson, 1993), and with impermeable boundaries. The culture of the organisation is assumed as co-terminous with its structure and membership. Meyerson and Martin (1987) have characterised this as the integrationist perspective, where culture is perceived as an all-embracing social glue. Culture as a unitary and unifying force is a view questioned by many writers (e.g. Meek, 1988, Alvesson, 1993). This perspective has been criticised for ignoring the internal diversity of organisations which may be heterogeneous rather than homogeneous (Newman, 1995a). It also ignores or denies the existence of subcultures. As Anthony (1994) states:

'It is evident that large organisations are composed of nested and inter-acting sub-cultures divided both laterally and vertically. The management of corporate culture is, in part, a process of presenting one of them as coextensive with the whole and of recruiting the others to accept that presentation.' (p. 105)

It is therefore suggested that unitary corporate culture is a desired state of affairs, rather than necessarily a description of what is there. It might be more accurate to describe corporate culture as unitarist, that is, advocating and promulgating unity. Newman (1995a) notes that whilst the boundaries of corporate culture are described as impermeable, that in fact boundaries vary in their permeability.

The second aspect of corporate culture concerns individuals: it is said to give a sense of identity, evoke commitment, and increase social stability (Smircich, 1983a). Whilst many employees derive an important component of their sense of identity from their employing organisation, organisational membership is not the only, or necessarily the principal, influence on identity, which can be derived from extra-organisational factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, class (Bell and Nkomo, 1992) sexuality, professional or occupational training and membership. Organisational culture cannot therefore be viewed as over-deterministic of identity.

This leads to the next point, which is the assertion that corporate culture evokes commitment. For managers it would be easier if employees functioned on the basis of internal rather than external controls. This argument can become tautological. If corporate culture evokes commitment then it may be viewed as 'strong' or effective (Schultz, 1995). If however this consensual assumption is challenged (Newman, 1995a), then this is because the corporate culture has not been satisfactorily established, or because the individual or group is viewed as resistant. Where there is a disjuncture for instance between the prescriptions of corporate culture, and the realities of everyday experience of managers, they take on the roles of actors, as they try to control the feelings and behaviours of subordinates, which may lead to cynicism (Anthony, 1994). Anthony (1994) points out the instrumentality of this corporate culture approach, likening it to other aspects of Human Resource Management where there is a gap between rhetoric and reality based on naive assumptions of a commonality of interest. This is not to deny that rhetoric has some real effects, but it may not be as effective as supposed. Smircich (1983a) states that corporate culture is said to increase stability in the social system. This assumption is dependent on the idea of culture as a unitary and unifying force, and commitment to a common goal, both of which have been questioned.

The most important argument about corporate culture is the third aspect considered here, influencing performance, and influencing and controlling behaviour. Managers are urged to understand, manage, and even create culture, and a cursory glance at much popular management literature will reveal exhortations for quality cultures, learning cultures, people cultures and so on. Writers such as Peters and Waterman (1982) powerfully advocated the link between culture and superior performance and Deal and Kennedy (1982) described 'strong' cultures as associated with competitive success. Strength and efficacy are therefore two measures of success (Schultz, 1995). This feature of corporate culture is what is known as the culture-performance link, which according to Alvesson (1993) is based on assumptions of causality between leadership and culture, and culture and performance. As with other authors (e.g. Pettigrew, 1979, Meek, 1988, Smircich (1983a) points out that the concept of culture is borrowed from anthropology, where there is no consensus about its meaning. The corporate culture approach builds heavily on the concept of functionalism, which is a disputed paradigm within anthropology (Meek, 1993).

Anthony (1994) asserts that if change is limited to culture it will not work, and if it is accompanied by structural change then it is difficult to assess the change as solely attributable to culture. He suggests that there are different ways in which cultural change may be seen to be implemented: through education and persuasion; coercively; via a utilitarian process combining self-interest and organisational goals; and lastly as a conditioned process where attitudes and values are almost determined by the organisational environment (Anthony, 1994). Thus various methods are used, including education, training, quality improvement, routine communication methods (Anthony, 1994) and reward and punishment. However an easier way of managing corporate values is via recruitment and selection, and dismissal (Anthony, 1994). Anthony (1994) questions whether top managers really want a change in culture, or are simply seeking a change in employees' behaviour.

Fourth, on the matter of practical implementation, there is a view that organisational culture is static (Newman, 1995a) and passive, yet paradoxically can be changed easily (Peters and Waterman, 1982); in popular terms, culture can be managed. All writers do not accept this view;

Meek (1988) rejects the idea that culture is an independent variable that can be manipulated. In part the interest not only in corporate culture, but also symbolism, was the market context of the 1980s, including the success of Japan, which was perceived as linked to culture. A further reason for the interest in corporate culture is a response to over-reliance on rationalistic managerial methods (Smircich, 1983a). Harnessing the emotions and feelings of employees is seen as a preferable, and perhaps easier, option to other approaches. Pettigrew (1990) writes about the factors, which make corporate culture difficult to manage. These include the fact that corporate culture exists at different levels; that is not only deep but broad; much is taken for granted; with deep historical roots; it is directly connected with power distribution within the organisation; a variety of subcultures exist; and it is interdependent on people, priorities, structure and systems (Pettigrew, 1990). Despite evidence to the contrary, there is a persistent strong assumption that culture is controllable given the correct combination of visible top manager support, inspirational symbols and training and other support mechanisms. This is evidenced in corporate change programmes, and the prescriptions of management consultants.

As Schultz (1995) contends, culture as a concept emerged as a result of questioning the mechanistic, rationalist idea of organisations. Much of management theory has been predicated on the assumption of rationality and rational decision making in organisations. This was questioned earlier by writers such as Simon (1957), who talked about satisficing in decision making, that is, making a decision that will do rather than taking the best decision. Recent writers on management have taken this rebuttal of rationality further. Brunssen and Olsen (1993) examine deliberately planned change in the corporate culture mode, what they term reform, and assert that it rarely works. They critique what they call the rational instrumental approach, and suggest that when external and internal organisational norms become out of step, there is a process they term decoupling (Brunssen and Olsen, 1993). This leads organisations to preach about certain values at the same times as practising other ones (Brunssen and Olsen, 1993). Brunssen (1994) suggests that it is preferable to present oneself, and one's organisation, as rational, defining rationality as the procedure by which preferences are transformed into actions. Friedberg (1994) asserts that far from organisations being rational islands in an otherwise irrational world, they are just another arena where social processes take place. Traditional

organisational theory may not take sufficient account of ambiguity, complexity and emotions (Alvesson and Berg, 1992).

Fifth, corporate culture adherents write about its mode of existence in an anthropomorphic fashion, as if culture were real. Corporate cultures are described glowingly as 'strong' and 'healthy', implying a value judgement. Meek (1988) criticises the notion that 'strong' cultures are better than weak ones, and rejects the identification of culture with management's interests, what Alvesson (1993) calls 'management-centric' culture. Meek (1988) makes a thorough and iconoclastic critique of the concept of culture, tracing its route from social anthropology to organisational behaviour. She points out that the concept of culture used has been imported from one particular branch of social anthropology, the 'structural-functional' paradigm. This sees societal culture as performing a function, that is as purposeful, as opposed to an alternative paradigm that views culture as a means of creating meaning. Meek (1988) criticises the reification and anthropomorphism of culture.

Lastly, therefore, corporate culture can be seen as a desired state of affairs, which may be approached but cannot be ensured in any particular organisation. Corporate culture may be seen rather as justifying managerial actions (Smircich, 1983a, Anthony, 1994). To put it in terms of Schein (1992), corporate culture is based overtly on a collection of espoused values, what the organisation would like to be, and this may differ from what it actually is in practice. It will be obvious from the critique above that the view taken here is that corporate culture represents the 'management centric' (Alvesson, 1993) idealised view of what top managers would like the organisation to be. As such it is an interesting topic for investigation, provided it is remembered that it is a partial picture.

Culture-as-variable: Schein

Another version of the culture-as-variable perspective is evinced by Schein (1992). Alvesson and Berg (1992) suggest that his main assumption is that culture is a system of shared values and

beliefs. This aspect of Schein's (1992) view of corporate culture is related to meaning, where it is seen as a sense making device, both influencing and controlling behaviour. Schein (1992) defines culture as:

'A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to these problems.'

This definition is criticised by Alvesson (1993 p. 28) as a 'functionalist, normative and instrumentally biased conception of culture'. In other words, meaning may be imposed as a desired norm rather than left to the individual to work out. However Schein (1992) is not totally committed to a corporate culture approach, as discussed below.

Schein (1996) makes clear his preference for an instrumental, functional approach, stating that any concepts formulated must be of use to practitioners. He suggests that concepts for understanding culture must be based on observable data and sense-making (Schein, 1996). There are similarities with corporate culture but also differences. The similarities include the fact that Schein (1992) bases his theorising on functionalism, and tends to a top-down approach, assuming that top managers give an accurate account of culture. His emphasis on problem solving is purposive and instrumental. The differences include an acknowledgement of the existence of subcultures and the possibility of varying viewpoints (Schein, 1992).

The issues concerned in external adaptation and internal integration according to Schein are set out in Table 3.2 below, taken from Schultz (1995). This covers a huge range of features of organisations, from which researchers can select. How Schein advises investigating these is discussed in chapter 6 on methodology.

Table 3.2: The Problems of Internal Integration and External Adaptation where Culture Develops and Functions from Schultz (1995 p. 24)

Schein (1992) sees leaders as key influences both in forming and maintaining organisational culture. According to Schein (1983) entrepreneurs start off with strong ideas about organisation. Cultural assumptions which spring from the founder attain critical importance in the organisation if it can clearly be demonstrated that the solutions proffered are effective (Schein, 1983). Initially this may be an explicit process, but over time Schein (1983) states that this increasingly becomes implicit. Thus 'leader as key influencer' can be seen as belonging to the culture-as-variable paradigm, where the leader and culture stand in a cause-and-effect relationship. This may be seen as somewhat simplistic, and appears to over-emphasise the role of leader in a top-down perception of organisation. Assumptions about the degree of influence have been questioned (Alvesson, 1993, Anthony, 1994). Whilst acknowledging that leaders can have an important influence on culture, Anthony (1994) attacks the exaggeration of their effectiveness, particularly by the advocates of 'strong' corporate cultures. Thus criticisms of Schein (1992) include the top-down approach, over-emphasis on leaders, and functionalist assumptions which may obscure other meanings.

On symbols, symbolism and symbolic perspectives

The culture literature has frequent use of potentially confusing terminology about symbols, symbolism and symbolic perspectives. This section attempts to unravel the various meanings and significance attached to the terminology. Alvesson and Berg (1992) suggest that symbols and

symbolism can refer to three different aspects of culture studies: first, particular varieties of organisational phenomena; second, a function, that is expressive/symbolic as opposed to instrumental; and third, a particular theoretical perspective.

A symbol has more than merely instrumental meaning (Schultz, 1995), and Morgan et al (1983) define a symbol as a sign which denotes something greater than itself. Hatch (1993) helpfully describes a symbol as an artefact (in Schein's 1992 terminology) having surplus meaning, that is meaning over and above its manifest purpose. Thus a symbol is both itself and something more than itself. Dandridge (1983 p. 70-71) described the difference between a sign and a symbol thus:

'All signs serve the static function of talking about something or taking the place of that for which they are a representation. Symbols go beyond this static function, as they actively elicit the internal experience of meaning.'

Turner (1971) distinguishes between denotative and connotative meanings of symbols, the former the one for which the symbol is intended to stand, and the latter a cluster of meanings, probably more complex, evoked by the symbol.

Dandridge (1983) considers that symbols in organisations have three main functions. First, they are descriptive of the organisation. Second, they act in a manner to control energy, by inspiring or repelling, by facilitating a revisiting of emotion, and by offering an acceptable way of venting feelings. Third, Dandridge (1983) asserts that they are system maintaining. An example of all three functions is found in separation rituals (Dandridge, 1983). Symbols can include objects, actions, events, utterances and images, and on a more complex level ritual, tradition, humour, story-telling and metaphorical images (Morgan et al, 1983). They may be consciously or unconsciously created, (Morgan et al, 1983). Morgan et al (1983) contend that symbols are socially constructed and may be intelligible only to few people or many. Alvesson and Berg (1992) note that symbols can vary in their complexity and the extent of their influence.

A threefold classification of symbols was proposed by Dandridge (1983): action symbols, such as meetings and behaviour; verbal symbols such as slogans, stories and jargon; and material symbols, such as architecture and dress. One of the main symbolic systems is language. Organisations have their own languages, consisting of unique terminology, codes, and acronyms which newcomers have to be taught (Evered, 1983). Within organisations there may be groups that develop as linguistic sub-communities for technical and social reasons (Evered, 1983). Language as used by organisation members indicates the differences and similarities with other organisations, and its *Weltanschauung* (Evered, 1983).

Schultz (1995) suggests that symbolism is an imprecise label covering a range of perspectives, the main tenet of which is the creation of meaning by human beings. Reality is therefore a social construction, elaborated from a collective creation of meaning (Schultz, 1995). Neither cause-effect relationships, nor functional purpose are the root of actions. Actions take place because of the meaning they convey for individuals in the organisation (Schultz, 1995). Alvesson and Berg (1992) consider that distinctions can be made within the broad field of symbolism. They point out that symbols and symbolism are studied as part of the culture-as-variable perspective including materialised symbols such as rites, rituals, ceremonies, myths, stories, jokes, logos, and architecture (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). In the culture-as-variable perspective symbolism is considered specific to the organisation (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). There are some similarities between this and the symbolist perspective, which Alvesson and Berg (1992) state is part of the culture-as-metaphor camp. Within culture-as-metaphor, organisational symbolism treats cultures as systems of shared meanings, which therefore have to be understood through an intermediate process of interpretation (Smircich, 1983a). The origin and continuance of culture through symbolic manifestations is recorded and interpreted (Smircich, 1983a). Symbolism is where organisations are studied from a symbolic perspective, although these symbols may not be shared, which is where Alvesson and Berg (1992) suggest this perspective differs from a social constructionist perspective. There is an emphasis on the emotional and subjective element in meaning, and consideration also of aesthetic and ethical elements (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). Alvesson and Berg (1992) divide the symbolic perspective into two: symbolic particularism and symbolic generalism. The former looks at both symbolic and instrumental aspects of actions,

statements and structures. In symbolic universalism, by contrast, the organisation is viewed as a symbolic unit, linked to cognitive, emotional, aesthetic and ethical manifestations of human life (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). Symbolists have been criticised for a mystical and over-romantic view of organisations (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). Alvesson and Berg (1992) contend that there is also a tendency to reduce everything to symbols.

Alvesson and Berg (1992) note the development of a symbolic approach from metaphor to perspective, which has also been applied to all kinds of organisational phenomena, such as marketing and decision making, which are not necessarily connected to culture. They suggest that symbolism focuses on the expressive parts of organisational experience, although it can be seized upon by those intent on indirect controls (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). Thus organisations try to create and manage symbolic systems, although they may not be interpreted by employees in the way intended (Morgan et al, 1983). The influence of symbols and symbolic approaches to the study of culture is widespread. Alvesson and Berg (1992) state that there are three widely supported schools within the organisational culture field. The first is corporate culture, which falls into the culture-as-variable camp, and other two are culture as a symbol system perspective, and symbolic particularism, both of which belong to the culture-as-metaphor camp.

Symbols are undoubtedly a rich and interesting field of study within organisational culture. To what extent the fine distinctions discussed here are necessary and helpful in understanding culture will be explored later in the chapters 7 to 11.

Culture-as-metaphor; other perspectives

The second broad approach identified by Smircich (1983a), culture-as-metaphor, was further divided by her into three: organisational cognition, organisational symbolism (which has already been discussed), and unconscious processes and organisation. The field has diversified further since then.

In relation to *organisational cognition*, Smircich (1983a) suggests organisational cultures become networks of shared meanings, which appear to function as rules to behaviour. Thus researchers may search for 'rules' or 'scripts' in order to understand the culture (Smircich, 1983a). Unlike corporate culture, these rules are not merely imposed top-down and may sanction behaviour that top managers find undesirable.

A similar perspective is *construction of meaning*. In this perspective reality only exists as a social construction (Alvesson and Berg, 1992), which may be purposefully designed or emergent (Smircich, 1983b). Within organisations each group can evolve its own system of meanings, which are shared to varying degrees within the organisation (Smircich, 1983b). There has to be some commonality of meaning for the organisation to function and continue, and this leads to meanings having a taken for granted nature (Smircich, 1983b). The difference between this and organisational cognition is that a constructionist approach looks for meanings beyond the cognitive (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). This approach obviously has close affinity with approaches to 'doing gender' as discussed in chapter 2.

Smircich (1983a) also refers to *unconscious processes*, where culture is conceived as the expression of unconscious psychological processes. Underpinning this view of culture is the idea that there are concealed universal aspects of the mind, which may be revealed by particular patterns of organisation (Smircich, 1983a). This view has roots in structuralism in anthropology, and psychodynamic approaches in psychology. There are two schools, Freudian/Kleinian, and Jungian, investigating respectively shared fantasies, and the inner meaning of symbols (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). A criticism of this approach is that it assumes an underlying deterministic essentialism, with unconscious but powerful forces determining human interaction. This makes free will and human agency problematical.

Unlike the earlier two models outlined, viewing culture-as-metaphor implies a lack of belief in an independent, objectively verifiable ontology (Smircich, 1983a). Researchers working in this paradigm examine language, symbols, myths, rituals and stories; rather than being seen as cultural artefacts, that is products, as in the culture-as-variable approaches, these are perceived as

processes which configure meaning and make organisational life possible (Smircich, 1983a). The idea of metaphor was popularised by Morgan (1986) in relation to organisations, but as Alvesson (1993) points out, metaphors are not always helpful; as they may obscure as well as illuminate, or may simply be unhelpful. There are similarities here with social constructionism.

Alvesson and Berg (1992) also point out that *ideology* may be studied, either looking at corporate ideology, or political ideology from a critical viewpoint, although they suggest that this is a narrower approach than the culture concept.

A combination model: Hatch's modification of Schein

Hatch (1993) pays tribute to the effectiveness of Schein's (1992) model of organisational culture, but suggests that it could be enhanced by the addition of symbols. She builds on Schein's model by adding symbols to his three levels of culture: artefacts, espoused values and underlying assumptions. She proposes a model called cultural dynamics in which these four elements are linked in a circle, by processes she names manifestation, realisation, symbolisation and interpretation. This is shown in Figure 3.2.

Hatch (1993) proposes that these processes work in both directions, both proactively and retroactively. In prospective manifestation, assumptions shape values. In retroactive manifestation, values maintain or change (challenge) existing assumptions, for instance when new managers introduce new values. In proactive realisation, values shape artefacts, activities that have tangible outcomes. In retroactive realisation, artefacts may maintain or reaffirm existing values, or retroactively challenge them. Realisation can be studied through 'the production, reproduction and transformation of artefacts' (p. 998). In relation to symbols, Hatch (1983) introduces the idea of surplus meaning that attaches to artefacts. Symbols can include logos,

Figure 3.2: 'The Cultural Dynamics Model' from Hatch (1993) p.660.

slogans, stories, myths, actions, non-actions, visual images, metaphors, organisational charts, corporate architecture and rites and rituals. Prospective symbolisation gives an artefact additional meaning. Retrospective symbolisation 'enhances awareness of the literal meaning of symbolised artefacts' (p. 671).

Hatch (1993) suggests that to study symbolic processes requires direct involvement, using ethnography or aesthetic techniques. Interpretation deals with the relationship between assumptions and symbols. In the prospective mode, symbols maintain or challenge basic assumptions, whereas in the retrospective mode, assumptions reconstruct the meaning of symbols. Interpretation can be studied by exploring how symbols shape and are shaped by assumptions.

Hatch suggests that her model is more dynamic than Schein's (1992) and it appears a helpful way of including symbols in Schein's model. However, operationalisation and investigation appear less clear-cut.

Cultural phenomena

The constituents of culture vary according to which theoretical approach is taken, although there is overlap between a number of these. This section will look first at models which categorise cultural phenomena, and then at more diverse and detailed descriptions of individual phenomena.

A number of writers with varying theoretical bases appear to agree that there are both external manifestations of culture, which may be observed in material form, behaviour or processes, and also supporting belief systems. Many writers conceive culture as multi-layered. Rousseau (1990) describes the major elements of culture going from the most to the least accessible as follows: material artefacts; structures such as decision making, co-ordination and communication; behavioural norms; values; and unconscious assumptions. A similar 'onion' model is that of Hofstede (1992). He suggests values are at the deepest level, followed by rituals, heroes and symbols; practices cut across the three outer rings (Hofstede, 1992). A well known model is that of Schein (1992), encompassing: first, manifest artefacts, behaviour and processes; second, conscious and sometimes written espoused values, those appearing publicly in mission statements, policies and charters; and third underlying, unwritten, and largely unconscious assumptions, which are rarely articulated and may conflict with espoused values and even with each other. Schein's (1992) classification appears to group together under artefacts the first three aspects that are seen as separate in Rousseau (1990). These three approaches are compared in the Table 3.2 below. As can be seen, there is considerable similarity between the Schein (1992) and Rousseau (1990) models, but less so with Hofstede (1992), although he also agrees values are at the core.

Table 3.3: A comparison of cultural phenomena according to Schein(1992), Rousseau (1990) and Hofstede (1992)

Schein (1992)	Rousseau (1990)	Hofstede (1992)	
Artefacts	Material artefacts	Practices	Symbols
	Decision making, co-ordination and communication		Heroes
	Behavioural norms		Rituals
Espoused values	Values		Values
Underlying assumptions	Unconscious assumptions		

These models by no means cover everything that is studied as part of culture, and it is helpful to look at how some of these broad categories are broken down. The first of these is artefacts. Those taking material form include dress, buildings, architecture and layout, and furnishings. Behaviour of various sorts may be observed, and Schein (1992) includes procedures and processes.

The next group of phenomena are those which are conveyed verbally, such as sagas, stories, and myths. Sagas tend to be about the organisation's history, and may include legends about corporate heroes who symbolise norms and values (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). Myths, according to Alvesson and Berg (1992), are thought to perform three different functions. First, they may convey basic but incorrect assumptions about the nature of reality. Second, they function as belief systems that support techniques or behaviours that would otherwise be unsupported. Third, they may express deep patterns linked with strategy or structure, or which legitimise contradictions (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). It can be seen therefore that myths have a function of overriding rational belief systems. Stories are a less significant form of saga or myth. Sagas and stories can convey and support management philosophy by giving messages about desirable values and behaviour, and possible rewards and punishments, and as such they function as a form

of indirect or third order control (Wilkins, 1983). In addition they are easy to remember (Wilkins, 1983).

Rites, rituals, ceremonies and celebrations, terms that are used indiscriminately, may be studied. Rites are relatively informal collective activities beginning or ending a phase of events (Alvesson and Berg, 1992), such as rites of passage when leaving the work group (Turner, 1971). In contrast to a rite, a ritual supports, legitimises and reproduces given social patterns, for instance a meeting (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). They are stylised or formalised repeated behaviour, where the meaning depends on the context (Turner, 1971). A ceremony is a participatory event, evoking feelings of tradition and history (Alvesson and Berg, 1992), whereas a celebration is more mundane.

What Schein (1992) calls espoused values, others might extend to include norms and expectations. As mentioned above, these are what the organisation states it stands for. Evidence for these may be found in slogans, mission statements, minutes of meetings, and policy and other official documents. More subtly, norms may be conveyed verbally and non-verbally in an informal way.

Anthony (1994) suggests shared meanings are important in organisation cognition. Smircich (1983b) suggests that there are networks of shared meanings, which function as rules for behaviour, not necessarily synonymous with management's wishes. In the unconscious realm there are fantasies, attitudes, beliefs, and what Schein (1992) terms underlying assumptions, and others call values. These may be individually held, but of greater interest to the researcher is to uncover those that are collectively believed.

Symbols have already been discussed above. Less commonly, researchers may investigate ideology, climate, or image (Alvesson and Berg, 1992).

There is considerable overlap in many perspectives as to what is considered interesting or worthy of investigation. The choice of phenomena will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Typologies of culture

Handy (1985) popularised a fourfold typology of power, role, task and person culture. He describes a power culture as one where there is a single source of power, meting out rewards and punishments. With no or few procedures, judgement is by results, and communication by telepathy or conversation. This type of culture depends crucially on control by selection of key individuals, and on the founder. By contrast a role culture, according to Handy (1985), has the features of a typical bureaucracy, where roles are more important than individuals, and there are rules for everything, including how to settle disputes. Power relates to hierarchical position with co-ordination by a narrow band of managers at the top. Communication is by memo. Technical expertise is more highly prized than innovation. In a task culture influence is based in expert power, and more widely dispersed throughout the organisation. Project or task are more important than hierarchy, and control is by allocation of tasks and resources, but this can also lead to competition when resources are scarce. Teamwork is more important than individual effort. In a person culture the organisation exists to serve individuals, and this model is only thought to persist in modern organisations which are professional partnerships or similar. Control and hierarchies are only possible by mutual consent, and influence is shared and based on expertise (Handy, 1985). Handy's (1985) typology can be seen to be firmly in the culture-as-variable camp, and as much of his typology deals with performance, it seems closest to the corporate culture approach. However acknowledgement of the person culture as a subculture within larger cultures indicates acceptance of pluralism.

Further categorisations of culture are discussed in the next section, which deals with the public sector.

Public sector culture

In this section changes in the UK public sector services are discussed, and related to the culture-as-variable and culture-as-metaphor schools.

One recent area of study in relation to organisational culture has been public services, which have undergone large-scale changes in ownership, structure and managerial practices over the last twenty years.¹ The changes in the public sector did not take place in isolation. Many writers (e.g. Hambleton and Hoggett 1987, Stoker 1989) have attested to the widespread influence in the public sector of the "excellence school" of management literature (e.g. Peters and Waterman 1981, Peters and Austen 1985, Peters 1987). These concepts and ideas were disseminated into public sector organisations, which started to talk about "mission statements", "value-driven organisations", and being "close to the customer".

This new style of management has been called managerialism, or new public management. Managerialism has been perceived as a cultural shift from an administrative to a managerial culture (Thomson, 1992), and also as a move towards a market, or profit orientated, culture (Lawton and Rose, 1991), as more public service organisations have been forced to enter a competitive market. This includes the internal quasi market in the National Health Service (NHS), Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) in local authorities, and 'market testing', putting out to tender a wide range of directly provided government services. Writers describing managerialism observe overlapping features. These start from the assertion that management is superior to administration (Metcalf and Richards, 1990). Management in the private sector is said to be superior to that in the public sector, and good management is seen as an efficacious solution for a variety of economic and social problems (Pollitt, 1990, Metcalf and Richards, 1990). It purports to consist of a discrete body of knowledge which is universally applicable and therefore portable (Hood, 1991). Managerialism represents a central core of resource accountability, monitoring and measuring; added to this are optional extras of mission statements, customer care, decentralisation, quality, innovation, entrepreneurialism and a perceived link between culture and performance.

¹ Note that this discussion is based on a longer exposition in Wilson (1993).

Managerialism is presented as value free, at the same time as ignoring the traditional values of the public service, particularly equity in service delivery, redistribution, and the rights of citizens as a collective; those who question it are seen as antagonistic to the welfare and progress of the organisation (Pollitt, 1990). Because of its denial of values it is gender blind (Pollitt, 1990), and it preserves existing power relationships between officers and users. Underpinning arguments of equity and morality are likely to be excluded from the managerialist discourse. Traditional notions of accountability in the public sector, with an emphasis on probity and the stewardship of funds, have given way to a concentration on effectiveness and delivering outcomes of policy.

There have always been subcultures within the public services, some of these based on departmental or occupational/professional groupings. Domain theory postulates a series of co-existent domains, the policy domain consisting of the appointed or elected members, the management domain of managers, and the service domain of professionals (Kouzes and Mico, 1979), and offers an explanation of some of the complexities of management in the public services. Each domain has its own values and concerns, and in consequence finds it difficult to understand those of other domains (Kouzes and Mico, 1979).

Focusing on artefacts, many changes can be seen in the public services. The 'old' public service organisation used unexciting letter headings and a multiplicity of typefaces for internal and external communications. Corporate logos are now universal and those running public services are now aware of the importance of visual symbolism. Smart suits and 'power dressing', copying the private sector, can be seen on those in, or aspiring to, the managerial ranks. Titles have become grander, and words and phrases like 'quality', 'performance indicators', and 'customer care', are now commonplace. Reception areas are improved to convey a message about customer care and corporate identity

The public services are not however uniform. Whereas some groups have internally embraced the new managerialism, others may have made a pragmatic adjustment to external reality, acting out the requirements, but internally discordant. It is helpful to think in terms of a continuum of

engagement, from the enthusiastic, who have accepted and effected a total culture change, and internalised a new set of assumptions; through the pragmatic accepters, who feel coerced by external pressures; to the rejecters. Both the pragmatic accepters and the rejecters may be aware of conflict about values and assumptions.

Dissecting the above account of changes in UK public services, it can be seen that the changes, particularly the doctrine of managerialism itself, were strongly influenced by the corporate culture approach, embracing instrumentality and the manipulation of corporate symbols. In Schein's (1992) terminology there is an emphasis on espoused values which has not been wholly successful in terms of re-aligning values, and pockets of resistance point to subcultures. Managerialism is presented firmly within the integration paradigm, but shows evidence of the differentiation paradigm (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). In terms of the culture-as-metaphor school, managerialism can be seen as an imposed value system where meanings are not necessarily shared. There is likely to be a series of overlapping meaning systems, and it therefore falls within symbolic particularism.

Gender and organisational culture

Having now examined a number of different perspectives on culture, this section looks at the connections between these and the concepts discussed in chapter 2 on gender. A number of writers on culture give clues as to where culture may be coloured by gender considerations, such as Hofstede's (1980) account of the dimension of masculinity/femininity between different nationalities, and Schein's (1992) reference to gender subcultures in organisations. The gendered nature of cultures within organisations can be seen in the fact that many companies with espoused 'woman friendly' policies are exposed by their organisational underbelly: women daily experience that they do not fit. Some writers suggest that all organisations are gendered (e.g. Gherardi, 1994). As Acker (1990) states:

' To say that an organisation, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine'

Alvesson and Due Billing (1992) point out two different ways in which organisations may be considered gendered: first, one could take a simple head count of the numbers of each sex in a particular job; second they point to jobs and organisational areas having an 'aura' which they consider as more persistent than mere head counting. Gendered culture can be seen in hierarchical and patriarchal features (Itzin, 1995), gendered social divisions (Newman, 1995b) gendered departments (Roper, 1994), gendered jobs and roles (Kanter, 1977), gendered processes (Alimo-Metcalf, 1993), gendered outcomes in terms of promotion (Davidson and Cooper, 1992), gendered pay (Symons, 1992), gendered discourse, sexualised environment (Itzin, 1995), gendered bullying, gendered power (Itzin, 1995) and gendered dominant and subordinate subcultures.

This thesis proposes a distinction between 'gender cultures' where culture is addressed solely or principally in terms of gender, and 'gendered cultures', the extent to which all organisational cultures are integrally and invisibly cast in terms of gender (Hearn et al, 1989). The distinction is essentially one of approach or intention. When gender cultures are investigated the researcher is seeking those aspects pertaining to gender. On the other hand any investigation of culture is inevitably one of gendered cultures, whether this is highlighted by the investigation or not. Investigating gendered cultures will be the main thrust of this study, as discussed in chapters 6 and 7 on methodology.

The various levels of culture discussed above will be revisited, in order to discuss the evidence for gendered culture. First is gender as externalities, which relates to national or societal culture. Hofstede's (1992) study has already been referred to, where he contends there are long-standing and pervasive differences to the extent to which nationalities perceive differences between masculine and feminine. The influence on societal culture is developed by Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) who assert that we know about gender rules before we enter the organisation, as

inculcation starts at birth and continues in family and school through the socialisation process.

Second, a number of studies demonstrate that there are similarities between organisations in respect of their treatment and processing of gender, which supports the contention that one of the elements of the industrial subculture is its gendered nature. Cockburn (1991) studied four different organisations, all with good reputations for equal opportunities, and in each, to differing extents, men resisted the advancement of women.

Third, corporate culture tends to be gendered insofar as it is overtly gender blind, at the same time as glorifying a heroic corporate culture, by the retelling of tales of corporate heroes, also a way of glorifying male dominance (Aaltio-Marjosola, 1994). Some corporate cultures do include equal opportunity policies, but these vary in their efficacy. There is still male dominance of management despite 20 years of equal opportunities (Maddock and Parkin, 1993). Other corporate cultures subscribe to ideas on 'managing diversity' where a diverse workforce is seen as instrumental in helping economic performance (Wilson and Iles, 1996). The managing diversity approach has been criticised for ignoring equity and power issues (Wilson and Iles, 1996).

Fourth, managerial subculture, imbued as it is by corporate culture, is likely to reflect its gendered nature. Interwoven as it is with corporate culture, the managerial subculture is gendered both in terms of numbers and status of women in almost all organisations (Davidson and Cooper, 1992), and in management style. Marshall (1994) describes the managerial culture experienced by senior women, as hostile, aggressive, status conscious and isolating. She expressed her surprise that her findings were similar to those of Kanter (1977) describing women managers twenty years earlier in lower levels of the organisation.

Fifth, departmental subcultures were described as gendered by Roper (1994). He found that engineering was regarded as masculine, and personnel as feminine. This gendering did not stop at departments but also applied to sections of departments. For instance within personnel, a

feminine department, industrial relations is seen as tough and masculine compared to other softer, feminine parts of personnel management (Roper, 1994).

Sixth, given that organisational cultures as experienced by men and women are in many cases respectively dominant and subordinate in most organisations, certain counter culture subcultures inhabited by women may be gendered but in different ways to the dominant culture. Aaltio-Marjosola (1994) describes a female sub-culture in a technological manufacturing company where women felt discriminated against, and wore clothes which differentiated them from their male colleagues.

Having reviewed evidence at all these different levels of organisational culture, it seems reasonable to conclude that it is gendered and works in favour of the dominant, masculine culture. This section has made the case in for gendered cultures in organisations, and the next section looks at some typologies.

Typologies of gendered cultures

One of the popular descriptions of gendered cultures currently used is 'macho management' (Personnel Management Plus, 1994a). Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994b) note that 'macho' is often associated with heterosexism, the use of physical force and the suppression of emotion. The expression macho management is often used to describe a highly aggressive, ruthless management style. It is often described as if it were gender neutral (e.g. Personnel Management 1994a). Despite the repeated criticisms of the effectiveness of this management style (Personnel Management Plus, 1994a), it seems remarkably persistent. It may be conjectured to be particularly damaging for women, who are more likely to be in subordinate positions.

There are some descriptions of cultures, which are identified in terms of gender, such as Maddock and Parkin's (1993) account of the types of gender cultures within the UK public sector, which appears equally applicable to private sector organisations. First is the

Gentleman's Club, which is polite, civilised, and patronising towards women. Women are kept in their (subordinate) place, and survive as long as they conform. By contrast the Barrack Room is hostile towards difference, and is built on an authoritarian power culture; women and other disadvantaged groups are rendered invisible. In the Locker Room there are common assumptions and agreements between men, much talk about sex and sport, and exaggerated body language; women are excluded from the inner circle. The Gender Blind culture asserts that there is no difference between men and women and therefore ignores women's identity and reality which denies obstacles and can lead to the superwoman syndrome. In the Lip Service and Feminist Pretenders culture there are good policies, but little happens. This type of culture may have equality experts, and there may be hierarchies of oppression, where different disadvantaged groups vie for attention and resources. Lastly, there is the Smart Macho, which Maddock and Parkin (1993) say is particularly prevalent in the NHS. This is very competitive, and although overtly in favour of equal opportunities, will discriminate if someone cannot deliver 80 hours a week. Maddock and Parkin (1993) suggest that in all types of culture men in powerful positions are reluctant to relinquish power.

Implications for this study

Alvesson and Berg (1992) identify three groups of organisational culture writers: purists, who are solely interested in the academic world; pragmatics, who look towards the practitioner market; and last, academic pragmatists who have a management-centric approach in their search for knowledge. I would probably place myself in this last category. This is because I started this study wishing to find out something useful, exploring cause and effect relationships. As discussed further below, I moved away from this straightforward model to a more differentiated understanding of the field. Having reviewed various perspectives, it appears that organisational culture is a portmanteau concept, which means different things to different people. Indeed Alvesson (1993) describes it as a word for the lazy, and points out that it is not a discrete area of study. This is not to say that the researcher *must* take up a purist stance. As Alvesson and Berg

(1992, p. 125) state: ‘... there is nothing that prevents one working from several perspectives, possibly in a synthesised form, both in theoretical and empirical work’. They suggest that this may be helpful to enhance the description of an organisation (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). The lack of consensus about definition has implications for operationalisation (Rousseau, 1990), which will be further explored in relation to methodology in chapter 7.

Following this review of some of the literature about organisational culture, the first choice is that of level of investigation (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). Alvesson and Berg (1992) point out the difficulty of distinguishing cultural phenomena as attributable to a specific level. A major problem with many studies is that they identify phenomena supposedly unique to an organisation that may in fact be common across a number of levels. It is therefore necessary for the researcher to remain aware of the level at which he/she is investigating, and also to relate this to the origin of any models/perspectives used (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). This study hopes to find some similarities across the industrial subculture Turner (1971), and therefore needs to investigate more than one organisation, in order to find out about common patterns that may offer the possibility of generalising. There will be a trade-off between the number of organisations researched, and the degree of depth and breadth investigated. It will be necessary to investigate at a similar level in each organisation. The choice therefore is to target the managerial subculture, with the hope that its members will have insight not only into the values of higher management, but also into the processes and concerns lower down the organisation. Managerial culture is not synonymous with corporate culture, nor identical in extent, as discussed; in this thesis it will be defined as the sub culture of middle managers, distinguished both from the corporate culture of top managers, and from other subcultures. However managerial culture is likely to show some overlapping characteristics with corporate culture, pertinent subcultures such as professional groupings, and ‘the’ organisational culture, such as it is.

The next methodological choice that arises is which phenomena to pursue (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). In order to find out how women progress or fail to progress this study will investigate ideas of what makes a successful manager, and what makes a good manager. It is also intended to find out how gender is constructed and reconstructed within the organisation, and anticipated

methodological concerns will be discussed in chapter 7. Enquiries about effective managers can lead to discussion of how the culture works, or to put it another way, what meaning systems there are. A last word on the permeability of boundaries. Noting that this too is a metaphor, the permeability or otherwise of boundaries, for instance glass ceilings and glass walls, appears a crucial area of investigation.

The last choice is that of perspective, although as indicated above, many writers work from more than one. Schein's (1992) model and methodology, as indicated in chapter 7, formed the basis for the pilot. Criticisms include scepticism about his top-down approach, and assumptions of consensus. He does not deal adequately with symbolic processes, although Hatch's (1993) model may be helpful. Schein's (1992) model remains however one of the few tools which one can use across a number of organisations for comparative purposes. In relation to gender, as indicated in chapter 2, a social constructionist approach appears helpful. There is value in culture-as-metaphor approaches, but these are more likely to augment the understanding of individual organisations rather than form the basis of the analysis. Last, the study will be mindful of the insights from Meyerson and Martin's (1987) discussion of the three paradigms of integration, differentiation and fragmentation.

Thus managerial culture will be investigated in this study, and a perception formed of corporate culture and other phenomena of organisational culture from that viewpoint. This means the epistemological basis for the study has shifted somewhat from a relatively straightforward investigation of cause and effect (culture-as-variable) to include the more elusive and diffuse area of interpretation (culture-as-metaphor). Happily Alvesson (1993) writes that some authors fall between the two paradigms of culture-as-variable and culture-as-metaphor. The challenge is to do this in a conceptually coherent way, choosing with sensitivity and discretion. These matters will be further discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 4: How women progress in organisations

Introduction

This chapter surveys the percentages and position of women as managers in the private and public sectors, as well as looking briefly for comparison at self employed and professional women. The obstacles and difficulties which women managers face are discussed. These obstacles are surveyed by relating them to different aspects of the concept of culture as discussed in chapter 3.

Statistics of women managers

Women formed 44% of the workforce in 1996 (Hugill, 1997), with a large increase from 2.8m in 1971 (Eckersley, 1992). During the period 1991 - 1994 participation in the workforce by women was high, with only 16% of women of working age not in a job of any kind, compared with 3% of men (Atkinson, 1996), and women's participation rate is predicted to increase to 45.3% by 2006 (Hugill, 1997). After the enactment of Equal Opportunity legislation in the 1970s, the ranks of management are now theoretically open to women. However 20 years after the implementation of the Equal Pay Act 1970, women employees earn only 72% of men's pay, with professional women only reaching 62% (Miles, 1997), and women tend to hit a pay barrier at £22,500 (Wylie and Papworth, 1996). Davidson and Cooper (1992) point out that two thirds of women are in low status, low skilled occupations. Gendered job segregation means that women are less likely to be found in engineering, science, and technology, and more likely to be found in clerical, services, retail, and public sector including education and health (Eckersley, 1992). Horizontal segregation by gender is seen in both private and public sectors (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991, Ashburner, 1992).

Analyses have been made of the extent to which women have progressed; if equality of representation in managerial ranks is the measure, then the situation falls far short of parity, as

can be seen in Table 4.1 which indicates percentages of women as an estimate of all managers.

Table 4.1: Representation of women in management as an estimated percentage of all managers

<u>Source</u>	<u>Relevant year</u>	<u>General</u>	<u>Senior</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Overall</u>
Davidson & Cooper (1992)	1988	11		1-2	20
NEDO (Hanna)	1991	27	4	1-2	
Eckersley	1992		10	<1	
MccGwire	1992				10
MacErlean	1997a				20
Inst. of Management (Cowe)	1997			4.5	15
Dun & Bradstreet (Cowe)	1997			29	

It can be seen that overall women managers are estimated at 10 - 20% of all managers, a figure that persists into 1997 (MacErlean, 1997a) but this can vary between 27% at lower levels to merely 4.5% at the top. The more recent figures suggest some positive change. The Institute of Management estimates that 4.5% of board members of top companies are women, an improvement, though still pitifully lower than men (Cowe, 1997). However Dun and Bradstreet found that overall 29% of company directors are women, and are generally younger than men. The discrepancy between these two figures is because of the better prospects for women in smaller companies (Cowe, 1997). The variations in these figures indicate a problem about the definition of manager and supervisor, and understandings vary between organisation, industry and country. It is therefore perhaps more appropriate to see these statistics as taxonomic constructions rather than hard data. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1994 concern was expressed that the number of women managers in an Institute of Management survey had decreased from 10.2% in 1992, to 9.5% in 1993; however researchers had surveyed different samples which made comparison unreliable.

Women are most likely to be managers in traditionally female occupations such as retailing and catering, service industries, including public service, and in certain

occupations including personnel, office administration and training (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). It is easier to gain managerial positions at lower levels than to progress (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). Looking at two sectors where there are large numbers of women, in Social Services Departments 7 out of 8 employees are women, but only 1 in 8 Directors is a woman (SSI, 1991). In the financial services sector Ashburner (1991) reports that percentages of women managers varied from none to 2.8%. Brockbank and Travers (1994) report that 1 in 7 of all working women are in retail, but the 20 largest retailers have only 3 female board members. In a survey of the 16 largest UK retailers senior women managers ranged from 4 to 60%, and women middle managers from 16 to 70% (Brockbank and Travers, 1994).

Higher proportions of women are employed in government, education, health, training and professional services (Ashburner, 1992). One reason for the numbers of women, and women managers, in the public sector is the even more limited opportunities available elsewhere (Wilson, 1991). In 1986 in the NHS in the administrative and clerical grades there were 90% women, whereas they represented 20% of top managers. Women form 39% of university lecturer grades, but only 7% of professors (Major, 1997). Until the 1997 General Election the percentage of women Members of Parliament (MPs) was low compared with other countries. Eckersley (1992) reports that whereas Sweden had 38% the UK had 6.3%. In May 1997 it leapt to 20% when 119 female MPs were elected, largely because of the increase in Labour female MPs (Mills and Johnston, 1997).

Davidson and Cooper (1992) indicate job segregation by gender in all EU countries. To put the position for women managers in perspective there are some international comparisons in Table 4.2.

Snapshots of individual professions indicate similar difficulties to those encountered by women managers. There is for instance widespread sex discrimination against female barristers (Dyer, 1992) starting with discriminatory questions at interview. Women are only 5.3% of QCs, 1/27 Court of Appeal judges, 4/83 High Court judges, and 24/480 Circuit judges (Dyer, 1992). The position in recent years has changed at entry level for

Table 4.2 Women managers - International comparisons

in percentages

	US	Australia	France	Belgium	Netherlands
Women in workforce	37	42	43.6	38.6	38.4
Women managers	16.9	25	25	23	13
Senior managers	5				
Sources	Mattis (1994)	Kramar (1994)	Chalude, de Jong, and Laufer (1994)	Chalude, de Jong, and Laufer (1994)	Chalude, de Jong, and Laufer (1994)

some professions, for instance half of all qualifying accountants are women (Bogan, 1992). More than half of newly qualified solicitors are women (BBC, 1994), but there is a higher dropout rate (Davidson and Cooper, 1992), and women solicitors are paid significantly less than comparable male peers (Dyer, 1996). One area where there has been a growth is in women entrepreneurs (Allen and Truman 1994). Women are 1 in 4 of all self-employed and between 1979 and 1989 grew from 7.4% to 13.4% of the labour force. Their survival rate is similar to men. Female entrepreneurs still tend to be in 'female' fields such as hospitality, social services, personal services, retail, clothing and crafts (Allen and Truman, 1994).

Women graduates fare better in the labour market than those without degrees, and are more likely to be in full time employment than less qualified women (Atkinson, 1996) but still start to fall behind their male contemporaries. A study following 1982 graduates found that after one year 83% men and 93% women were earning less than £7,000 (McCWire, 1992). After three years 40% men, but only 17% women, were in higher grade management or professional posts, and 35% men and 19% women earned in excess of £10,000 (McCWire, 1992).

Women consistently fail to achieve in a comparable manner to men. After surveying briefly the similarities and differences between male and female managers, the varying types of explanation for these outcomes will be discussed.

Differences and similarities between male and female managers

Alban Metcalfe and West (1991) and Alban Metcalfe (1989) refer to the British Institute of Management study of men and women managers. Biographical details showed that women managers had to achieve better qualifications than men in order to reach comparable positions; and men were more likely to have had a technical education. Women were less likely to be married, single and divorced women forming 29% and 10% of the total, compared with 3% and 3% of men respectively; of the married or previously married, 50% of women were childless, compared with 10% of men (Alban Metcalfe and West, 1991, Alban Metcalfe, 1989). The conclusions that can be drawn are that marriage and children may be inimical to a managerial career for women, but not for men. Recent longitudinal research suggests that married women's careers decline in comparison to their partners, principally because they take more career breaks (Gershuny, 1996). Although married couples start off with similar job status, the women's occupational prestige declines relative to her partner's (Gershuny, 1996).

Moving from biographical data to managerial behaviour, the evidence is equivocal. Colwell and Vinnicombe (1991) cite evidence that the attitudes, personality traits and behaviour of men and women in the same occupation are more similar than different. Alban Metcalfe and West (1991) note that when asked to rate themselves on a variety of self perceptions, male and female managers showed more similarities than differences. One reason for the similarities between behaviour could be the fact that those women who do succeed are those most able to conform to male stereotypes of managerial behaviour. Recent research has indicated that young women under 30 are as assertive and confident of their abilities as young men (Welch, 1997). Management style will be discussed further in chapter 5.

In summary whilst there are striking biographical differences between women and men managers, behaviour and self perceptions show overlapping characteristics. Given this overlap, reasons for women's under-representation in management will now be explored.

Reasons related to culture external to the organisation

A literature search into accounts as to why women do not become managers in the same proportions as men indicates a wide range of proffered reasons. The first set of theories examined relate to external culture, that is national, societal or regional.

Some critiques start by suggesting that problems for women advancing in management commence in the way children are brought up. Case (1994) notes substantial differences between male and female communication styles, and states that this starts with the different games girls and boys play. Women are concerned with establishing relationships, equality, focusing on feelings, conversational maintenance work, responsiveness, tentativeness, whereas men are concerned with exerting control, enhancing status, instrumentality, conversational dominance, being assertive, and absolute expressions; men are not highly responsive, speaking in general terms removed from concrete experience and feelings (Case, 1994).

Educational opportunities, combined with career advice and career choices, have played a significant role in limiting the opportunities for women. There have until recently been widespread beliefs in society that academically successful women are not feminine, and girls who did well at school were not only disapproved of by boys but also suffered insults (Garrett, 1987). In mixed sex classrooms boys dominate whilst girls tend to be quiet; thus there is in school an 'informal' curriculum which allows sexism to thrive (Garrett, 1987). Inequality of educational opportunity has prevented many older women from having the educational base from which to launch a management career (Marshall, 1984), although this may be less of a problem in the future. For instance 21% of boys leave school without a GCSE in English or Maths, compared to 16% of girls (MacErlean, 1997b). Women are now doing better than men in terms of access to higher education, gaining first and upper second degrees, and finding jobs soon after graduation (Times Higher Education Supplement, 1997). However, women graduates in 1996 were offered an average initial salary of £11,749 as opposed to male graduates who were offered £13,660 (Tysome, 1997). Nevertheless past inequalities are still salient for a number of women, tied to the gendering of past career choice and training opportunities (Clarke, 1991). The older generation is less likely to have had a

full time working mother as a role model. Initial career choices are crucial in ensuring women are on the right track (Hirsh, 1990, Hirsh 1991, Hirsh and Jackson, 1990); many women, for instance, take posts in functions such as personnel and marketing, which are perceived as inadequate preparation for general management. This is linked to the gendered perception of jobs. Gender rules first about a man's world seek to prevent women entering the work domain at all; and second about a man's work limit women to certain jobs and positions within the organisation (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991).

Women's access to training was reviewed by Clarke (1991). She found that although the overall proportion of employed women receiving training appeared similar to men, they receive different training because of differences in occupational distribution, particularly the over-representation of women in lower grades. Only 42% of women graduates received training in their first job, compared with 52% of male graduates, because of occupational choice (Clarke, 1991). In all occupations, part time women workers received considerably less training than men and women full timers. The two main factors preventing women undertaking training were family responsibilities and finance (Clarke, 1991). Women may have access to training via in-company provision or public subsidy. The oversight and public subsidy of training for both the employed and unemployed in the UK is delegated to the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) which have a contractual commitment to provide EO, both directly and via the training providers with which they contract. However, an Equal Opportunities Commission report (1993) which formally investigated publicly funded vocational training found considerable variation in the extent to which TECs had implemented this advice. In summary, there are structural barriers to training both for women in and out of work.

The domestic demands of marriage and children are a further obstacle, exemplified by the research reviewed above which showed that women managers compared with men are much less likely to be married or have children (Alban Metcalfe, 1989). More recent research has indicated that a managerial career is dependent on either a supportive partner (usually a woman) or the purchase of domestic labour (Wajcman, 1996). Women at work are likely to find themselves undertaking a 'double shift' of paid work and a disproportionate share of housework; women still take responsibility for 80% of household chores (Koncius, 1997).

Coupled with one of the poorest provisions of child care in the European Union (Ryle, 1996), for some women this makes additional responsibilities at work impossible. An additional problem is that of eldercare, looking after the older generation.

These domestic burdens are cast on women because of traditional role expectations. In a domestic setting role expectations for women centre around being a wife, partner, mother, housekeeper, and possibly daughter. These gender roles lead to the sexual division of labour (Stanley and Wise, 1993) both in the home and also at work, leading to gender segregation. In a dual career partnership the impact on a woman's career is greater than the impact on a man's largely because of assumptions about the roles of domestic responsibility, the provider, and the spouse/support role and parenthood (Lewis, 1994). Because the return to work in the UK after maternity leave is socially constructed as a choice, this puts pressure on the woman to manage and negotiate both roles (Lewis, 1994). The continuing assumptions about the role of women as primary carers for children can be seen in the media response to O'Brien's (1997) research which suggested that the children of mothers who work full-time do less well at school. The media focused almost exclusively on the role of mothers, rather than fathers, and ignored the fact that the children of mothers working part time did best (O'Brien, 1997). Having taken a career break, women's value in the market place, their human capital, is less than that of their partners. Where, however, women have taken only 23 months or less then their trajectory remains similar to that of their partner's (Gershuny, 1996). The gradual lowering of the wife's occupational status can be attributed to the gendered distribution of domestic responsibilities (Gershuny, 1996).

The counterpart of these expectations about women's traditional roles is that women are assumed to have less commitment to the organisation than men. Roper (1994) sees the belief that motherhood is the proper fulfilment for women as a rationalisation for the exclusion of women managers. Brett and Stroh (1994) found however, that contrary to the suppositions of human resource managers and chief executives, having a family made a woman less likely to change jobs. There are however some changes in the traditional patterns of commitment shown by men. Younger men are less willing to make personal and family sacrifices, and older men may develop a more instrumental approach, as the

psychological contract changes in a more flexible jobs market (Goffee and Nicholson, 1994). There is growing evidence (e.g. Marshall, 1994) that women leave employers in order to gain advancement.

Another way in which inequality between men and women is perpetuated is via language, where there are documented differences between men and women in relation to both process and content. Marshall (1984) suggests that language is a key cultural system and reveals therefore its key principles and underlying pattern, which she identifies as patriarchy or male dominance, an assertion supported by Spender (1985). This argument is based on common usage of, for instance, 'he' and 'man' as norm (Marshall, 1984, Garrett, 1987). As discussed in chapter 2, male tends to be associated with superior/positive and female with inferior/negative (Marshall, 1984). In a pair of bipolar constructs one of the pair is privileged. In this semantic polarisation words associated with female acquire negative associations (Schultz, 1975 cited in Spender, 1985) and thus all meanings associated with women are 'semantically derogated' (Spender, 1985).

When observing how men and women talk in practice, Spender (1985) contends that women, who are more likely to be subordinates, are generally more polite. Indirect as opposed to direct communication by women can be misinterpreted as insecurity and indecisiveness, instead of a means of establishing rapport; however, whilst directness is criticised in women, it is complimented in men (Tannen, 1995). Spender (1985) cites Fishman (1977) that women are linguistically available to do the 'work' in conversations. MacCurtain and Connor (1992 p. 25) describe this phenomenon:

'The role of the women as the person who makes others comfortable, is acquiescent, and defers to the man in business matters is the role many men (sometimes in spite of themselves) impose on women.'

Spender (1985) asserts that men dictate content, and that therefore women must get their attention. Men do not ask questions about what to do, so when women do this it is interpreted as incompetence (Tannen, 1995). Men are more confrontational, whereas women try to avoid confrontation, and instead agree, support, and make suggestions

(Tannen, 1995). Men interrupt more, query the basis of what women say, and ask questions, not opinions, and women's suggestions are discounted until repeated by a man (Spender, 1985, Tannen, 1995). Thus men define and control the discourse, and women may collude with this. This explains why assertiveness training may not succeed, as the issue is one of power.

Contrary to what is commonly supposed, women actually talk less than men, and are therefore perceived as good listeners (Spender, 1985). Whereas women's talk tends to be about experiences and feelings, men's talk is rather about analysis and logic, and using a 'foreign language' inhibits communication between women (Marshall, 1984). Women are more likely to indulge in personal small talk at work (Tannen, 1995), but there is less opportunity for women to women talk as men do not like it (Spender, 1985). Women give and receive more compliments than men, and women talking together interrupt/overlap in a supportive rather than an aggressive manner (Tannen, 1995). In relation to group dynamics and gender, Alimo-Metcalfe (1993) cites Finegan (1982) that in male-dominant groups females significantly under perform, and that in female dominant groups males contribute actively to leadership roles and contributions are valued. However in equal number groups women are rendered virtually speechless for variety of reasons (Goldberger, 1987, cited in Alimo-Metcalfe, 1993). By dominating group discussions, men control what is and what is not discussed (Harlow et al, 1995).

In the UK in general it appears that the societal culture is supportive of men in a dominant position, and unfavourable to gender equality (Sidney, 1994), which puts women at a disadvantage. The weight of societal expectations and assumptions means the workplace is not a level playing field. Thus individual organisations are bound to be influenced by the wider society in which they are situated. One consequence of societal assumptions about roles and stereotypes is that there are still strong beliefs, held by men and women, that women are not capable of managing and leading. In this category come those explanations that postulate that women have insufficient intellect, physical and mental stamina, ambition or leadership skills. These locate deficiencies in the individual and genetic inheritance, and can thus allow for the exceptional woman. Although these opinions are not

expressed overtly in academic literature, they surface in the press under the guise of stories about women 'wanting it all' and being stressed (Faludi, 1992).

To summarise this section, there are a number of societal inequalities for women. These are bolstered by underlying assumptions (Schein, 1992) about the nature of women and men, career paths, assumptions about women's domestic roles, and prejudice about women's capability.

Reasons relating to the industrial sub-culture

This section will look at those problems women encounter across the industrial subculture, that is in the generality of organisations where men and women are employed.

As indicated above, the outcomes are that women do not achieve higher positions to the same extent as men in their working lives, and that they earn less. This is linked to what are known respectively as the glass ceiling, glass walls, and the glass elevator. The glass ceiling is an invisible barrier which prevents women and other disadvantaged groups proceeding to higher posts in the organisation; glass walls occur when there is job segregation; and glass elevators are the mechanisms by which men are enabled to progress their careers at the expense of female colleagues. Symons (1992) points out that individual solutions to the problems of inequality recommended to women in the 1970s, such as a career plan and the right qualifications, have not worked. Personnel and management procedures and processes within the organisation play a key role in maintaining the low status of women in the workplace, including recruitment, assignment to work, training and development, promotion, assessment of performance, and pay and conditions (Burton, 1992). A number of these procedures and processes are examined.

In their preparation for management roles, there are two areas where women may meet discriminatory selection procedures: first, selection for jobs and promotion, and second, selection for training and development. Despite evidence that the traditional interview is unreliable as an indicator of future job performance (Iles, 1992), it is still used as the preferred

selection method for many jobs (Recruitment and Development Report, 1991), leaving scope for unfair discrimination and prejudice. In a discussion of assessment procedures, Alimo Metcalfe (1993) links the defects in traditional interviewing to the pioneering research by Schein (1973, 1975) where male and female managers were asked to apply a number of descriptive terms to men and women in general, and to successful middle managers. Schein (1973, 1975) found that both men and women perceived successful middle managers possessing characteristics more usually associated with men. Repeated later (Schein, 1989) the results were that women had changed their perceptions of successful middle managers, aligning them more closely with female characteristics, but men had not. Further cross cultural studies including the UK reinforced these results (Schein, 1994). This stereotyping persists alongside the growth of women managers in the US and UK (Schein, 1994). Alimo Metcalfe (1993) points out that senior managers who are the gatekeepers for advancement are likely to be male, and hence likely to judge women against male stereotypes of successful managers.

Assessment methods such as assessment centres and psychometric tests may be considered more equitable. However, concern has been expressed from a number of quarters about the efficacy and fairness of psychometric tests, particularly in assessing fairly members of disadvantaged or minority groups. The Commission for Racial Equality formally investigated psychometric tests and warned employers that just because a test is generally reliable, this does not mean it will be equally reliable for a particular population or a particular job (Recruitment and Development Report, 1990). Attitudes on the fairness of testing range from those who consider that, properly designed and administered, they are a fair assessment, to those who consider all tests are 'irreducibly social and subjective' (Webb, 1991 p. 13).

Alimo Metcalfe (1993) raises concerns about the use of assessment centres for managerial selection, particularly in relation to group tasks, citing the studies discussed above which show women to be disadvantaged in mixed group situations. Jackson and Hirsh (1991) voice concern about the possibility of subjective assessor bias, and sex role stereotyping. The Civil Service found that women did not pass the initial qualifying test in the same numbers as men, although at the following two day assessment centre, they performed as well as men; changes in the selection procedure allowed more women to proceed to the second

stage (Watson, 1992). Appraisal systems, often used for promotional or developmental purposes, may unfairly deselect women (Townley, 1990).

Acker (1990) analyses the supposedly gender neutral process of job evaluation, which is linked to hierarchy, pointing out that positions are assumed to be occupied by a genderless, bodiless worker. Comparable worth arguments can be undermined because women's work is devalued and therefore perceived as unskilled, and women lack the power to define their work as skilled (Reskin, 1991). Subtle skills are perceived as innate rather than acquired (Reskin, 1991).

Women employees may wish to have access to training and development to help them progress. Both horizontal and vertical job segregation by gender are likely to disadvantage women seeking management development, as they are less likely to be in managerial jobs, and less likely to be in jobs for which management development is offered. Employees may be prepared for management roles in two ways: first, by having job opportunities and assignments that offer sufficient experience and breadth of organisational understanding; second, by participating in in-house or external training. Preparation for management involves much more than formal knowledge, which is why development is as important, if not more so, than training. However different career paths offered to men and women (Ashburner, 1991) can mean some women are never offered the opportunities open to male colleagues. The organisation therefore plays an important role in determining opportunities, as well as acting as gatekeeper to more formal training. Women graduates are frequently placed in posts which do not give them access and exposure to experience and challenge, necessary to prepare them for promotion (Spencer Stuart, 1993). However a survey of men and women taking the Open University MBA found that women were more likely to have experienced career development techniques, which was thought to be related to their younger age (Iles and Mabey, 1993).

In-company training and experience is only part of the story, as the acquisition of a formal management qualification is increasingly important as a prerequisite for general management (Jackson and Hirsh, 1991). Women are currently 40% of those on Business Studies and related degrees. However, the Master in Business Administration (MBA), regarded in the

1980s and 90s as the 'top' management qualification, was overwhelmingly gained by men (Association of Masters of Business Administration, 1993). Research by Leeming (1994) at City University on why so few women apply for MBA programmes found gender barriers in relation to programme content, marketing, and management style.

Bartol (1978) asks why organisations are structured along gender lines, which she observes as a ubiquitous phenomenon, rejecting differences in male and female management style as an explanation. She refers to an idea of Schein (1974) that the organisation is a multi-filtering system, which affects individual careers as it moves them horizontally, vertically, and between the inner and outer regions of the organisation. Bartol (1978) conjectures that inner and outer factors, and transition points, may be particularly important for women. In male dominated industries women tend to undertake peripheral jobs even when in core occupations, and in core jobs they tend to be in junior grades (Corcoran-Nantes and Roberts, 1995). Within organisations Reskin (1991) suggests that physical segregation encourages unfair treatment and that men like this because of their desire to maintain differentiation and hence better pay (Reskin, 1991). She asserts that task assignment follows from group assignment and that lower status groups are allocated lower status work and hence lower wages. Men therefore resist women's entry into traditional male work because it threatens differentiation (Reskin, 1991). In male dominated industries women tend to undertake peripheral jobs even when in core occupations, and in core jobs they tend to be in junior grades (Corcoran-Nantes and Roberts, 1995). In other occupations women gain entry only after substantial changes in the content of the work, where reduced rewards or autonomy or status make it less attractive (Reskin, 1991, Cockburn, 1991). 'Female' jobs are acceptable for women if they accord with conventional ideas of nurturing, such as a nurse, or sexuality, which was the original portrayal of the air hostess (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991).

The use of language in general has already been discussed above and its particular usage within organisations creates additional problems for women. Firth-Cozens and West (1991) point to the continued use of such terms as man-hours, manpower, and manned. Women at work are addressed by familiar terms which subordinate women, such as 'love', 'lass', and 'the girls', or names which compare them to food and plants

such as 'petal', 'flower', and 'honey' (Garrett, 1987). Women are referred to by first name more than men (Tannen, 1995). Many men talk about subjects which exclude women, such as sport, politics (Tannen, 1995) and sex. Men assume they must let others know what they have done, whereas women have learned to avoid boasting; thus women may spend more time doing the job and less time promoting themselves (Tannen, 1995). In negotiating men start by stating their position, whilst women start by asking what the other wants, which may affect wage rises (Tannen, 1995).

Looking at the language of management, it should be noted that whilst the word 'manager' comes from the Latin word 'manus', meaning a hand, it is commonly thought to be derived from the word 'man'. In looking at the literature it is difficult not to notice the asymmetrical divide, where it is commonplace to refer to 'managers' and 'women managers' but not generally to 'men managers'. Military metaphors abound in business and management, such as strategy, cadre, campaign, sales force, wars, staff and line, and officer. Game and sport metaphors are also apparent: references to goals, winning, competitors, and teams are so common that it is easy to forget their metaphorical basis. Sexual metaphors are also evident in 'market penetration', and references to 'macho' (management), which originally meant 'ostentatiously virile' (Chambers dictionary, 1988), but now has overtones of hectoring and bullying, riding roughshod over workers, being aggressive, non-consultative, and managing by force. As discussed in chapter 2, the language of feelings tends not to be allowed at work (Swann, 1994).

Turning from content to process, whereas men in authority are perceived as the boss, women in authority may be perceived as women. For instance, when a woman consults subordinates then male subordinates can think she is asking for advice (Tannen, 1995). Within organisations, which are run by men, their formal modes of communications dominate in fora such as committee meetings, helping to advance men (Case, 1994). There are various ways in which language is used to emphasise difference, such as apologising for the appropriateness of behaviour, which accentuates the outsider or token status of women (Kanter, 1977). Sexual innuendo is sometimes used as a 'test' for women.

Dress is one way in which men and women can be distinguished from each other, and this differentiation may be reinforced by formal or informal dress codes. Dress codes may differ for men and women, and for men 'greyneess' may be valued (Aaltio-Marjosola, 1994). Thus men may be required to wear suits, or at least a collar and tie, whereas women tend to have more latitude. The excessive emphasis on 'power dressing' in the 1980s appears to have mellowed in the 1990s. Organisational requirements of female dress can vary between accepting anything, for instance in fields such as IT and social work, to rigid rules about skirt lengths, covered legs, and assumptions about acceptable colours and styles.

A further difference between men and women may be the support they receive in planning and furthering their careers. Women often perceive that they receive insufficient institutional and personal support (Hirsh, 1991, Davidson and Cooper, 1992). BP discovered women left because they were dissatisfied with their career potential (Bogan, 1992).

For those women who do become managers Kanter (1977) describes three perceptual tendencies by the dominant group in relation to tokens, members of the subordinate group. First there is visibility, where the tokens tend to receive an extra share of attention, and second, the contrast effect of polarisation, where the dominant group see their own common characteristics and at the same time their differences from the tokens. Third, assimilation is where stereotypical generalisations are made about the token (Kanter, 1977). All these perceptual tendencies increase the emphasis of difference, at the expense of perceiving similarities between male and female managers. Unhelpful stereotypes include the proposition that women are not motivated, and that women cannot cope with, or fear, success (Marshall, 1984). One of the most enduring stereotypes is that of management as a male preserve. Schein's research (1973, 1975, and 1989) discussed above has been encapsulated in the phrase: think manager, think male!

Roles and stereotypes cause further problems for women managers, because of the conflict inherent in being a partner and/or mother on the one hand, and a manager on the other, a conflict particularly acute in pregnancy (Sheppard, 1989). As discussed in

chapter 2, Gutek (1989) writes about 'sexual role spillover', where there is a carry over of gender based expectations into the workplace. Thus attributes such as being sexy, affectionate, and attractive are associated with women, although there is no similar association for men. Whereas the stereotype for men is to be tough, competitive, assertive, and a leader, what is noticed and commented upon about women is if they are sexual or asexual (Gutek, 1989). Men's sexuality is not noticed, or alternatively if noticed is excused, and there may be an unpredictable punitive use of sexuality as a way of devaluing and trivialising women (Gutek, 1989). The range of behaviour acceptable in general for women is very narrow, as they can be described as too severe, sexy, or feminine (Tannen, 1995).

Persistent hostility is indicated towards women by sexual harassment. Only in the last 10 years has offensive sexual behaviour been regarded as a form of sexual discrimination which can be dealt with under the Industrial Tribunal system, and there is no firm definition (Read, 1996). Both men and women have been subjects of sexual harassment, although the numbers of women are greater (Merrick, 1995), and women who work in traditional male jobs are more likely to be harassed (DiTomaso, 1989). Whilst subtler than overt harassment, the oppressiveness of some men's behaviour towards women creates problems for women managers (Hearn, 1994).

To summarise the evidence of this section in terms of organisational culture, what can be seen across the industrial subculture are the artefacts (Schein, 1992) of inadequate, or misguided personnel procedures which fail to deliver equitably. The Equal Opportunity outcomes they espouse to deliver are undermined by discriminatory underlying assumptions about what are proper and appropriate roles for women. The symbolic system for communication, language, offers its own pitfalls, and misunderstanding is compounded because of underlying assumptions. Women are socially constructed and reconstructed in ways that diminish their chances of success.

Reasons related to corporate culture

This section looks more closely at ways in which corporate culture, the culture projected as *the* culture, that is, of those in charge, works to exclude women. Marshall (1994) describes male dominated cultures as hostile, aggressive, status conscious and isolating, and this dominance may be supported by the glorifying of a heroic corporate culture (Aaltio-Marjosola, 1994).

By their nature most corporate cultures are predominantly white, male, able-bodied and heterosexual. Men's domination can be seen in their numerical presence, the dynamics of behaviour, and the lack of career development and recruitment and promotion opportunities for women (Marshall, 1994). It may be therefore that because women are different from men, they do not progress because they do not fit the specific organisational norm, or simply that the majority (men) discriminate against the minority (women) (Burke and McKeen, 1994). Hearn (1994) offers a more straightforward explanation: there are too many men. Questioning the slow progress for women managers, Roper (1994) suggests a pervasive gendering of the practice of management in which men do not feel wholly secure.

One of Schein's (1992) assertions is that those who become insiders within an organisation become party to its inner secrets. Researchers point to the systematic exclusion of women from the arenas where these secrets might be disclosed, such as exclusion from male networking (Simms, 1993), restriction of participation in corporate events such as playing golf (BBC, 1993) and prohibition from internal and external networking opportunities open to men (Rogers, 1988). Women tend to have smaller networks than men (Davidson and Cooper, 1992) and find it difficult to break into 'old boy' networks. This is significant as men are seven times more likely than women to get a job through networking (Simms, 1993).

In addition to other considerations there is an increasing assumption that managers should have reached a position of significant seniority by the mid-30s. Itzin and Philipson (1995) refer to 30 to 40 as a golden age for men, which thus pressurises senior women not to take a career break. Gendered and ageist assumptions can combine to

keep women in lower paid work (Itzin and Philipson, 1995). Mills (1988) explains these barriers which exclude women as social regulative rules, which persist alongside espoused values of EO.

Some companies seem to have an EO policy for PR purposes (Cockburn, 1991), contradicted by their actions, whether by commission or omission. Sometimes policies are ineffective because no one knows about them. For example, by 1991 93% of Health Authorities had an EO policy, but 30% had not communicated it to employees (EOC, 1991). In some male dominated industries there is support for EO for women from male managers and professionals, but only providing women can meet male organisational requirements (Corcoran-Nantes and Roberts (1995). An investigation by the Ashridge Management Group compared the way companies introduce cultural change, and the way they introduce EO (Bolton, 1991). They found that cultural change is championed by top management and conveyed as a vision to the workforce, and that training and other support measures reinforce the message. In comparison, EO is often introduced in a half-hearted manner, rather than as an integral, obligatory change (Hammond and Holton, 1991), and hence less likely to succeed. Sometimes EO may be seen as one change too many, less important than other initiatives.

Even in those organisations overtly committed to EO, and whose senior managers profess commitment, there may be behaviour inimical to EO for women. French (1995) described a study of senior managers in a local authority housing department where despite the expression of concern for the lack of progress of women, there was a supposition of a rational bureaucracy and a culture of long hours which militated against women's participation and was covertly discriminatory. As discussed in chapter 3, Maddock and Parkin (1994) identified a 'smart macho' management style and culture which offered EO to all able to work 80 hours a week, a contradiction in terms, as it is not available to anyone with commitments outside work.

Where there are women managers in an organisation they may be discounted or undermined in various ways by the corporate culture. First they may be expected to take on a representative role for all women managers. Kanter (1977) suggested that a woman

might take on the following roles: the mother, who acts in a maternal fashion towards colleagues; the seductress, who uses her sexuality to her advantage; the pet, who is paraded as an example of the company's liberality; and last the iron maiden, who is feared. Women in authority are often stereotyped, for instance Hillary Clinton was criticised as a 'careerist', and other stereotypes include dragon lady, and schoolmarm (Tannen, 1995). Davidson and Cooper (1992) also identify the Queen bee, although they suggest this is a role which a woman takes on rather than being ascribed to her, the women who likes being the most prominent and powerful example of her sex.

In some companies women managers lack legitimacy, which means they occupy marginal positions from which it is more difficult to exercise their authority (Marshall, 1994). In state organisations women may be sidelined into unimportant, advisory groups, their powerlessness echoing that of women in the hierarchy (Grant and Tancred, 1992). Women managers may experience conflict between their inner and outer self, and feel obliged to control their self presentation in order to survive in the culture of the organisation, which can be stressful (Marshall, 1994).

Roper (1994) remarks on the similarity between the role of the wife and the role of the secretary, the office wife. Both are perceived to provide emotional support and give emotional expression in lieu of the organisation man, in a trade-off between vicarious status and vicarious emotional satisfaction. Helpmeet roles are taken for granted unless withdrawn, and there is ambivalence about the importance and skills of secretarial work (Roper, 1994). Roper (1994) suggests that these contradictions, described as psychic tensions, need to be understood in order to explain women's marginality in the workplace. Roper (1994) sees management as a field where men emotionally engage with other men, positing homo-erotic father-son relationships between older and younger men, where the older man may be idealised or despised, or rejected and deposed.

One way in which women managers are kept in their place is by confining them to certain parts of the organisation, gender segregation within the managerial ranks (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991), as detailed above. Another way is to restrict the numbers of women permitted to enter management grades, so that there are insufficient to create a critical

mass (Kanter, 1977). However, critical mass lower down in organisations has not lead to significant change at the top. Marshall (1994) found the same isolating and depowering mechanisms at work among senior managers as described earlier by Kanter (1977) lower down the organisation.

Departmental sub-cultures are a further way in which women may find their chances of promotion restricted. As discussed, Roper (1994) found that particular departments were associated with masculine and feminine characteristics, for instance engineering was masculine and personnel feminine. There were even more subdivisions, so that within personnel, industrial relations was masculine and the welfare aspects feminine (Roper, 1994). This type of division can lead to restricted opportunities for progression, as not only may women not have the right experience, but more importantly they are seen as not fitting sub-cultural expectations.

To summarise this section, in the corporate culture there can be many contradictions between espoused values and underlying assumptions. Roles and stereotypes are salient. Alongside an espousal of EO there can exist a number of exclusionary practices and undermining behaviour which indicate that EO is not as important as other considerations, and that women managers are discounted.

Reasons related to personal choice

A further set of explanations for under-representation suggests that women just do not choose to become managers (Roper, 1994). These arguments blame women for their non-advancement, and take no account of the structural difficulties they encounter. A more sophisticated version of this argument acknowledges women's ambition and ability, and see clearly and realistically the structural problems which face them, and hence choose not to pursue a managerial career. Some look at what is expected of them in behavioural terms at the higher echelons of management, and reject it (Marshall, 1994); their choice is a response to the climate and culture hurdles identified by Hirsh (1990). They may also wish to behave in an 'authentic' way Tanton (1992). For many women their current choice is extremely

restricted. Faced with all these problems, women may internalise low expectations (Itzin and Philipson, 1995), which may present as choosing not to apply for promotion.

Attempts to improve the lot of women managers

There are several ways in which the unequal representation of women in management may be tackled. This section will consider individual and collective efforts by women, and then organisational initiatives. On an individual basis, women have two areas to consider. First they need to deal with their daily experience, and second they may consider ways in which they can improve their prospects.

Women managers, and potential women managers, deal with the contradictions of the roles and stereotypes that are thrust upon them in various ways. Sheppard (1989) details gender management strategies which some women use, where they pay attention to their visibility, appearance and presentation, ensuring that they look different to the secretaries. She suggests that there is a continuum of response, from those who accept the status quo, blending in, and conforming to male stereotypes, to those who challenge their role definition and claim a rightful place in the organisation (Sheppard, 1989). They may accept a female stereotype and go into a field such as personnel, or adopt male patterns of behaviour (Marshall, 1984), or become androgynous (Davidson and Cooper, 1992).

Individually there is little women can do to deal with the language of work, although they can ensure that they do not perpetuate discriminatory language. There is some evidence that women who try to be one of the lads may not find it helps, as they are stepping out of role. Collectively new meanings can be created (Spender, 1985), such as 'sexual harassment', and 'the double shift', which help to validate women's experience.

Proactive career planning has been recommended as a way to have a successful career. Marshall (1994) however questions 'agentic' career planning that is often advocated for women, as it assumes an independence from the organisation that does not exist.

Assertiveness is also suggested as a way for women to cope better with the corporate environment. This can be criticised as centering the responsibility solely on women's shoulders, and not requiring men to change.

Home responsibilities remain the most important factor determining women's choice of work, and the myth of the 'new man' who takes on a female pattern of working unfortunately remains a myth (Atkinson, 1996). As well as organising things as well as possible women managers may try to deal with the work-home conflict in their lives by seeking both tangible and emotional support (Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1994). Home working is sometimes advocated as an ideal way for women to combine work and domestic responsibilities. However women working at home are three times more likely than men to be interrupted by children (Pandya, 1996). One of the negative responses to gendered organisations is stress and illness, which Marshall (1994) found a precipitating factor in encouraging senior women to leave.

The problem with advocating individual strategies for women managers is that it proposes that problems for women are their responsibility, not systemic, and not men's responsibility. In some organisations managerial women have banded together to challenge some of the processes and outcomes of evident discrimination. This can be a risky strategy and its success is likely to depend on whether it is supported by key (male) figures in the hierarchy. EO specialists sometimes find themselves in an exposed position (Cockburn, 1991). The most obvious collective response is networking, which is suggested as a means for women to help themselves (Burke and McKeen, 1994). Reasons for women joining a network can be to develop themselves, gain support of others, make contacts to help career or business, and to learn more about issues relevant to work (European Womens Management Development Network, 1994).

Burke and McKeen (1994) suggest that women need a balance of three factors to be successful in their careers: challenge, recognition and support. This is probably similar to what men need, but the latter are more likely to receive these in the course of events. Avenues open to an organisation wishing to promote more women could include: the deliberate allocation of challenging assignments; mentoring (Burke and McKeen, 1994); and

secondments and other job opportunities to widen and deepen women's experience. Organisational initiatives can vary greatly. Some organisations will not display concern. This attitude would be typical of the barrack yard or locker room cultures (Maddock and Parkin, 1994). Some organisations confine their attentions to processes, looking for procedural justice. Yet others may attempt to change, if not underlying assumptions, then at least behaviour. Some will support measures that involve positive action.

Looking at positive action, Clarke (1991) reports a small number of courses under sections 47 and 48 of the Sex Discrimination Act (which allow for women only training where there is imbalanced representation). The principal arguments in favour of women only training are redressing the imbalance of representation between men and women, and enabling women to explore issues within a supportive environment. Training courses geared specifically to women offer support in three specific areas. First they give women skills and confidence to take advantage of career opportunities, second they enable them to look at the particular issues and problems they face in a (usually) male dominated workplace (Colwell & Vinnicombe, 1991), and third they can look at the balance between home and work. In relation to content, training for women managers tends to fall into two types: first, general management courses restricted to women, and second, courses focusing on women's experience, which may deal with organisational power and politics (Colwell and Vinnicombe, 1991), sexuality and gender management strategies (Cassell and Walsh, 1993) and sex differences in leadership styles (Colwell and Vinnicombe, 1991).

The main arguments against women-only training (Davidson & Cooper, 1992) are that it unnecessarily differentiates men and women (Colwell and Vinnicombe, 1991), and that in the workplace women and men work together, and training should therefore be mixed. Clarke (1991) considers that complementary training for men is necessary in order to enable a more positive working environment for women, as otherwise the responsibility for change is left with women. More subtle arguments are that it is founded on a deficit argument (Reavley, 1989), and meets organisational need to contain issues around sexuality and gender (Gray, 1994).

A company could choose to audit all its personnel policies, written and unwritten, for their EO implications and outcomes. For instance, family friendly policies are spreading throughout UK companies, but Lewis (1994) points out that there has been little research on their efficacy. Special provisions should be organisation specific. The very large range of policies that may be relevant can be seen in Appendix 9, however recruitment and selection is the policy most likely to be reviewed. Some companies set up mentoring programmes specifically for women managers. Mentoring has two main functions: first, career enhancing, and second, psychosocial (Iles and Mabey, 1993). One problem for women is that there are insufficient senior women to act as mentors, and cross-gender mentoring may be problematical.

Opportunity 2000

In October 1991 John Major, the Prime Minister, launched Opportunity 2000, to encourage greater participation rates by women in management (Personnel Management Plus, 1991). This initiative was conceived by Business in the Community, and backed by the Equal Opportunity Commission and the Institute of Personnel Management (now the Institute of Personnel and Development). A number of large organisations, both public and private, joined and agreed to set their own targets and methods for improving the lot of women in their organisations. It was a response to the research mentioned above (Hammond and Holton, 1991) by Ashridge Management Research Group into the ways companies bring about cultural change and the ways they introduce EO policies. Opportunity 2000 is a campaign to increase quality and quantity of all women's participation in the workforce. It is based on the 'business case' which suggests that pursuing initiatives that help women will aid the organisation by attracting the best people, developing a better business orientation, making cost savings, encouraging more creativity and flexibility, and obtaining an improved return on investment. For instance it is suggested that family friendly policies can create real savings if employee turnover is decreased. Initially 61 organisations were involved, and they were required to set their own targets. For instance the BBC set percentage targets for women in management by 1996: 30% senior executives, and 40% senior management.

Initiatives identified in Opportunity 2000 organisations in 1994 included: job share available to all employees, flexible hours, homeworking, school term contracts, above minimum maternity arrangements, paternity leave, and initiatives to develop paths out of non-career jobs (Opportunity 2000, 1994). By 1994 3/4 of member organisations monitored progress, and 1/3 had reviewed selection procedures. Blocks to progress were identified but women were doing better in member than in comparable companies: 25% of managers were women compared with 9.5% of top UK companies, and 5% of directors were women compared with 2.8% (Opportunity 2000, 1994). By December 1996 some Opportunity 2000 member organisations, then numbering 305, had made significant strides in increasing the numbers and percentages of women managers. For instance, between 1991 and 1996 BT, with a decrease in female employees from 30% to 25%, actually increased its percentage of women managers from 16% to 21% (Saigol, 1996). Freely (1996) considers that Opportunity 2000 has succeeded in persuading its members that equality is a business rather than a women's issue, and that sexual discrimination is a management problem. There have however been criticisms that many women in Opportunity 2000 companies do not know about it (Freely, 1996).

In 1991 ten Civil Service departments joined Opportunity 2000. Traditionally there was poor recruitment of women into the 'fast track' with 29% accepted (Jackson and Hirsh 1991), and Watson's (1994) research indicated that there was a prejudice towards appointing the 'sensible chap' (p. 64). In 1992 a Programme of Action for women in Civil Service commenced after the government embraced Opportunity 2000. A number of measures were undertaken such as departmental action plans, flexible working, nursery provision, and job adverts with EO messages. The aim was to have 15% in top grades by 2000. By 1995 at the first managerial level there were 50% women, but only 6% at the top (Thatcher, 1995).

In Local Government the take-up of Opportunity 2000 was more patchy. There was necessarily less central direction although a number of initiatives were undertaken. In 1992 there was a Women in Local Government Network national conference, and the female Chief Executives started to be appointed. The Local Government Management

Board offered a leadership programme for women, and in Oxfordshire County Council where 1 in 10 women work for Council, a 'family friendly' programme was set up with a flexi-place scheme, 45 weeks maternity leave, and 10 days paid dependency leave. However the upper ranks of local government still remained heavily weighted towards men.

Equal Opportunities versus Managing Diversity

As indicated above, Opportunity 2000 was built on the 'business case'. This is derived in part from the managing diversity debate that originated in the US. There examination of the changing nature of the population in the 1980s lead to the conclusion that by the year 2000 the white male would be a minority entrant to the workforce (Johnson and Packer, 1987). In the place of Equal Opportunities, usually delivered as affirmative action (under the US legislative framework), a new paradigm, managing or valuing diversity, was advocated (Thomas, 1990). A large literature has developed in North America, with growing interest in the UK (e.g. Kandola and Fullerton, 1994).

Wilson and Iles (1996) identify differences between equal opportunities (EO) and managing diversity (MD). First, EO tends to be based on the legal or moral arguments and for many private sector businesses this is externally imposed. By contrast, MD rests on the 'business case', an assertion that a diverse workforce will assist profitability through better recruitment, retention and promotion, more focused marketing, and enhanced creativity and decision making. Second, EO is seen as operational, of concern primarily to personnel professionals, whereas MD is strategic and linked to business objectives. Third, difference is perceived in a different way: by EO organisations as a problem; in MD organisations as an asset, where difference is valued. Fourth, the focus of practice varies. EO organisations tend to offer group solutions to perceived deficiencies and difficulties, whereas MD organisations offer the same range of opportunities to all, acknowledging that they will be taken up individually and differentially.

Discussion

There is abundant research on the question as to why women do not progress in organisations comparably to men, and the major part of this chapter has looked at the explanations given. Rather than assess each explanation in an isolated and fragmented way the explanations have been examined in terms of the different levels or locations of culture, in order to put them into a broader context. Against the rather dismal litany of obstacles, there are recent signs that the very gradual increase in women managers has started to accelerate, particularly under the influence of Opportunity 2000. The concluding part of the chapter will now briefly re-examine the literature review from the point of view of culture-as-variable and culture-as-metaphor.

Within the corporate culture perspective, despite an interest in symbols, myths, stories and heroes, there is an assumption of rational organisational processes. In this perspective outcomes are assumed to be meritocratic and gender neutral. It is suggested that the corporate culture perspective is unlikely to view imbalances between the sexes as systemic; instead problems are likely to be particularised and women problematised. If reasons for women's non-advancement are not located in them as individuals, then external reasons may be sought, such as their upbringing. Corporate culture demands commitment, that may make balancing home and work commitments difficult for women; this is seen in corporate culture as someone who has not come on board. In general however corporate culture offers little theorising for a lack of women managers. The integrationist perspective paradigm (Meyerson and Martin, 1987) and a tendency to look at the 'one best model' (Rosener, 1995), marginalises and problematises women.

Within the culture-as-variable camp, Schein's (1992) basic structure of cultural levels offers an explanation as to why women do not progress. In his terms artefacts include processes, behaviour, and outcomes. Where outcomes are good or poor for women, they indicate the underlying assumptions, which may be respectively supportive or inimical to women. Espoused values may or may not accord with underlying assumptions. Clearly there is a mismatch where there is an EO policy and yet women are

vastly under-represented. Schein (1992) is slightly less committed to an integrationist perspective (Meyerson and Martin, 1987) than the corporate culture school, and more tolerant of sub-cultures. Whilst he does not theorise about women and gender, his theory provides space to do so.

The culture-as-metaphor school makes no assumptions about gender neutrality, and admits of the possibility of fragmentation (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). Construction of meaning and interpretation offer rich explanations as to why women do not progress in organisations. The problem can be seen as competing social constructions of the dominant and subordinate groups, for instance dividing the public and private worlds of work and home. According to the culture-as-metaphor school, in different organisations there are assumed to be different webs of meaning and interpretations as to why things are as they are. On the one hand this is helpful in terms of pointing to individual, differentiated combinations of reasons peculiar to each organisation. On the other hand, it does not explain the large-scale repeated patterns of women's subordination. The psychoanalytic perspective offers insight into the close relationships between men described by Roper (1994), the way men bolster their identities by congregating and re-affirming each other, and their exclusion of women.

The interesting point is to turn to why and how things have improved for women. Opportunity 2000 set out to 'change the culture' of organisational members by reassessing the culture-performance link to include women. The instrumentality of its prescriptions, built on the 'business case', together with the formulaic exhortations to change, are classic examples of a corporate culture approach. Having noted that they appear to be working, this casts doubt on the previous dismissal of the corporate culture approach as untheorised in relation to gender. There is however another interpretation. It may well be that the corporate culture perspective remains untheorised in relation to gender, and that what happens is that (suitable) women are re-categorised as men. To put it in simpler terms, women are offered equal opportunities with men, provided they meet certain demands. In Schein's (1992) terms, organisations which succeed in advancing women have espoused values and underlying assumptions in relation to women which are congruent, and artefacts reflect this.

An alternative way of interpreting positive change for women is to look at the culture-as-metaphor school. Organisations that promote women can be seen as successful in forging a new social construction of women, possibly of difference.

These are some preliminary ideas about how some of the perspectives, outlined in chapter 3, can be applied to the theories in this chapter. As stated, Schein's (1992) is the most straightforward, but other perspectives also offer insight.

Chapter 5: Managerial characteristics and management style

Introduction

This chapter will look at the topic of management style. There will be a brief historical survey of management and leadership characteristics, and management competencies. Referring back to chapter 2 on gender and organisational analysis, the chapter will discuss to what extent these theories are gendered products of their time, followed by examination of the debate about male, female, and androgynous management styles. -

The history of management and leadership style

Bryman (1992) summarises the history of leadership theory and research in a table which is reproduced below, Table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Trends in leadership theory and research, from Bryman (1992 p.1)

<u>Period</u>	<u>Approach</u>	<u>Core theme</u>
Up to late 40s	Trait approach	Leadership ability is innate
Late 40s to late 60s	Style approach	Leadership effectiveness is to do with how the leader behaves
Late 60s to early 80s	Contingency approach	It all depends: effective leadership is affected by the situation
Since early 80s	New Leadership approach (includes charismatic leadership)	Leaders need vision

Bryman (1992) notes that leadership tends to be concerned with three main elements: influence, group and goal. Thus he suggests that 'leadership is typically defined in terms of a process of social influence whereby a leader steers members of a group towards a goal' (ibid. p. 2).

In the trait approach the personal qualities of the leader are emphasised and there is a suggestion that these are inborn (Bryman, 1992). Trait theories address physical characteristics, ability and personality (Bryman, 1992), and are also known as the 'great man' approach (Daft, 1994). Research into this theory led to a loss of confidence as it appeared that some attributes were situation specific (Bryman, 1992).

From the late 1940s onwards more attention was paid to style or behaviour (Bryman, 1992). It was assumed that the requisite behaviour could be taught to make leaders more effective. Two clusters of behaviour were identified: first, consideration, which involved promoting good relationships, trust and respect; and second, structure, which concerned organisation of the work and the work context, and clarification of roles and responsibilities (Bryman, 1992). Although initial research indicated a tension between these two types of behaviour, later findings suggested that both were helpful and could be separately measured. There are a number of criticisms of the style approach: it did not include situation variables; it assumed causality between leadership style and performance, when in fact causality may be in the other direction; it ignored informal leadership; and is based on perceptions of behaviour, not on behaviour as such (Bryman, 1992). Despite this criticism, the consideration - structure split has persisted in management literature.

The contingency approach, which Bryman (1992) dates from the early 60s to the late 80s jettisons the idea that there are universally applicable styles of leadership. Fiedler called his theory of leadership a contingency or situational model (Gordon, 1993). Again suggesting that there are two basic styles, task orientated and relationship orientated, Fiedler suggested that there are three basic variables that influence the choice of style: the degree to which there is trust between leader and group members; the task structure, whether it is relatively structured or unstructured; and the positional power of the leader (Gordon, 1993). Another variant of contingency theory is the path - goal theory which is built on expectancy theory (Bryman, 1992). In the UK Adair developed a theory of leadership which he called action centred (Cole, 1990). This suggests that there are three elements to which the leader must pay attention: the task, the individual and the group (Cole, 1990). What these theories have in common is a stress on the number of variables which may affect effective leadership style.

The last phase in leadership theory identified by Bryman (1992) he calls the New Leadership phase, which focuses on charisma and vision. Rather than viewing charisma as something that resides in a person, Bryman (1992) contends that it is a reciprocal relationship between the leader and followers. Bryman (1992) notes that many authors employ similar themes and phrases when writing about leadership, whether this is called transformational, visionary, or charismatic. The common features are: vision, empowerment, a compatible culture, and trust (Bryman, 1992). Possibly the best known exponent of this is Tom Peters (Peters and Waterman, 1981, Peters and Austen, 1985, Peters, 1987). -Bryman (1992) notes that this literature is more aware of the impact of the environment on leaders.

Of the four theories of leadership that Bryman (1992) describes, the first, trait theory, stands out as clearly gendered. At that time it was men overwhelmingly who were leaders, so by implication leadership was gender linked. The second theory, style, by focusing on behaviour which it was assumed could be taught, is less specifically tied to one gender. Whilst the task-person dichotomy has been criticised, it does introduce concern for relationships which are currently characterised as a predominantly female preoccupation.

Contingency theory, whilst in principle more adaptive than its predecessor theories, omits analysis of the gendered nature of power relations in the workplace, with attendant stereotypical assumptions of what roles are fitting for men and women. The last phase in leadership theory, which Bryman (1992) calls New Leadership, is overtly gender free, but has echoes of the 'great man' theory, and paradoxically lauds behaviour conventionally thought of as associated with women.

Management competencies

A parallel development to New Leadership from the early 80s onwards was the competence movement. Known as competency/competencies in the US and competence/competences in the UK, the aim was to discover and record effective

behaviour. Competence can be construed either as the expectations of behaviour in employment, as in the UK Management Charter Initiative (MCI) standards that are linked to managerial outcomes, or as personal characteristics, the underlying predisposition or ability to perform in a particular way. In the US competencies were generally developed using this second approach, and were modelled on excellent performers (Fletcher, 1992).

Boyatsis (1982) undertook research in the US to discover both threshold competencies, the necessary minimum requirements to do a job, and also those competencies that differentiate superior from adequate performance. Whereas the US approach undertook research by examining individuals, in the UK the focus was on tasks rather than people, on occupation rather than incumbents (Storey, 1995). Thus the US approach investigated inputs whereas the UK examined outputs (Reid and Barrington, 1994). The skills Boyatsis (1982) identified can be seen in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Skills need for leadership and top positions (Boyatsis, 1982)

Vision-inspiring cluster	Communicating a vision
	Maintaining self-confidence
	Retaining poise under pressure
	Taking a leadership role outside the organisation
Entrepreneurial cluster	Taking initiative
	Enhancing customer satisfaction
	Increasing productivity
	Solving problems
People skills cluster	Leading the training and development of work team members
	Showing leadership to people
	Understanding the organization, its people and its politics
	Managing own career to achieve realistic objectives
Implementing skills cluster	Getting results

The Management Charter Initiative (MCI)

The MCI is the body that was charged by the UK National Council for Vocational Qualifications to develop National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) for management.

NVQs are graded from level one which comprises competence in a range of largely routine work activities, up to level five which requires substantial personal autonomy. Launched successively in the early 1990s, the principal management NVQs were respectively Supervisory Management at NVQ level 3, Management I at NVQ level 4, and Management II at NVQ level 5. The standards encompass whole work roles and were determined using functional analysis (Reid and Barrington, 1994). An example of the Management 1 (NVQ level 4) standards is set out in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: The Management Charter Initiative Management 1 Standards

Manage Operations	Maintain and improve service and product operations
	Contribute to the implementation of change in services, product and systems
Manage Finance	Recommend, monitor and control the use of resources
Manage People	Contribute to the recruitment and selection of personnel
	Develop teams, individuals and self to enhance performance
	Plan, allocate and evaluate work carried out by teams, individuals and self
	Create, maintain and enhance effective working relationships
Manage Information	Seek, evaluate and organise information for action
	Exchange information to solve problems and make decisions

As well as the job related behaviour described in the management standards, there is an accompanying personal competence model, as seen in Table 5.4.

There are a number of general criticisms of the MCI standards (Storey, 1995). First, that there is conceptual ambiguity as to the relative centrality of behaviours/actions, or abilities/characteristics underlying behaviour, or the outcomes/results of actions. Second, that they provide one model that may not be applicable to all organisations and cultures. Third, that they tend to have been formulated focusing on past rather than future performance, and lastly, that they pay insufficient attention to soft skills such as creativity and sensitivity (Storey, 1995).

Both competence and competency are gendered products. Boyatzis (1982) proposes a leadership role outside the organisation, which is probably unattainable by anyone with

Table 5.4: The MCI personal competence model

Planning to optimise the achievement of results	Showing concern for excellence
	Setting and prioritising objectives
	Monitoring and responding to actual against planned activities
Managing others to optimise results	Showing sensitivity to the needs of others
	Relating to others
	Obtaining the commitment of others
	Presenting oneself positively to others
Managing oneself to optimise results	Showing self confidence and personal drive
	Managing personal emotions and stress
	Managing personal learning and development
Using intellect to optimise results	Collecting and organising information
	Identifying and applying concepts
	Taking decisions

dependents. He also suggests that corporate leaders should resolve any mother/wife role conflicts (Boyatzis, 1982). Superficially this appears encouraging, in that he anticipates women as leaders. However, reflection indicates that there is an underlying stereotypical assumption that men do not have such conflicts.

Reference to EO within the content of the MCI standards is disappointing. The content of the management standards shows uneven awareness of EO and racism and sexism, without relating them to a critique of power relationships within organisations (Wilson, 1993). Management is presented as a value free activity, and in place of any overriding values, reference is made to 'organisational norms and values' (MCI, 1991 p.74). It is disingenuous to imply that the practice of management is value free.

The standards and accompanying guidance are however professionally written in a gender neutral style. However the overall effect conveyed by the management standards is of a collection of disembodied behaviour, rather than anything recognisable as a person (Wilson, 1993). This impression is partly ameliorated by the addition of the personal competence model. In table 5.4, words and phrases such as 'patience', 'tolerance', listening without interrupting, judging or stereotyping (p 96), 'clearly expressing own thoughts and feelings' (p. 97), convey a gentler, caring, more rounded and more female picture (Wilson, 1993).

Pedlar, Burgoyne and Boydell

Yet another model of managerial attributes comes from academics interested in the learning organisation. Pedlar et al (1994) produced a popular self-help workbook for managers now in its third edition. They write about the qualities of successful managers, which they group into basic knowledge and information, skills and attributes, and personal 'meta-qualities' (Pedlar et al, 1994 p. 24). These are broken down further into the groups seen in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: The qualities of the successful manager (Pedlar, Burgoyne & Boydell, 1994)

Basic knowledge and information	Command of basic facts
	Relevant professional understanding
Skills and attributes	Continuing sensitivity to events
	Analytical, problem-solving, decision-judgement-making skills
	Social skills and abilities
	Emotional resilience
	Proactivity – inclination to respond purposefully to events
Meta-qualities	Creativity
	Mental agility
	Balanced learning habits and skills
	Self-knowledge

On the whole this model is gender neutral, with one possible exception. One element which the competence models and this one have in common is reference to controlling emotions: emotional resilience (Pedlar et al, 1994), responding professionally in tense and emotional situations (Boyatzis, 1982) and controlling levels of stress (MCI, 1991). The stress discourse has gained popularity in recent years in management literature and the public media, and tends to place responsibility for managing stress on the individual. First, there is no systemic understanding, which would demand consideration of domestic as well as work commitments; and second, there is a fine line between controlling stress and emotions, and denying and suppressing emotions. As indicated in chapter 2, only

certain emotions are generally regarded as suitable for the workplace, and the division is based on gendered perceptions of what is proper.

Dale, Downs, Pearson and Whitaker

Dale et al (Dale and Iles, 1992) have produced a holistic model of management, summarised in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 A Holistic Approach to Managing Organisations, adapted from Dale and Iles (1992)

Managing the Job	
Interacting with the Environment	
Developing the Organisation	
Working with Others	Guiding
	Directing
	Enabling
Knowing Self	Applying values
	Managing self
	Using personal power
	Thinking

This framework appears an androgynous model (see discussion of Bem, 1974, below), with a mixture of male and female attributes, for instance thinking strategically (in Thinking) and nurturing (in Enabling). It is also the only model to detail specifically the valuing of difference and promotion of Equal Opportunities. This model encompasses skills, values, job related behaviour and conceptual abilities, and has clusters of meaning rather than discrete categories.

Having reviewed a number of models of managerial and leadership behaviour, the arguments for and against men and women having similar management styles will be discussed.

The case for men and women having similar management styles

In relation to managerial behaviour, the evidence is equivocal. Colwell and Vinnicombe (1991) cite evidence that the attitudes, personality traits and behaviour of men and women in the same occupation are more similar than different. Alban Metcalfe and West (1991) note that when asked to rate themselves on a variety of self-perceptions, male and female managers showed more similarities than differences. Marshall (1984) reviews research that women are very similar to men in their management style, also pointing out that successful managers of either gender are different to the rest of population. Where there are differences these are likely to make women better managers, for instance in the area of interpersonal skills (Marshall, 1984). However the same behaviour by a man or woman can be assessed differently (Marshall, 1984).

A number of reasons are put forward for similarities. Recruitment, selection and promotion decisions may mean that men and women with similar attributes are selected (Horgan and Mansfield, 1996). Once within the organisation socialisation processes may play a part (Horgan and Mansfield, 1996). One reason for the similarities between behaviour could be the fact that those women who do succeed are those most able or willing to conform to male stereotypes of managerial behaviour. Because of the lack of female role models, especially at the higher levels of organisations, women could be conforming to male stereotypes.

The case for men and women having different management styles

Marshall (1984) insists that women seek to relate to others in a different way, and maintains that women managers are aware of a 'core' management style, which has softer techniques, and where they try to understand others. However the women in Marshall's (1984) study sometimes felt they could not employ this style and instead had to use 'male tactics' of aggression, maintaining appearances, and playing organisational politics.

Rosener (1990) wrote an influential article in the Harvard Business Review, in which she suggested substantial differences between male and female management styles.

Although Rosener was not the originator of the transactional - transformational dichotomy (Daft, 1994), she suggests that this applies substantially to male and female management styles, although she emphasises that she is making a generalisation; it is possible for women to be transactional and men to be transformational (Rosener, 1995). Men are 'transactional' in that their job performance is a series of transactions with subordinates, involving rewards and punishments, the use of formal or positional power, and a 'command and control' style. Women on the other hand are 'transformational' in that they transform their subordinates' self interest into concern for the broader goal. Women use personal power, plus interpersonal skills, hard work, and personal contacts. They encourage participation, in the process enhancing the self-worth of others and energising them. Rosener (1990) calls this style 'interactive'. Rosener (1995) asserts that there is no 'one best model' (p. 26) for management, and that different styles may suit different organisations; a contingency approach. Rosener's transactional, transformational, and interactive managerial styles are shown in Table 5.7. In the succeeding issue of the Harvard Business Review most writers agreed with her analysis. There is support for Rosener's view of women managers as better at interpersonal skills (e.g. Alimo-Metcalfe, 1994).

Table 5.7: Transactional, transformational, and interactive managerial styles (based on Rosener, 1990)

Transactional	Transformational	Interactive *
Series of transactions	Transform subordinates self-interest into concern for broader goal	Actively work to make interactions with subordinates positive for all
Rewards and punishments	Interpersonal skills	Encourage participation
Use of formal or positional power	Use of personal power	Share power and information
Command and control style	Hard work	Enhance others' self-worth
	Personal contacts	Get others excited about their work
	Charisma	

* Rosener (1990) assumes that those displaying an interactive style also use transformational skills

Alban-Metcalf & West (1991) write about women having a different personality at work. Some research on men and women managers poses the question as to whether the choice of a management career is for conforming males, but unconforming females (Hatcher, 1991). It is also suggested that personality traits may change over time as a result of exposure to the organisation (Hatcher, 1991). Vinnicombe (1988) quotes research from the Centre for Creative Leadership, Ohio on different types of leader: first, the traditionalist who is practical, dependable, and safe, and forms the biggest group of managers; second the catalyst, a spokesperson, with his or her own values; third the visionary, a natural strategic leader; fourth, the creative, who formed the second largest group; and lastly the trouble shooter/negotiator, an adaptable pragmatist. Replicating this research with women managers in the UK, Vinnicombe (1988) found a marked lack of traditionalists, and significantly more visionaries and catalysts; she poses the question as to whether this is why women managers are seen as difficult and/or different.

The role of personality

Personality is a description for differences in temperament or disposition (Cooper and Robertson, 1995). There are five dimensions that have become commonly acceptable as indicators of personality, which are listed in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8: The Big Five (Cooper and Robertson, 1995)

The Big Five
Extroversion/introversion
Emotional Stability
Agreeableness
Conscientiousness
Openness to experience

Cooper and Robertson (1995) suggest that here are two basic types of difference between human beings: personality and cognitive abilities. The Big Five provides a framework that can be used to examine individual differences in personality.

Current desirable management style

One of the interesting features of the enthusiasm for New Leadership, as indicated above, is the acknowledgement that some of the skills now needed in the workplace are those usually associated with women. This should put women in a better position for gaining management posts. Some writers, however, strike a cautionary note. Gray (1994) suggests that there will be a problem if the current fashion for 'female' styles of management changes, as women could be left out. Wajcman (1996) notes the current identification of desirable management style with feminine skills. In her study of senior men and women in multi-national companies she found most interviewees did not consider that either men or women were better managers. Wajcman's (1996) research produces some paradoxical results; although men and women managers readily identified different management styles for men and women, in describing their own style 81% stated that they employed a participative (i.e. stereotypically feminine) style. Wajcman (1996) suggests that this demonstrates dominant cultural values, as qualitative data from the same study indicated that retrenchment and downsizing had encouraged a move back towards a more masculine style. In other words one style was said to be desirable, but another was actually practised. She concludes that it is men who define the culturally acceptable management style (Wajcman, 1996).

Baack et al (1993) identify specifically those traits that both men and women think women need to get to the top, in addition to more general skills: the ability to respond professionally (rather than emotionally); the avoidance of impulsive action; and appearing to be comfortable in a leadership role. The men in this study also added two more items: first women should make a commitment to reach the top, balancing other commitments; and second they should be a team player (Baack et al, 1993).

The case for androgyny

Rather than look at differences based on the bipolar construct of maleness and femaleness (Boot, 1994), an alternative is to seek evidence for an androgynous style of

management, including male and female attributes (Asplund 1988). The work of Bem (1974) set out to establish that psychological androgyny exists. Criticising the conceptualising of masculine and feminine as a bi-polar construct, Bem (1974) suggests that many individuals may be androgynous. She describes the construction and validation of the BSRI (Bem Sex-Role Inventory). Respondents were asked to rate themselves on 60 items, of which 20 are feminine, 20 masculine, and 20 gender neutral. Thus scores for masculinity, femininity and androgyny can be computed independently. These are shown in Table 5.9 below.

Table 5.9: Items on the Masculinity, Femininity and Neutral scales of the BRSI (Bem, 1974)

Masculine items	Feminine items	Neutral items
Acts as a leader	Affectionate	Adaptable
Aggressive	Cheerful	Conceited
Ambitious	Childlike	Conscientious
Assertive	Compassionate	Conventional
Analytical	Does not use harsh language	Friendly
Athletic	Eager to soothe hurt feelings	Happy
Competitive	Feminine	Helpful
Defends own beliefs	Flatterable	Inefficient
Dominant	Gentle	Jealous
Forceful	Gullible	Likeable
Has leadership abilities	Loves children	Moody
Independent	Loyal	Reliable
Individualistic	Sensitive to the needs of others	Secretive
Makes decisions easily	Shy	Sincere
Masculine	Soft spoken	Solemn
Self-reliant	Sympathetic	Tactful
Self-sufficient	Tender	Theatrical
Strong personality	Understanding	Truthful
Willing to take a stand	Warm	Unpredictable
Willing to take risks	Yielding	Unsystematic

Nowadays some of the items identified as masculine or feminine in the BRSI appear stereotyped to the point of being dated. However as it appears that decisions are still made on the basis of stereotypes, they may still be salient.

In chapter 7 the theories discussed above will be used as a basis for the development of a typology for analysing interview data. As is evident, despite overlap there are considerable differences between schools of thought about what constitutes management or leadership characteristics, and associated aspects of personality. In chapter 7 the individual and collective shortcomings of these theories as a basis for analysis of the data in this study will be explored.

Chapter 6: Methodology – review of the literature

Introduction

This chapter reviews various aspects of methodology pertinent to this study. First, advice on investigating culture is reviewed: as will become evident, this is as wide-ranging as the variety of theoretical approaches to the concept of culture. Following on from chapter 2 on gender and organisational analysis, aspects of feminist research methodology are discussed. The implementation of methodology is discussed in the next chapter.

Investigative methodologies for organisational culture

This section reviews general advice on methods for investigating culture. In chapter 3 lack of unanimity about precisely what the concept encompasses was discussed. Consequently there is also considerable debate about the best methods for investigating culture. It is a complex area to study (Pettigrew, 1990).

Reichers and Schneider (1990) suggest that whereas climate researchers (see chapter 3) have tended to use quantitative techniques, imposing meaning on data, culture researchers are more likely to use qualitative techniques, and allow meaning to emerge from the group under investigation. They point to the difficulty of undertaking comparative in-depth case studies. This would be particularly apposite for culture-as-metaphor. Sackmann (1991) reviews existing research methods, putting them on a scale between outsider (etic) and insider (emic) perspectives. She suggests that the range of methods from outsider to insider will include: questionnaires, structured interviews, documentary evidence, group discussion, in-depth interviews and participant observation. She contends that an outsider approach is more likely to be based on positivist science, with the goal of generalising from data, and will conceive culture as an independent variable, whereas an insider approach aims to understand life within a particular organisation, an interpretive approach (Sackmann 1991) or culture-as-metaphor.

Looking first at quantitative techniques, a number of off-the-shelf culture surveys have been developed. Examples include the Kilmann-Saxton Culture Gap Survey (1986), Sleezer and Swanson (1992), and Simpson and Beeby (1993), which appear designed as a preliminary for organisational development work. The Sleezer and Swanson (1992) includes open-ended questions, but the use of a questionnaire as an instrument for exploring culture limits its usefulness to the aspect under focus; it is possible that other aspects may be overlooked, unless it has been preceded by careful piloting using for instance open questions. Wilkerson and Kellogg (1992/3) describe a series of attitude, morale and climate surveys, and a cultural assessment, the latter a proprietary method. They assume an objective of any type of investigation is business improvement and/or Total Quality Management (Wilkerson and Kellogg, 1992/3). It appears that these surveys are predicated upon the concept of the culture-performance link (Alvesson, 1993), and are used as a prerequisite for change, therefore conceiving of culture as an independent and manipulable variable. Hofstede (1980) who used a standardised questionnaire throughout a multinational company represented in a large number of countries undertook a quantitative approach. He found national differences along four axes: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, and masculinity. Schein (1992) has criticisms of some survey instruments, as he claims that these survey climate rather than culture, and are insufficient to yield a valid analysis of culture. He states that the areas to be investigated by these instruments are too large, and that not all features are relevant to a particular culture. He also points to the problem of participants completing such instruments responsibly and accurately (Schein, 1992). For these reasons he considers the group workshop method he advocates superior (Schein, 1992). Gregory (1983) questions the management-centric approach of most research on organisational culture, which tends to view culture as homogenous and evaluate it in terms of its effectiveness of delivering top management goals.

Reviewing the arguments in favour of qualitative or quantitative research on culture, Rousseau (1990) summarises the position in favour of the former. Taking a culture-as-metaphor view that culture is at its basis unconscious and highly subjective, she asserts that it requires interactive and iterative investigation, and an individualised approach. Thus questionnaires, categories and scales are inappropriate and unethical (Rousseau, 1990). She suggests however that quantitative methods may be more egalitarian in

canvassing a wider range of opinion than the key informants who are tended to be used by qualitative researchers (Rousseau, 1990). Because of doubts about the partiality of the culture-performance link and a wish to study culture and not climate, these quantitative methods were rejected.

Turning to qualitative methods, Pettigrew (1979) describes a longitudinal processual approach to studying organisations and organisational culture. Because of the issues Pettigrew (1990) highlights, which were enumerated in chapter 3, a number of researchers in the culture field have focused on one particular aspect. Sackmann (1991, 1992) chose to focus on one issue, asking respondents about innovation in their company. Having conducted a number of interviews across the organisation, when the content was analysed into themes it revealed a number of subcultures, existing both within and across functions in addition to an overlay of organisational culture (Sackmann, 1992). Meek (1988) suggests that any approach to empirical research within organisational culture must dissect the concept into manageable proportions, which appears the key challenge for researchers. She suggests that symbol, myth, ideational (cognitive) systems and ritual are explored (Meek, 1988).

Ethnography is advocated by Gregory (1983) and Rosen (1991). Gregory (1983) describes a methodology, ethnoscience ethnography, where the collection of data was undertaken by interviews with organisational members covering many aspects of their jobs, backgrounds and careers, and knowledge about careers, staffing and work life. Verbatim transcription was followed by content analysis according to topics identified by participants. She notes that occupational cultures cut across organisational boundaries (Gregory, 1988). Rosen (1991) argues for the use of ethnography as a method of investigation for organisations and organisational culture. He discusses some of the technical differences between anthropological and organisational ethnography. Taking a culture-as-metaphor approach, he regards 'truth' as socially constructed, in opposition to positivist approaches. Schultz (1995) notes that thorough ethnographic study would require 1-2 years of participant observation, and that therefore very few are conducted. As this study is for a part time PhD, fitted in between other work commitments, this effectively rules out ethnography as a method. Additionally, the intention to survey a number of organisations makes this untenable.

Having rejected both questionnaires and ethnography, this leaves structured interviews, documentary evidence, group discussion and in-depth interviews (Sackmann, 1991). After reviewing the construct of culture, Rousseau (1990) notes that organisational researchers have investigated widely differing aspects of culture, and discusses the difficulties of operationalising something over which there is no clear agreement. She points out that the extent to which elements of culture are accessible varies. Artefacts and structures are observable by an outsider, whereas behavioural norms and values can only be understood by direct information from members of the organisation (Rousseau, 1990). However, underlying assumptions, which are assumed to be unknown even to members of the organisation, require significant interaction between researcher and members (Rousseau, 1990). Thus those aspects which most researchers conceptualise as the most important aspects of culture are the least accessible. Noting the tendency of researchers to investigate the layer of culture they find most appealing (or accessible) Rousseau (1990) argues the case for multiple methods of assessment as do Reichers and Schneider (1990) and Siehl and Martin (1988). Triangulation is of course a pillar of validity and reliability in social research.

Alvesson (1993) warns against excessive focus on symbols and more particularly in interest in out of work social activities and peripheral items instead of focusing on the actual work undertaken. He points out that 'the relationship between a particular cultural manifestation and broader cultural patterns may be weak and uncertain' (Alvesson, 1993 p. 63), suggesting this can only be discerned on a case by case basis. Thus his guidelines for culture research are to focus on the material aspects, work activities, naturally bounded cultural groups, and social practices (Alvesson, 1993).

To summarise the main points of the foregoing discussion: quantitative methods such as questionnaires tend to be tied to the culture-as-variable perspective. Qualitative methods range over a number of issues and are not necessarily tied to one theoretical viewpoint. It would be possible for example to use in-depth interviews but interpret data in a number of different ways, choosing different conceptual positions. Schein (1992) offers a combination method, which includes a number of the methods outlined by Sackmann (1991) such as documentary evidence, group discussions and in-depth interviews. As the purpose of this study is to investigate both general and gendered

aspects of culture, the question that arises is to what extent Schein's methodology can be utilised and amended for the investigation of gendered cultures.

Schein's methodology

Much of Schein's (1992) approach to culture investigation is predicated on the culture-performance link (Alvesson, 1993), but he does acknowledge the importance of symbols, and an interpretive approach that relies in part from feedback from inside informants. Although generally positivist in tone he makes comments which imply a more open-minded approach (Schein, 1992), as indicated in chapter 3. For instance, he criticises traditional models of research which he writes lead to 'an illusion of objectivity' (ibid. p. 187). He thus appears to favour an interpretive and collaborative approach in stating:

'The accuracy of the depiction is then judged by the credibility of that description to insiders who live in the culture and, at the same time, to outsiders who are trying to understand it.' (p.187)

He suggests objectivity in description of cultural manifestations, combined with empathy in describing basic assumptions to insiders (Schein, 1992).

Schein (1992) suggests two main methods in deciphering culture for insiders or outsiders respectively. In the first case, he suggests that the reasons for undertaking the study is for action-research, in order to help leaders understand and manage internal cultural issues. Schein (1992) describes a workshop approach with key culture carriers. Where the existence of subcultures is suspected, then he advocates iteration with different groups and samples. He advocates starting with a demonstration of leadership commitment to the process, followed by a short explanation of culture, then asking workshop members to identify and describe artefacts (which as indicated in chapter 3 is wider than just physical artefacts). This is followed by the identification of espoused values and an attempt to establish underlying assumptions. Further work in subgroups follows to discuss differences of value, after which an attempt is made to reach a consensus on underlying assumptions (Schein, 1992). He stresses the importance of

motivating the participants (Schein, 1992). A similar method is described by Lundberg (1990).

Schultz (1995) describes Schein's approach as the 'funnel' method, although she notes that there is some circularity. Noting that Schein (1992) in his account does not give a fully worked through example, Schultz (1995) in her study of a government department used interviews and conversations to discover espoused values. She obtained her view of underlying assumptions from interviews and observation in the department, plus informants in subordinate directorates (Schultz, 1995). She found that organisational members had shared significant values, but different underlying assumptions. Her funnel method is shown in Figure 6.1

Relations between Cultural Levels and their Functions

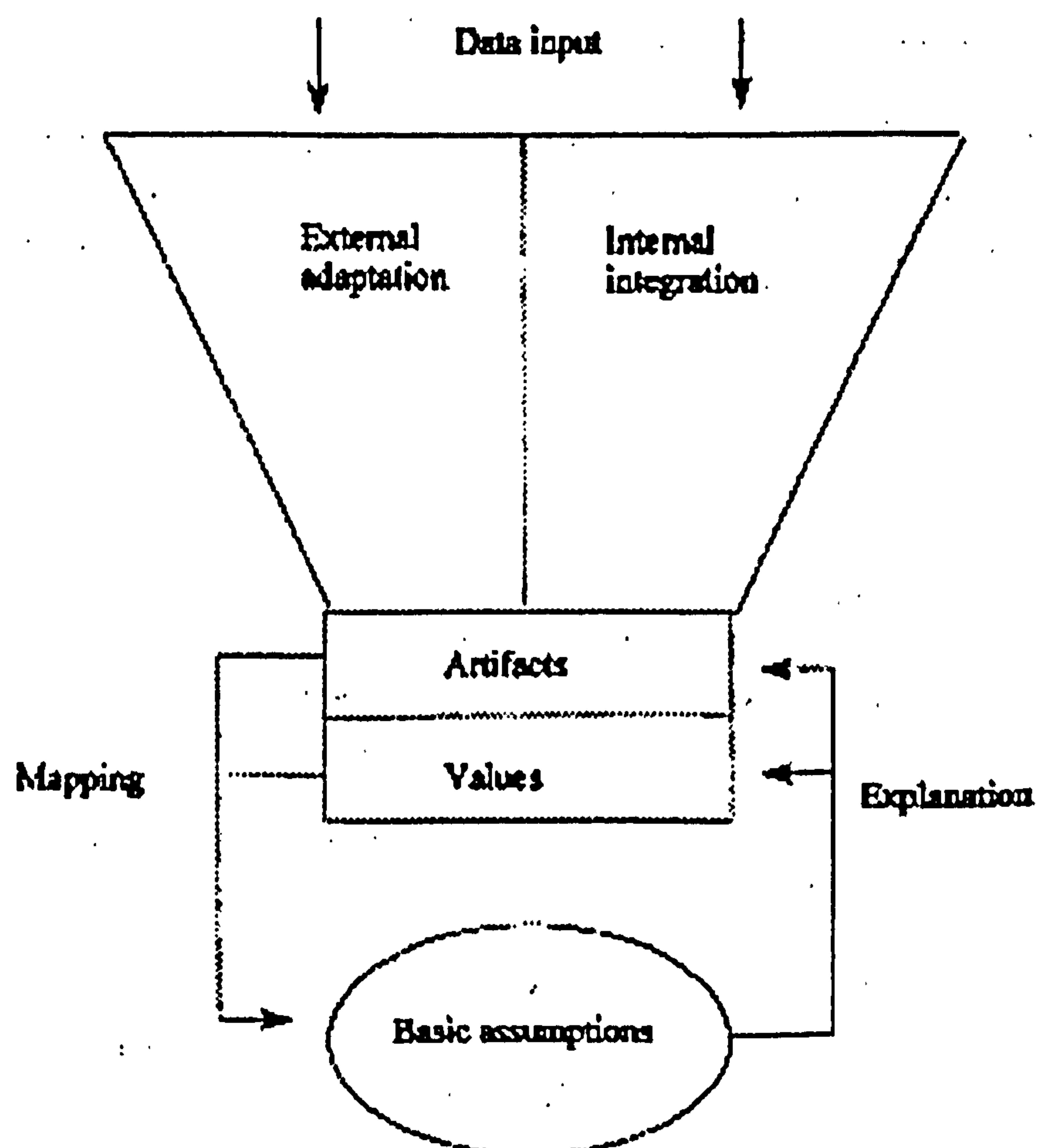


Figure 6.1: The funnel model: Schultz's interpretation of Schein's methodology (taken from Schultz, 1995 p.35)

Schultz (1995) limited her application of the model by choosing to investigate only two functional areas. She points out that this must affect the extent to which she was able to analyse basic assumptions. Schultz (1995) notes that Schein (1992) does not explain how to trace back from basic assumptions and thus elucidate espoused values and artefacts. Schultz (1995) suggests three possible relationships between espoused values and underlying assumptions: consistency, inconsistency, and ambiguity. She notes that the artefact level may be integrated/harmonious or conflict creating/dysfunctional, and that the same artefacts may have more than one effect in relation to espoused values and underlying assumptions. She suggests that analyses within the culture-as-variable perspective vary according to which functions have the most importance for organisational survival.

Criticisms can be made of Schein's approach. It is essentially a top down approach undertaken for managerial reasons, and assumes one is researching for organisational efficacy, the culture-performance link (Alvesson, 1993). Despite the suggestion that subgroups could be engaged in the process, the assumption appears essentially positivist, that is, there is an assumption that the culture of the organisation exists and can be discovered. As group members are selected for their role as key culture carriers, they are likely to be organisation members in positions of authority and therefore predominantly men. While this may convey the dominant culture of the organisation, there is a concomitant likelihood of ignoring subcultures, particularly associated with female employees in subordinate positions. Alvesson (1993) warns against over-reliance on the views of top managers.

Schein (1992) suggests a slightly different approach to the exploration of organisational culture, where the researcher intends to focus on research rather than action, as in this study. In this case he advocates iterative clinical interviews, and proposes joint exploration between the researcher and motivated informants. He considers a joint approach important both to avoid subjectivity and to overcome the insider's lack of awareness. Although Schein (1992) appears to be making positivist assumptions again about the nature of reality, he qualifies this by criticising other corporate culture analysts for assuming that asking the right questions or using the right questionnaire will enable a correct deciphering of the culture. The method he proposes includes first encountering 'surprises' (ibid. p. 171) on entry. Second, he advocates

systematic observation, which should be checked with a motivated insider. He suggests that where the insider has made the same observations, then one is dealing with a 'real' cultural issue (ibid. p. 173). After formalising hypotheses the researcher can embark on other methods such as questionnaires, content analysis of documents, stories, and formal interviews. Schein (1992) points out that the presence of the investigator is in itself an intervention that must be included in the analysis. All data are used to amend and modify the culture model, which can be tested again on interested insiders (Schein, 1992). Schein (1992) suggests that some insiders may dislike the researcher's interpretation of culture, and that this resistance to interpretations may be further data. It would seem that care should be taken in the researcher assuming an omniscient or omnipotent position.

In order to elicit values during interviewing Schein (1992) suggests that organisation members are asked how the organisation solved major internal and external problems. This seems similar to Pettigrew's (1979) social dramas, or Sackmann's (1991, 1992) narrower focus on innovation. Group methods can be used to supplement individual interviews (Schein, 1992). Other sources of data may include: the organisational structure; information, control and reward systems; myths, legends, stories and charters; and data from surveys and questionnaires (Schein, 1992).

An interpretive approach

Despite the plethora of advice about the phenomena for investigation and different variants of the culture-as-metaphor school, finding an investigative/interpretive model proved difficult. Schultz (1995) offers one outlined below as Figure 6.2. It should be noted that Schultz (1995) simplifies her approach, calling this a symbolic interpretation without indicating adherence to any particular school.

Schultz (1995) suggests that the researcher must first gain some familiarity with the organisation before selecting as starting points for interpretation a few key significant symbols, between which the researcher will seek relationships. Vehicles for developing an initial understanding include architecture, rituals, myths, and stories. Schultz (1995) advocates the technique of encouraging organisational members to speak in the present

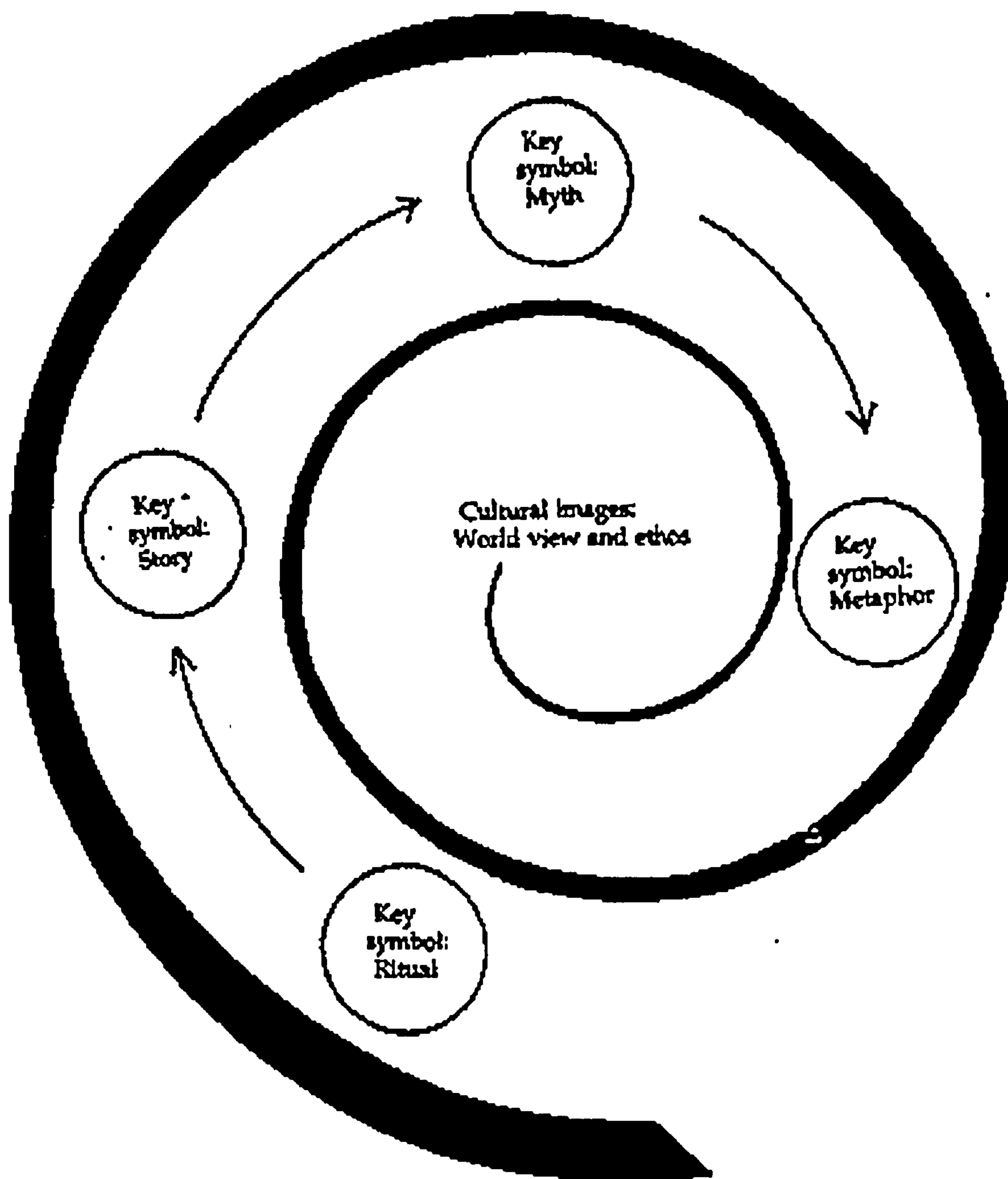


Figure 6.2 The spiral: A symbolic model for cultural interpretation (taken from Schultz, 1995, p. 96)

tense about significant events, so the account becomes a running commentary. This is so a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) is produced, with a wealth of detail. A culture-as metaphor perspective varies in its choice of symbols, according to the organisation and the interests of the researcher (Schultz, 1995). Schultz (1995) suggests that the researcher, whom she dubs interpreter, becomes part of the interpretive process, and should engage his or her own fantasies.

Schultz (1995) suggests that in using a symbolic interpretation in the culture-as-metaphor tradition, many spirals must be used. She proposes the following steps:

1. Look for concrete symbols as a starting point.
2. Look for significant cultural expressions e.g. myths, rituals, stories, in order to generate a thick description.
3. Search for related symbolic expressions.

Schultz (1995) offers an interpretation of the same government department used for Schein's (1992) methodology. She looks particularly at the ritual of meetings, which encompasses rules, symbols, rites of passage, myths and metaphors. She notes multiple symbols in the organisation: a patriarchal family, an alienated technocracy; and a rational organisation working to objectives. A parallel example of a subordinate directorate differed in that meanings were only shared within teams and groups, rather than more widely as in the department (Schultz, 1995). Although indicative of sub-cultures Schultz (1995) points out that sub-cultures are not distinct as boundaries between teams are blurred. Rather there was a shared acknowledgement of a fragmented organisation (Schulz, 1995).

She acknowledges that an interpretive approach may never reach a final understanding of organisational culture (Schultz, 1995), but then neither may other approaches. It is helpful that Schultz (1995) has attempted to operationalise the culture-as-metaphor perspective. It should be noted however that she does not distinguish between different perspectives within this broad school. The choice of a spiral implies, at least diagrammatically, that one reaches the core of organisational culture. Or does one just disappear down a methodological plughole? It is perfectly possible that different researchers will come up with different interpretations from the same organisation, as it is a highly individualistic method.

There are differences in generalisability, which will be discussed more fully in chapter 6. The culture-as-variable approach makes comparative studies possible; by contrast the culture-as-metaphor perspective emphasises uniqueness. Schultz (1995) suggests that Schein's (1992) approach is often seen as more accessible, but it is labour intensive. However, the same observations of being labour intensive apply to the culture-as-metaphor approach. One concern is that bias and partiality can creep in, although in any

type of qualitative research, ultimately the researcher must select, and therefore reject, data.

Implications of discussion on method for this study

In summary, the important points from all the above discussion on method are as follows:

1. Pre-formulated surveys or questionnaires have been rejected, first because it may be climate rather than culture they are investigating, and second because they pre-determine which aspects are explored.
2. A qualitative/interpretative perspective implies an emic approach (Sackmann, 1991) but given time limitations traditional ethnographic methods are ruled out.
3. Various comments from experienced researchers (e.g. Meek, 1988, Pettigrew, 1990) indicate that organisational culture as a whole cannot be studied, rather a selection of aspects of the relevant organisation. The study must therefore focus on what is relevant to this particular enquiry, how men and women progress in organisations, and perceived differences in management style, within a framework of culture.
4. Multiple methods appear advisable (Rousseau, 1990) for triangulation purposes. Schein's (1992) descriptions of workshops with key informants appears useful, though his top down approach in selecting these is unhelpful. The other main method will be the interview, the precise form of which will be discussed in chapter 7. These two direct methods can be supplemented by documentary evidence, limited direct observation, discussion with inside informants, and personal reflection.
5. To make comparisons across case studies and generalise will require a methodology that is reproducible in different organisations. This would point to Schein's (1992) methodology. This could be supplemented by insights from Hatch (1993) and other perspectives.

These points will be further explored in chapter 7.

Interviews

The interview is one of the common ways for gathering qualitative data, and is generally readily accepted by respondents (King, 1994). There are however disadvantages; it is time consuming and possibly tiring for the researcher (King, 1994). An interview can take many different forms of which the common variants are: structured, in which questions are pre-set and do not vary between interviewees; semi-structured, where a number of guide questions or themes are used by the researcher, allowing some leeway to the interviewee in responding and unstructured, where the researcher gives minimal guidance to the interviewee and lets the interview develop as it will. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) write about reflexive interviewing, where the interviewer is responsive to the interviewee; they point out that the interview is not however a conversation, as the researcher pursues an agenda, and therefore retains direction over the course of the exchange. King (1994) describes the semi-structured and unstructured interview as a 'qualitative research interview' (ibid. p. 14). It is an appropriate method where the researcher is seeking to find out the meaning of phenomena to the researched (King, 1994).

Problems raised in relation to interviewing include the fact that they are sensitive to slight changes in wording, and are also heavily reliant on reporting of attitudes and behaviour, which may not reflect actual behaviour (Bryman, 1988). King (1994) writes about difficult interviews, which are sensitive in the sense of being distressing to the subject, but he does not highlight those that may be politically or organisationally sensitive, as in the case of this study. The view that a qualitative interview, as generally understood, is suitable for topics such as gender (King, 1994) is contested in this thesis. It is a highly charged area and one where the researcher could easily be cast in the role of critic (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). The subject matter of this enquiry was sufficient for potential interviewees to be put on their guard, either personally, or as they perceived themselves as representatives of their organisation. Therefore a form of interview was sought that would yield data without being personally threatening.

Interviews can be tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. If hand-written notes are used the researcher should distinguish between verbatim and recorded speech, and impressions. Macdonald and Hellgren (1995) suggest that there can be constraints on

the information gathered in interviews, as organisations may insist on scrutinising results.

Repertory grid

Repertory grid is a systematic technique for eliciting constructs (Dunn et al, 1987) based on original work done by Kelly (1955). It allows the researcher to uncover the mental map of the interviewee, and shares responsibility for the discussion with the interviewee (Stewart et al, 1980). Kelly (1955) proposed Personal Construct Theory (PCT), which is concerned with the patterns people use to make sense of the world (Gammack and Stephens, 1994). This was described in chapter 2. The original application of PCT was clinical, but in recent years it has been extended to applications in business such as market research (Stewart et al, 1980) and performance appraisal (Dunn et al, 1987). Repertory grid is the technique which operationalises PCT.

First of all 'elements' must be selected, which should be things or people likely to have the range of properties which the interviewer intends to explore. They can be provided by the interviewer (Stewart et al, 1980), although Gammack and Stephens (1994) suggest that this can lead to classifications that are inappropriate. More usually the respondent can be asked to suggest some from a specified class of data (Stewart et al, 1980). Easterby-Smith et al (1996) state that the list must be homogeneous, representative, unambiguous and not more than 8 to 10 in total.

The next stage is construct elicitation. The most usual method for this is to use triads (Stewart et al, 1980) although Easterby-Smith et al (1996) suggest that dyads or all elements may be used. A group of three elements is selected and the interviewee asked in what way two have something in common not shared by the third (Stewart et al, 1980). Stewart et al (1980) suggest that triads can only be used for one purpose at a time. Thus the researcher may ask the respondent to talk about differences 'in terms of' or 'from the point of view of' material properties, actions, or feelings (Stewart et al, 1980). Generally bipolar constructs are elicited, such as 'helpful - unhelpful'. The researcher needs to ensure that the constructs are true opposites, and that they do not contain more than one set of constructs, in which case they have to be disaggregated.

Constructs can be explored in greater depth by laddering. In laddering up the researcher asks why a particular set of constructs is important, which could be in terms of the interviewee's preference or view of importance (Stewart et al, 1980). Based on Kelly's (1955) assumption that constructs are hierarchical, asking why should lead eventually to core constructs, those that an interviewee cannot explain. Stewart et al (1980) point out that it is not necessary to reach these in every application. Laddering down is when the researcher asks the interviewee to tell him or her how something came about, to give an example (Stewart et al, 1980), or to ask what is meant (Easterby-Smith et al, 1996). Stewart et al (1980) advise that the researcher must accept the interviewee lapsing into silence, and eventually drying up. It is normal to elicit 10 -20 constructs (Easterby-Smith et al, 1996).

The final stage in the full application of this technique, which need not be proceeded to, is the construction of a matrix, the eponymous grid. In this elements are ranged against constructs and a rating procedure applied, which can be dichotomising, using a 1-5 scale, or ranking elements against constructs (Easterby-Smith et al 1996). The grid thus produced could be used as a basis for individual discussion with the interviewee, or might be used with others to form a questionnaire. Stewart et al (1980 p. 68) state ' for some purposes the Grid conversation is more useful than the Grid itself - although without the Grid technique to help, the conversation may well not have happened'. The purpose of the interview will thus help determine whether and to what extent the grid is used.

There are several methods of analysis available, of which the most pertinent to this study are the frequency count and content analysis (Stewart et al, 1980). What Stewart et al (1980) describe as content analysis might elsewhere be called thematic analysis. They suggest that a series of categories is used and that constructs are assigned to categories. If constructs are recorded on file cards, they can then be sorted manually. One categorisation they suggest is propositional, easily observable properties; sensory, which is how a person feels and perceives; and lastly evaluative, how a person evaluates. Gammack and Stephens (1994) suggest that the researcher needs to establish which constructs are helpful, useful and practical, which implies a participative approach.

There are a number of advantages of repertory grid. It enables people to explore their own ideas, perceptions, feelings and values (Easterby-Smith et al, 1996) and, despite structured approach does not undermine the self determination of the subject (Gammack and Stephens, 1994). It is a suitable method for finding out about the things managers take for granted, especially good performance, bringing out the differences between implicit and explicit judgement (Easterby-Smith et al, 1996). Dunn et al (1987) assert that it guards against the 'halo' effect, when someone is seen in terms of a stereotype such as a good team player. It is said to reduce observer bias (Dunn et al, 1987). Stewart et al (1980) suggest that it eliminates bias, but this is disputed by Easterby-Smith et al (1996) who state:

'The investigator may have a considerable influence on the subject, both in the way he pre-selects the exercise, and in the way he prompts the subject.'

It is a participative method which respondents find interesting (Easterby-Smith et al, 1996) and can force assumptions not normally verbalised to be put into words (Stewart et al, 1980).

There are also disadvantages to this method. First, bipolar constructs may be over determined, that is, they may be forced into existence where in reality there is a weak distinction, or may be contrived, particularly where triads are overworked (Gammack and Stephens, 1994). Second, there may be some constructs common to all elements that do not emerge through the triading technique (Gammack and Stephens, 1994). Third, not all constructs are equal in importance (Gammack and Stephens, 1994). Easterby-Smith et al (1996) are cautious about quantitative analysis and even suggest that it is not helpful to aggregate perceptions, although other writers suggest this is a valid use.

In choosing to use repertory grid, Stewart et al (1980) advise the researcher to establish what he or she want to achieve, to whom the data belongs, what resources are available for analysis, what form of analysis will be undertaken, whether speed is important, and whether analysis will be undertaken individually or collaboratively. They also advise piloting the technique. These points are discussed in chapter 7.

As a result of this advice the prime focus was to use repertory grid as a non-threatening technique to find out about perceptions of managers, which both reduced influence on the interviewees and also shared responsibility between researcher and respondent.

Group methods of research

Steyaert and Bouwen (1994) underpin a discussion of group methods with a social constructionist perspective. They distinguish three purposes of group discussion: exploration and description of ideas; the generation of ideas; and intervention. The workshop method advocated by Schein (1992) encompasses the first two of these. Groups may be naturally occurring or specially created for research purposes (Steyaert and Bouwen, 1994). Steyaert and Bouwen (1994) suggest that the group interview, the commonest form of group research method, gives an opportunity to different voices at the same time, and is content orientated. Group methods of interview give the advantage that views can be checked contemporaneously against a cross section of organisational participants; conversely, there is always a danger that there may be pressure for consensus, for instance if a higher status person or particularly persuasive personality is part of the group. One requirement of this kind of interview is that the interviewer needs skills in group process and dynamics as well as research skills, and a disadvantage is that there is less control over outcome (Steyaert and Bouwen, 1994). It is suggested in relation to interviews that the more sensitive topics be left till later (King, 1994). It seems sensible to apply the same consideration to data gathering with groups.

Analysis of company documentation

In a literate society documents, both formal and informal, are an important source of information (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), and there is no way a researcher can do justice to all of these (Forster, 1994). It seemed appropriate to focus on documents pertaining to Equal Opportunities, as well as general PR documents that would give an impression of the organisation. (These are listed in Appendix 10, and discussed in the

section on access in chapter 7). Documents can be viewed as a social product (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), as data indicating how things are supposed to be, Schein's (1992) espoused values. In other words they convey a desired version of the organisation. Forster (1994) proposes that researchers should gain access, check authenticity; understand the document (the hermeneutic process which he describes in which themes and subthemes are picked out); analyse the data; and utilise the data which includes considering how to use politically and personally sensitive material (Forster, 1989). Authenticity can be covered by receiving material from an authoritative source.

Analysis of data

The initial ordering of data usually entails some form of transcription, from tape or written recordings. Riley (1990) suggests making a list of contents for each piece of data, using file cards, multiple copies, and highlighting examples or quotations. Familiarisation is the next step. King (1994) writes about the researcher immersing him or herself in the data, and Riley (1990) makes a number of practical suggestions: reading out loud, making summaries, and looking at a single instance in depth.

There is no one best way of analysing qualitative data and one of its strengths is that it can be analysed in many different ways. There are four important parts to analysis: first familiarisation with the data; second analytical left brain approaches such as content analysis; thirdly, intuitive right brain approaches which rely on creative techniques; and fourth, synthesis. It should be stressed that analysis is iterative, and approaches are not discrete. The left brain is used to indicate the generally logical and analytical functions of the human mind, in comparison with more creative, intuitive, right brain functions. Left brain methods of analysis include those which seek to utilise a quantitative approach, such as the quasi-statistical methods of content analysis (King, 1994) or the counting of instances (Riley (1990)). These can be supported by computer applications. Next there are methods of coding data, so that similar sorts of data can be compared. Selected themes may form a template, which is then used to re-order all the data (King, 1994). Refinements of coding may include using grounded theory (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), and this leads to theorising. Most researchers start with their own and

others' ideas, and may actually borrow theories, relating their work to other studies (Riley, 1990). Sometimes a research problem is defined rather than a specific hypothesis (Eisenhardt, 1989). Schein (1992) and Riley (1990) advocate looking for surprises; that is, rather than merely look for instances that confirm initial or emerging hypotheses, the researcher should also seek disconfirmatory evidence. Tentative theorising can be written up in analytic memos (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), working papers, conference papers, and in diagrams and figures (Alvesson, 1993).

It seems that there is a problem in how to combine right and left brain to be both analytical and creative, in the sense of being intuitively responsive (Hartley, 1994). It is suggested here that right brain techniques can be grouped approximately into generative, artistic, and more broadly reflexive. The generative techniques are those which are encouraging the researcher to generate ideas, such as brainstorming and talking to others (Riley, 1990). There are a number of methods which can be described as artistic, such as drawing a picture or a scatter diagram (Riley, 1990). Another method is to write a poem, which is surprisingly helpful. Last there are reflexive methods, built on self awareness. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995 p. 169) cite Holstein and Miller (1993):

'all classes of data have their problems, all are produced socially and none can be treated as unproblematically neutral or transparent representations of reality. The recognition of reflexivity in the research process entails such an awareness.'

At the simplest level reflexivity can involve recording responses to data (Riley, 1990), both cognitive and emotional. One way of clarifying analysis is to write a letter to a friend (Riley, 1990). Riley (1990) also suggests that it can also be helpful for the researcher to imagine they are talking to a colleague and to respond in role. Another technique is using the left hand to access the more intuitive and creative right side of the brain, as used by artists and writers. This appears only to work with right-handed people. It involves writing a question with the right hand, and then answering it with the left, which encourages material previously unconscious to emerge. Lastly, the fieldwork journal (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) or research diary (Riley, 1990) perform functions of recording of research and accompanying thoughts. Despite the distinction made above between right and left brain approaches to analysis, in truth there will be variable overlap between these (King 1994).

Having undertaken analysis of data, evidence must be organised so that reliability and validity can be demonstrated. Reliability means that a similar study undertaken by another researcher would come to broadly similar conclusions (Gummesson, 1991). Any typology or model developed should be tested iteratively to check robustness and reliability (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). 'Validity means in essence that a theory, model, concept or category describes reality with good fit' (Gummesson, 1991 p. 81). Validity can be demonstrated by using multiple sources in support of individual points made (Riley, 1990). Any instances which appear to negate general findings should be discussed (Alvesson, 1993). When presenting findings the convention of: point, illustration, point, illustration, and then general point, can be followed (Riley, 1990). In an interpretive study validity can be demonstrated by involving others such as colleagues, interviewees and expert judges (Riley, 1990, King, 1994, Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

Generalisability or external validity is another consideration (Bryman, 1988). Researchers need to generalise in order to develop theories and test them (Gummesson, 1991). In qualitative studies an in-depth case study may identify particular phenomena and suggest patterns between them which may exist elsewhere (Gummesson, 1991). The use of a number of case studies within a field of study is another way in which theorising can be undertaken, as cases can be chosen because of the particular phenomena or patterns they are suspected to demonstrate (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Glaser and Strauss (1967) point out that researchers must indicate whether they are trying to generate formal theory, or substantive theory, or indeed whether they are merely testing theory. This study is concerned to develop an existing theoretical model of organisational culture (Schein, 1992) in order to investigate a particular phenomenon, the lack of equitable representation of women in management. The intention is to form a theory potentially of wider applicability.

There are a number of proposed solutions to the problem of generalising from case studies. First, more than one case study can be studied (Bryman, 1988, Hammersley, 1993), as undertaken here. Second, additional researchers can examine a number of cases (Bryman, 1988), which is not feasible in this study. Third, cases can be chosen

their typicality or lack of it (Bryman, 1988, Hammersley, 1993). Bryman (1988) also advises that generalising should be couched in terms that relate to theoretical propositions rather than universally applicable laws (Hammersley, 1993).

Feminist Research Methodology

Researching about women in management, which as indicated in chapter 2 is a subset of gender and organisational analysis, led methodological considerations to feminist research methodology. A survey of the literature (e.g. Harding, 1987, Eichler, 1988, Stanley and Wise, 1993, Stanley, 1990, Roberts, 1990a) indicates that there is no one paradigm holding sway, but rather a series of overlapping conceptual fields, feminist research methodologies. Indeed some variants (e.g. Stanley and Wise, 1993) repudiate the idea of paradigmatic approaches to research.

Writing on feminist research methodology uses definitions integral to all discussion of methods. The following definitions are derived from Stanley (1990), Stanley and Wise (1993) and Harding (1987). *Method* is defined as a technique for gathering evidence, or a specific set of research practices, such as interviews or surveys. *Methodology* is described as theories of how research should proceed which give a perspective or theoretically informed framework. *Epistemology* concerns the theory of knowledge, and tells us who can be a knower, what can be known, and what constitutes and validates knowledge. Thus it gives guidance on what counts as an adequate theory, and how research findings are to be judged. *Ontology* is a way of being, and is a theory of reality.

Feminist research methodology encompasses non-sexist research methodology (Eichler, 1988), and has concerns which overlap with humanistic approaches to research (Reason, 1988a, Coleman, 1989). It concerns itself with ethical considerations (Oakley, 1990, Stanley and Wise, 1993) and with the significance of the gender of the researcher in fieldwork (Warren, 1988). Above all, it is concerned to undertake good research, as is any methodology, albeit with different parameters of validity (Stanley and Wise, 1993, Roberts, 1990a, Oakley, 1990). Roberts (1990a) raises the question as to what extent

'good' research in the past has represented scientific validity and reliability, and to what extent it has rather been a social construct of one half of the population, men.

Feminist research methodology has links with intellectual antecedents which include the women's movement and feminism, humanistic approaches in their broadest sense in the social sciences and helping professions, and postmodernism and deconstructionism. Feminism questioned the status quo in many fields of life, whether the under-representation of women in certain occupational groups, discriminatory legislation or, in the research field, the disregarding of gender as an important variable (Eichler, 1988). Researchers identifying themselves as feminists promote the idea of research for women, rather than on women (Stanley and Wise, 1993) bringing a political and ethical perspective to the conduct of research. The aim is not merely to redress past under-representation of women as the subjects of research, but also to undertake research, which will directly help women. Feminist research methodology does not, however, have a monopoly of concern for the subjects of research, as humanistic approaches to research have similar concerns.

Turning to what currently characterises feminist research methodologies, Stanley and Wise (1990) chart the recent history of feminist research methodology. They describe how originally it had three main strands: first, it was on women, for women, second, it was overtly political, and third, it espoused qualitative methods. From these beginnings methodologies have become more elaborate. To try to encapsulate what seems to be the essence of feminist research methodology, there follows discussion of three distinctive areas, philosophy, ethics and practical advice on methods.

First looking at philosophy, Harding (1987) identified one philosophical strand of feminist approaches to research as feminist empiricism, which she describes as the main feminist response to bias in social sciences concerned with redressing the balance. The second approach is feminist standpoint which is promulgated by committed feminists, and is concerned with women's experiences of oppression (Harding, 1987). Researchers with this viewpoint view emancipation as a goal of research and criterion of validity (Hammersley, 1992). A third approach is feminist postmodern epistemology which has a scepticism about essentialist universalising claims, and therefore does not accept that all women share experiences (Harding, 1987).

One pair of concepts extensively challenged is the dualism of objectivity and subjectivity. Many feminist writers challenge or reject the concept of objectivity, contending that all knowledge is socially constructed (Eichler, 1988, Stanley and Wise, 1993). Thus 'knowledge' should be treated as situated and competing knowledges (Stanley and Wise, 1993). The rejection of objectivity also stems from postmodernism and deconstructionism, which posit that all knowledge is partial, that one person's objectivity is another's subjectivity, and that all research is affected by the position, outlook, and experience of the researcher. One objection to the concept of objectivity springs from a moral objection to treating people, particularly women, as objects of research (Oakley, 1990, Stanley and Wise, 1993). If objectivity as a concept is rejected then acceptance of the validity of personal experience leads to the inclusion of emotional responses.

Second, ethical considerations include a rejection of hierarchy in the research relationship. In relation to this, Hammersley (1992) contends that conventional researchers claim the right to define the topic, decide how and what data is collected, conduct an analysis, and write up the results. Hammersley's (1992) statement appears to be a description of the status quo rather than a considered answer to the criticism of power relationships in the research relationship. Writers such as Stanley and Wise (1993) propose that there should be no hierarchy between researcher and researched, and discuss some of the difficulties of implementing this. It is contended that all research is political (Cook and Fonow, 1986), and thus the great majority is framed in the dominant ideology (Eichler, 1988). The perspectives of men and women are seen as differing in general (Eichler, 1988) and in particular (Stanley and Wise, 1993). It is these considerations that lead the feminist researcher to deconstruct previous research proposals and outcomes, and in turn to frame hypotheses of a radically different kind.

Having looked at some of feminist research methodology's distinguishing features, three particular aspects that challenge traditional ways of researching and give practical advice on research methods will be examined.

Practical implications of feminist research methodology

Probably the most basic consideration is the significance of gender (Eichler, 1988, Hammersley 1992). Warren (1988) points out that male and female are categories that everyone uses to classify others, and states that people, both male and female, respond differently to others of the same or opposite sex. The female researcher may be seen as low status, that is, endowed with a number of stereotypes held by men about women (Warren, 1988, Oakley, 1990). Whilst the female researcher may have a better rapport with women, the situation may be more problematical with men. Women are often quoted as having better social skills than men and some men are said to reveal more of themselves to women; however some writers (e.g. Rogers, 1988) contend that there are information networks and secrets to which women are never admitted. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) point out that the researcher cannot manufacture or reach a position of 'genderless neutrality' (ibid. p. 92). This position can be summarised that the gender of the researcher is significant, because it is a defining and delimiting factor in the eyes of respondents. There are additional issues of power and status such as the immediately visible differences of class, race and ethnicity, which can affect personal attitudes and stereotypical responses, as can initially invisible differences such as professional background and sexuality. All this points to the researcher being situated in time and place.

A second theme in relation to research methodologies is the use of reflexivity within the research process (Cook and Fonow, 1986). This is also used in the humanistic tradition (Reason, 1988a), and is also suggested by Schein (1992) when writing about organisational culture. Stanley and Wise (1993) suggest that the researcher should reflect on her own position, and include emotion as a source of data. Hammersley (1992) identifies the validity of experience as against method as a distinguishing feature of feminist research methodology, which may be an overstatement. Whilst the rejection of the objective/subjective divide leads to acceptance of subjective experience as data (Stanley and Wise, 1993) it does not lead to abandonment, but rather a widening, of method. Fox Keller (1980) for instance accepts objectivity within the research process in so far as there is a quintessential goal and search for truth, but she sees this as a process rather than a state or condition at which to arrive.

The third main area, which may be helpful in this study is non-sexist research methods, which are comprehensively described by Eichler (1988). Non-sexist research methodology is a subset of feminist research methodology, in that it identifies some of the ways in which research may be flawed, and which should be eliminated in the interests of good bias-free research, whether or not the researcher identifies him or herself as a feminist researcher. Eichler (1988) gives a clear account of this. She identifies seven sexist problems: androcentricity, overgeneralisation/overspecificity, gender insensitivity, double standards, sex appropriateness, familism, and sexual dichotomism.

Androcentricity is the world seen from a male point of view (Eichler, 1988). Some of the origins for this can be seen in the fact that the academic world is predominantly male, particularly at the higher echelons that control research proposals and funding. The male culture of academic research is described by Morgan (1988) writing about 'academic machismo'; he draws attention to the military metaphors used for academic debate. Overgeneralisation/overspecificity occurs when a study only concerns itself with one sex, but then generalises the conclusions to both (Eichler, 1988). This can be seen in much current theory on organisational behaviour, which is largely based on generalisations derived from studies of men. Overspecificity, the counterpart to overgeneralisation, occurs when it is impossible to tell from a study whether it applies to one or both sexes (Eichler, 1988). Many problems of sexist language are an outcome of overspecificity, such as when managers are referred to as 'he'; it may be unclear whether this is a sexist linguistic convention or a study of male managers only.

Gender insensitivity consists of ignoring sex as a social variable (Eichler, 1988), and again this can be seen in much organisational behaviour theory. Marshall, (1984) asserts that women may be motivated by social rather than individual needs, which challenges the claimed universal validity of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The next sexist problem identified by Eichler (1988) is double standards, where identical behaviours, traits, situations are evaluated by different standards. A much-quoted example is when identical behaviour by male and female managers is perceived as assertive or bossy respectively. Sex appropriateness (Eichler, 1988) occurs when human traits and attributes are assigned only to one sex. Thus there is a general

assumption that women are caring, and thus more suited to certain types of jobs, leading to extensive job segregation.

Familism happens when the family is treated as the smallest unit of analysis (Eichler, 1988). Familism is likely to be relevant when assumptions are made about the personal relationships and domestic commitments of managers, male and female. Sexual dichotomism is an exaggeration of differences at the expense of recognising similarities between sexes (Eichler, 1988). This can be seen in the debate about the differences between the management style of male and female managers.

Eichler (1988) gives a thorough analysis of the sins of commission within research and a checklist on how to avoid them. Criticism has been made (Stanley and Wise, 1993) that this contribution towards research method is necessary but not sufficient. It aims on removing the negative, systematic error, but does nothing to promote the positive. This would identify Eichler as a feminist empiricist (Harding, 1987).

Lastly, the conventional interview paradigm is discussed. Oakley (1990) describes this as essentially a one-way process, where respondents are viewed as data, and in which interviews have no personal meaning in terms of interaction. Oakley (1990 p. 31) writes:

'some issues on which research reports do not usually comment are: social/personal characteristics of those doing the interviewing; interviewees' feelings about being interviewed and about the interview; interviewers' feelings about interviewees; and quality of interviewer-interviewee interaction; hospitality offered by interviewees to interviewers; attempts by interviewees to use interviewers as sources of information; and the extension of interviewer-interviewee encounters into more broadly based social relationships'

Oakley (1990) considers that conventional advice about interviewing is strongly influenced by gender stereotyping. Thus proper interviewing is seen as objective, with a hierarchical relationship between interviewer and respondent, and conducted with detachment (Oakley, 1990). By contrast, improper interviewing is subjective, conducted within a relationship which assumes equality, and necessitating involvement on the part of the interviewer (Oakley, 1990). Oakley (1990) decided to reject the

interview paradigm for a number of reasons. First she did not want an exploitative relationship. Second, she wished to promote a sociology helpful to women. Third, she considered that refusing to answer questions would be unhelpful in building rapport with her interviewees. Oakley (1990) contends that a proper interview is a masculine fiction, which she doubts exists in reality. However, having an approach to interviewing which recognises and welcomes personal involvement may have its own dangers. Stacey (1988) and Finch (1984) discuss the possibility of the exploitation of women through an involved approach, which may appear to promise a subsequent relationship that cannot be sustained.

The implications of exploring feminist research methodology for this research are as follows. First, the goal/s of research must be clarified. This implies, second, an epistemological stance must be adopted, which will in turn lead to a choice of methodology. Third, methods appropriate to the methodology within the constraints of the research requirements must be chosen. Fourth, gender must be taken into account when gathering data by face to face encounter. Fifth, the usefulness of subjective data such as the experiential response to the people and organisations under investigation can be considered for inclusion as data. Sixth, the constraints of writing a thesis may temper the extent to which some ideas can be utilised; research committees are generally composed of a majority of men, who have the power to make the rules by which research is judged. This must be taken into account. These points are now discussed in greater detail.

The foremost goal of this research is to make an individual contribution to knowledge; otherwise this research could have been undertaken in another way, for instance with collaborators. Subsidiary goals include intellectual curiosity, personal development and the wish to do something positive for women. In relation to epistemology this research will not rely on postmodernism (Cooper and Burrell, 1988) and posit multiple realities. However the positivist idea of one reality out there is rejected and instead a social constructionist view of shared meanings will be adopted. The aim of the research is to investigate and deconstruct the concept of 'manager' into 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Further the concept of organisational culture will be operationalised, investigated and deconstructed to find out if there are 'masculine' and 'feminine' and gendered cultures within organisations, as well as discovering general cultural assumptions.

In relation to methodology and methods, there are three areas to be considered: first how to gather data about male and female managers, second how to gather data about organisational culture, and third, dependent on choices made in the first two cases, what kind of analysis to undertake.

The next point to be considered is the gender of the researcher. Whilst potentially disadvantaged as a woman, because of the lower position accorded to women generally, I am from a white, middle class background, and hold a moderate amount of status from my position as a University lecturer. I am aware that my gender may affect respondents' attitude to me, and rapport, as discussed above. This then leads to the next consideration, whether to use subjective data and reflexivity within the research process. My inclination is to attempt this, and see what transpires; thus I have kept a research diary, which has both cognitive/intellectual and subjective/impressionistic content. As will have become apparent in the discussion above, all decisions about methodology have been taken in the light of the requirements of a research degree.

The implementation of methodology, and further theoretical points related to implementation are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Methodology - implementation

Introduction

This chapter outlines the pilot methodology, and discusses its implementation and adjustment for the six main studies. Critical reflection on the implementation of the substantive case studies covers issues such as access, reliability, validity, and generalisability. The typology used for analysis of the repertory grid exercises is also discussed.

Methodology for the pilot study

In this case study four hypotheses are to be tested:

- (i) organisational culture is gendered.
- (ii) women and men managers experience organisational culture differently.
- (iii) men and women managers have different perceptions and values in relation to management style.
- (iv) organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially.

The criteria identified as guiding the choice of methodology were as follows:

1. Whilst the main aim was to investigate gendered aspects of culture, a general understanding of the culture was necessary as a background and aid to interpretation. This would be important whether utilising the culture-as-variable or culture-as-metaphor paradigm.
2. There needed to be a focus on particular aspects of culture.
3. Conversely, multiple methods should be used, for triangulation purposes.

4. The desire of individual interviewees to give answers pleasing to the interviewer, particularly on topics such as Equal Opportunities and gender, should be taken into account.
5. It was intended to minimise the interviewer's influence on the interviewees' data.
6. The ease of interpretation and analysis should guide (but not determine) the choice of method of data collection.
7. The use of subjective data and a reflective approach, especially in relation to gender, should be considered.
8. Methods should enable comparisons to be made between organisations, at the same time as not excluding any helpful insights from an interpretive approach.

For the pilot organisation a recently privatised public utility was chosen, henceforth called *Westco*. Access was arranged through a professional contact.

The methodology for the initial pilot study comprised the following components:

1. Choice of topics and main methods for investigation.

To gather basic information about culture it was planned to use Schein's (1992) method of workshops with suitable informants. In order to focus the investigation on particular parts of culture, where gendered aspects might be revealed, interviews were planned using as the first area for investigation what underlies selection and promotion processes. The initial topic was: 'How do men and women get on (progress) in this organisation?' For the second topic in order to elicit an affective response from interviewees about the organisation the topic 'How do you feel about *Westco* compared to other organisations known to you?' was chosen.

Other topics considered and rejected. The idea of asking people directly about their knowledge of Equal Opportunity policies, their perception of the efficacy of these policies, their knowledge of sexual harassment and similar topics was also rejected, because of the likelihood of socially acceptable (politically correct) rather than wholly truthful answers. As

indicated in chapter 6, for epistemological and methodological reasons a number of methods, including postal questionnaires, ethnography, and conventional structured and semi-structured interviews, were considered and rejected.

2. Selection of interviewees

Individual interviews with 6 women and 6 men managers were conducted. These individuals were selected to represent a cross section of supervisors/first line managers and middle and senior managers. Selection took place with the help of a contact during a face to face meeting, and he wrote to them prior to my contacting them individually by phone. Because of the small number of women in managerial positions, the women were selected first, and then men in similar positions were matched to them; for this reason no top managers were interviewed.

3. Choice of interviewing method

Because of a concern to avoid socially pleasing answers, it was therefore considered that any interview format that relied on eliciting a direct answer on how women progressed in the company was likely to be unreliable. This would be the case whether the interview were structured, semi-structured, or unstructured. Even if respondents were not deliberately misleading, they might repeat common media theories about why women fail to progress (e.g. Faludi, 1991). A further concern was how to order and analyse the data collected.

The method chosen was therefore repertory grid. The theoretical underpinning for this method and further details about its application were discussed in chapter 6. Repertory grid has the advantage of eliciting the respondent's own cognitive structure, which as much as possible would avoid the problem of interviewer influence. Also, because a series of concepts and ideas are forthcoming, some of the preparatory work for analysis is done. By questioning interviewees about their constructs, further supporting information would be available. Advice is to record the constructs on cards, with any other relevant comments added on the back (Stewart et al (1981). When appropriate, other interviewing methods as seemed appropriate could supplement repertory grid. (My previous experience was as a

social worker and included interviewing a wide range of people, articulate and inarticulate, willing and unwilling.)

4. Group workshops for investigating culture

As discussed earlier in this study, in relation to organisational culture, the initial intention in the pilot study was to operationalise this complex concept in a way that would illuminate any differences between male and female respondents. One interest was to see if organisational culture could be deconstructed into a masculine dominant culture, and feminine subordinate subculture. In other words, the research would investigate whether men and women managers perceive and experience organisational culture differently. Schein's (1992) workshop method was therefore adapted. In order to test the hypothesis of separate subcultures, separate workshops were held for men and women managers, recording material on flipchart sheets, which could be taken away afterwards.

The reason for deciding on separate meetings for each sex was based on a number of different considerations. First there was personal experience of being a woman manager in male dominated organisations, where I have often felt a sense of recognition and community between women in management positions. Second, the literature reviewed in chapter 4 (e.g. Alimo-Metcalfe, 1993) indicates that women in mixed groups have less opportunity to contribute than men. Third, Blanksby (1988) indicates qualitative differences in content; she had found that discussion of managerial competencies in mixed and men only groups yielded distinctively different content from women only groups.

5. Documentary evidence

It was intended to examine appropriate documents, such as the Equal Opportunity policy, and internal documents such as mission statements and policies.

6. Observation and reflection

Whilst not principal methods, it was intended to use any opportunities which arose to observe the organisation, and to reflect systematically on each interview. As discussed

above in this chapter, the use of reflexivity within research methodology is recommended by mainstream researchers such as Schein (1992) as well as being used within the humanistic research tradition (Reason, 1988a) in feminist research methodology (Stanley and Wise, 1993) and in interpretive approaches (Schultz, 1995). The experience, thoughts and reflections of the researcher are seen as valid forms of data on which to draw, something which I had explored previously in a research project (Wilson, 1994a).

Implementation of the pilot case study

The case study was undertaken over the summer of 1994 and implemented as follows:

1. Interviews

All interviews followed the pattern as in the interview guide (Appendix 5), which started by explaining the purposes of the research, and an assurance of organisational anonymity and personal confidentiality (King, 1994). As stated the initial question asked of respondents was: 'How do people get on (progress) in this organisation?' The initial set of elements (Stewart et al, 1981) that each respondent was asked to assemble was a number of managers known to them: three people who had done well in the organisation or whom they recognised as potential high flyers; three who were making steady progress and might expect one or two more promotions; and three who were low achievers with no promotion prospects. The aim in selecting these elements was to find out those constructs individuals associated with success or failure in this particular organisation, and thus by asking why these particular characteristics are important to the organisation, gain insight into the organisational culture. From these elements three were selected, one from each group (for instance numbers 1, 4 and 7), and respondents asked to identify ways in which two were similar and one was different. The techniques of laddering up and laddering down as described by Stewart et al (1981) were used.

The first four respondents were asked to include one woman in each group of three elements. This instruction was omitted for the next three people interviewed, and none or only one woman was selected out of nine elements. By this stage there were a number of consistent themes emerging on organisational culture relating to recruitment and promotion. In order to focus on how some women did well in the organisation against the odds, the remaining respondents were asked to include four or five women in their elements, at least one in each group. Triads were reselected (see Appendix 5). All women groups were identified as well as mixed groups, so that data could be gathered on how some women did better than others. The repertory grid method was helpful in bringing to light topics not considered previously, such as a sense of humour.

The second part of the interview was more personally orientated. The aim was to discover how interviewees felt about *Westco* relative to other organisations, as a way of finding out more about culture. Utilising repertory grid again, they selected as elements a series of organisations: three in which they felt really at ease; three in which they adapted and coped; and three in which they felt uncomfortable or negatively challenged. The organisations could be selected from any work, voluntary, sporting or leisure organisations; if necessary they could choose organisations known to them indirectly. They had to select real organisations rather than imaginary or idealised ones (Stewart et al, 1981).

In both cases respondents completed a Grid (Appendix 7), for the first topic evaluating all nine elements on a simple 1- 5 scale against the constructs identified, and for the second topic evaluating only *Westco*. All bipolar constructs were recorded on cards, the constructs on one side, with comments and notes on the back. Although writers about repertory grid (e.g. Stewart et al, 1981) assume bi-polar constructs will be elicited, such as 'committed - uncommitted', in many case respondents identified a continuum of meaning, such as 'more committed - less committed'. As much as possible the interviewees' own words were recorded, usually in reported speech and note form, but writing out actual direct speech when possible. After each interview the content was dictated and transcribed, including comments additional to the constructs, general discussion, and observations and reflections.

Tape recording interviews was considered, but rejected after consultation. The method of recording appeared sufficiently rigorous, given that at some point all researchers have to select from their data.

The first repertory grid topic was successful in eliciting clear notions about desirable managerial characteristics, and by using the laddering techniques (Stewart et al, 1981), details to flesh out the constructs, and also explanations related to the corporate (espoused) culture were obtained. Having established rapport with the interviewees in relation to general aspects of how people get on, it was easy to move on to asking about differences between men and women, using the repertory grid elements as a prompt. Although it was still possible that some were giving what they perceived as socially acceptable answers, the range of people interviewed, from paternalist chauvinist to committed feminist, meant data could be cross checked. The question arises as to whether this information would have been obtained without using this particular interviewing technique, and it seems less likely.

The second repertory grid exercise was less successful, one problem being that respondents had difficulty choosing nine suitable elements. The data yielded some information about how interviewees felt about organisations, but was not always relevant to the main enquiry. Although the scores on the actual grids for both exercises were interesting, there appeared to be no way of combining them into useful summary data.

As indicated above other forms of interview technique were used as appropriate. One female interviewee on learning the area of investigation immediately launched into a long account of what she considered the problems for women in the organisation, and it seemed appropriate to let her talk before commencing the repertory grid exercises. With some other interviewees when sufficient rapport was established, they were happy to give their opinion. The amount of time spent on general discussion, exclusive to the repertory grid exercises, varied from almost none to half of the interview.

Great play is put on establishing rapport in interviews. I am a mature woman with considerable experience in social and voluntary work, as a manager, and as a public representative. I consider myself extremely adaptive in my approach to individuals, altering my behaviour and language to complement the person to whom I am speaking; in other words I can engage in sophisticated impression management (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). In addition I am personally self confident, and had decided in advance that I was prepared to share parts of my own experience, and respond to questions put to me (Oakley, 1981). I therefore found it relatively easy to establish rapport with all interviewees.

After each interview a description of each person was recorded with details of the room in which the interview took place, any other details relevant to the conduct of the interview, their response, and general impressions of them (see Appendix 12). This proved helpful in remembering them as individuals.

2. The workshops

As discussed, group meetings were undertaken with the women managers, and with the men managers separately, using Schein's workshop methodology for eliciting culture (1992). As these were half-day meetings, all aspects of culture could not be covered. It became clear during individual interviews in *Westco* that one subsidiary, which was run and managed entirely by women, was distinctly different from the rest of the organisation and so an additional group meeting for them was arranged. This last meeting was the second all-women meeting as the subsidiary had an overwhelmingly female staff. Two attendees at this third meeting had not been interviewed separately; all other group members had been interviewed previously.

There was disappointingly low attendance at the group sessions. Only three out of five women turned up (the sixth interviewee took part in the *Servco* session). The men's group was even worse in some respects, as only two participated. However these were two younger managers, both of whom had displayed a fairly enlightened attitude to women's participation in the company, and in the absence of other colleagues they felt able to speak

frankly. All group meetings followed a set format. First Schein's (1992) model of culture and the conduct of the meeting were explained (Appendix 8). At each workshop session comments were recorded verbatim on a flipchart sheet, using headings where appropriate, and guiding the choice of topics. Each sheet was stuck on the walls round the room. Returning to each sheet in the last half-hour the group were asked to identify what Schein (1992) calls espoused values and underlying assumptions as appropriate. These were recorded on a separate sheet.

Because this was a research project the workshop sessions lasted approximately 3 hours, whereas Schein (1992) recommends a day. Each workshop deliberately started on the more neutral topics and moved on to those that were more contentious, leaving gender till last. The topics selected (Appendix 10) yielded plentiful data about the organisational culture in general, and its gendered aspects. One aspect of data that could not be recorded was the interaction between participants. In some ways this was a lost opportunity, as I have trained as a family therapist, which is a systems-based method of diagnosing and resolving family problems. The principles are easily translatable into work with teams and groups. The main reason for omitting this source of data was the fact that this research was undertaken individually. Intellectual, social and group management skills had to be used to manage each workshop, making it impossible to use observation skills simultaneously.

3. Documentary evidence

The primary methods of data collection were supplemented by looking at internal documents such as the Equal Opportunity policy. The analysis of company policies and documents was relatively limited in the pilot.

4. Help from informants

Discussions with informants were held to check out perceptions and inferences made from observations (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). One of these was the original contact, another was also known in a professional capacity, and some other managers volunteered.

This helped confirm, refine or challenge impressions and early theorising. As well as verbal discussions one informant went through a proposed conference paper (Wilson, 1994b).

5. Observation and reflection

In addition to the observations made after each interview, casual observations were made opportunistically (Eisenhardt, 1989), for instance of surroundings, and reflections on my reaction to interviewees and the organisation in general. All of this was recorded. From January 1994, throughout the period of this research, I have kept a research diary, which I find has both intellectual and personal value. One question I considered was my gender (Warren, 1988). I found that some men related to me as a woman and others rather as a colleague; of course these two aspects are not mutually exclusive. This aspect is further discussed in chapter 9 on findings.

6. Analysis

As will be obvious from the discussion of the conduct of the interviews, some theorising was already taking shape before completion of the interviews (Eisenhardt, 1989). The formal analysis of the individual interviews was undertaken in two ways. In relation to the first part of the interview the cards were sorted into groups of similar constructs, and then initially categorised. To ensure the original sorting and categorisation was not idiosyncratic, after recording preliminary findings the cards were resorted after a period of two weeks and there were no significant differences. A thematic analysis was undertaken after re-reading transcripts of the interviews. These had details and observations that fleshed out the bare constructs as well as general discussion, and added detail to the findings. A similar process was followed for the second topic of the interview but because of the disparate elements chosen by respondents, the results were less clear. This was one of the reasons for deciding to change the second topic in the main case studies. The analysis of the workshop sessions was relatively simple. All flipchart sheets were transcribed as they were. There was a strong overlap between the content of individual interviews and workshop sessions, which served the purposes of triangulation.

In conclusion, to evaluate the success of this pilot study, the four hypotheses are reiterated:

- (i) organisational culture is gendered.
- (ii) women and men managers experience organisational culture differently.
- (iii) men and women managers have different perceptions and values in relation to management style.
- (iv) organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially.

It was clear from the pilot study that the methods chosen elicited evidence relevant to hypotheses (i) and (iv) and to a lesser extent hypothesis (ii). It appeared however that there had been insufficient data to test hypothesis (iii).

In summary however, the pilot research project demonstrated that the adaptation of established research methods, interviewing using repertory grid and group workshop sessions, can elicit gendered aspects of culture. The findings were fully written up in Wilson (1994b).

Selection of, and access to, main case study organisations

Much of the writing about investigating organisational culture discusses investigating a single entity, implying one in-depth study. The advantage of this is the breadth and depth of data that can be gathered and the opportunity to undertake iterative investigations. However the disadvantage is that there is less scope for generalising and theorising as a result of the findings. By contrast investigating several organisations enables comparative work to be undertaken (Eisenhardt, 1989). A case study is not of course a research method but a research strategy and may utilise a variety of different methods to gather data (Hartley, 1994). Chapter 4 demonstrated that there is wealth of research into various individual processes that prevent women advancing; this study is concerned with why these

differ in efficacy between organisations, and how embedded these processes are in organisational culture. Despite the loss of individual depth it appeared that there would be more interesting results by looking at a cross section of organisations. As discussed in chapter 6 cases can be chosen for their typicality or lack of it (Bryman, 1988, Hammersley, 1993), as detailed below. A further reason for comparative studies was that there was more likely to make a contribution to knowledge.

Questions of access arose in relation to several aspects of each case study: access to the organisation, access to individual interviewees, arranging group/workshop discussions, access to written information, and access to feedback.

In relation to access to the organisation, the intention in proceeding with the six main case studies was to select them as far as possible according to the following criteria, in order to obtain a diverse cross section of organisations as possible:

- commitment to Opportunity 2000 or diversity/no commitment (more progress may be seen in companies committed to such a policy)
- public/private (in general there appears more commitment to Equal Opportunities in the public sector)
- manufacturing/service (likely to have different proportions of male and female staff, and degrees of vertical segregation)
- UK/foreign multinational (may be influenced by the parent company culture)
- male/female chief executive/managing director (to see if this affects management style and culture throughout the organisation)

In retrospect permission in principle for access to the first three substantive case studies, as with the pilot, was obtained relatively easily. *Finco* agreed to access via their personnel department as a quid pro quo for free consultancy. An NHS Trust with a female Chief Executive had been in the news because of its excellent performance in the Patients Charter standards and this was contacted. For what is known hereafter as the *Trust* the Chief Executive's executive assistant was contacted and agreement reached extremely

quickly, the implications of which are discussed in chapter 9. The Council was interesting in that agreement had to be sought from all three party leaders (Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat) before being granted; this is a Council that had had a long history of changes of control and no overall control. For both *Finco* and the Council there was a long time lag between obtaining permission and taking it up. In the case of *Finco*, the original contact had transferred to another post, but his replacement after acquainting herself with the purpose of the study made arrangements for access. The position was more problematical with the Council. Contact was made with a senior officer who had responsibility for Equal Opportunity policy, and he helpfully recounted the history of this within the Council. However, despite permission having already been granted, when he contacted departments on my behalf he couched the memo in terms that invited refusal. The two departments contacted refused access for operational reasons. I therefore contacted the leader of the Council who is an acquaintance; by then there was one party in control. She was sympathetic to the research and suggested contacting a more senior officer who arranged for access to another department, *Leisure Services*.

Some problems were anticipated in finding suitable organisations for the remainder of the case studies. First, access is a persistent problem in research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Second, it would be necessary for there to be sufficient women managers at middle management levels to interview. A more serious limitation was the willingness of organisations to be studied in what some perceive as a sensitive field, Equal Opportunities. In the event, access was much more difficult than envisaged. The two criteria it appeared particularly important to meet were first a manufacturing company, for reasons of balance, and second a company in the private sector with a female Managing Director (MD), so comparisons could be made with the *Trust*. Another criterion was that any company investigated should if possible be within reasonable travelling distance of my workplace or home, to dovetail data collection with other employment commitments.

In order to gain access to a manufacturing company, a list of Opportunity 2000 organisational members was used, first contacting a number of household name companies.

The general approach was to contact the personnel department and ask for the person with responsibility for Equal Opportunities. In some cases companies replied immediately that it would not be possible, in others details were sent with a covering letter (Appendix 1) and formal replies received. Reasons for refusal ranged over a number of points: undergoing restructuring, staff recently interviewed in relation to Investors in People, too busy to offer two hour interviews, and a variety of brush off answers. Some organisations did not bother to reply. After a number of fruitless contacts, Opportunity 2000 in Merseyside and Yorkshire contacted member organisations and the opportunity to study an engineering company was offered. This company is called *Engco* in this study, and was happy to grant access in return for an understanding on advising how to progress their commitment to Opportunity 2000.

Finding a private sector company with a female MD also proved problematical. One company contacted through a friend agreed and then decided not to proceed for various reasons. There seemed to be few organisations with information about female MDs; for instance local Chambers of Commerce and Trade said they had no identifiable list. Circulating a list of women managers and businesswomen's networks came to nothing. One company was willing to be involved but had no women in managerial positions apart from the MD. Some companies were just too small. After two cancelled appointments I met the MD of a small company in the media, and she agreed access quickly and efficiently. Because of the size of the company it was agreed only 7 managers would be interviewed. This company is known as *Mediaco*.

In the meantime there had been more success in finding the last organisation. Through a contact with the Business School access was arranged to a professional partnership, which is a member of Opportunity 2000. It was agreed it would be reasonable to interview 10% of one local office, eight employees in all. This is called the *Partnership*. The eventual mix of organisations is shown in Table 7.1, and the number of interviewees for each organisation is shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.1: Organisations used as case studies

Criteria	Case Study Organisations						
	<i>Westco</i>	<i>Finco</i>	<i>Leisure Services</i>	<i>Trust</i>	<i>Engco</i>	<i>Partnership</i>	<i>Mediaco</i>
Member Opp 2000				✓	✓	✓	
Not member	✗	✗	✗				✗
Public sector			✓	✓			
Private sector	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
Service	(✓)	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Manufactur-ing					✓		
UK multi	✗	✓	n/a	n/a	✓	✓	✗
Non UK multi	✗	✗	n/a	n/a	✗	✗	✗
Women CE				✓			✓
Man CE	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	

Key:

- ✓ = meets criterion
- ✗ = does not meet criterion
- n/a = not applicable

All organisations were situated in or near Merseyside or West Yorkshire. Taking all seven organisations, two were arranged through personal contacts (*Leisure Services*, *Mediaco*), one through a professional contact (*Westco*), two through official contacts (*Engco*, the *Partnership*) and two through a direct approach (the *Trust* and *Finco*). This indicates that networking was much superior to unmediated approaches as others have found (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). As can be seen, one criterion was not met, that of studying a foreign owned multi-national, and the selection was heavily weighted towards the service sector. However a professional *Partnership*, a criterion not previously identified, added another dimension to the study.

A question of bias in the selection of these organisations arises. Although membership of Opportunity 2000 was used as one of the criteria for selection, this is not as rigorous a distinction as other criteria. Three organisations were members of Opportunity 2000, the *Trust*, *Engco* and the *Partnership*. Lack of membership did not however necessarily entail lack of commitment to Equal Opportunities. *Leisure Services* was part of a Council with an established commitment to Equal Opportunities, and the same could be surmised about *Mediaco* with its female Chief Executive. *Finco* and *Westco* also had Equal Opportunities policies. It may be that organisations to which access was not granted might have been less committed to EO than those eventually studied.

Having gained access to each organisation, access to individual interviewees was necessary. The method by which this was arranged varied; Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) indicate that there is always an element of chance in this. Each contact person in the organisation had received a copy entitled 'case study requirements' that outlined requirements (see Appendices 3 and 4). In *Westco* there was joint selection of participants. In the majority of organisations a list of interviewees was presented, often assembled without prior discussion. In the *Partnership* a list of employees was sent and a selection made. The methods of selection are shown in Table 7.2 below.

The actual employees selected varied in their job descriptions and responsibilities both within and between organisations. In most organisations only managers were interviewed, although some were in staff positions without subordinates, in roles such as personnel, policy advice, or technical specialisms. In *Finco*, *Engco*, and the *Partnership* graduate trainees were interviewed. In *Leisure Services* interviewees included trade union officials, and in *Engco* the sole female operative in a heavy engineering workshop. *Leisure Services* was structured into four divisions and it became apparent there was under-representation from one of these, so additional interviews were arranged. All interviewees were contacted by phone and a mutually convenient time arranged. Only one *Finco* employee proved totally inaccessible, and a replacement was found.

Table 7.2: Method of selection of interviewees and mix of employees

Organisation	Method of selection			Number interviewed	Mix of employees	
	Joint selection	Organisation selection	Author's selection		Solely managers	Managers and others
<i>Westco</i>	✓			12	✓	
<i>Trust</i>		✓		12	✓	
<i>Leisure Services</i>		✓		14	✓	
<i>Finco</i>		✓		12		✓
<i>Engco</i>		✓		12		✓
<i>Partnership</i>			✓	8		✓
<i>Mediaco</i>		✓		7	✓	

Key:

✓ = meets criterion

One problem that may have operated was that of bias in selection of interviewees. Although the written requests emphasised a range of functions, levels and backgrounds (Appendices 3 and 4), it may well be that organisations chose those participants who they thought would not let them down by conveying prejudiced views. However a wealth of data was forthcoming, not all of it showing every organisation in the best light. In most organisations the internal contact was able to arrange the workshops after completion of the interviews. All took place on company premises. Attendance at these varied from 2 out of 6 (*Westco* men) to 4 out of 4 (*Partnership* women). Although three hours was requested, two in advance or even less on the day had to be accepted in many cases. However some groups that had stipulated a strict time limit became fascinated by the discussion and went over their allotted time.

Access to written information was variable. In most organisations written information was not requested initially. The rationale for this was to receive an unbiased impression of each

organisation. Later it proved very difficult to gain information after the initial interest in the study. A list of data that would be helpful (Appendix 10) was given to an appropriate person in each organisation. This asked for demographic statistics for the workforce; mission statements, annual reports and press releases; and every personnel policy possibly relevant to Equal Opportunities. Given that in the main official policies and pronouncements were requested, it seemed unlikely written data would be sensitive. In addition to this material some interesting written information from reception areas was picked up.

The last area of data gathering was via feedback, which most organisations expected as a quid pro quo of access, casting me in the role of expert (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). The exceptions were *Westco* and *Mediaco*, which despite expressions of interest did not arrange anything. The Chief Executive of *Mediaco* had originally indicated that the parent company might be interested in my findings. For the *Trust* and *Leisure Services* a two-stage feedback was undertaken, first giving a presentation to interviewees, and second writing a short report for the Chief Executive and incoming Director respectively. *Engco* asked for an additional presentation to all UK personnel managers, and subsequently to one plant. The *Partnership* had a presentation with the Regional Director of Personnel present, but was otherwise poorly attended. Both *Engco* and the *Partnership* planned to feed back the findings into personnel policy and practice. By the time feedback was ready for *Finco* the company had merged with another, and only two interviewees expressed interest in a live presentation. Each participant therefore received two copies of the summarised findings and an addressed envelope, inviting them to return comments. Three people responded, by letter, phone and personal meeting respectively.

Methodology for subsequent case studies

This section will discuss the changes made in the methodology of the substantive case studies as compared with the pilot. Where there is no specific discussion this indicates no change.

The style and outcome of both the repertory grid and less structured parts of the interviews had been satisfactory. Experience indicated that it would not be possible to complete two repertory grid exercises in less than two hours and so this information was incorporated in subsequent requests (Appendices 3 and 4). As I found interviews tiring I also decided where possible to limit them to a maximum of two in any one day. After the experience at *Westco* experimenting with asking for women among the elements, it appeared appropriate to do this each time.

As discussed above, in the pilot study the third hypothesis (that men and women have different perceptions and values in relation to management style) was not tested, and so it was planned to do this in the remaining case studies by changing the second repertory grid topic. To explore male and female management styles presents a problem. There was insufficient time to observe managers, and the alternative of self-reporting can be inaccurate. It was therefore decided to focus on perceptions and preferences of management style of colleagues and former colleagues as a second topic. This would indicate what similarities and differences there are between individuals' preferred style and the espoused managerial style of the organisation. The important change between the pilot and substantive case studies was therefore the topic for the second exercise, called 'your ideal manager'. Interviewees chose as their first three elements people they regarded as good managers, anyone from supervisor to director level. For the second three elements, they chose three managers whom they regarded as sometimes effective and sometimes ineffective. The last three elements were to include managers they thought were poor, bad, or totally ineffective. A revised interview guide (Appendix 6) was written, together with an aide memoire for after the interview (Appendix 12), and a guide to annotating data (Appendix 13).

The methodology for the workshop was satisfactory. Although evidence for the second hypothesis was equivocal, on a number of the original grounds it appeared appropriate to persist with separate workshops for men and women. In relation to organisational documents the list referred to above was compiled (Appendix 10).

Towards a typology of managerial characteristics

After the pilot case study a way of grouping the data from the repertory grid exercises was needed. Initially heuristic processes were used, in other words the data were sorted in a way which appeared to make sense. What emerged from that first exercise was a division of data into the following: first, personal characteristics or qualities that people might have regardless of status; second biographical data; third management skills and competences; and fourth, what could be termed higher level skills, what a manager would need to get to the top of an organisation. This division was used for subsequent case studies.

Iterative attempts were used to form this into a typology. One problem was that this was dual purpose, looking at both characteristics which help someone progress, and for describing a good manager. However, as there was considerable overlap in each organisation in relation to the constructs given in each exercise, it seemed sensible to try to have one typology and apply it to each set of data.

A number of versions were produced. The first, in November 1996 was a list of data divided into the headings detailed above (Appendix 15). The second version (Appendix 16), was a revision of the first version. For the third version (Appendix 17) all data was rechecked to ensure sufficient different examples of data were included. The framework used can be found in Stewart et al (1980) describing the different types of constructs that should be elicited: propositional, which are easily observable properties; sensory, which includes how a person feels or perceives; and evaluative, which is how a person evaluates.

The next task was to map the managerial typologies described in chapter 5 (Tables 5.2 to 5.9) against version 3. No one typology covered all of version 3, although cumulatively they covered most of it. The general exception was the personal data. Most managerial typologies do not regard personal data as relevant, but the data indicated this it was important in assessment and selection processes. After reviewing all the different theories

and typologies it was decided to use their categories to help re-order the typology. The different categories of data can be seen in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Type of data/descriptions in management theories and typologies

Bem (1974)	Personality descriptors
Boyatzis (1982)	Aptitudes, attitudes, personal attributes, skills
MCI management competences (1991)	Job related behaviour
MCI personal competences (1991)	Behaviour related to job, and personal and career development
Big Five (Cooper & Robertson, 1995)	Personality dimensions
Rosener (1990)	Job related behaviour, personal qualities, values
Pedlar et al (1994)	Aptitude, skills, qualities
Dale et al (Dale and Iles, 1992)	Skills, values, conceptual abilities, job related behaviour

The contents of Table 7.3 suggested how the data might be re-categorised, but still did not cover all of it. For instance, as mentioned it did not cover primary differences such as gender and age; nor did it encompass data which were the result of life or career choices, or opportunities, for example overseas experience or having a mentor. Also omitted were the possibly less acceptable aspects mentioned as necessary for progressing in some organisations, such as being streetwise, or devious. The last categorisation, which involved considerable changes to the typology, took all this into account as indicated in Table 7.4.

As can be seen, a major difference between this and former typologies is that higher level management skills were omitted as a separate category and instead redistributed among other main headings. The next step in this iterative process was to re-sort all the original data sets from each case study against version 4. It could be argued that it could have been amended further, perhaps combining values and attitudes; however these seemed distinct. The full version appears in Appendix 18.

Table 7.4: Categories used classifying data for typology 4

Managing Yourself – personal qualities/characteristics/behaviour (what a person may have regardless of being a manager)	Values
	Attitudes
	Cognitive abilities and understanding
	Personality descriptors/attributes
	Job related behaviour
	Career related behaviour
Biographical data	Primary differences
	Physical attributes
	Result of life/career choices/opportunities
Managing the job – managerial skills/competences and behaviour	Skills
	Managerial behaviour

It may be helpful to give a few words of explanation as to how some constructs were divided up between these categories. In the Managing Yourself section, values and attitudes are self evident; consideration was given to combining these but on balance there was sufficient difference to justify two categories. Cognitive abilities and understanding includes a number of items previously identified as necessary to reach the top of an organisation, such as breadth of vision. Personality descriptors was the largest category of data and again self-explanatory. Behaviour in the workplace was divided respectively into that related to doing the job, and that related to furthering one's career. Some allocations of constructs between these categories are debatable: for instance networking could have gone in the job related behaviour, but on balance it was more significant in the career related category. In the second section it was originally intended to separate out life and career choices from life and career opportunities. Possibly this category could have been disaggregated, but some items in the combined category, such as sponsor or mentor, could have gone in either, which could be misleading. It proved a fine distinction, and there were a number of constructs, which could have fitted in either category, such as a management qualification, or outside professional links. "Right opportunities" was used to group a number of constructs that conveyed essentially the same message; that someone was in the right place at the right time, or was offered opportunities not available to all. In the third section there is again a thin line between skills and behaviour. It can be questioned whether one can exhibit managerial

behaviour without the underlying skills and conversely what constitutes a skill if not exhibited in behaviour. Nevertheless it seemed helpful to separate them to remain true to the informants' constructs.

The next step was to do a complete re-sort of all the constructs of the first repertory grid exercise. This involved re-categorising over 1000 cards, first doing an approximate sort, and re-categorising iteratively as appropriate. The result of this exercise can be seen in Appendix 19. The findings are discussed in chapter 8.

Implementation of the main case studies

Although all interviewees were informed in advance that a minimum of two hours was needed to complete investigations, some had not set enough time aside, or were particularly voluble, and so a second interview was arranged. Some were concerned to keep to time limits and so this meant that some interesting avenues had to be curtailed. Each interview started with a short neutral discussion where the research purpose was outlined, followed by discussion of the interviewee's job title and responsibilities (Appendix 6). If they wanted to talk in general at this or any other point, this was encouraged, provided it appeared useful. Particularly interesting points were pursued. There was no problem with any interviewee in controlling the course and shape of the interview. Inevitably there was some selection of data.

It is not generally considered appropriate that interviewers should give advice or counselling as part of a research interview. However I found that a number of times I was placed in an 'expert' role (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) and asked my opinion of some phenomena, which within bounds I was prepared to give, following on Oakley's (1990) advice. I was also faced once or twice with situations described to me that had clearly upset or puzzled the interviewee, but which are documented in the women in management literature. For instance, one female manager in a support role was concerned that although

performing well her male manager did not think she was suitable for promotion. I suggested that there were issues around perception, and that the literature indicates disparities between appraisals of female employees in terms of current performance, and suitability for promotion. We agreed that this discussion would form no part of the findings for this particular organisation. She appeared to find this information helpful, and I think it considerably deepened the rapport and trust between us.

Having decided that I would actively engage my personality and self in establishing rapport, this meant I was using my social skills repeatedly with new people. The third and fourth case studies were undertaken in close succession in early 1996, which I found tiring. There was a break from data collection over the summer period. Three more case studies followed in close succession from autumn 1996 to spring of 1997, and by the time these were completed I felt I was suffering from what I term 'rapport fatigue'. The number of contacts with each organisation is set out in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5: Number and type of contact in each organisation

	Interviews	Workshops	Contacts/ informants	Feedback individual	Feedback group	Total
<i>Westco</i>	12	3	3	0	0	18
<i>Trust</i>	12	2	1	1	1	17
<i>Leisure Services</i>	14	2	1	1	1	19
<i>Finco</i>	12	2	3	0	0*	17
<i>Engco</i>	12	2	1	0	3	17
<i>Partnership</i>	8	2	1	0	1	12
<i>Mediaco</i>	7	2	1	0	0	10
TOTAL	77	15	11	2	6	111

Key * Written feedback only

Repertory grid was used in generally the same way as in the pilot. In some organisations it was difficult to choose elements, because of the paucity of managerial women, or because the organisation was divided into separate operating companies. Therefore women could not be represented in all groups. It may be that the request for women as elements skewed some selections, for instance in the first exercise less obvious candidates for promotion may

have been put in that category just because they were female. Some interviewees gave initials or first name only; this was more likely to happen in some organisations than others. A few individuals appeared to have a genuine difficulty in choosing elements, but all managed to do so in the end. Some interviewees were diffident about selecting poor or bad managers, but were reassured that it was not a beauty contest, and that data about individuals would be aggregated only where positive.

Triads were used, following a routine of selecting three mixed groups (for instance 1, 4, and 7) followed if necessary by a remix (for instance 1, 5, 9). Sometimes interviewees looked at three elements or all the elements together, and obviously found this helpful. In the first repertory grid exercise, which looked at how people succeed in the organisation, whenever possible they were asked to look at all female groups, to explore why some women succeeded better than others.

Laddering up was not used to the extent of pressing for core constructs (Stewart et al, 1980), and sometimes constructs were elicited which overlapped with each other, for instance good communication skills and being a good listener. In laddering up questions were asked such as 'Why is it important in this organisation?' and 'Why do you think that?'. Interviewees were not requested to arrange constructs hierarchically, which meant that constructs were different in type, as discussed in chapter 8. Constructs were clarified with interviewees, ensuring that each construct only dealt with one continuum of meaning. Allowing constructs qualified by 'more' and 'less' obviated one of the criticisms of repertory grid, that it forces oppositional constructs at the expense of more subtle distinctions. Interviewees also offered constructs based on groups larger than triads, which may have reduced the tendency of this technique to ignore constructs common to all elements. It seemed appropriate to sit in silence or offer prompt questions where this was helpful, but generally it was obvious when someone had dried up. In each exercise the number of constructs varied between 8 and 21, with 14 about average. The change of topic for the second exercise was helpful and elicited the data required about managers' perceptions of colleagues' management style.

One instance reinforced the value of repertory grid. After completing the first half of the interview with a very informative interviewee, I mentioned in passing that the second topic would be the ideal manager. Conscientiously he came to the next appointment armed with a list of desirable characteristics. When analysing them there was little resonance with the views of colleagues. In addition when we returned to elicit constructs in the usual way, he thought of some which had not been on his prepared list. This appeared to indicate that repertory grid is more likely to produce data unmediated by concerns as to what is politically acceptable or based on received wisdom. Using Easterby-Smith et al's (1996) categories, the first repertory grid exercise tended to produce ideas and perceptions, and the second feelings and values.

Cards were numbered throughout the interview and afterwards each card was annotated on the back, indicating organisation, name, sequence in interview, and male or female interviewee. After rating elements against constructs for the *Trust*, the first of the main case studies, it did not appear useful to aggregate the information using a quantitative method. This was omitted for the rest of the case studies.

The workshop followed the same format as in the pilot. The method of recording espoused values or underlying assumptions was changed to add them in a different colour to the original sheets rather than listing them on a separate sheet. This meant the relationship between artefacts and the espoused values or underlying assumptions was clearer. It was unclear whether in each case fundamentally important underlying assumptions were identified, as the entire exercise had to be undertaken against the clock, but these could be examined afresh when undertaking data analysis. For all the substantive case studies two workshops each were undertaken, for the men and for the women. The only organisation where a different arrangement might have been considered was *Leisure Services*, but it appeared unworkable to request additional workshops to the two set up. The topics explored varied between organisations, to confirm or disconfirm preliminary findings from the interview data. Typically they started by asking about dress codes or address, proceeded

through topics such as promotion and finished by asking about gender differences. Most workshops had a purposeful and good-natured atmosphere, and many participants said they had enjoyed the workshop and found it interesting. In almost all cases the process could be managed well, and participants allowed to stray from the topic introduced where this was producing relevant data. No attempt was made to record data on process, apart from a few notes at the end. No doubt more data would be forthcoming if two researchers were present, one recording process and possibly content in more detail.

In relation to documentary evidence, there were two types: policies which were given as a result of the request list (Appendix 10), and information picked up casually, or requested specially. None was personally sensitive, and none appeared politically sensitive. Help from informants was variable. The initial contact was used in *Leisure Services* and *Finco*, and in other organisations ideas were tested out on later interviewees, for instance in the *Trust*. Not all feedback confirmed the original theorising, and some of the reasons for differences are discussed later in chapters 9 and 10. Notes were taken at and after all feedback meetings with individuals and groups. It would have been helpful to have had assistance for this. Data was collected opportunistically, for instance when waiting for appointments I made observations, or chatted to receptionists.

Lastly throughout the data collection I reflected on my experience in general in each organisation, and in particular on my experience as a female researcher. In those organisations where women feel undervalued, I received no personal indication of this, but the fact that I had been given entry meant those interviewees to whom I was directed were at least motivated to participate. I was aware of the sense of recognition and warmth with most of the women. However, because of shared intellectual and professional interests I also felt a sense of identification with some of the men. Some male interviewees treated me in an avuncular fashion, which in itself was data. On the other hand some confided in me in a way which might not have happened with a male researcher. However, it would be unusual if the data collected had not been affected by my gender. It was suggested above that female researchers might manipulate male subjects (Easterday et al, 1977 cited in

Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). I think that this is possible, but as a result of my social responsiveness rather than overt use of my femininity. There is probably a thin line between establishing rapport, guiding the interview and manipulation. I took particular care with my clothes, always dressing conservatively in suits and wearing quiet jewellery; this was to look acceptable in corporate settings and avoid distracting the participants by evoking unhelpful stereotypes.

One problem which arises, more so in traditional ethnography than in this type of study, is the question of 'going native' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), identifying with the organisation to the extent that unbiased theorising becomes difficult. I was aware of this with *Westco*, *Leisure Services* and *Engco*, but not with *Finco* or the *Trust*; *Mediacco* was somewhere in between. In writing about identification, however, I felt this was an empathetic understanding rather than subjugation of my critical faculties. I suffered culture shock (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) in one organisation only, the *Partnership*. It was the only organisation to which I felt I would be unable to adapt as an employee. The reasons for this are discussed more fully in chapter 10.

There were two main sources of primary data, from interviews and from the workshop sessions. The interview data was of two sorts: the basic constructs which were all on cards, and the comments, explanations, observations and reflections, transcribed into narrative form. The workshop data was as given in the sessions, with the addition only of notes in parentheses, in round brackets to make sense of particularly cryptic comments, and in square brackets for reflections. Clear patterns emerged from the repertory grid exercises, in for instance *Westco* and the *Trust*, but in some organisations the interview constructs alone did not form a decisive pattern, particularly in the *Partnership*, although the smaller sample may have contributed to this. For the initial summary of findings, written for each organisation, a frequency count of constructs was used, noting where the views of men and women differed, and augmented as appropriate with material from discussion and the workshops. The development of a typology for the constructs was discussed in chapter 5. Most summaries were subject to feedback, yielding additional data.

The initial analysis for each organisation was thus predominantly left brain. I did not use the techniques identified as right brain until undertaking a more comprehensive analysis. However when I came to write an overview of all organisations as a basis for chapter 9, I decided to start afresh. I wrote out a checklist (Appendix 13), and in completing this I used the technique of left hand writing and also encouraged my intuition and imagination, for instance in trying to think of alternative images for the organisation to the official ones. In one case, the *Partnership*, I had a sudden intuition about the principal problem for women, which is discussed in chapter 10. In preparation for chapter 9, all findings were summarised under themes for each case study organisation, before selecting those of most importance.

This research project has demonstrated that the adaptation of established research methods, principally repertory grid based interviews and group workshop sessions, can elicit aspects of organisational culture that are both general and gendered. Criticisms that could be made include first, the sample being limited to managers, as other employees could have other views of the organisation; there may be unexplored sub-cultures. Second, there was no direct observation that could have confirmed, disconfirmed, or augmented the interview data. Third, content rather than process was examined. Fourth, the individual interviews yielded only marginal differences in perception between the male and female managers, individually and as groups. It is a matter of conjecture as to whether the same data would have been forthcoming in larger mixed groups. Fifth, the two repertory grid exercises were not parallel in content, in that I asked first about people who succeeded in the organisation, who might be termed leaders and potential leaders, and second about ideal managers. It might have been more helpful to ask about managers or leaders in both exercises.

Despite these reservations, in all the data collection and subsequent analysis appeared satisfactory (apart from access to documents). These methods can be recommended to others.

Chapter 8: Management style and characteristics: findings

Introduction

This chapter explores the constructs elicited from interviewees in the two repertory grid exercises. The first exercise focused on how employees progress in their organisation, and the second on what makes a good manager. Both summarised findings and differences between organisations will be discussed

Discussion of informants' constructs about how one progresses in organisations

In discussing these findings there are three provisos which must be borne in mind, the first two of which have already been alluded to in chapter 7 when discussing the evolution of the typology. First, there was inevitably a need to apply judgement when allocating data to the categories; whilst some constructs were quite clearly identically worded or close synonyms, others were less clear-cut. Some care should therefore be taken in reading too much into the quantitative interpretation of the qualitative data in appendix 19. Second, decisions had to be made about aggregating or dividing certain categories; some of these will be discussed. Third, the repertory grid exercise was always intended as a vehicle to promote discussion as well as a source of data in its own right. The additional qualitative data, which arose during interviews and during the workshop sessions, - will be discussed later in chapters 9 and 10. The findings of Appendix 19 will be discussed in this section comparing them with the results of the literature review in chapter 4 about the obstacles women face in gaining promotion. Where there appear to be significant differences between the views of men and women these are noted.

The first observation is that *personality* appeared to respondents to be vastly more important than all other categories in gaining promotion in an organisation. As a female manager in the *Partnership* said, a manager might change many things about a person,

but not personality, so it has to be right. Next came choices and opportunities followed in third place by managerial skills and competences.

Ambition, and its close relation, self-motivation, was considered the most important factor in gaining promotion in an organisation, equally chosen by men and women. Being ambitious is evidenced by looking for opportunities to impress (*Westco*, female manager), or as a male manager at *Finco* described a colleague: '(he) always does a good job ... but also wanted to succeed and certainly let everyone know about it when he did succeed'. Ambitious people set personal goals and are competitive (female manager at *Finco*), and this can help the organisation as they put more into their current job (female manager, *Westco*). Dynamism, drive and self-confidence were also important factors. Drive may be important just to help someone complete a task (male manager, the *Partnership*). Market conditions underlay *Engco's* desire for dynamic managers; business was cut throat in certain markets, and managers who were going to succeed needed to be ruthless and dynamic (male manager). Concepts related to dynamism included energy and enthusiasm. This included the example given by a male manager in the *Partnership* of someone who enthusiastically offers to do particular tasks. As a male manager in *Mediaco* put it: '(you've) actually got to love what you're doing'. The successful person should also have an assertive personality, be tough in a positive way, and handle stress well. At *Leisure Services* some managers were perceived as openly tough, people who could deal with problems, increasingly necessary with Government pressure on expenditure. In a number of organisations being assertive was therefore seen as necessary not only in a personal sense, but also on behalf of the organisation. A male manager in *Leisure Services* pointed out that all jobs are subject to pressure, with demands from all directions. As a manager in the *Trust* pointed out, if someone cannot handle the pressure, then they compromise the delivery of the organisation's agenda.

Commitment to the organisation was mentioned frequently. This could be an identification with the company (female manager, *Westco*) or could be measured in the number of hours someone puts in (female manager, *Mediaco*), or their willingness to sacrifice themselves for the task in hand (male manager, the *Partnership*). Hard work was appreciated and apparently a route to success, whether this was manifested as being conscientious (female manager, *Leisure Services*), being diligent such as always returning

phone calls (female manager, the *Partnership*), or just being thorough (male manager, *Mediaco*). Allied concepts were being consistent and reliable, and being well organised and efficient. In situations where all managers have large caseloads, managers need to be able to rely on colleagues to carry out tasks without being chased (male manager, the *Trust*).

Being proactive and/or a risk taker was identified by twice as many women as men. In organisations with a flatter structure such as *Westco*, managers had to take decisions confidently (male manager). They also need to spot gaps in the market (female manager, *Trust*). Managers also need to be flexible and adaptable, for instance in a constantly changing market (male manager, *Mediaco*). Employees who wish to progress must be willing to accept change and innovation in an open-minded fashion (female manager, *Engco*), even if they do not agree (male manager, *Leisure Services*).

The next most influential cluster of personality descriptors was around being personable, friendly, open and relaxed. As a female manager in the *Trust* observed, the people who progress were more likeable, but this might also be a euphemism for organisational fit. Being approachable and likeable was more important in service organisations where the client's opinion matters (female manager, the *Partnership*). On the other hand, there was a counter opinion that a manager should maintain some distance.

Being an extrovert was specifically mentioned as being helpful in forming relationships (female manager, *Westco*) or simply to be noticed (male manager, *Finco*). Similar constructs were having a strong personality, like the Chief Executive of the *Trust* (male manager). Charisma was mentioned in a small number of cases; this was explained by a male manager in *Engco* as someone who impresses by the way he or she is, but who is also someone with whom others can feel comfortable. Strong personalities were distinguished from loud personalities, which in some cases were thought to be advantageous; a counter view was that a quiet personality was helpful. This need for balance was reinforced by the references made respectively to being a straight talker, described as 'upfront' by a female manager in *Finco*, and also to being diplomatic, expected of professional staff in the *Partnership* (female manager). Similarly there was

disagreement as to whether it was better to be one's 'own person', able to express opinions (male manager, *Westco*), or a 'yes person' (male manager, *Finco*).

One aspect occasionally mentioned in job advertisements in the UK is the requirement for a sense of humour. Some people mentioned this but then qualified it by saying that it was a personal view. However, as a female manager from *Finco* said, it can be helpful to teamwork to have a laugh together. This was altogether different from acting the fool.

Reviewing the personality descriptors in the light of previous discussion in chapter 4 on the obstacles women face, it can be seen that there were a number of constructs which cluster around male stereotypes such as ambition, dynamism, assertiveness, energy, resilience, extrovert, detached and straight talker. Those more stereotypically associated with women included being quiet, flexible, personable, approachable, collaborative, sensitive, diplomatic, thorough, and reliable. Gender neutral constructs encompassed being open to change and innovation, relaxed, having a sense of humour, being one's own person, committed, hardworking and well organised. The effects of stereotyping can work in two ways. First those personality descriptors associated with men may be more highly prized than those likely to be associated with women. Second, whilst evidence in chapter 5 indicated a spread of behaviour between men and women, some behaviour may be noticed more when displayed by one gender rather than the other. For instance, a woman may not be judged as dynamic as a man when behaving in a similar fashion. Women mentioned personality constructs slightly more, but not to a significant degree.

The next most important category was *career and life choices and opportunities*. Among those external to the organisation were whether successful managers had degrees or similar qualifications. The majority of comments related to higher education being associated with success. However, it was noted that a number of managers had no academic or professional qualifications, with younger managers more likely to have higher qualifications. Only in *Finco* and the *Partnership* were specific professional qualifications necessary to advance. There were a number of men who had started as apprentices, for instance in *Westco* and *Engco*, who would more recently have entered

higher education instead. The educational inequity in chapter 4 would mean that older women were less likely to have degrees and professional qualifications.

In line with the biographical data rehearsed in chapter 4, there was some reference to the fact that having no children, alluded to only in relation to women, was advantageous, as was a preparedness to be mobile and work long hours. These are areas where external life choices or circumstances intrude into the organisation and make promotion difficult for women.

In all organisations studied, people could be identified who had had their entire career within that organisation. Whilst this appeared valued, for instance referring to someone as an '(Engco) person' (female interviewee), there was also organisational ambivalence about long service, and active recruitment of outsiders. Sometimes outsiders were head hunted, possibly to reassure financial institutions (male manager, *Westco*). Nevertheless an organisational track record was recognised as associated with promotion, for instance a series of successful projects (male manager, *Leisure Services*). In all organisations managers could be identified with particular professional or functional backgrounds, for instance an engineer (male manager, *Westco*) or a health professional role (female manager, *Trust*). There was a consensus that whilst this was necessary for initial promotions, it became irrelevant or even a handicap higher up, where business skills (male manager, *Mediaco*) or general/mainstream experience (female manager, *Finco*) counted for more. Broader experience was more advantageous than narrower as it was recognised as giving more transferable skills (female manager, *Westco*). A job with varied locations, or even better international experience (female manager, *Engco*) gave both a track record and exposure.

There were a number of instances, which could be described as the right opportunity, which it was not appropriate to subdivide into smaller groups. The central message was the same; that some people had access to opportunities to which others did not, and that this was not even handed. This could be the opportunity to go to a selection centre (male manager, the *Partnership*); to work at head office (female manager, *Finco*); or just being in the right place at the right time (female manager, *Engco*). The last opportunity to have a sponsor or mentor appeared to apply only to *Finco* and the *Partnership*.

After choices and opportunities the next two important factors are *managerial skills*, and *cognitive skills and understanding*, which had equal mention. If *managerial behaviour* is aggregated with *managerial skills*, then this becomes the next most important category. Of these, interpersonal and communication skills in various guises were mentioned in every case study organisation. Interpersonal skills included people management skills, described by respondents in *Westco* and *Finco* as 'man management' (sic). As a female manager in the *Trust* said, a manager needs a relationship on a daily basis to engender respect and encourage employees to work for him/her and the organisation. The need for good communication was highlighted in all case study organisations. A series of sophisticated communication skills was necessary in an environment where there was competition for resources (male manager, the *Trust*) and where downsizing and repeated rounds of redundancies made rumour rife (male interviewee, *Engco*). These skills could include being articulate and succinct (female manager, *Finco*), negotiating well (female manager, *Leisure Services*), and communicating at all levels (female manager, *Westco*). Formal writing skills (male manager, *Engco*) and being constructive in meetings (male manager, the *Trust*) were also mentioned. Aggregated, interpersonal and communication skills were the most important constructs within managerial skills and behaviour; this should be good news for women who are conventionally perceived as having more developed competence in this area. As detailed above in chapter 5, Rosener (1990) considers that women's interpersonal skills are better developed.

Problem solving skills are part of the manager's tool kit to deal with immediate problems, and also because those at a higher level may not have all the answers, and will welcome suggestions (female manager, *Finco*). To succeed a manager needs to demonstrate the ability to deal with several issues at once, prioritise (male manager *Westco*), and manage time. It was regarded as imperative to deliver, perhaps even achieving results above the norm: 'People who get noticed in (*Finco*) are people who stand out a little bit' (female manager). Successful managers were described as possessing a range of technical and other skills including finance (male manager, *Westco*), IT awareness (male manager, *Leisure Services*), and specific skills relevant to organisational products (male manager, *Finco*). Surprisingly, good delegation was mentioned only twice (male manager, the *Trust*, and female manager, *Leisure Services*).

Most of these skills are gender neutral, although because of their more restricted career paths women may have less chance to develop the same range of skills as men.

Turning to managerial behaviour, the ability to make decisions was mentioned most. An open supportive style of management was considered helpful for progression, sharing information (female manager, the *Trust*), developing staff (male manager, *Leisure Services*), motivating them (female manager, *Finco*), involving others (male manager, *Mediaco*), and being able to build teams (male manager, the *Partnership*). A number of respondents divided people into leaders and followers (e.g. male manager, *Finco*); there was an implication of this being innate, as in trait theory. Feeling comfortable in the use of authority was also referred to, including using power constructively (female manager, the *Trust*). Lastly, being decisive, described as 'bite' by a male manager in *Leisure Services*, includes making unpalatable decisions, for instance about redundancy (male interviewee, *Engco*). Men are often perceived as being better at taking these types of decisions (author's comments).

Turning next to *cognitive skills*, these appeared to fall into three broad types. First there were those related to underlying intelligence, second the application of ability in terms of being knowledgeable or innovative, and third the ability to understand the subtleties of the organisation. Many respondents identified being intelligent, having intellectual ability or being bright. Analytical skills included identifying issues (male manager, *Leisure Services*), utilising information effectively (female manager, the *Trust*), and handling complex issues (male manager, *Westco*). *Westco* welcomed lateral thinkers who could transcend the old public sector mind set (male manager). Innovation may be crucial for survival; as a male manager from *Finco* said: '(We) have to differentiate ourselves from the competition. Those who come up with ideas differentiate themselves in the company'. The third strand identified in this cluster of concepts is concerned with broader understanding. Being politically aware or astute means that an employee knows what is acceptable or unacceptable (female manager, the *Partnership*), and can constantly read what is happening around him or her, dealing with soft as well as hard information (female manager, *Engco*). To progress, an employee needs a meta view of the organisation, both in terms of vision about the company's future (male manager, *Westco*), and by taking a corporate view, which may need to transcend personal

relationships (male manager, the *Trust*). Traditional stereotypes would suggest that men are better at analytical (right brain) work and women more creative (left brain). This is countered by Vinnicombe's (1988) work discussed in chapter 5, which suggested that women are more likely to be visionaries and catalysts, the characteristics discussed here. Men mentioned cognitive constructs more.

Job related behaviour appeared slightly more important than career related behaviour. Surprisingly having a smart appearance was mentioned more than anything else in this section, for example complying with dress codes (female manager, *Engco*). Projecting a professional image, described as polish by a male manager at the *Trust*, may be linked with customer orientation (female manager, *Westco*). Four elements were mentioned as associated with success, which are not usually contained in a job description or person specification: being ruthless, devious, streetwise and controlling emotions. Ruthlessness was mentioned in all organisations except the *Trust*, and may have an element of manipulation in it (female manager, *Engco*). Being streetwise included knowing when to cut corners (female manager, *Westco*). Some mention was made of using sexuality in both *Finco* and *Mediaco*. It was suggested that it is helpful to be comfortable with the opposite sex. All references to sexuality referred to women, as in the literature reviewed in chapter 2. Sexuality is further discussed in chapter 10.

Career related behaviours thought helpful to success included networking, and socialising with colleagues. In *Leisure Services* networking involved making relationships with councillors to elicit support (female manager); one should know the right people (male manager, *Finco*) and cultivate the right friendships (female manager, *Engco*). Socialising could be undertaken for purely social reasons (male manager, *Leisure Services*) as well as being helpful in one's career (female manager, *Mediaco*). These activities were linked to self-promotion, for instance the colleague who 'doesn't mind telling people he's good at what he does' (male manager, the *Trust*). Turner (1971) suggests that successful managers present cases that are accurate and also calculated to be helpful to him or her personally. Sport, and more particularly golf, was thought to play a part in enabling progression, as discussed further in chapter 10. Last, being in a formal men's organisation or the informal men's club (Coe, 1992) was thought helpful, suggested largely by women, and one man (at *Finco*). This group of behaviours

is almost entirely associated with men, and they tend to work in men's favour, as explored further in chapter 10.

Respondents in a number of organisations perceived that for women it is advantageous not to have children or obvious domestic ties. One male manager at *Finco* said that a supportive spouse was helpful for a woman, and one interviewee at the *Partnership* suggested that young men selected suitable wives to support them in their careers. Being mobile was helpful, for instance in *Engco* the higher a manager went in the organisation the more likely he or she was to be sent anywhere (male manager). The willingness to put in extra hours was crucial in many organisations and is further discussed in chapter 9. In some organisations long hours were undertaken just to get the job done, most notably in the public sector organisations. In others there was also a recognition that long hours are considered a measure of commitment (male manager, *Westco*), and that you are 'seen to be seen' (female manager, *Engco*). The issue of 'long hours' was recorded separately from the earlier commitment category. Commitment, although more likely to be a base construct, is however an evaluative concept composed of many parts. Given the increasing demand in the UK to work long hours (Maddock and Parkin, 1994) its connection with responsibilities external to the organisation, and its detrimental effect, it appeared important to keep it separate.

Values and attitudes were of minor account in respondents' view of how a person progresses. The top value was being a 'people person'. This encourages staff to come forward with problems (male manager, *Westco*); in *Mediaco* it is how staff were expected to be (female manager). Being honest was mentioned in the *Trust*, *Leisure Services* and *Engco*; a female manager in the *Trust* thought that being up front about organisational limitations avoided demoralisation. Being democratic and fair is helpful to obtain ownership for decisions (female manager, the *Trust*). Loyalty, more particularly being perceived as loyal (male manager, *Finco*) also figured little in success. A positive attitude is helpful because 'senior managers don't want their noses rubbed in it' (male manager, the *Partnership*); the opposite, being cynical, is detrimental (female manager, *Finco*). Some respondents recognised a thirst for learning as an adjunct to advancement; it makes the difference between someone determined to understand complex technical arguments, and someone who gives up (female interviewee, the *Partnership*). Lastly

managers who take responsibility and blame when appropriate engender trust from colleagues (female manager, *Engco*). Whilst values appear gender neutral there are suggestions by some writers (e.g. Smith and Oakley, 1997) that women may be more aware of ethical dilemmas than men. There were no significant gender differences in this study.

What is to be made of references to primary differences, and physical attributes? Very little reference was made to these, yet the literature reviewed in chapter 4 indicated that being a woman could be detrimental to promotion. Opinions about this were mixed. Nine interviewees, significantly five from the *Trust*, which had a female Chief Executive, thought that being a woman was advantageous. Only three identified that being a man was helpful; perhaps it is so obvious it need not be stated. Last, four interviewees were unsure if gender made a difference. There was slightly less contradictory evidence about age. Generally being younger was thought helpful, with some specifying a propitious age range, early to mid 40s in the *Trust* (female manager), 30s rather than 40+ in *Finco* (female manager) and *Mediaco* (female manager). As a counter to this, two instances suggested that being older or a late developer was not detrimental in an organisation (male manager, the *Trust*). If certain management positions have to be attained by a certain age then this can disadvantage women who have taken a career break, as discussed in chapter 4, as ageism can combine with sexism. This data generally supports this view. Being gay and being UK born were each identified once only. Class was mentioned twice.

Variations in individual case study organisations concerning successful managers

This section will discuss to what extent individual organisations varied from the general picture. Comments about possible reasons for variations will draw on findings more fully explored in later chapters.

All organisations rated personality descriptors as the most influential characteristics in enabling progression. *Westco* tended to follow the general pattern apart from little attention to physical attributes, and values and attitudes. There was strong emphasis on

ambition as a key to advancement. This appears to link with the generally aggressive entrepreneurial stance described in chapter 9 and the symbol of toughness discussed in chapter 10. In the *Trust*, in contrast to *Westco*, there was more emphasis on values and attitudes, and less on ambition. This was the organisation where values were most highly rated. This may be related to its public sector values, and also to the emphasis on caring, which is discussed in chapter 9. Managerial skills and behaviour were more significant than cognitive abilities, and choices and opportunities, which were equally rated. Career related behaviour was of less consequence than job related behaviour. There was no mention of physical attributes. A possible explanation is that managers are judged on how they actually perform rather than how they appear. *Leisure Services* followed the general pattern with little variation save even more emphasis on personality and correspondingly less on choices and opportunities, although this was only slightly more relevant than managerial skills and behaviour. The only possible explanation for this is the highly differentiated divisions, discussed in chapters 9 and 10, which affected perceptions of respective managers. In *Finco* managerial skills and behaviour rated almost the same as choices and opportunities with a similar pattern to the general one otherwise. *Engco* differed from the general pattern very little; as in the *Trust* physical attributes did not merit a mention. The *Partnership* was notable for two reasons; first, almost all emphasis was on personality followed by choices and opportunities; and second, little else was of importance, including managerial skills and behaviour, with not a single value enumerated. This organisation makes extensive use of employees' personalities in both selling and delivering. The emphasis first on personality, and second choices and opportunities, may reflect the structure of the firm, where partners' decisions about advancement are crucially important, as discussed in chapter 10. *Mediaco* broke the general pattern by placing more emphasis on managerial skills and behaviour than on opportunities and choices, and job related behaviour was rated higher than cognitive abilities. The relative importance of managerial skills and behaviour may stem from the strong requirement for quantifiable results, as discussed in chapter 9.

It is important to put the composite description of a successful manager in the context of each organisation. For instance, in every organisation interviewees commented on the requirement for success including being extrovert, assertive and dynamic. What appears to be the case was that managers had to have these attributes *relative* to the

organisations concerned. As further discussed in chapter 9 the *Engco* way of behaving, could be described in general terms as restrained. An extrovert in *Engco*'s terms would probably have been a shrinking violet in *Mediaco*, where almost everyone appeared outgoing and assertive. Conversely an extrovert in *Mediaco*'s terms would probably not have stayed in *Engco*, either because of sheer frustration or else because his or her behaviour would have been seen as 'over the top'. One can also cite the mixed messages in *Finco* about just how much one was supposed to speak out and whether 'yes people' were desirable. In *Finco* the context did not provide clarity.

What this seemed to demonstrate is that there was a common vocabulary, but that in social constructionist terms understandings and meanings varied between organisations. To be successful a manager had to have not only the right attributes, but in precisely those proportions and guises that are organisationally acceptable. This required meta-skills in terms of reading the organisation, and adapting one's behaviour to the implicit, unstated expectations. If the expectations are also gendered, for instance more easily met by a man, and subject to a double bind for women, then the implications are that women will find it harder to get promotion. This will be further discussed in chapters 10 and 11.

Discussion of informants' constructs about the good or ideal manager

As might be expected, a somewhat different, though not necessarily conflicting pattern arose when discussing with respondents what constitutes a good or ideal manager. Many of the same constructs were used, sometimes with identical or similar connotations. The details of this exercise can be seen in Appendix 20. Thus some managers who thought that it was helpful to be intelligent in order to succeed in an organisation also thought that this made one a good manager. Where the explanations and examples are substantially the same as in the first exercise therefore, there will be no further comment on constructs. This discussion will focus on the difference in emphasis between the two exercises. The first striking difference was that *management skills and behaviour* were much more important than *personality* descriptors. As in the first

repertory grid exercise, management characteristics are discussed in order of importance to interviewees.

Managerial skills and behaviour were rated higher in what makes a good manager than in what makes a successful one, and a larger number of categories emerged from the data. By far the most important category was communication, which was described both in general terms and also as a good listener, articulate, with an ability to communicate at all levels, and negotiating skills. Good communication covers a range of skills, from being able to judge the audience (male manager, *Engco*), ensuring that staff are informed (male manager, *Mediaco*), and as a necessity to ensure consistent direction (male manager, the *Trust*). Listening was picked out as a communication micro-skill, which boosts the morale of staff (female manager, the *Trust*). As a female manager in *Leisure Services* pointed out, managers are not always right and someone may present a good idea helpful to organisational goals.

Whilst interpersonal skills were conceptualised as one category in the first exercise, it seemed appropriate to split them, first into general skills used to relate to any colleagues, and second focusing on those skills for dealing with subordinates. In the first group reference was made to managing the boss (male manager, *Leisure Services*) and managing advisers and colleagues to avoid sudden requests for assistance (male manager, the *Partnership*). In relation to managing staff, good interpersonal skills means that problems with employees are minimised (male manager, *Westco*), because of 'being able to spot low morale, low motivation, that sort of thing' (male manager, the *Partnership*). Good interpersonal skills encourage the best from staff (male manager, *Mediaco*). Handling discipline and confronting issues was another area not mentioned in the first exercise. In *Mediaco* the 'egos' involved engendered confrontation with which managers had to deal (male manager).

Identifying, tackling and resolving problems was again mentioned. Additionally identifying (female manager, the *Partnership*) and making good use of resources (female manager, *Mediaco*) was added. Many interviewees referred to good delegation, distinguishing this from dumping (female manager, the *Trust*). The effective manager does not try to do everything him or herself (female manager, *Leisure Services*), makes

clear what is required and what the performance criteria are (male manager, *Engco*), debriefs and reviews (male manager, the *Partnership*), and lets subordinates take appropriate credit (female manager, *Finco*). There was slightly more emphasis on delivering the task than in the first exercise, and more emphasis also on time management and prioritising, for instance being aware of subordinates' conflicting priorities (female manager, *Engco*). Financial awareness was a necessary technical skill for managers. A new area was project/planning skills in terms of planning ahead (male manager, *Westco*), co-ordinating (male manager, *Engco*), and evaluating projects (male manager, *Leisure Services*).

The highest rated category of managerial behaviour was being supportive, which was seen as demonstrating commitment (male manager, the *Trust*), helping staff when faced with a problem (female manager, the *Partnership*), and thus drawing out the best in subordinates (male manager, *Mediaco*). Next was having an open or participative style of management. This could be sharing information (female manager *Engco*), consulting staff about matters that impact upon them (male manager, *Finco*), managing by agreement (female manager, the *Partnership*), or empowering others (male manager, *Finco*). This was thought necessary to create and sustain change (female manager, the *Trust*). Motivation played an important role and encompassed a number of different activities, such as knowing a subordinate's strengths and weaknesses (female manager, *Finco*), and encouraging subordinates to feel committed to a course of action (female manager, *Engco*).

The good manager was perceived as having a commitment to developing subordinates, (male manager, *Westco*), creating development opportunities, and helping staff understand the wider context (female manager, *Leisure Services*). Coaching and giving both positive and negative feedback were mentioned. It helps to have clear expectations of staff, with the manager demanding but flexible (female manager, the *Partnership*). Visibility was welcomed, for instance knowing everyone's name and talking to them regularly (male manager, *Engco*). There was some preference for an easygoing management style. A good manager praises staff and gives credit when due rather than taking subordinates for granted or belittling achievements (female manager, *Finco*), and also lets staff learn from mistakes rather than punishing them (female manager, the

Partnership). It is important to trust subordinates, particularly when most are highly skilled (male manager, the *Trust*). The nebulous concept of leadership was mentioned, which included setting an example (male manager, *Leisure Services*), and having followers (male manager, *Engco*). Reference was made to being not only a team builder, for instance in the *Trust* understanding the need to involve doctors (male manager), but also a team player. Good managers make decisions; as a male manager in *Finco* said, a manager who will not is 'bad news'. A manager should feel comfortable in the exercise of authority, as 'people may still take advantage if you don't show them you mean business' (female manager, *Mediaco*); a good manager does not need to court popularity. -The only overtly sexist comment was a male manager in *Leisure Services* who described three women as bossy. Handling meetings and being respected were also mentioned, although the latter seemed effect rather than cause.

Personality descriptors were in general of less importance than in the first exercise. Ambition was no longer the key characteristic although still referred to as a quality contributing to the achievement of current responsibilities. Drive, self-confidence, assertiveness, and enthusiasm all rated a lower profile. So, surprisingly, did being resilient and handling stress. Perhaps good managers are perceived as having to handle the stress of the job as a pre-requisite. The constructs concerned with being extrovert were less evident apart from charisma, described enigmatically as having 'it' by a male manager at *Mediaco*. An additional construct for good managers was being even tempered.

Being proactive and a risk taker were identified as the prerogative of a good manager. In this exercise being flexible and adaptable tended to relate to management style as much as personality; for instance in *Leisure Services* a wide range of professional and non-professional backgrounds among staff demanded different approaches (male manager). As well as accepting change, managers needed to drive it forwards; as a male manager in *Engco* explained, finding better and easier ways of manufacturing in turn builds empathy with the team. This was closely allied to responsiveness to new ideas; when these come from subordinates this is one of the ways in which a good manager makes employees feel valued.

There was less emphasis put on friendliness concepts, and approachability was described more in terms of accessibility as a manager. There was again a counter view that managers should maintain a certain distance; a female manager in *Leisure Services* described it as a fine balance between being friendly and having the ability to step back. Sensitivity and sympathy, also described as empathy, were the hallmark of a good manager, whether this was understanding the competing pressures of the job (male manager, the *Partnership*) or being sympathetic to caring responsibilities (female manager, the *Trust*). A sense of humour again featured both to build rapport (female manager, *Leisure Services*) and to relieve tension (female manager, *Finco*). Good managers have self-knowledge in terms of appreciating their limitations (female manager, *Finco*) and being in touch with their feelings (female manager, *Finco*). Speaking one's mind, rather than taking the (company) political line is welcomed (male manager, *Engco*); this may involve acting as devil's advocate (female manager, the *Trust*). Being a straight talker, but also diplomatic, is admired.

The group of personality characteristics on which most emphasis was put was those related to doing the job conscientiously. Commitment was mentioned in similar terms as earlier, as was working hard without wanting the glory (female manager, *Engco*). Being thorough and conscientious, for instance by paying attention to detail (male manager, *Leisure Services*) and being reliable and consistent were part of being a good manager. Good organisational skills were particularly mentioned, for instance introducing systematic data storage methods (male manager, *Mediaco*). A co-operative approach helps to share work, ideas, and clients (female manager, the *Partnership*).

Cognitive abilities and understanding covered a very similar range of discussion as in the first repertory grid exercise. Intellect was again mentioned, with some respondents stressing the ability to grasp matters quickly (e.g. female manager, *Leisure Services*). However this view was countered by one not evident previously, that a good manager should utilise common sense, although only interviewees from the *Trust* and *Leisure Services* expressed this view. Analytical ability, including numeracy, was highly rated, although two female managers from *Finco* thought a mixture of analytical and intuitive skills are helpful. Being knowledgeable should encompass being up to date (female manager, the *Trust*) and relevant (male manager *Finco*). Innovation was also welcomed,

for similar reasons as those discussed above, organisational survival and growth. Although in this second exercise good managers could be chosen from any level of the organisation, abilities which indicate a broader understanding of the organisation were still mentioned, such as political awareness, vision, and a corporate and strategic outlook.

Values and attitudes played a greater part in what constitutes a good manager than they did in relation to success. Being a people person, or caring, was again the most frequently mentioned value, for instance dealing with those dislodged in restructuring in a way which respected their dignity (female manager, *Finco*). As in the first exercise, being honest or straight with staff enables them to respect a manager (female manager, *Leisure Services*). Loyalty was explained by a female manager at *Finco* in terms of a manager having to accept and operate procedures; it is unhelpful to say 'they've told me I've got to say this'. Good managers are democratic rather than status conscious (female manager, the *Partnership*), addressing staff as adults (male manager, *Leisure Services*). A good manager is also fair, both in terms of not abusing his or her managerial position (female manager, the *Trust*), and also in not having favourites among staff (male manager, *Engco*). A good manager is also trustworthy in both a business and a personal sense (male manager, *Mediaco*). There was less emphasis on being positive and having a desire to learn, with the strongest emphasis among attitudes being on taking responsibility, including when mistakes are made (female manager, the *Partnership*). Other values not mentioned in the first exercise were having courage, for example to brave unpopularity, and being non-sexist (mentioned only by female managers at *Engco*).

Those characteristics that were a result of *career and life choices* featured much less than previously, though some note was made of high achievers (female manager, the *Trust*), of 'company' people, and more particularly those with a broader managerial background.

Job related behaviour featured very little. Being professional was mentioned by a few interviewees in similar terms to before, but other aspects, political games playing, deviousness and being streetwise, merited only one mention each. Similarly, and perhaps understandably, references to career related behaviour were much reduced, with only a

few mentions of networking, socialising and self projection. *Primary differences and physical attributes* hardly rated a mention, indeed what is surprising is that they rated a mention at all. The only one which seemed of relevance was the description of a female manager who cuts an imposing figure (male manager, *Mediaco*).

Variations in individual case study organisations concerning good or ideal managers

Only one person was interviewed in *Westco* on this particular topic as indicated in chapter 7; although it seemed helpful to include this data in the general analysis, no meaningful comment can be made in relation to *Westco* in particular. In the *Trust* there was almost equal reference to personality descriptors, and managerial skills and behaviour. Surprisingly choices and opportunities were only slightly less important than values and attitudes. *Leisure Services* followed the general pattern, as did *Finco* and *Mediaco*. *Engco* varied in so far as values and attitudes were slightly more important than cognition. *Engco's* attitude towards caring for its employees is discussed more fully in chapter 9. In the *Partnership* there was greatest emphasis on managerial skills and behaviour, followed by personality descriptors, with little mention of anything else. The stress on managerial skills and behaviour may have been prompted by a set of widely used competences within the firm.

Differences between constructs about successful managers, and good managers.

One striking difference is the much greater emphasis in the latter exercise on managerial skills and behaviour. One explanation for the disparity could be in the selection of elements in the repertory grid exercises. When asked about successful managers many respondents selected top managers for the first three elements, although they were also asked to pick out potential high flyers. It could be that the interviewees had no personal contact with top managers and were discussing them on the basis of reputation and hearsay. Thus they would be less likely to know about how these top managers handled employees and exercised managerial skills and behaviours on a daily basis, for instance activities like developing staff and delegating. In addition, if

interviewees picked potential high flyers currently at junior level, the latter group would have had little opportunity to display managerial behaviour. However, this explanation is less likely to apply to the second and third groups of employees chosen for the remaining elements of the repertory grid. A second observation is that although the elements in the first exercise were limited to employees in their current organisation, respondents were invited to choose elements from any organisation for the second exercise. It is possible that they chose people better known to them.

If however these methodological explanations are regarded as having a minor influence on the variation of data, the conclusion must be that managers perceive progression in terms of personality, but successful performance in the job as managerial behaviour. In the first repertory grid exercise a consistent picture emerged of an extrovert, self-promoting opportunist, the last not necessarily in a negative way; this composite person seemed to be looking outwards and upwards. In the second exercise a different picture emerged of a considerate person with highly developed interpersonal skills, managing and nurturing a team, and concentrating on completing the job. In the first exercise there was much emphasis on the self, which was muted in the second. The latter was much more concerned with relating to others, and achieving the task. These differences are set out in table 8.12.

Table 8.12: Comparison of constructs: good and successful managers

	Successful Manager		Good Manager	
Rank		Mentions		Mentions
1.	Personality Descriptors	387	Management Skills/behaviour	378
2.	Choices/opportunities	207	Personality descriptors	252
3.	Management skills/behaviour	171	Cognition	100
4.	Cognition	112	Values	76
5.	Job related behaviour	62	{Attitudes	28
6.	Career related behaviour	47	{Choices/opportunities	23
7.	Primary differences	33	Job related behaviour	10
8.	{Values	{28	Career related behaviour	9
9.	{Attitudes	{28	Primary differences	4
10.	Physical attributes	9	Physical attributes	3

Note: a small number of 'orphan' constructs were not included in the analysis, in order to make data summaries manageable.

Variations between case study organisations

This section examines the patterns of findings from both repertory grid exercises for each case study organisation.

In the *Trust* personality descriptors were most important for both successful and good managers, followed by management skills and behaviour. Cognition was mentioned third in both exercises, although to be successful choices and opportunities were equally important. Values were next in both. On the whole a congruent picture emerged of those qualities needed to get ahead, and those characterising a good manager, and this is supported by a general consensus on management style discussed in chapter 9. *Leisure Services* demonstrated the general disjuncture between the two exercises, by valuing for purposes of promotion (in order) personality descriptors, choices/opportunities, managerial skills and behaviour, and then cognition. On the other hand in a good manager *Leisure Services* respondents valued management skills and behaviour, followed by personality descriptors, cognition and values. *Finco* and *Engco* were very similar.

The *Partnership* was atypical on both exercises. Whilst following the general pattern of identifying personality descriptors followed by choices/opportunities for selecting successful managers, and selecting management skills and behaviour, followed by personality descriptors for good managers, in both exercises these first two groupings respectively were greatly more significant than other attributes. This perhaps can be put into context of the importance of impression and influence in terms of progressing, augmented in the case of young men by the 'glass elevator', which are discussed in chapter 10. *Mediaco* put overwhelming emphasis on personality descriptors in terms of getting ahead, and management skills and behaviour were slightly more important in this respect than choices and opportunities. This appears to be related to industry sector, where there is frequent mention of 'egos' and abundant extrovert behaviour, as mentioned above. For a good manager, however, *Mediaco* interviewees followed the general pattern, although it was a more extreme example of the general tendency.

Thus in all organisations except the *Trust* there was a disjuncture between respondents' constructs of how a manager progresses and what constitutes a good manager. Observed from a theoretically gender neutral position the ambitious should be advised that for organisational advancement they must cultivate the right sort of personality, and ensure the right opportunities come their way, relegating management skills and behaviour to less important places in the hierarchy of desirable characteristics. However as organisations are not gender neutral, the implications for women who wish to advance their careers in these organisations are serious. Women may develop their managerial skills and behaviour and indeed be praised and appraised positively, but it will not ensure advancement. It is far more difficult to develop the right sort of personality. Unfortunately conceptions of personality rest on gendered foundations, as was discussed in chapter 5.

Having looked in general terms at management characteristics, in the next section discusses briefly individuals who stood out from the general mass of data, as these may be taken as examples of what managers should be.

Individuals who emerged from the data

At the start of this study, scepticism was expressed about the degree of influence of leaders on organisational culture. It was therefore with some interest that some names were observed to emerge from the data; first, as actual leaders or potential highfliers; second, as good managers; or third, as both. The extent to which this happened varied between organisations.

The phenomenon of an admired and successful leader was most evident in the *Trust*, where three quarters of all respondents cited the Chief Executive, Sarah. She was described in glowing terms almost duplicating those characteristics picked out as necessary for success and good management: for instance good at figures and meeting targets, but also an excellent communicator at ease with consultants and manual staff alike (Wilson, 1997). After Sarah, a male and female manager had equal mention as both good and successful managers. By contrast, Peter, the promoted Director of the *Leisure*

Services Department, was mentioned more as a successful than a good manager, as to a lesser extent was one of the male Assistant Directors. Like Sarah, the main criticism of Peter was that he is a workaholic, but he also seemed to possess excellent analytical and communication skills. In addition some respondents indicated that he had managed to unite a very diverse department, although others felt he had suppressed conflict. In *Leisure Services*, women were mentioned much less consistently as managers who stood out.

In *Mediaco* a majority of her colleagues described Julie, the Chief Executive, as a successful, and more so a good manager. The other significant managers referred to from within the parent company were all women. In *Engco*, surprisingly in view of the paternal male culture, which is discussed in chapters 9 and 10, it was a female personnel manager who emerged as the person most likely to succeed, and a good manager to boot. Apart from her, only one person was mentioned more than twice. Indeed, it was rather a fragmented picture, which appeared to reflect the compartmentalised nature of a number of discrete companies within the group. A senior female manager in *Westco* was mentioned a number of times, but this choice may have been somewhat forced by the paucity of women managers in the organisation.

In other companies no really significant patterns emerged, that is, there were few names that stood out. In *Finco* two male rising stars were picked out as high fliers but not as good managers. In the *Partnership* there was no discernible pattern.

Summary

This chapter has explored constructs generated by repertory grid into what makes a successful manager and what makes a good manager, and has found that in most case study organisations there was a lack of congruence between these two ideals. It was suggested that to succeed, an employee requires context- and organisation-specific skills. The pre-eminent importance of personality characteristics, a gendered perception, together with the role of choices and opportunities, indicated how women may be hindered in their organisational ambitions.

Chapter 9 offers an overview of each organisation followed by an analysis of themes common to some or all of them. It includes comparisons between repertory grid data and general information about management style. Chapter 10 looks at the way gender was processed in each organisation, linking this with the findings in chapters 8 and 9 to form a deeper picture of how organisational culture acts as a framework for men and women's progression.

Chapter 9: Overview of case study organisations

Introduction

This chapter starts by presenting an overview of each organisation, designed to give the reader a feel for each organisation's individual characteristics. The initial section does not justify every statement made by detailed reference to examples from the data. This will follow later in this chapter, and in chapter 10, which looks at gender issues. There is a discussion of general themes common to all organisations, although these have different emphases in each. Aspects peculiar to each organisation are examined, relating them to symbols where relevant, and also relating findings to different perspectives of organisational culture. Where reference is made to espoused values or underlying assumptions, these can be seen in tabular form in Appendix 14.

Overview of individual organisations

Westco, a privatised utility, was like a suddenly awakened slumbering giant. Its competitive advantage lay in managerial rather than technical expertise, with core competencies in operations management and cost control. Its key espoused value was to expand, both organically by gaining market share, and by acquisition. One of the top UK companies in its sector, it was committed to driving down costs, increasing revenue, and developing a customer orientation encompassing internal as well as external customers. It aimed to change its management style from command and control to a more empowering one. There was an espoused belief that socialising would break down barriers within the organisation, but this tended not to be well organised.

In contrast to the espoused values, *Westco*'s underlying assumptions told a differing story. The past was used as a guide to future decision making, new ideas were perceived as threatening, and individuals indulged in risk averse behaviour. Hierarchy still appeared valued, and complicated disciplinary procedures were thought necessary to control (male) manual staff. Shouting was a common method of resolving conflict,

although debate was also used. There appeared to be assumptions that different functions did not need to inter-relate, and that reward did not matter. Career paths to the top included working one's way up from the bottom, external head-hunting to middle manager posts, and via acquisition. The company was 95% male, and the two highest placed female managers were at Assistant Director level.

Westco, traditionally a male dominated industry, could perhaps be described as having generally 'old fashioned' attitudes towards women, varying from acceptance to covert hostility. Engineering, semi-skilled operative jobs and management posts were regarded as male, and support jobs as female. There were stereotyped assumptions about women's unreliability and lack of technical knowledge. Exclusion was buttressed by paternalistic assumptions that women should not be exposed to working (class) men. There was a weak EO policy, adopted for external legal reasons, not integrated into wider practices or internalised by managers. In Maddock and Parkin's (1994) terms, there were elements of the gentlemen's club, barrack yard and locker room gender cultures. Despite traditional job segregation, a few women had progressed, and the glass ceiling appeared under threat. Women were discriminated against by exclusion (from the organisation or from departments and groups within it), by sexist comments, and by making them feel different. The picture was changing with some younger, more enlightened male managers determined to pick the best candidate, regardless of gender. I felt that women in this organisation have to bite their tongues and accept unfairness, or else fight their corner and encounter hostility and resistance, which might undermine their effectiveness.

Servco was an anomalous subsidiary of *Westco*, concerned with providing secondary services to industry in the human services field, and overwhelmingly staffed by females. *Servco* emphasised professional standards and results, and its female director was described as acutely entrepreneurial. It appeared to have a high degree of congruence between espoused values and underlying assumptions. For instance, communication was thought to be a key value for selling and delivering service, and for interpersonal relations between staff. Staff were expected to learn from their mistakes, and in contrast to its parent company, it was not risk averse. There was a caring female culture, which could perhaps be described as maternal. There was an unwillingness to explore conflict.

The *Trust* covered both hospital and community services for a defined geographical area, and was a provider, contracting with purchasers in the NHS quasi-market. The *Trust's* key espoused values were similar for patients and staff: to be caring and safe, and offer choice to individuals. As well as competent clinicians, the *Trust* had core competencies of good financial control, an excellent communication strategy, and a cohesive management style. Sources of competitive advantage included management systems that delivered the Patients Charter standards, an experienced, respected and popular Chief Executive, and a combination of stable staff and openness to new ideas. A number of key espoused values and underlying assumptions appeared very close; for instance, people mattered, and there was a caring attitude towards patients and staff. There were various activities that emphasise belongingness. Espoused values included a number of positive attitudes demanded of staff: that there are no threats, only opportunities; no problems, only challenges and solutions; a learning organisation, corporate and loyal. Underlying assumptions included the expectation that managers must deliver, with no place for those who did not. Managers were responsive to customers and other stakeholders, and attentive to the political environment.

Managers were promoted from within the *Trust* from all disciplines, from other parts of the NHS, and to a lesser extent from other industries. As a historical legacy the *Trust* still had gendered jobs insofar as the majority of nurses were female and doctors male. However, managers came from all parts of the service as well as outside. The *Trust* was committed to Opportunity 2000 as part of the NHS in 1991, for a combination of moral and business reasons. This had a positive effect in enabling a number of women who were ready for promotion to gain top positions, including the Chief Executive. At the time of the case study 3 out of 5 senior managers were women, and women were well represented in other ranks, though not in proportion to their representation of 79% in the NHS. Whilst some men made allegations of an era of positive discrimination towards women in the NHS, they hastened to absolve the *Trust* from this. There was an androgynous style of management (Bem, 1974), valued by all colleagues. In terms of Maddock and Parkin's (1994) typology, this was nearest to the 'smart macho', which they associated with the NHS: EO as long as you can work 80 hours a week, a problem recognised by managers. Unlike other organisations studied, managers worked long

hours only to deliver the service, not to gain 'brownie points'. This was an organisation where women knew that they could reach the top, as exemplified by the Chief Executive who started as a clerk. Resistance to women took the form of covert mutterings by men, and the impregnable subculture of the clinicians, still functioning as an old boys network, plus denigrating comments from other parts of the NHS. To me the *Trust* felt open, honest, purposeful, and a healthy (but not perfect) organisation.

Leisure Services, a local authority department, was principally in the leisure industry, also managing some additional contracted out services. Its income derived from both council subsidy and customer charges. Core competencies were a customer orientation, financial control, successful tendering for, and management of, contracted out services, and a willingness to innovate. One important source of competitive advantage was a monopoly of certain services. Its mission was to offer the widest possible choice of high quality facilities and activities, both directly, and via the voluntary and private sectors. Key espoused values included public service and modern management techniques, and bureaucratic rules were accepted as a necessary way of ensuring fairness. The department liked to portray an image of being young and unstuffy, a top class service provider. There was acute awareness of the political process, and the need to pay attention to all stakeholders. Although the Council stated that it valued staff, there was little acknowledgement or reward, coupled with underlying assumptions that the job must be done, regardless of the pressures this created.

Women were represented at Assistant Director level, and reasonably well throughout the managerial ranks. There was a tension between welcoming newcomers and their ideas, and on the other hand valuing old timers. Until recently it was possible to make one's way from semi-skilled operative to assistant director. Promotion was usually only within the division in which one started one's career, with a cross over only at director level.

One of the tensions was between identification with a particular division, and loyalty to the department as a whole, typified by common name badges and varying uniforms for different services. Gendered stereotypes appeared most strongly in relation to divisions (Roper, 1994). Thus, Museums and Arts staff said the division was described as 'arty-

farty', and female; Libraries was female but had become indeterminate following the appointment of a new male assistant director, with whizz kid projects for the information age; Sports was largely male, as were the contracted out services. Across the department there was a range of management styles on an autocratic - democratic continuum, largely associated with different divisions, and this led to conflict about effective management style. One Assistant Director described *Leisure Services* as a collection of medieval nation states.

The Council was strongly committed to EO, for instance there was a recent policy on harassment, and it had a limited record of appointing female chief officers. Underlying assumptions in relation to gender were rather varied. At times redeployment had to take precedence over EO in appointments. One senior manager was openly gay, but going for drinks after committee meetings appeared to be 'a man's do', where some women felt uncomfortable. *Leisure Services* was nearest to the lip service/feminist pretender type of gender culture (Maddock and Parkin, 1994), though it appeared that some interviewees had a deeper commitment than this. There were gendered jobs (Acker, 1990), largely as a result of historical career choices by employees, and these could be construed as glass walls. However, there was no glass ceiling; a woman was appointed to the vacant top post during the case study. The main problems for women in this organisation were stereotyping, and recalcitrant male attitudes. Resistance to women was of necessity covert in an organisation with such a strong public commitment to EO.

Finco was a company in the turbulent financial sector, with core competencies in marketing, financial and actuarial skills, and IT. Sources of competitive advantage were its reputation, recent downsizing which had cut costs, and a rapid response to the market place which included the development of niche products. Its mission included being the best in the industry, working to the highest standards, including quality of service, making profit, and being an excellent employer of excellent people. Key espoused values were customer responsiveness, and a number in relation to staff: trusting staff, caring for them, empowering them, rewarding them. A number of views were expressed that *Finco* did not follow through on its commitments to staff, for instance there was no training or support for the policy of empowerment, and a similar confusion about acceptable management style as seen in *Westco* and *Leisure Services*. Formerly a paternalistic

culture, it had become less kind. Certain things seemed to be brushed under the carpet; it was said that managers did not like to be faced with difficult problems, and that it was unwise to admit errors. There was diffidence about appraisal and implementing disciplinary procedures. The company liked to convey an image of being financially secure and competent (for the City) and customer responsive (to the general public).

The need for managers to be extrovert was balanced by the need to be diplomatic, and indicated mixed messages in the organisation about management style, particularly in relation to how much one should speak out. Until recently *Finco* offered managers a career for life. The right experience was essential for promotion and included selection for attendance at a top European management school. Career moves were almost impossible without the universally acknowledged informal system of sponsorship, and judicious self promotion.

In theory there was an open, equitable promotion system; in practice sponsors and self-promotion were necessary, and the system worked better for men than for women. One of the problems was the choice of career routes within the organisation. There were stereotyped assumptions that meant men tended to front up corporate business transactions, leaving women to look after individual customer care. In the long run the former activity was more valued for advancement. The company had an EO policy and above minimum maternity pay, but had chosen not to join Opportunity 2000; it appeared to have an EO policy because it is felt to be the right thing for a bureaucracy to have, that is, for legal/external reasons. There were gendered underlying assumptions that women were not suitable for top positions, and mothers had to prove their commitment. It was a conservative environment about being gay. *Finco* was closest to the gender blind gender culture of Maddock and Parkin (1994), in that apart from a few concessions it did not recognise the difficulties women face. Although glass walls were less evident than formerly, the glass ceiling was still strongly in place. A glass elevator probably existed for young men via men's networking and corporate entertaining from which women might be excluded. Women in this organisation had to choose to play the organisational politics, or not mind the unfairness.

Engco was a multinational company involved with traditional process and also high tech engineering and related subsidiaries. Sources of competitive advantage included size, reputation, financial stability, and technical and scientific know-how, although global pressures meant there was pressure to recognise other skills such as marketing and language ability. It had core competencies in technical innovation, cost control and quality systems. The key espoused value was to make money for shareholders. There were many espoused values in the areas of quality, environmental concern and health and safety, although the degree to which they were internalised as underlying assumptions was questioned. There was a stated preference for recruiting internally, though this was increasingly breached. They were humane in redundancy, although the opportunity was taken to dispose of managers not up to the mark, as in *Finco*. Underlying assumptions were of caring for employees; though not as manifest as in the past, it was much more evident than in comparable companies. There was a particular *Engco* way of behaving: non-confrontational, with determined but courteous discussion in cases of disagreement. Both praise and criticism were kept low key, and career planning and development were not thought necessary.

The image of *Engco* was one of solidity and reliability (like its products). It also liked to portray itself as conquering competitors, through winning contracts, and conquering nature, through large-scale engineering projects and technical innovation. Alternatively it could be seen as rather staid and stuffy.

Until recently it was possible to go from teaboy to chairman, and there was some tension about qualifications versus experience, with increasing emphasis on graduate entrants. For middle manager posts upwards it was thought propitious to be asked to apply. The company was overwhelmingly male, about 90%, and the three highest placed women were all personnel managers. Although there was some disagreement about detail, there was agreement between men and women about job segregation, for instance managers and engineers were male and secretaries female. Female engineers were therefore stereotyped as exceptional or treated as tokens (Kanter, 1977), and *Engco* had difficulty in retaining them. There was some fluidity in relation to gendered perceptions in certain job areas, for instance IT and purchasing. In Maddock and Parkin's (1994) terms, *Engco* was the Gentlemen's Club: women were accepted as long as they remained

in their place. The women interviewed thought that glass walls were more pertinent than a glass ceiling, which they felt could be breached. The company was committed to Opportunity 2000 for largely moral reasons. A significant problem for women in the organisation was the general lack of movement following a decade of downsizing. Resistance to women took the forms of ignorance and polite puzzlement, sexism, the acceptance of tokens, and possibly male networking. Like *Finco* and the *Partnership*, expertise in EO developed in sister companies in North America had not been drawn upon. Women in *Engco* had to learn to abide by the *Engco* way of behaving and lower their expectations, or feel stultified by the pace of change.

The *Partnership* provided professional services to companies of all sizes. Its mission was to be the leading company in its industry sector. Its core competencies lay in highly intelligent employees allied with technical excellence and highly developed interpersonal skills that were used for selling and delivering service (like *Servco*). Its competitive advantage stemmed from its international reputation, extent of expertise, and range of complementary services. The prime key espoused value was to provide a high quality service that always satisfied clients, and if possible went beyond what they expected. The image the firm liked to convey is highly responsive, technically excellent, with professional integrity, friendly and personable. It could also be seen as predatory in a highly competitive market. Unlike some other organisations studied, the *Partnership* had succeeded in undertaking a systematic change to a more empowered way of working.

There was conflict between espoused values and underlying assumptions in a number of areas. All employees in this company had to comply with expectations to sacrifice large portions of their personal life. Demonstrated commitment was evidenced by very long hours, although the *Partnership* was attempting to encourage more balance between home and work. Graduate entry was extremely competitive, but some employees were recruited post qualification via agencies, or head hunted. There was an overtly meritocratic process for promotion built on periodic appraisal of competencies, but partners made the final decision, and at higher levels political influence was important. Unsatisfactory employees tended to be eased out. Appraisal was not undertaken as often as indicated, and employees assumed their performance was

satisfactory unless they heard otherwise. There was some preference in promotion to those who had spent their entire career with the company, although many undertook their professional training with the firm and then sought appointments elsewhere. Impression management and political support played an important role in promotion.

The main profession used to be almost 100% male but now had over 50% female entry at professional level. Thus numbers of professional women in the firm, though still less than men, were increasing. Certain specialisms were perceived as more macho than others (Roper, 1994), and support service jobs were almost exclusively female (Davidson and Cooper, 1992); even where incumbents had other professional qualifications, they were perceived as less important than direct fee earners. Gendered assumptions included the requirement for a young man to find a supportive 'company wife' (Handy, 1989). Although there was no overt prejudice, very conventional attitudes seem to prevail in relation to any kind of difference; for instance, it was not a safe place to come out as gay. Women were accepted provided they could behave like honorary men, and not allow domestic responsibilities to interfere in their commitment. There were assumptions that mothers are less committed, and few allowances made. There was a glass wall for support staff that they would never breach, but although it was harder for women to become partners, they could pass through the glass ceiling. Of more significance was the glass elevator; young men were helped in their career by networking encouraged by the firm, such as sports fixtures, and informal drinks in the pub. As in *Finco*, there were certain classes of corporate entertaining, for example 'sportsmen's dinners', which were closed to women. In Maddock and Parkin's (1994) terms the firm was a mixture of the smart macho and locker room gender cultures. Unlike all other organisations studied, it was totally unclear why this organisation had an EO policy and membership of Opportunity 2000, as EO appeared unintegrated into personnel procedures, apart from above minimum maternity pay. Women in the *Partnership* had to choose how far to conform and how much of their personal life to sacrifice, or leave.

Mediaco was part of a larger group in the entertainment business, with an ephemeral, throw-away product. It constantly scanned the environment, the market and its customers, and its core competencies were creative up-to-the-minute production combined with firm financial management. One source of competitive advantage was its

established position as key provider in its geographical area. Although it had no individual mission statement, key espoused values were the firm linking of individual reward with meeting financial and performance targets, preference to internal candidates, and teamwork. However, given the primacy of meeting financial targets, sometimes recruitment procedures were ditched for business reasons, and for certain creative posts the industry grapevine was regarded as more efficient than advertising. Underlying assumptions included the belief that work should be fun. Although *Mediaco* was in the communication industry, it was the view of some employees that internal communication was neglected; this was despite twice yearly conferences for all staff. There was conflict between those who regard profit as primary, and those committed to the product. Although managers worked longer than office hours, this was perhaps 6.30 or 7 rather than 10 at night like the *Partnership*. Socialising was a requirement of the job, to keep in touch with local opinion leaders and promote sponsorship deals, but some staff had to be reminded that not every night out qualified for reimbursement. The company had an image that was young, dynamic, and sexy to its customers, and business like and creative to advertisers and agencies. Alternatively it could be seen as amoral, where anything went as long as it was not illegal and made money. As at *Servco* and the *Trust*, employees who were not performing were not retained.

Successful managers had made their careers in the company, in the group, and in the industry, many starting without qualifications, a situation that was changing with graduate entry. The grapevine and networking were all important. Jobs in *Mediaco* were gendered, with commercial and sales jobs almost exclusively female, and creative and editorial jobs male. This glass wall did not lead to a glass ceiling at company level as either pathway could lead to the top and the MD was female; however, there were no women on the board of the holding company. In this particular industry and other parts of the parent group, though not in *Mediaco* itself currently, there was strong representation of gay men. *Mediaco* was a place where it was OK to be gay, black, female and a parent. However, it was thought unlikely an MD would be appointed over 40. It might have been more problematical to be older, as it was a young company, but this also meant that it did not have a history of sexist assumptions. Out of all the case studies this was also the company where sexuality was most freely acknowledged, and it was probably helpful for women to dress attractively as well as in a

business-like fashion. Consensual relationships between employees were accepted as long as they did not interfere with work. Whilst there were elements of the smart macho (Maddock and Parkin, 1994) gender culture, it was probably nearer to the managing diversity (Wilson and Iles, 1996) model. EO has been adopted primarily for pragmatic business reasons, rather than moral reasons. Resistance to women took the form of a few jokes. To me the company felt fun, open, busy and purposeful. Women in *Mediaco* needed to have the right kind of personality and meet targets to progress.

Common themes and variations

Having undertaken an overview of each individual organisation, this section looks at general themes common to a number of organisations, especially those pertaining to management style. Those themes relating specifically relating to gender will be examined in chapter 10. In Appendix 14 there are tables of espoused values and underlying assumptions in respect of each organisation, to which reference will be made where relevant during this chapter. In each case, following Alvesson (1993) these are divided into: first those espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other or that are very similar; second espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other; third underlying assumptions that conflict with each other; and fourth espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related. The majority of these were suggested by or derived from the group sessions held in each organisation, with some formulated during data analysis.

The first common theme relates to the *organisational environment*. Almost all organisations faced an increasingly competitive or increasingly turbulent environment. For instance, *Engco* was a player in a global market, with contraction in some markets and expansion in others. The *Partnership* appeared to be in a highly competitive environment. The market in which it operated had become more volatile because of an increased emphasis on tendering for large contracts, which was both an opportunity and a threat. *Finco* was a company in the turbulent UK financial sector, which was subject to increasing change in product delivery, technology, competition for market share, and a large number of demutualisations, mergers and acquisitions. In the *Trust*, repeated political

exhortation and pressure to perform to the rising expectation of the Government imposed Patients Charter standards put strain on some aspects of management. There was a tension between the stated autonomy of Trusts and NHS Management Executive demands, for instance to make an 8% cut in administration costs mid-year, an attitude male managers encapsulated as '*Trusts can't be Trusted*'. *Leisure Services*, like the *Trust*, had also been subject to a number of legislative changes, with requirements to tender and re-tender for a number of manual services against open competition, such as catering and grounds maintenance. *Westco*, having made the move from public to private sector, operated in an increasingly deregulated arena, where larger players were acquiring smaller ones. *Mediaco* operated in a volatile market both in relation to customer taste, and also in competition with other media.

A number of organisations had been through large-scale organisational changes, either desired or forced. *Westco*, *Leisure Services* and *Finco* had each experienced more than one restructuring for reasons of economic necessity, leaving much flatter organisations. During the case study plans were made for *Finco* to merge with another major company in its sector. Redundancy programmes had taken place almost continuously at *Engco*, partly for reasons of downsizing, and partly as a result of technological advance, and *Mediaco* had slimmed down following acquisition by its current parent group. The *Trust* took on its current semi-autonomous status in 1993, with a slim managerial profile. Only the *Partnership* was expanding as a result of acquiring and growing new business.

In the two public sector organisations there was competition for resources, in the case of *Leisure Services* not only competition with other Council departments, but also from external grant-making bodies such as the Countryside Commission. The *Trust* was a provider of both hospital and community services in the NHS quasi-market, dependent on negotiating contracts with commissioning bodies in competition with other providers to provide health care at pre-determined quality and price levels. This also led to internal competition for resources.

Time orientation varied between organisations. For some of the organisations their time orientation appeared a response to their circumstances. Thus the *Trust* and *Servco* looked to the present and the medium future, perhaps 1 – 2 years. *Leisure Services* was

similar but with some lingering looks to the past. Time orientation in *Servco* was different from *Westco*, with a lot of talk about what was happening at the moment and how the service would grow and develop in the future. *Mediaco* focused almost exclusively on the present, with an eye to the immediate future of perhaps 3-6 months; possibly a longer-term view was taken by the parent company. In *Finco* most emphasis was on the present and near future 6-12 months, with some reference to the past.

There were however examples of time orientation which appeared potentially dysfunctional. In the *Partnership* time orientation was in the present and immediate future, perhaps 1 – 3 months, with a continued tension between the short-term focus on earning fees and the stated need for a longer term view. On the other hand in *Westco*, although many people talked about how the organisation used to be, compared to how it had become, there was minimal comment about the future. The actual amount of time spent talking about the past was very noticeable. It appeared therefore that the past was more significant than the present or future. A symbol of this time orientation appeared to be the *Westco* HQ entrance hall where the glories of the past were recorded in a photograph of the HQ in days gone by, and an engineering scale model of a technical triumph. Similarly in *Engco*, the time orientation of a number of interviewees appeared to be towards the past. Valuing the past might have tempted people to look back with nostalgia to the golden days of full employment when everything was less uncertain, rather than forward to a future of global uncertainty. This had implications for competitive advantage, because it meant employees might be psychologically unprepared for the future challenges in the market place; they might rely on old solutions instead of assessing whether new approaches were needed.

In all organisations there was comment about management style. In some cases there was consensus about management style, as in the *Trust* and *Mediaco*, where it did not appear a significant issue. In *Westco* and *Finco* there had been an attempt to move from a more directive to a more participatory style, but this had been only partially successful, and top managers sent out mixed messages about desirable behaviour. In *Leisure Services* these two different styles were associated with different divisions, leading to conflict as to how managers should behave. *Engco* had not made any moves to change

its style. These assertions will be illustrated by reference to relevant data. Readers may also wish to refer to the respective tables in Appendix 14.

Most managers in *Westco* said that 'people skills' were increasingly important, and that *Westco* was moving from a traditionally directive management style to one that was more participative and trusting. This was thought necessary both because of the low manager-employee ratio, and non-monetary ways had to be found to motivate and reward staff. However, in contrast to the participatory management style alluded to by many managers, there appeared to be assumptions about the need to control manual employees, with a complicated disciplinary procedure and tariff of punishments. A further example that belied the change in management style was how managers talked about a recently recruited senior manager. Many people said to me: 'Jennifer was in the Navy, you know'. On meeting her it transpired that she also had an MBA from a prestigious European institution and blue chip experience. It seemed that colleagues were more impressed by her former military experience than by her management expertise. The command-and-control management style in its extreme manifestation was described as 'macho' management in parts of the organisation. One manager said that he tried to be as macho as possible in certain situations. Stories circulated about one director who was reputedly said to talk about 'kicking a.e', and had a fearsome reputation throughout the company. Interestingly the participatory management style alluded to in *Westco* appeared extant in *Servco*. In *Westco*, despite the avowed change of managerial style, one way of resolving conflict was by appealing up the hierarchy. Other methods of conflict resolution included debate but also shouting. Sometimes the person who could sustain the loudest volume emerged as the winner, and giving in was seen as weakness. In *Servco* by contrast a positive attitude was demanded and perhaps because of this the group found it difficult to acknowledge and discuss conflict.

The conflict about management style at *Finco* was less marked and more ambiguous. During the time of the case study *Finco* was committed to a clear corporate approach, encapsulated in a series of statements under 'This is *Finco*' known as TIF. The aim was to make the organisation more customer responsive, innovative, entrepreneurial and competitive, by encouraging empowerment and teamwork. Opinions varied as to its effectiveness. The men's group felt that an underlying assumption was that staff could be trusted. The women were more sceptical, saying that empowerment had not really

been sufficiently explained, or supported by training. They felt there was a gap between the espoused values encapsulated in the TIF statement and what was really happening. Despite the delayering and moves towards empowering, *Finco* still retained vestiges of the typical bureaucracy. This included a set hierarchy of grades, cars commensurate with grade, personnel procedures, and independence between the subsidiaries in the group typical of a 'role culture' (Handy, 1985), although there were individually negotiated contracts in IT. Nevertheless the coming merger had sharpened up awareness of *Finco's* culture. The men felt strongly that the partner organisation was old fashioned and over staffed. In contrast to the informal friendly atmosphere at *Finco*, it was described as traditional and hierarchical, for instance addressing managers formally.

In *Leisure Services* there appeared to be a variety of management styles in the Department, on a continuum from the directive to the participative. Some managers were perceived as somewhat authoritarian, dealing with subordinates on a need to know basis; others were seen as over-consultative. Whilst some range of style is to be expected in a department dealing with manual workers as well as highly qualified professionals, unfortunately certain styles had become associated with certain divisions. Not only did this mean that managers did not always value the style of colleagues, it also lead to some stereotyping of managers according to their division. Thus sports and contracted out services tended to be viewed as directive, museums and arts as participative, with libraries in between.

By contrast with the conflict and ambiguity in *Westco*, *Finco*, and *Leisure Services*, the *Partnership* had made considerable changes in moving towards a system where staff were expected, trusted and empowered to take on more responsibility. This was introduced successively and systematically throughout the company. Only occasionally were partners over prescriptive, and staff over cautious.

In *Engco* there appeared to be a management style that was directive in a paternalistic way, indeed a certain way of behaving appeared more important than management style per se. There was emphasis on being a pleasant person in *Engco*, and a premium was put on harmonious working relationships. There seemed to be acceptable *Engco* ways of behaving; for instance raised voices would be unacceptable. When presenting ideas

(particularly contrary to an existing view) one should be 'forthcoming but sensible', speaking in a determined but restrained manner, or 'quietly enthusiastic', with emotional control.

Mediaco was the only company that was moving away from a participative style towards one that had more formality and structure. The new MD had been brought in because of her previous managerial experience, and had introduced job descriptions, for instance. She also put more emphasis on communicating through the proper channels, in contrast to the more casual style that had previously prevailed, though she recognised too much formality would be stifling. The change in style appeared consequent upon acquisition by the parent group.

Internal communication varied between the organisations. It was at its best in the *Trust*, where there were quarterly open meetings for staff, a 'query board' where any staff queries could be posted, and information for the public in the entrance hall of the main hospital. On a smaller scale *Servco* was proud that recent external assessment had indicated excellent communication. By contrast in *Westco* and *Leisure Services* there were problems with internal communication. Another aspect of communication apart from its corporate aspect is the extent to which employees felt they could speak out. This was clearly the case at the *Trust*, and at *Servco* 'What you say counts' was strongly expressed. However, the position was ambiguous elsewhere. For instance at *Finco*, managers were not sure if speaking out was really acceptable. Openness was demonstrated by the *Trust*. It was most unusual in responding positively and extremely swiftly to the request for access. Within two weeks of the initial phone contact, I had a list of interviewees. This appeared to demonstrate openness, decisiveness and efficiency. *Mediaco*, once an initial interview had been granted, was similarly swift. The *Partnership* had also allowed another research team into the organisation.

A further issue that emerged was 'getting rid of passengers', that is encouraging or enforcing the *removal of unsuitable employees*. Interestingly it appeared the organisations that were most positive and most coherent in their management style that were most decisive in this respect. Thus both *Mediaco* and *Servco* made positive use of probationary periods, and only retained wholly satisfactory employees. In *Servco* the

underlying assumption appeared to be: fit in and contribute, or go. As a result, some staff had left voluntarily or involuntarily. The *Partnership* offered advice on future prospects to poor employees and also ceased giving pay rises, which meant employees usually moved elsewhere. The *Trust* was slightly kinder, in some cases arranging secondments to other parts of the NHS. Nevertheless it had made managers redundant when despite good previous performance they proved unsuitable for new responsibilities. Male managers pointed out the conflict between the stated value of the *Trust* to care for staff and the swift removal of managers when they had failed to deliver. By contrast with this decisiveness, in *Westco* there was agreement about getting rid of unsuitable employees, but this was a long drawn out procedure. *Engco* was also diffident, usually waiting until the next round of redundancies to dispose of ineffective middle managers, and moving ineffective senior managers sideways. Nevertheless they did dismiss employees, and would fight Industrial Tribunal cases, unlike *Finco* and *Leisure Services* where this was to be avoided if at all possible. *Leisure Services* was part of a Council which tried to redeploy all staff made redundant, and so this meant a number of staff had been appointed to posts for which they would not be considered in open competition. In any organisation, being prepared to dispose of staff is one way of ensuring that those who remain are acceptable in terms of commitment and outlook.

Working long hours, that is in excess of a normal working week, was commonplace in all organisations. The understanding of long hours varied, however, from perhaps 8.30 a.m. till 6.30 p.m. and occasionally later in *Mediacco*, to expectations of starting as early as 6 a.m. and going on as late as 10 p.m. at the *Partnership*. In the latter there appeared to be organisational ambivalence about working long hours. It was not unusual for someone to work a 10-13 hour day plus weekends when the pressure was on, even occasionally overnight. To some extent this was regarded as acceptable and commendable, indeed evidence of commitment. However, there had been recognition of the effect on staff in sacrificing personal and family life; the firm had a programme to encourage more balance and attempts were made to mediate clients' requests. Reasons for working long hours in the case study organisations were mixed. Particularly in the public sector organisations many if not most managers worked more than their contracted hours to ensure the job was done, or perhaps to set a good example. In other organisations it was thought necessary to demonstrate commitment, and potential for promotion.

Nevertheless this is an Equal Opportunities issue, as managers with caring responsibilities would find this difficult, and this will be further discussed in chapter 10.

Attitudes towards risk taking, mistakes, and learning also varied. In some organisations such as the *Trust*, *Servco* and *Leisure Services* and generally in the *Partnership*, staff were encouraged to learn from mistakes. In the *Trust* the women's group considered that the influence of so many female managers was that it was acceptable to admit ignorance. This can be contrasted with a message about mistakes that managers in *Finco* found ambiguous, despite the company's espoused commitment to entrepreneurial behaviour. In *Westco* a risk-averse attitude to decision making emerged. One way of avoiding individual responsibility in *Westco* was to make decisions by committee, informally or formally, so no one individual could be held to blame. Past events were frequently cited as examples of what can go wrong, and were used as a guide to future decision making, which fostered a resistance to change. The seriousness with which *Leisure Services* treated the case study appeared an important indicator of a positive attitude towards organisational learning.

Many of the case study organisations, despite espoused values of encouraging and developing staff, were poor at praising and rewarding them. In *Finco* rewards and punishments were not a strong feature of the culture. In *Leisure Services* some managers felt that they only knew they were doing well if not told off. Attention tended to be focused on poor rather than good employees, as pressure of time meant deserved positive feedback was not always given. In *Engco* there appeared to be a certain diffidence about telling people they had done a good or bad job, and being direct made people feel uncomfortable. There seemed to be an unstated assumption that reward was not necessary. However a new manager with a habit of thanking employees was appreciated. In *Westco* the reward and punishment system for managers appeared to assume that employees do not need praise: it was said jokingly that the reward was to keep your job. *Servco* in contrast accepted the need for acknowledgement and approval, and there were impromptu celebrations of significant achievements in *Mediaco* and one department of the *Partnership*. The *Trust* had the most institutionalised system of acknowledgement, with employee of the month and long service awards. *Leisure Services* also nominated employees for long service awards, but the Council

administration made embarrassing mistakes in arranging the award ceremony. In all organisations, disciplinary procedures existed. These were complicated and legalistic in *Westco*, reflecting underlying assumptions about controlling manual staff. In *Finco* disciplinary procedures were avoided if possible.

The majority of the organisations studied were service industries, reliant on pleasing their *customers*. Two were in the leisure industry, *Mediaco* and *Leisure Services*, where customers could be fickle and barriers to entry low. *Mediaco* managers were constantly aware of the need to be up to date and if possible ahead of the competition. As one manager put it, they needed to be able to recognise trends from fads. *Leisure Services* derived less than half its expenditure from the Council, the remainder coming from grants and charges. Within *Leisure Services* there appeared to be a common commitment by all managers to enhancing the leisure activities and artistic enjoyment of the public, and its front-line staff referred to it as the 'gold standard department'. Awareness of customers was most acute in the *Partnership*, as the firm aimed to grow business. As well as poaching other practices' clientele, one way to gain work was to offer complementary services to existing customers. It was felt that there should always be a speedy and efficient response to clients' requests; where these were against an unreasonable deadline, this was reflected in the fee. The *Trust* and *Servco* were also customer focused but the emphasis was more on personal service. By contrast *Engco* managers were much less focussed on customers, as the company dealt with large corporate clients rather than individuals. In *Westco* there was an espoused customer orientation that was belied by the poor regard given to internal customers.

Tied to awareness of customers is the question of *targets, results and deadlines*. The *Trust* was bound by externally imposed targets, and had delivered a consistently good performance against Patient Charter standards. Managers were required to set annual objectives for service and personal development. There was also emphasis on results in *Servco*, without compromising standards. *Engco*, because of the nature of its work, had an espoused commitment to a number of policies which underpinned manufacturing, such as ISO 9000, ISO 14000, Health and Safety requirements and an internal reporting system promoting both commercial and manufacturing excellence. Although ostensibly

perceived as crucially important, informants said that *Engco* frequently signed up for standards that it failed to implement thoroughly.

There were a number of other artefacts found in all case study organisations that it would be interesting to explore such as language, architecture and internal décor. The study will however be restricted to consider dress. Although this strays a little into subject matter that will be dealt with in chapter 10, the topic in its entirety will be considered here. Dress was indicative of both sameness and difference, identifying employees as belonging to occupational or status groupings, in contradistinction to others, as well as being a signifier of gender. In a number of case study organisations, such as *Westco*, *Engco*, *Servco* and the *Trust*, uniforms denoted the occupational, and hence status, group to which an employee belonged. In *Westco* and *Engco* it acted as a horizontal differentiator, whereas in *Servco* and the *Trust* it could also denote professional status. The position was different in *Leisure Services* where, as mentioned above, there was a tension between identification with the department as a whole, and being proud of the employing section. This appeared to be symbolised by the common badges worn by all staff when greeting the public, and the variety of uniforms in different sections. For instance, rangers always wore green outdoor jackets, beards and collar length hair, whereas cinema attendants had drab navy uniforms. In this case, different dress acted as a vertical differentiator. Even among office based staff in *Leisure Services* there was some differentiation, more particularly between the Museums section and the rest. The managers in Museums were dressed in a striking and tasteful way, quite appropriate for managerial staff, yet different to anyone else encountered. In symbolic terms the variety of dress in *Leisure Services* demonstrated both its unity and diversity. In other organisations dress could also denote a sub-culture. It was said that members of the IT department could be picked out in the lift in *Finco* because of their sandals and sloppy dress. In one company, *Mediaco*, variations in dress were deliberately used for commercial gain. When bidding for large commercial contracts they sent a sharp suited commercial manager together with a casually dressed creative manager. For certain outdoor events *Mediaco* staff wore bomber jackets with snazzy company logos, which were also on sale to the public, an example of symbolic management.

Among managers in all organisations there were understandings about what constituted acceptable managerial garb, sometimes backed by dress codes. As noted by Aaltio-Marjosola (1994) 'greyness' was predominant among men. For instance, in *Finco* 'wild ties' were the only form of self-expression among male managers. Generally, expectations that male managers should wear a suit were strongest in the private sector companies, and less evident in the public sector and ex public sector organisations. 'Power dressing' for female managers appeared in various forms. It was surprisingly feminine in the *Partnership*, with bright colours and soft lines, restrained in *Finco*, where for instance a female manager would not sport 'big hair', and verging on the flashy in *Mediaco*, where short skirted suits were the norm for women managers. By contrast power dressing was almost absent from *Leisure Services*, *Westco* and the *Trust*, and rather non-descript in *Engco*.

In a number of organisations I was told that *work is fun*. This included *Leisure Services* and *Mediaco*, which were both in the entertainment industry, but also *Westco* and *Finco*. In *Leisure Services* jokes and wind-ups were acceptable: 'It's the work that's a bind' (senior male manager). It was said that the *Partnership* was warmer than competitors, and more fun, and socialising was encouraged formally and informally. In *Mediaco* socialising was part of the job, and the arena for intensive networking and promotion. Boundaries between work and social life had been somewhat permeable in the past.

Subcultures in a number of organisations were identified as co-terminous with departmental boundaries, most strongly in the case of IT in *Finco*, and the divisional sub-cultures already alluded to in *Leisure Services*. Less strongly, variations in organisational culture could be seen in different departments in the *Partnership*. For instance Corporate Finance was more egalitarian, and put more emphasis on acknowledgement of success.

To summarise this section: the problems of internal integration and external adaptation according to Schein (1992) were indicated in Figure 3.2. In relation to external adaptation, this chapter has explored for each case study organisation its mission and goals, by identifying the aims (as espoused values) of each organisation. For the means

of achievement there has been extensive examination of management style and linked topics. To a lesser extent measurement has also been considered, but not corrective measures on an organisational level.

For internal integration rewards and punishments have been discussed, including the treatment of 'passengers'. There are other aspects of internal integration that will be explored in chapter 10. These include intimacy, friendship and love, and particularly in relation to the managerial ranks, group boundaries and criteria for inclusion and exclusion, as well as power and status. The issues of ideology and religion have not been specifically tackled. A common language and conceptual categories were discussed in relation to *Finco*, and will also be touched upon in the next section.

The similar phenomena observed across case study organisations, give support to Turner's (1971) concept of the organisational subculture as a system of shared meanings. Schein's (1992) distinction of artefacts, espoused values, and underlying assumptions has been a useful framework for elaborating the consistencies, inconsistencies, contradictions and ambiguities manifest in everyday organisational life and belief systems. Discussion has however tended to assume a functional approach (Schultz, 1995), focusing on what helps the organisation survive.

Comparisons between repertory grid data and general information about management style.

In this chapter one of the major themes discussed is that of management style. To summarise, two main styles of management were described. The first equated approximately to the command-and-control style, where employees were told what to do, were controlled, and were not expected to use their initiative. The second was variously described as empowering, participatory, consultative, perhaps encouraging entrepreneurial behaviour and teamwork.

If the findings about management style are compared with the repertory grid data in chapter 8, then a consensus emerged that good managers display a myriad of managerial

skills and behaviour, principally interpersonal, and to a lesser extent task skills. The composite picture of a good manager conveyed by the repertory grid data analysed in chapter 8 is relatively close to the desirable management style described in *Westco*, *Servco*, the *Trust*, *Leisure Services*, *Finco* and the *Partnership*. As discussed above, *Engco* and *Mediaco* were less concerned about management style. The conflict about how to manage in *Leisure Services* and *Westco*, and the ambiguity in *Finco*, are demonstrated by incongruous espoused values and underlying assumptions discussed earlier, an incongruity strengthened by the findings of chapter 8.

The implication of this is as follows. Either some managers were deluding themselves or lying about what they consider a good management style, or alternatively there was in a number of organisations a serious mismatch between how managers perceived the organisation to function, and how they would have liked it to function. This appears to give support to Wajcman's (1996) contention that lip service is paid to one currently fashionable style of management, whilst many managers on the ground feel constrained to act in another way. In this study managers were constrained both because they received behavioural messages from top managers about management behaviour, and also because they perceived only the more directive style would be rewarded.

Significant symbols, and alternative perspectives, for each case study organisation

This section will look at symbols that appear to be significant in each organisation, concentrating on general issues rather than gendered aspects, which will be dealt with in chapter 10. It also looks at interpretations of the data that use perspectives from the culture-as-metaphor field.

There were four organisations where family feelings or caring was a predominant theme, but it was played out in different ways. In *Engco* the word 'family' was used consciously as a metaphor and simile for the organisation. Most interviewees appeared to accept the notion that *Engco* is a family, although this 'may not always be a happy family, but still a family' (male manager). The metaphor encompassed both direction and caring. *Engco* demonstrated its caring by supporting sports and social clubs, and subsidised canteens,

which were universal benefits. The company had a history of caring for its workforce, for instance each works offering annual pensioners' dinners. Like visiting your relatives, an *Engco* person felt comfortable visiting other factories, and although this commonality of feeling was thought to rest on common technology and processes, and similar job grades, the feeling the interviewees conveyed was stronger than mere familiarity. However repeated redundancies, which were described as like a bereavement (a strong metaphor evoking the disruption of attachment), had strained this caring image, despite a commitment to outplacement and support to all those made redundant, regardless of status.

In *Engco* the model of the family was one headed by the traditional pater familias, where sober older men guide younger ones. One criticism of this modus operandi was that it stifled initiative. In a feedback session personnel managers said that too many managers concerned themselves with a level of detail inappropriate to their level. This meant that when the company adopted particular policies, they were not necessarily carried out, as employees waited to be instructed. There appeared to be conflicts between official policy and what employees perceived to be happening on the ground in the areas of promotion, Investors in People, and career development, which led to perceptions of unfairness. On a symbolic level therefore, the particular meaning of family to *Engco* was not only caring and directive as stated above, but also stultifying and engendering resentment. The way meaning was sustained and reconstructed in *Engco* can be seen in the approach to redundancy. Whilst accepting the 'bereavement', *Engco* undertook reparation by offering support to all those made redundant. The particular meaning of family is probably specific to *Engco* and thus falls within the symbolic particularist perspective. However another perspective could be that of transactional analysis (Berne, 1961), viewing the dominant mode of transactions in the organisation as parent and child, rather than adult to adult. To explain this briefly: Berne (1961) suggested that adults have three potential modes of communicating and behaving with one another, which he termed transactions. The dominant mode can be as adult, parent or child, and most adults can take on various modes at various times, although not necessarily consciously. Adult-adult and parent-child transactions are complementary, although the first is a symmetrical relationship where power is balanced, whereas the latter is asymmetrical, and power is more likely to be with the person operating in parent

mode. When parent-child transactions occur between people who are otherwise adults, these transactions may be satisfactory or unsatisfactory to them. When adult-parent or child-adult transactions occur there is a lack of complementarity, and the transaction is likely to be unsatisfactory to both parties.

In contrast to *Engco's* symbol of the family, the company had another image conveyed by its corporate literature. This was of conquering nature and conquering competitors. In an analysis of two editions of group promotional literature, there were 49 stories about contracts that had been won, were underway, or had been competed. There were also a number of stories and photographs that celebrated technological triumphs, and by implication the might of *Engco*. This contrasted with only one story about human resources. Apparently a previous MD had banned 'human interest' stories, which were much more likely to appear in plant level publications. This can be seen as an example of corporate culture (Smircich, 1983, Alvesson and Berg, 1992), in its attempts to create a symbol system (Morgan et al, 1983). This attempt to construct meaning at the apex of the organisation was not shared by interviewees. For instance it was said that very few employees read corporate publications. However it indicated a dislocation of sentiment between the head and body of the organisation, and the existence of two separate constructions of meaning.

Engco was a curious mixture of integration, in terms of overall alliance with the group, and fragmentation (Meyerson and Martin, 1987), where employees could spend time tucked away in individual plants, hardly meeting anyone else. Differentiation between plants was accentuated by the extent to which each took on the characteristics of the surrounding area. Thus one plant was in a pleasant, leafy area in a generally prosperous county, whereas another was in one of the most deprived areas of the EU, where adult mortality rates equalled those of less developed countries. This meant that at plant level workforces had subtly different understandings and aspirations. In terms of Figure 3.1 this supports the identification of industrial with regional culture. Yet another source of differentiation was as a result of acquisition; one company which had been bought from a US holding company was said to have a more assertive, abrasive culture.

Like *Engco*, *Westco* also had various manifestations of toughness, but whereas in *Engco* these were confined largely to the top of the organisation, in *Westco* these appeared throughout the organisation, although not universally accepted. Toughness was never referred to as such, but appeared in various guises. In a historical sense it included calling managers 'boss', and the quasi-military ranking of staff through uniforms. It was evident in the underlying assumption mentioned above, that a military model and experience bring order. The hearty working class male culture on the shop floor, and the reputation of the 'macho' director referred to above also bolstered toughness, a common saying being: 'I've never met him but I've heard he's a b....d'. Toughness gave a particular meaning to the entrepreneurial stance of the company, which aimed to be a prime player within the industry oligopoly. In this particular case, the meaning of toughness was probably wider than *Westco* itself, being linked to both industry sector (Turner, 1971) and the region (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). The strength of this shared meaning about toughness was a further way of explaining the conflict surrounding management style. As long as toughness was sanctioned and reconstructed through the repetition of stories about the macho director, it would continue to be difficult for alternative values and behaviour to find a secure place in the organisation. The gender implications of toughness, which appeared a widely held but not universally accepted value in *Westco*, are discussed in chapter 10.

In terms of Meyerson's and Martin (1987) paradigms, integration in *Westco* was sought after rather than achieved. Poor communication and co-ordination were alluded to earlier, which indicates a tension between integration and fragmentation.

Servco had a very different culture from *Westco*, and had key values of professionalism, and caring. Caring in *Servco* had aspects both of the professionalised caring of the *Trust*, which is discussed below, and the parental caring of *Engco*. However the parental mode was maternal rather than paternal, nurturing and encouraging rather than directive. Although this mode of caring had its roots in the strong female leadership, there was also reciprocity between colleagues, and thus a predominance of adult-adult transactions. 'Caring' in terms of social construction was continuously and consciously recreated in *Servco*. On the other hand the maternal model appeared to indicate an archetypal understanding on which everyone could draw unconsciously. There was a merging of these two meanings of caring, professional and maternal, conscious and unconscious.

The most potent symbol in the *Trust* was the story of how the Chief Executive rose from a humble clerk to her current position. This could be described as a story or saga (Alvesson and Berg, 1992), but primarily it is suggested as a morality tale, as it is a story which emphasises how hard work and determination, as well as some deserved luck, yields a just reward. The Chief Executive demonstrated her twin attributes of ordinariness and specialness by being familiar with a wide range of *Trust* personnel, from domestics upwards, and of course by holding her position successfully. This story was not quite a fairy tale, though there were resonances with Cinderella and Dick Whittington. If there was a fairy godmother or benefactor, then it was Virginia Bottomley, the Secretary of State for Health who championed Opportunity 2000 in the NHS, and also implemented structural reforms that created new opportunities. The repetition of this story was a largely localised social construction that transmitted norms, values and meaning. The Chief Executive was one of the people who 'emerged from the data' as a significant actor, as discussed in chapter 8 and Wilson (1997).

In contrast to the family metaphors employed at *Engco* and *Mediaco*, the *Trust* had a warm, slightly ambiguous, message about caring for employees as well as patients. Rather than this being done in a familial context, it was professionalised, although not depersonalised. Caring took place within adult-adult relationships, rather than the parent-child relationships described at *Engco* (Berne, 1961). As indicated above when discussing espoused values and underlying assumptions, the ambiguity arose from the desire to balance caring for two groups of people, and also from the tension between caring and meeting external demands. As one manager said: 'When someone gets the push it makes you wonder'. What can be seen here is the successful, conscious, and largely unhypocritical, construction of meaning that has been challenged by the pressure of external circumstances. The manager's comment can be read as a questioning of this construction.

The *Trust* appeared more integrated than fragmented or ambiguous (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). Fragmentation was manifested in the subculture of the medical specialists. Another way of interpreting the power of the doctors relative to the power of the managers is to see this in political terms.

One of the principal symbols in *Leisure Services* has already been discussed, the differentiation between the various divisions of the department, symbolised by different garb and different management styles, and buttressed by stereotypes. This places the department within the fragmentation rather than the integration paradigm (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). Using Hatch's (1993) model of cultural dynamics discussed in chapter 3, different management styles and dress can be construed as artefacts that retroactively challenged the espoused value of a united department. Instead, the surplus meaning that they had as symbols maintained the underlying assumptions of differentiation between divisions. The gendered ramifications of this differentiation will be further discussed in chapter 10.

A second significant symbol in *Leisure Services* was that of councillors, always referred to as 'elected members'. Managers in *Leisure Services* showed acute awareness of the political process, heightened by the fact that the Council had had numerous changes of political administration, frequently without one party in overall control. The term 'elected members' was almost a leitmotif or refrain running through the interview data. Regardless of their professional expertise, managers retained awareness that decisions about the allocation of resources and shape of services were ultimately the domain of politicians, and that this took precedence over managerial proposals. As a senior male manager put it:

'Officers may be right. Democracy reserves the right to be wrong to elected members.'

Referring to Hatch's (1993) conception of a symbol as something with surplus meaning, the extra meaning in this case appeared to be an amalgam of power, charisma and democratic values. Further ways of interpreting the phenomena of elected members are to see them as emblematic of the democratic process, or as an aspect of political ideology (Alvesson and Berg, 1992).

It is difficult to think of an outstanding symbol in relation to *Finco*, perhaps the impressive HQ, a symbol of solidity and prosperity. However sponsorship appeared more salient, as a dynamic attachment between respectively more and less powerful employees, with both parties to this contract aware of the relationship. The sponsor invested reputation, power, energy and influence in order to further the career of the person sponsored. The social

construction of this particular meaning appeared peculiar to *Finco*, as it was context and organisation specific (Schulz, 1995). Thus interpretation lies within symbolic particularism (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). The import of sponsors is further explored in chapter 10 in relation to the gendered aspects.

Almost all interviewees at *Finco* were at the head office, so it was possible an impression of a more integrated culture than actually prevailed was gained. Certainly there were fissures between the IT department - described as 'on another bloody planet' - and the other departments, and again between head office and the regions. The ambiguity in terms of direction and management style was alluded to earlier, and supports Meyerson and Martin (1987) paradigm of ambiguity in terms of the lack of clarity about direction of the organisation, confused messages about behaviour, and the turbulent environment created by the impending merger.

The significant symbol for the *Partnership* was the clientele. Customer care was taken to a fine art in this organisation. It was not sufficient for employees to be technically competent. Charming the customers was perceived as a necessary component of competitive advantage, and the *Partnership* tried always to say yes to clients. Staff were expected to project their personalities. More unkindly one could say that they were expected to seduce customers (Gherardi, 1995), and prostitute their personalities for the sake of the firm (Hochschild, 1983). It appeared that in many instances there are adult-adult transactions (Berne, 1961) between employees and customers of the *Partnership*. However the acute responsiveness of the *Partnership* to clients sanctioned a demanding, unreciprocal and even unreasonable, relationship. In transactional terms (Berne, 1961) this had the nature of parent-child transactions between the firm's staff and clients, with the firm as benevolent parent and the client as demanding child. The symbol that I now suggest is one that came to me intuitively; I suddenly perceived the clientele as demanding, irascible children, who must be placated at all costs. I shared this perception with the women managers, and they felt I had summed up the essence of the relationship, in other words it felt right to them. I also shared it with the men managers, and it had no meaning for them. This indicates that there are webs of meaning shared by the women managers but not by their male colleagues (Schulz, 1995), as the symbol was only intelligible to one

group (Morgan et al, 1983). The gendered import of this symbol will be discussed further in chapter 10.

The *Partnership* presented itself as an integrated whole, 'one big team', but acknowledged some differentiation between departments. Careful recruitment, retention and promotion processes ensured a commonality of outlook verging on conformity. Ambiguity will be explored in chapter 10 in relation to gender issues.

Mediaco was the second organisation where the concept of the family was used, although reference was more oblique and did not include parental figures. What was described instead, as mentioned briefly above in this chapter, was a situation of friendly sibling rivalry. This model extended beyond *Mediaco* itself, sustained by networking and gossip throughout the group and industry. As one male manager put it to me:

'It's not what you know or who you know, but what you know about who you know'

At times the social network based on work could be supportive. One male manager said that if you were going through a difficult time in your personal life, then you could fill your evenings by socialising with colleagues. This close identification between working and social life indicates a permeability of boundaries. Although no interviewee at *Mediaco* said as much, there was an impression of a crowd of jostling adolescents. An important adult figure had been introduced into this group, the new female MD. As mentioned earlier, she was recruited to sharpen up procedures and business practices, and had set limits on excesses of behaviour. Known internally as 'the headmistress', this nickname appeared to reinforce the impression of parent-child, rather than adult-adult, relationships (Berne, 1961) on the part of some employees. To some extent *Mediaco* could be seen as reasonably integrated, but this was belied by the permeability of boundaries between the company itself and its parent group, with which a number of interviewees clearly identified, and also with the wider industry, which appeared quite close knit.

In summary: this section has interpreted symbols and meanings for organisational members and for myself as researcher, rather than what might be instrumentally useful to practitioners (Schein, 1992). This has included verbal, action and material symbols (Dandridge, 1983). Organisation members, as in *Engco* and *Finco*, directly and consciously suggested some symbols. Others, as in *Westco* and the *Partnership* were subtler, and in suggesting them I am relying on my intuitive and interpretative skills. Organisational symbols and meanings explored appear both peculiar to the organisation, as in *Finco*, and also transcendent of the organisational boundaries, as in *Westco* and the *Partnership*.

This section has used a number of perspectives from the culture-as metaphor school to help elucidate phenomena, as well as Hatch's (1993) cultural dynamics model. Interestingly despite earlier scepticism the perspective that appears most helpful is a psychoanalytical approach, although utilising transactional analysis (Berne, 1961) rather than Jungian archetypes.

Summary

In this chapter, after the initial overviews of each case study organisation, Schein's (1992) model has been used to explore aspects of organisational culture in each company. This has been augmented by selective use of a number of other perspectives, to give added depth to the phenomena already discussed. I consider this eclectic approach has added to the interpretative value of the analysis.

In chapter 10 there is a similar analysis to this chapter, first focusing primarily on those themes relating to gender, before examining to what extent the general themes support the processing of gender within each case study organisation.

Chapter 10: Analysis of findings: gender related themes and issues

Introduction

This chapter looks at the issues and themes associated with gender that arose from the data. The first part of the chapter examines EO and associated policies and procedures in each organisation and initiatives to promote women. Next is a review of gendered career paths, that is, the normal career routes in each case study organisation, and how these worked respectively for men and women. Following this the extent of glass ceilings, glass walls, and glass elevators is discussed. This is put into the context of the everyday processing of gender in each organisation, followed by discussion of sexuality and emotion. All the foregoing is then commented upon from different organisational culture perspectives. This chapter gives more emphasis to symbols and correspondingly less to the detailed discussion of espoused values and underlying assumptions, which can be seen in Appendix 14. The list of gendered behaviour in Appendix 22 can be taken as augmenting Appendix 14. As appropriate during the chapter, links will be made to the findings of chapters 8 and 9.

Equal Opportunity and related policies

This section looks at the espoused values in relation to EO and personnel policies, and compares them with the actual processes and behaviour that take place. No policies were received from *Engco* and *Westco*, apart from *Westco's* EO policy, and so comments about their policies are limited to hearsay. *Mediaco* did not have a separate EO policy.

All the organisations studied appeared to have EO policies, which gave information about their espoused values. These varied in the extent of their coverage from referring only to race, colour, and ethnic and national origin in the case of *Westco*, to a very long list at *Leisure Services*. In addition *Leisure Services* was the only organisation that referred to service delivery and relations with contractors. The variations in EO policy are set out in Table 10.1 below.

Table 10.1: The content of EO policies in case study organisations

	<i>Westco</i>	<i>Trust</i>	<i>Leisure Services</i>	<i>Finco</i>	<i>Engco</i>	<i>The Partnership</i>	<i>Mediaco</i>
Race	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Colour	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Ethnic origin	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
National origin	✓	✓	✓			✓	
Sex		✓	✓	✓		✓	
Age		✓	✓				
Disability		✓	✓	✓			
Marital status		✓	✓	✓		✓	
Religious belief		✓	✓	✓		✓	
Sexual orientation		✓	✓				
Trade Union member			✓				
Political affiliation			✓				
Service delivery			✓				
Relations with contractors			✓				

The extent to which EO policies were integrated into other personnel policies varied. For instance the *Trust* had a strong statement that EO should be taken as applying to every aspect of employment. On the other hand, was it intentional that the EO policy appeared on the last page of the *Partnership* staff handbook – even if it did refer to recruitment, selection, appraisal, promotion, pay, training and development? As discussed in chapter 7 on methodology, obtaining copies of personnel policies was problematic, and therefore comparable information is not available for each organisation.

Three organisations were members of Opportunity 2000, the *Trust* via the NHS, the *Partnership*, and *Engco*. Prior to the inauguration of Opportunity 2000 in 1991 there had been some initiatives in various organisations to improve the lot of women employees. *Finco* in the late 80s had had a declared policy of positive discrimination. It was pointed out to managers that this was unlawful, but this was countered by the argument that it was putting right what had been wrong. Unfortunately this initiative led to doubts about the capabilities of those women promoted at that time, and none had made the progress which male colleagues similarly promoted had attained. These first senior women managers were seen as representative of the calibre of all women managers (Kanter, 1977).

In *Leisure Services* there had been a strong EO council commitment enjoying all party support for a number of years. The Council had had a women's officer and forum in the past, but expenditure cuts and political changes had abolished these in favour of retaining a focus on disability and ethnic minorities. Despite worries about positive discrimination, women had made gradual rather than significant progress. The Council had a policy and system of confidential counsellors to counter harassment and bullying, which appeared to be effective. The EO policy of the *Trust* did not appear so elaborate, but had been more effective in promoting women.

As regards EO, it is simplistic to see the existence of a policy and the number of women managers as straightforward cause and effect. Perhaps a better way of looking at it is to regard the position of women in the company as an example of EO in action. In Schein's (1992) terms, the outcomes for women are artefacts, and the policies are espoused values. All the organisations studied had EO policies, but these varied in their content and purpose, and the effectiveness of implementation, as can be seen in Table 10.1. *Westco* had two EO policies, a straightforward one that was a statement of intent, and a more involved one which was a past requirement for government funding when *Westco* was a state run organisation, and that had now fallen into disuse. *Westco* had no written recruitment or promotion policies, although managers responsible for recruitment attend training courses, which included the provisions of race and sex equality legislation. Apart from this there was little tangible commitment to EO or overt

awareness of gender issues. The MD was said to be open to the appointment of women managers, but did not appear proactive.

Finco, *Engco* and the *Partnership* all had EO policies as befits large established organisations. Both the *Partnership* and *Engco* were members of Opportunity 2000 as well. However, in *Engco* there was ignorance, or misunderstanding, or wilful disregard, of the provisions of EO legislation, with prejudicial questions asked of female candidates at interview. In the *Partnership* there was uneven implementation of EO. In general, there are two aspects to EO: first, the requirement to treat women the same as men, for instance in relation to recruitment and promotion; second the requirements to treat them differently, because of domestic and caring responsibilities (Liff and Wajcman, 1996). The *Partnership* appeared to perform reasonably well on the first and less well on the second, for reasons which are discussed more fully below.

As stated, *Engco*, the *Partnership* and the *Trust* were all members of Opportunity 2000, and therefore one might have expected progress for women to be swifter than in other organisations. *Engco* had clearly signed up for moral reasons, prompted by the family connections of a Board member. It was unclear why the *Partnership* had joined, that is, whether this was for moral or business (or even PR) reasons. However even in the *Trust* where women had done relatively well, Opportunity 2000 was not without its detractors. A number of men felt that the application of Opportunity 2000 had gone too far in the NHS generally. They alleged that positive discrimination had taken place, although they were at pains to say that this did not apply to this particular *Trust*, and there seemed to be a genuine acceptance by the men interviewed of the competence of their female colleagues. A different view (female) suggested that there had been a number of competent women below director level in the *Trust* just before it took on its new status, but that women who had made it to the top in the NHS had had to work harder than men. However it was said that outside the *Trust* the top team was mocked as 'petticoat management'.

Although *Engco* was committed to Opportunity 2000, this had not yet reached the hearts and minds of all managers, and there was no connection made with competitive advantage. Some networks for female managers and female scientists were

inaugurated, but had not continued to have official support. Two views were expressed about these: on the one hand that they had been helpful and supportive, and on the other hand that they were full of extreme feminists, and put off other women. It appeared that *Engco* wanted to do something, but was not sure what.

Only two organisations produced monitoring statistics of their workforce, annual in the case of *Leisure Services*, and monthly in the case of *Mediaco*, a requirement of the parent group. There were therefore no comparable statistics for the Opportunity 2000 members viz-a-viz the rest. The *Partnership*, *Finco* and *Engco* had all developed EO expertise in North America, which appeared not to have been repatriated. The *Trust*, *Mediaco* and the *Partnership* all produced promotional material that suggested a gender balanced, ethnically diverse workforce. The *Trust*, *Leisure Services* and, to a lesser extent, *Engco*, had undertaken positive action programmes for women, for instance *Leisure Services* had supported a special training course.

In relation to the recruitment and selection of employees, *Leisure Services*, the *Trust*, and *Finco* described a systematic, best practice model for recruitment and selection. Neither public sector organisation requested first names or schools attended, and both had recruitment practices that focused on disadvantaged groups. The *Trust* stated that managers must understand the import of the EO policy before they participated in recruitment and selection, and in *Leisure Services*, *Westco* and *Finco* they had to be trained. *Finco* had different policies for external and internal recruitment and the former laid more emphasis on EO. *Leisure Services* advised on stereotyping, and *Finco* pointed out possible bias in selection tests. Despite these specific policies, in the *Trust* some managers had been slotted into place via informal succession planning and/or to save money. Similarly in *Leisure Services* in order to avoid redundancies managers had had to redeploy employees. *Finco* had a succession planning department, but this was considered ineffective. *Mediaco's* parent group had an official policy of offering internal candidates an interview for any posts available, but their procedures for promotion were not always followed. *Leisure Services* alone had a policy for temporary employment.

As evidenced in chapter 4, a crunch point for women is pregnancy and motherhood. The treatment of mothers varied between organisations. All organisations had of course

to comply with the minimum legal requirements for maternity leave and maternity pay, and both *Finco* and the *Partnership* offered above minimum pay. This probably helped retention of competent women at *Finco*, but was less likely to at the *Partnership* because of other pressures. Good maternity pay did not indicate however that colleagues accepted maternity leave with equanimity. Career breaks were offered in *Finco*, but women felt they should not be away too long. For new mothers in the *Partnership*, depending on work demands, there might be pressure to return early from maternity leave. Those absent during the annual pay round might miss a rise. In the *Partnership* mothers were stereotyped as uncommitted, because they could not or would not put in the same hours as male colleagues and female colleagues without children. In both the *Partnership* and *Finco* negotiating part time work was extremely difficult. Part time work was discretionary and regarded as a backwater, with a potential loss of status in the *Partnership*. Exceptionally, one employee working part-time at the *Partnership* had been promoted. There were no part time partners in the UK *Partnership*, unlike the US, although it was pointed out that partners are not in the office every day. It was said that a number of young women had left for companies with less demanding schedules and more child-friendly policies. Collinson and Hearn (1994) suggest that pregnancy and domestic ties were taboo within the highly competitive masculinity they described as entrepreneurialism, which was evident at the *Partnership* and to a lesser extent at *Finco*.

In *Engco* reactions to pregnancy varied; maternity leave could be accepted by colleagues, or pointedly regarded as an inconvenience. In *Engco* different maternity leave provisions in different constituent companies gave rise to perceptions of unfairness; part time work after maternity leave was also discretionary. Ironically making a suitable marriage and becoming a father might for a young man in a number of organisations be seen as a step towards maturity, and the women's group in the *Partnership* identified the characteristics of the perfect company wife. However the firm gave minimal support to young men in their parental role; one day of paternity leave could be contrasted with the 'reasonable time off' for any sports fixture arranged by the firm. The staff handbook indicated that the *Partnership* offered a career break scheme to men and women, with a maximum period of three months, at the partner's discretion, although there was no indication from interviewees that this was so. It would have been unthinkable for a young man to work part time in the *Partnership*, and in *Finco*

he would 'have his card marked'. One problem that women faced was the fact that many influential male managers, for example at *Engco*, had had wives who were able or chose to stay at home with young children, and thus they found other arrangements puzzling. *Mediaco* was the exception among the private sector companies in treating mothers as they would other employees. They did not make special arrangements, but neither did they have unrealistic expectations. One female manager was promoted very soon after returning from maternity leave.

By contrast with this mixed picture in private sector companies, in the *Trust* and *Leisure Services* only minimum maternity pay was offered, but a longer-term view was taken of employees who wished to combine work and caring responsibilities. Both had well worked out policies for job share and part time working, which were taken up. In addition both would make individual flexible arrangements, for instance a man whose relative was dying was allowed to work from home for *Leisure Services*, and both organisations had a policy on carer's leave. The *Trust* had a few posts available for term time only.

None of the organisations appeared to make provision for childcare directly. *Finco* had contracted with a specialist company that advises parents on options. *Westco* was generally unconcerned about domestic and caring responsibilities. *Engco* made allowance for domestic commitments when considering the mobility requirements for mature trainees. This contrasts with *Finco* where graduate trainees had to sign to state they would not buy a house. The dilemma of dual career couples had hardly been tackled in any organisation. In *Finco* there was recognition, but no formal management.

To summarise the position in relation to personnel and EO policy and practice, the findings so far indicate that Opportunity 2000 could be seen as helpful, but was neither a necessary nor sufficient lever for women to progress. There was no direct correspondence between positive prospects for women and organisations undertaking monitoring (Kandola and Fullerton, 1994), or organisations promoting an image of a diverse workforce. Clearly some organisations, principally the *Trust* and *Leisure Services*, had thought through more thoroughly the implications of EO for other personnel policies, and therefore EO was more integrated. As far as motherhood goes, a positive attitude and flexibility appeared more helpful than money.

To conclude therefore, there was no demonstrated necessary connection between Opportunity 2000 and women's progression. Opportunity 2000 member organisations might or might not help women to progress, and so might other organisations that were not members.

Gendered career paths

As with many concepts prevalent in business and management literature, career is often written about as if it were gender free. In fact the concept of career is a deeply gendered construction. Mallon (1995) points out that the psychological contract traditionally described did not offer the same benefits to women. Although the idea of a linear progression is now being jettisoned as the normative path for career, for many women this has never been the case. A few women have careers similar to the traditional male pattern; more have not. Women's careers have been characterised by limited opportunities, low paid part time work, breaks of different lengths for child care and other domestic responsibilities, and unhelpful assumptions about commitment and capability. This is true both for women in general and women aspiring to be managers. This section will now examine gendered career paths in the case study organisations.

In *Westco* four different career paths to the top of the organisation were identified. A few managers had started at the bottom and worked their way up from one of the two main divisions, core operations or technical support, which were traditional all-male enclaves with respectively semi-skilled and skilled jobs. Some recent appointments had been made at Assistant Director level of high flying newcomers still in their mid 30s, both male and female. These first two routes had been used by men, and to a lesser extent by women. Two directors joined the company via acquisitions. Lastly, in an unusual move, one non-executive director had become an executive director. These latter three managers were men. In this particular industry there had been large increases in the numbers of women employed in semi-skilled grades, but not at *Westco*, where women formed only 5% of the workforce, and were usually in support roles such

as administration. These career paths therefore indicated limited opportunities for women to progress.

In the *Trust* at the time of the case study 3 out of 5 top management post holders and a majority of middle managers were women. Despite 79% of NHS employees being women, this was unusual. Directors and senior managers appeared evenly split through three routes: first, having risen via nursing or professions allied to medicine; second through other professional routes such as personnel and finance; and third having been trained as hospital administrators. One manager was in his second career, having previously worked for an energy utility. As discussed in chapter 9 the most potent story in the *Trust* is how the Chief Executive rose from the position of a clerk. This generally positive picture for women was not reflected in the thriving subculture of the doctors. Medical consultants remained predominantly male, with suspicions of the 'old boy network' facilitating medical appointments. They were not required to undertake training in the application of EO to recruitment and selection, although theoretically obliged to acquaint themselves with EO policy.

Until recently it had still been possible in *Leisure Services* to start at the bottom in a manual position and rise to the top, as evidenced by two older male Assistant Directors. However because of its diverse functions, promotion tended to be limited to the division or profession in which one started. Thus those rising to the top of libraries and museums were professionally qualified with chartered status. The respective Assistant Directors of these divisions, a woman and a man, had come via this route, both having had careers in other local authorities before coming to *Leisure Services*. A tension existed between promoting internally and recruiting 'incomers'. The latter were welcomed for their fresh ideas, but increasingly retrenchment and redeployment made external recruitment all but impossible. The council had appointed female Chief Officers previously elsewhere, and news came during the case study that a female Director had been appointed. Although there were some concerns that this could have been done for the 'wrong reasons', generally comments were positive. The main concern was the competence of the new incumbent to promote *Leisure Services* to councillors.

Finco had been traditionally paternalistic and bureaucratic. The company had at one time provided a career for life, but this security had disappeared. Up to the early 70s the company recruited staff as 'local' (female, unskilled), 'career' (male, expected to undertake industry qualifications) and graduates (male and female, potential managers). Recent recruitment had generally been school leavers into basic grade jobs, or through the graduate training scheme, which had a 50/50 male/female split. Only rarely had senior managers been recruited from elsewhere in the financial sector or other industries. Some managers felt the extensive internal promotion bred an inward looking attitude. Although the original gendered job segregation had gone men had tended to go into the corporate business side, and women into the part of the company that dealt with the public. No woman had reached the top cadre of about 20 senior managers.

It was said that in *Engco* until recently it had been possible to go from teaboy or apprentice to chairman, and the existence of the graduate trainee scheme for 20 years had not impacted on this. Increasingly new employees at all levels were being taken on with higher and more diverse qualifications than formerly. The graduate trainee scheme was described as a way of the company 'regenerating (itself) with academic blood', and had both male and female, although predominantly male, entrants, including mature candidates. However there seemed to be some ambivalence between the relative value of qualifications and experience, especially 'hands-on' engineering experience. *Engco* experience appeared valued above outside experience. Women tended to be recruited into support roles and functions, and the three highest placed were in personnel. There had however been a recent increase in the number of women managers in general roles, to approximately 7%.

In the *Partnership* graduate trainees were recruited into professional career routes by reference to UCAS points, class of degree, interview and assessment centre. Male and female graduates were accepted equally, and initially progression was linked to passing relevant exams. Subsequent promotion was officially linked to good performance on identified company competencies, with the decision made by the partners. Traditionally the path was 'up and out', where those not destined for partnership left for other employment. This meant the firm could not afford to have employees blocking posts. Where employees were considered unsuitable, they might be counselled out, or might realise that lack of promotion and pay rises indicated they should look elsewhere.

Although in the recent past the firm had made people redundant, they had also had to recruit to replace staff leaving and bring expanding departments up to strength. Because of this incentives had been offered to employees who successfully introduced new qualified staff. Two of the managers interviewed had been recruited via specialist recruitment agencies, and one partner had been head hunted as a senior manager and subsequently promoted. One female manager at the *Partnership* said that some women undersell their technical competence at interview. To be selected for partnership it was necessary to attend a development centre, which was relatively open, and then a selection centre, which was more exclusive. The small number of partnerships available implied considerable competition; some women have made partner, but in much smaller proportions than men.

Mediaco was a young company started by enthusiasts for the particular medium. The majority of the managers had risen through the industry ranks to their current position. Only two managers, one man and one woman, were graduates, although some had technical qualifications. Typical career routes were those who had spent all their time in companies of the parent group, which is 60% female, and those who had started elsewhere in the industry and moved around. The female MD was unusual in being appointed from outside, and coming from another branch of the media. This company participated in a group graduate trainee scheme, for which there was fierce competition. One manager was typical in having below degree standard technical qualifications, but managing an all graduate department. Recruitment and selection procedures were sometimes bypassed for business or personal reasons.

To summarise the position for women: in the *Trust*, *Leisure Services*, and *Mediaco*, women had the opportunity to get to the top, although this was not necessarily as easy as it was for men. However, in the *Trust* and *Leisure Services* women were not represented in management on a pro rata basis. In both *Westco* and *Engco* the workforce was predominantly male, because of past role expectations and career choices. In *Westco* the current lean profile meant there were limited opportunities for promotion, and in *Leisure Services* and *Engco* repeated redundancies had limited prospects for anyone. In *Finco* and the *Partnership*, women were as well represented as men at entry level, but found it much harder to progress.

To offer explanation of the gendered career paths, the next two sections examine informal aspects of recruitment, selection and promotion systems, and then look at glass ceilings, glass walls and glass elevators.

Informal aspects of recruitment, selection and promotion systems

In *Finco* everyone talked openly about the system of sponsorship, which was more important than the formal procedures in gaining promotion. For instance it was said that a certain manager had done badly in a reorganisation because she had lost her sponsor. A sponsor was distinguishable from a mentor, in not necessarily facilitating professional development, but rather promoting the protégé to colleagues who wished to make an appointment. As one male manager pointed out, sponsorship without mentorship is the 'blue-eyed boy syndrome'. Some women decided not to 'play the game' for promotion (Marshall, 1994). In theory *Finco* had an open, equitable internal system for promotion; in practice it was a mixture of sponsorship and ad hocery, where outlook and approach were more important than specific competence. Geographical location may have played a role in that those at head office were more visible, and mobility was sometimes a requirement for promotion. Self-promotion, making sure that important people knew about your role in successful projects, was also an important factor in promotion. Whilst mastering a technical specialism was initially helpful, general business experience, particularly with corporate clients and suppliers, was considered of more consequence than individually focused customer care. Succession planning therefore tended to be superseded by informal processes. In *Finco* the role of sponsorship and suitable job assignments were crucial in ascertaining promotion, and the system clearly had not worked as well for women as for men.

It may be that *Finco* was just more open about a system of promotion that happens in other companies more covertly. For instance it was said in *Engco* that at a certain level one was asked to apply for certain posts, and that reputations were passed around between different operating companies. Because the plc to which *Engco* belonged was compartmentalised into strategic business units, there was an element of chance as to how much employees circulated, networked, and became known as potential candidates for promotion. Officially preference was given to internal candidates, indeed

unofficially to 'local' candidates at shopfloor level. Whilst in theory employees could apply for jobs on an equitable basis, it was said that outsiders might latterly be preferred despite an ambivalence about newcomers. It was also said that the ambitious should ensure they meet an unofficial list of two major competence areas (e.g. marketing and engineering), plus overseas experience, and a language. It could be therefore that the informal promotion system at *Engco* was just less overt than at *Finco*.

Similarly with the *Partnership*, alongside the formal system for promotion there was a discretionary and more subjective element. Thus although there was an expectation that everyone should gain the relevant professional qualification, one employee had remained in post without this. As well as technical competence complemented by good interpersonal skills, some interviewees indicated that sophisticated impression management played a part. For partnership, one needed to have political support in the right places. As one manager put it: 'there is a whiteballing version of blackballing'. Some thought it advantageous to have had a company career, and be a company person through and through. It was crucial in the *Partnership* to reach the appropriate point by the early 30s, as it was in *Finco*, *Engco* and *Mediaco*. Two of those interviewed had relatives employed elsewhere in the *Partnership*, and this was the position for another manager in the local office. It was unclear whether this was nepotism or chance. The largely meritocratic system of promotion should in theory have enabled women to progress as easily as men, but they did not. In relation to selection, there is an extensive literature on unintended bias against women in selection procedures, as detailed in chapter 4, which could be relevant to selection and promotion procedures. Of more import were data about prejudicial practices and outcomes, which are discussed below, in the section on glass ceilings, walls and elevators.

Most organisations had graduate training schemes, which varied in their length and complexity. *Mediaco* had recently run the scheme successfully on behalf of the parent group. The *Partnership*, where junior staff were expected to embark on two to three year professional training on appointment, provided a custom designed glossy booklet which included references to mentoring. On the professional front, in *Finco* and the *Partnership* progress was only possible if industry-specific professional qualifications were attained, for which there was financial support. *Leisure Services* had a total of 12 different professional qualifications ranging from life saving certificates to Masters

degrees in museum management. The Council supported some development, and other qualifications were gained prior to entry. In *Engco* employees at all levels who showed promise might be supported on further and higher education courses. Despite commitment to Investors in People, career planning and development at *Engco* appeared haphazard apart from the mandatory framework for chartered engineer status, and there were comments about insufficient development of shop floor employees. Graduate trainees at *Engco* were also expected to gain industry or function-specific qualifications. However on the graduate trainee scheme at *Engco* there appeared a huge element of chance as to the variety of experience offered, the exposure to different parts of the organisation, and degree of individual support, for instance whether one was allocated a mentor or not. *Westco* took on graduate trainees but it was not clear whether they had a structured scheme.

In terms of management courses, this ranged from a series of two-day motivational courses at *Mediaco*, to the opportunity at *Finco* to attend a Swiss business school. This involved a series of fortnight long, non-examined courses in the company of managers from other blue chip non-competitor companies. Selection for this was not clear. Although it was described almost as a 'rite de passage' to senior management, attendance by women managers had not been followed by the promotion usually expected. No organisation had policies on secondments or allocation to project teams, both of which can be used to embellish curricula vitae.

The *Trust*, *Leisure Services* and *Finco* had policies against racial and sexual harassment, and in addition *Leisure Services* recognised bullying. The *Trust* recognised harassment might be perpetrated by members of the public. *Mediaco* included flagrant discrimination on grounds of sex, race, and religion in its disciplinary procedure. The *Trust*, *Mediaco*, *Finco* and *Westco* had disciplinary policies, and the *Trust* also had a grievance policy. Although pay and benefits policies existed for *Leisure Services*, *Mediaco*, the *Partnership* and *Finco*, because of the discretionary elements in the latter three they might not have ensured the delivery of equal pay for equal work. *Leisure Services* had a written policy on trades union recognition, and trades unions were also well established in *Engco* and the *Trust*. In *Westco* the Union was recognised, but management-union relations were a source of conflict. *Leisure Services* had a well worked out policy for redundancy, early

retirement and redeployment and was also the only organisation that had a special health screening programme for women.

The implications of the findings in this section will be discussed after the next section.

Glass ceilings, glass walls and glass elevators

In the *Trust*, *Leisure Services* and *Mediaco* there were no glass ceilings; it was possible for a woman to make it to the top, albeit with more difficulty than a comparable man. Interviewees in *Finco* and *Engco* identified glass ceilings. In *Finco* this was just below the level of the most senior group of managers. A number of managers, both male and female, identified a 'glass ceiling' for women in the company; the few women who had gained substantial middle manager positions in earlier restructurings had not progressed further. In *Engco* the most senior women were in personnel, from which a move into general management appeared unlikely. *Westco* was unclear; in general terms there were very few women or women managers, but there was a female assistant director in the main holding company, and a female director of the subsidiary *Servco*. In the *Partnership* there were in theory no glass ceilings, but a glass elevator was described. *Finco* to a lesser extent also appeared to have a glass elevator. Every organisation had glass walls, that is job segregation by gender, but the permeability of these walls, and their relationship to any glass ceiling varied. This section will discuss glass walls, job segregation, before turning to glass elevators, those processes that accelerate men's progress in the organisation.

In *Westco*, as stated above, the basic grade job in core operations was a semi-skilled, traditionally male job. Employees who had already gained the necessary basic qualifications and experience elsewhere underwent a short induction training; there was no substantive reason why women could not be employed, as they were elsewhere in the industry. The basic job in the technical division required a traditional five year engineering apprenticeship, and in the past these had been taken up only by men; at the

time of the case study there was a moratorium on the recruitment of apprentices. Thus one avenue of gaining advancement, progressing from the shop floor, was normally unavailable to women. Support services undertook the basic administration together with financial and personnel support, and contained the bulk of women in the organisation.

There was a very similar position in *Engco*, which was overwhelmingly male, and was built on engineering, traditionally a male preserve. There was agreement in *Engco* that jobs were perceived in gendered terms (Acker, 1990, Roper, 1994), although on detail there was not complete unanimity between the men and women. This is demonstrated in Figure 10.1.

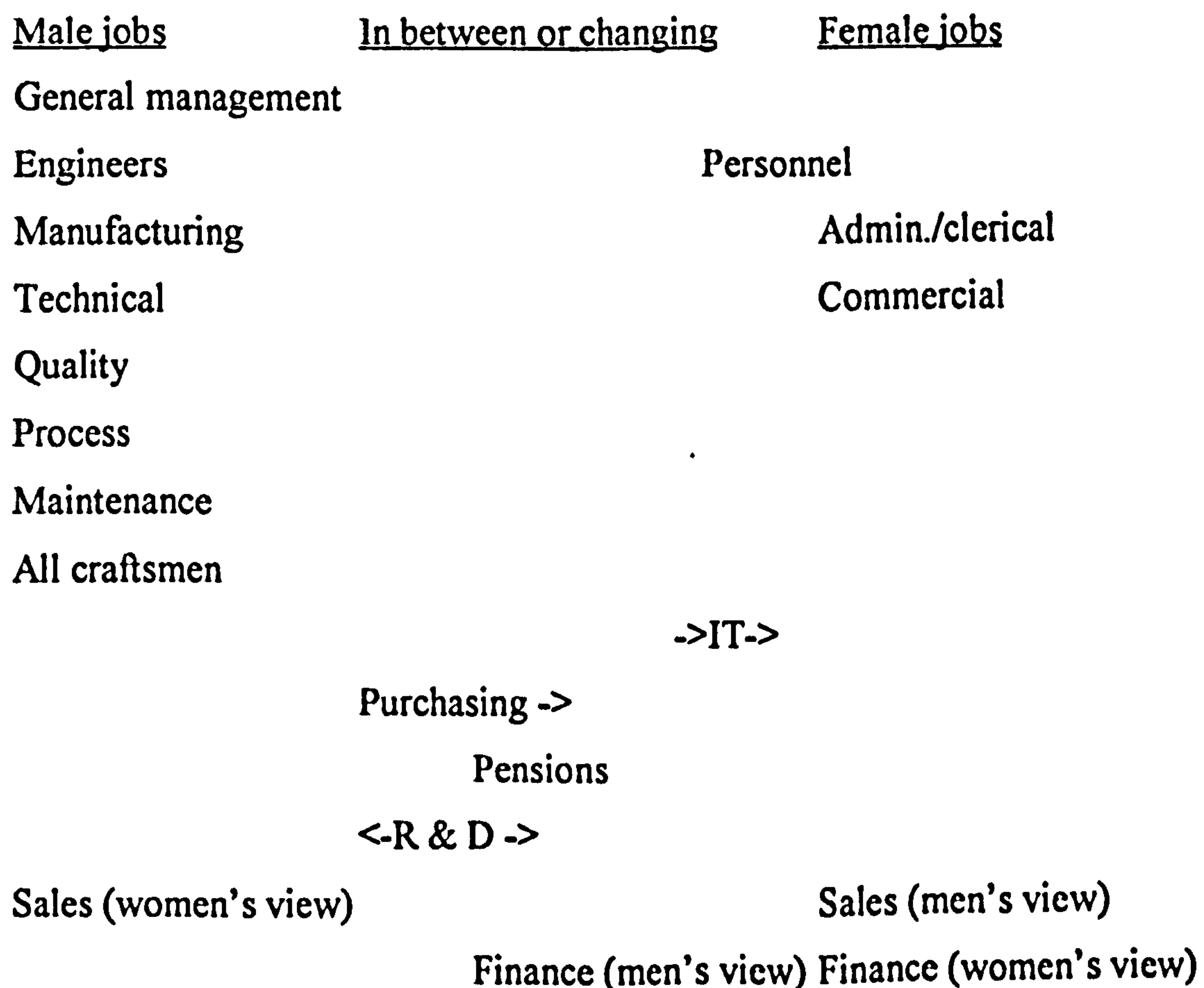


Figure 10.1: Perceptions of 'male' and 'female' jobs within *Engco*

Thus in *Engco* engineering was perceived as a male job and administration as female. Some jobs were in between, for instance IT was perceived as mostly female. There were further subdivisions; within process jobs, heavy jobs were seen as male, and light

as female. There was a perceived lack of fit for women in traditional male jobs such as engineering and heavy process (Acker, 1990, Roper, 1994). Having said this, there were small numbers of female operatives, where previously there had been none, and their numbers were slowly increasing. In discussion, the women managers' group considered that the 'glass wall', segregating women into certain occupational groups, was more significant in holding women back than a possible 'glass ceiling', although statistics implied the existence of the latter.

One problem arises with retention of women recruited into non-traditional occupations. For instance particular concern was expressed about the inability of the company to retain female engineers in *Engco*. Several reasons were suggested. First, that interviewers felt under pressure to appoint both females and members of ethnic minorities, and therefore a suspicion of tokenism and doubts about competence hung around successful candidates. Second, female engineers with degrees might be more able than their male colleagues, and on a personal basis have higher expectations, which were not met by the company. Third, female engineers might leave for personal reasons (which cannot apply to all). A fourth reason could be suggested, that they were perceived as 'not fitting' the collective *Engco* perception of an engineer, and that women engineers could be seen as 'double' outsiders, as newcomers and as women. In addition, if to succeed at a university engineering course women had to be particularly determined and assertive, then they might behave in a way which did not fit the *Engco* mode. It was suggested that in general attention to the *Engco* way of behaving was even more important for women than for men.

Finco and the *Partnership* were both in industries where there have been large influxes of graduate women, and increasing numbers gaining professional qualifications. Brain, not brawn, was the prime requirement, so job segregation should have been less prevalent. Nevertheless in *Finco* there was a tendency for certain job roles and sections to be seen as gendered (Acker, 1990, Roper, 1994). For instance, it was suggested that work dealing with the public which required good interpersonal skills, often done well by women, was seen as 'touchy-feely' and was undervalued. On the other hand negotiations with other financial institutions, which women identified as a tough male role where the manager negotiates aggressively and 'wins', were seen as

high profile, and a pre-requisite for promotion to senior manager grade. There were some women dealing with corporate business, but they were few and far between. The gendered aspects of the culture appeared rooted in industry history and expectations.

Likewise in the *Partnership* there seemed to be some evidence of gendered perceptions of different functions. For instance the women's group felt that one department that dealt with regulatory work had a macho image, and that significantly women tended to make partner in more specialised functions. Support staff were overwhelmingly female, and the women's group identified an underlying assumption that support staff have a job, not a career. Responsibility for support staff, 'the poisoned chalice', went to the newest partner, who might have no relevant specialist knowledge.

Mediaco was interesting for the way in which findings contradicted the usual evidence about job segregation by gender. In *Mediaco* it was the men who undertook the creative work, and the women who looked after the sales and money. Either could be a route to the top in this industry.

In *Leisure Services*, there were strongly and less strongly gendered occupations and sections, for instance most countryside rangers were men with beards, and the bulk of library staff were women. As indicated above, there was no bar to a woman rising to the top. In chapter 9 the differentiation of divisions was discussed, exemplified by different uniforms and management styles. However particularly significant was the gendering of divisions, which increases their differentiation (Roper, 1994). Libraries had an overwhelmingly female staff, but had recently acquired a new keen male Assistant Director who had won funding as the UK partner in a leading edge EU information project. Perceived as traditionally female, it had become more indeterminate. Some managers in Museums and Arts thought colleagues saw them as somewhat effete and rarefied, the phrase used was 'arty-farty'. This division was perceived as female, and this appeared to colour outsiders' view of both male and female members of staff. Both of these divisions could be contrasted with the others which viewed themselves as being involved with more down-to-earth concerns, and which are alleged to have more robust management styles; their gender was male. This gendering was of significance for every day relationships as well as potentially affecting progression.

The last item discussed in this section is the glass elevator, those processes by which young men are enabled to make progress in organisations at the expense of their female colleagues. This seemed to be the most significant feature disadvantaging women in the *Partnership*, and took place through the medium of sport, informal drinks after work, and corporate hospitality. To promote good relationships with intermediaries, other professionals who may pass business its way, the *Partnership* belonged to local amateur football and rugby leagues, as well as sponsoring inter-branch events. One woman considered that selection for the football team was an indicator of likely promotion rather than athletic competence. Women did play in the five-a-side football league, but not to the extent of men. There was a women's netball team, but this was purely office based. Golf was described by the women's group as dominating the summer, and enabled (male) junior staff to interact with partners; women were not asked. In addition there were golf days with clients, where business relationships were consolidated even if significant business was not undertaken. The women managers thought it was not worth learning golf for the sake of promotion. Corporate entertaining also took other forms in which both sexes could participate, such as the opera, concerts and the races. There was however one form of corporate entertaining from which women were completely excluded, 'sportsmen's dinners', where small business men mix with bankers, lawyers and the like and were entertained by after dinner speakers (often sportsmen), and, less frequently, amateur boxing and strippers. (This is not documented in the literature). There were quarterly get-togethers in a local bar with half price drinks to which all employees were invited. More frequent were the quick drinks after work where young men took the opportunity to chat to senior staff and partners. This type of activity was similar to the informalism described by Collinson and Hearn (1994).

Finco managers circulated in business circles akin to the *Partnership*, similarly consolidating and seeking business relationships. However the emphasis on sport and corporate entertaining was more focused on external relationships than internal networking. This is not to say that it did not advantage younger men to be able to take part in these activities. Of more significance appeared to be informal networking in the company bar, at times when women are not around, and membership of formal male-only organisations. A female manager told me that she actively encouraged young male colleagues to join organisations such as Round Table and the Lions, for business reasons.

One male manager told me that the financial sector in small towns used to be closely linked to the Freemasons, a secret men's society (Rogers, 1988), although he felt this influence had waned considerably. Most women in the company were not aware of this.

The influence of golf in *Westco* by comparison with the *Partnership* and *Finco* was only marginally for business purposes. Golf played a networking role between senior male managers, and between managers and workers. Some women felt excluded from a perceived unofficial men's club, described by one man as 'a good piss-up'. In *Engco* there was a golf section in the social club, but it was seen as the primary preserve of retired employees rather than a significant business activity. Nevertheless there was still some exclusion on a social basis, as it was said that it did not help women to try to be 'one of the lads'.

All these examples of men interacting together were evidence of the informalism described by Collinson and Hearn (1994). The *Trust*, *Leisure Services* and *Mediaco*, however, were not in the same league and golf did not figure. In *Leisure Services* women managers were still in a minority, which meant that the climate at the top might have been more comfortable for men. For instance when officers and councillors, both men and women, went drinking after Committee, not all women felt comfortable in this setting; nevertheless it formed a useful chance to network. Employees of *Mediaco* networked furiously, among each other for social reasons, and in a variety of settings within their locality for business reasons. There appeared to be no business advantage to women or men in this. The only comment was that the female MD had been angry at being excluded from an all-male event co-sponsored by the company. In the *Trust* the old boys network was thought to play a role in medical, but not managerial, appointments.

Building on the preceding section on informal aspects of recruitment, selection and promotion, this section has indicated that there were gendered processes at work in some organisations strongly affecting the way the recruitment, selection and promotion systems operated. The next section will look more closely at the underpinning processing of gender.

The everyday processing of gender

Much of the forgoing observations in this chapter can be understood better if the way gender was processed on an everyday basis in each organisation is examined. This section looks at a variety of different behaviour. It would not be appropriate to document on a narrative basis all the examples of the everyday processing of gender, and so the reader is referred to Appendix 22 for a summary of the position in each organisation. In this section illustrative examples are selected from the organisations. Another way of looking at the processing of gender is to examine artefacts, and deduce the espoused values and underlying assumptions. These can be found in Appendix 14.

Sexist language divides into two: that used unselfconsciously, and that designed to offend. In every organisation except perhaps *Mediaco* there were examples of language used in a way which differentiated men and women, principally referring to women as 'girls' or 'ladies'. Sometimes interviewees corrected themselves, but often they appeared unaware of 'politically correct' language. For instance a male manager said that women in *Finco* are referred to as 'girls' whatever their age. One interviewee in *Westco* called me 'lass' in an avuncular fashion. Many interviewees, both male and female, talked about 'man management'. This type of usage was much less common in the public sector organisations.

Westco and parts of *Engco* were probably the worst offenders for deliberately sexist language. In *Westco*, verbal put-downs such as calling a woman manager 'love' were commonplace. Women managers reported that they had to contend daily with wolf whistles and male banter. At a meeting in *Engco* a remark was made about a graduate trainee present: 'Send the report to Samantha. As she's a woman she'll want the last word'. Complaints from the recipient about this type of remark had fallen on deaf ears. In the *Trust* some women found being called 'love' offensive. The day-to-day processing of gender in *Leisure Services* included occasional verbal put-downs of women.

Swearing appeared commonplace throughout the case study organisations, with a tariff of acceptable and unacceptable expressions, perhaps more restrictive for women. In

Westco male managers sometimes apologised to their female colleagues for swearing in meetings. This could be construed as a way of drawing attention to their presence as an inhibitor of 'normal' male behaviour (Kanter, 1977). Some *Westco* managers took a paternalistic view that women should not be exposed to uncouth male behaviour, and that it would therefore be a disservice to recruit them to male dominated facilities. However, a female manager in the *Partnership* said she swore back so as not to be intimidated. Sometimes swearing was linked to a macho management style on the part of some men. In the *Trust* consultants' behaviour could be loud and intimidating and some women described them as persistently chauvinist.

Where women were established as managers, there could be more subtle ways of undermining them. The *Trust* was an 'island' within the NHS in terms of representation of women, and as mentioned earlier was sometimes denigrated as 'petticoat management'. In meetings in *Westco* some colleagues purposely avoided women, their suggestions were overlooked, and they were frequently interrupted when talking, examples of gendered process in interpersonal interactions. Even well established women managers might be the target of sexism, for instance laughing at them behind their backs in *Engco*. There was considerable variation in the extent to which verbal put-downs and other less subtle forms of harassment were used towards women in general. In most organisations it was rare, and in others women accepted it as banter. In *Engco* the attitude of relevant senior managers in each facility was a key determinant of acceptable behaviour. In other organisations prejudice was more subtly conveyed, and was covert rather than overt. For instance one male manager in *Engco* felt that a female colleague had been discriminated against by not being granted her requisite managerial grade and perks as quickly as a man. In *Engco* both men and women consider that older managers were more overtly prejudiced.

Another aspect of interaction is the double standard in relation to similar behaviour by men and women. In the *Partnership*, *Westco* and *Finco* and even in the *Trust* it was felt that there could be differential judgements about behaviour, with anger in a man seen as justified and in a woman as unacceptable. In *Westco* women were perceived as

unreliable, and their very visibility in the organisation meant that if one made a mistake, generalised assumptions were made about the capability of all women.

Roles and stereotypes fed into the perception of which jobs were suitable for each gender, as indicated in Figure 10.1 above, and also influenced day to day dealings with women. In *Westco* where women have traditionally been accepted within the organisation as subordinates, there appeared to be ambivalence about senior women managers, for instance women were not expected to have technical expertise. Women managers in *Leisure Services* felt constrained by their gender, despite a strong commitment by the council. As indicated above, mothers were stereotyped as uncommitted in *Finco* and the *Partnership*. In some cases stereotyping meant an underestimation of the skills required for particular posts. In *Engco* there were a number of mature women with well developed interpersonal and organisational skills employed as secretaries and receptionists, for whom there seemed to be no career development opportunities. At the *Partnership* this group also appeared undervalued. In the *Trust* it was said that some consultants regarded female nurses as handmaidens. On the other hand women were perceived as a civilising influence in, for instance, Union-management meetings at *Westco*.

Perhaps the touchstone of prejudice is sexual harassment, that is, hostile behaviour related to gender. Sexist comments border on this. None of the women interviewed except one recalled any incidents of physical harassment, and surprisingly it was men in the position of enforcing discipline who related serious instances. Given its day to day lack of comfort with women managers, *Westco* was unusual in its response to physical sexual harassment. A male personnel officer told me about two cases where the male harassers were disciplined, demoted and (re)moved. In *Leisure Services* there had been a case that had shocked the male Assistant Director. There the recent Council policy on harassment had formalised the pre-existing response by the Department, and it was no longer felt to be a problem. One woman who had encountered a harassing gesture had stood on the foot of the offender, which terminated the behaviour permanently.

Underlying much of the behaviour was sexism, or prejudice. This came to the fore most starkly in *Westco*. When discussing the underlying assumptions in relation to gender, one male manager said that a general attitude is: 'that's a fella's job', and the women managers' group said that women were acceptable in easy, subordinate, office type jobs. What was surprising was that male managers at *Westco* identified more strongly antipathetic underlying assumptions in relation to women than did female managers. The female group considered the underlying assumptions were: 'women aren't like us', and 'behave like us and you will be accepted'. However some younger male managers identified overt hostility to women that was expressed at an all-male meeting about new government maternity leave regulations. The comments made were:

- 'Women are bad news'
- 'More bloody trouble than they're worth'
- 'We can all agree with that'.

The first statement appears to be an underlying assumption brought to the surface, the second a supporting statement, and the third a reaffirmation of male solidarity.

In every organisation there were gendered jobs, that is occupations in which principally either men or women were employed, as was discussed above in the section on glass walls. The important distinction was whether men, or more usually women, were trapped in these gendered roles, or whether they had the opportunity to move out of them. For instance in the *Trust* it was possible to move out of the gendered job role of a nurse into that of a manager. On the other hand it would be almost unthinkable for a receptionist at *Engco* to move into a traditionally male job such as heavy process work. In a number of organisations, particular departments were viewed as gendered. This will be discussed in detail in relation to *Leisure Services*, but was also manifest at the *Partnership* as mentioned. Some organisations had a gendered aura, a feminine one in the case of *Servco*, and masculine ones in the case of *Westco* and *Engco*. *Finco* women felt that they were in a male world (Marshall, 1984). These auras seemed to be associated with the numerically dominant sex. However at the *Trust* there was no such aura, despite being overwhelmingly staffed by women. Gendered power was manifested through male domination of some organisations, principally those with a glass ceiling. Gendered

assumptions about potential managers included requirements to be mobile and work long hours. A supportive spouse was in most cases a gendered assumption of the private sector organisations such as the *Partnership*, *Engco*, and *Finco*, where support included entertaining colleagues and visitors. When mentioned in *Leisure Services* in relation to one male and one female manager, the role of a spouse was limited to domestic support.

In a number of companies, such as *Engco* and *Finco* there were very few role models for women (Kanter, 1977), particularly in general management and on the Board. Only the public sector organisations had women on the equivalent of the Board, executive and non-executive directors in the case of the *Trust*, and councillors including the council leader in the case of *Leisure Services*. In the *Partnership* Board membership for women was considered inevitable. In some organisations women were rendered nearly invisible officially. One corporate publication of *Engco* in 1996 had pictures of 24 men and 4 women, 3 of the latter in the USA; a later edition of the same publication shows 48 men and 4 women, the latter group including the Queen and two women in Canada. 'Engco facts and figures' indicated no women on the Board. By contrast both the *Partnership* and *Mediaco* had company literature showing employees of different gender and ethnic origins.

In terms of masculinities *Westco* displayed some of the aggression and competition at the top, and machismo on the shop floor described by Mills and Murgatroyd (1991), but there was no evidence of coldness and lack of emotion among office staff. There were various masculinities in *Engco*: paternalistic masculinity (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993) on the part of older managers, with aspects of the practical hands-on man (Roper, 1994), and competitive masculinity at the top (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993) where others were viewed as objects of conquest. In *Finco* and the *Partnership* there was a blend of competitive, rationalistic masculinity (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993) and entrepreneurialism (Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

The picture was not wholly negative however. In a number of case study organisations women managers were spontaneously mentioned as competent by male colleagues. A number of women also felt that they had an advantage as managers, in that there were fewer assumptions about them. For instance one woman manager in

Leisure Services said that she had more freedom of action than a colleague, who was expected to behave as a man should.

In looking at attitudes to other forms of difference among employees, the most open organisation was *Mediaco*. However, it was thought that the holding company had a preference for younger staff, although this view was not shared by the MD who had a man of 54, much to everyone's surprise. By contrast to *Mediaco*, difference appeared to be regarded as deviance in some organisations. It was suggested that gays maintained a low profile in the *Partnership* and *Finco*.

This section has noted the various ways in which gender is processed in each case study organisation. From this it appears evident, as discussed in the literature review in chapter 3, that all organisations are gendered, and that it is an embedded cultural feature. It was not possible in this study to find an organisation free of sexist behaviour. In the *Trust* and *Leisure Services* for instance sexist language and attitudes were largely absent. However pockets of chauvinism survived, identified with the medical subculture in the *Trust*, and with certain individuals in *Leisure Services*. The importance of a lead from the top in relation to sexist behaviour could be seen in *Engco*, where sexism in different operating companies varied according to the implicit or explicit sanctioning of behaviour. Similarly, no organisation was free of gendered jobs. The significance of this varied as to whether incumbents were fixed in their gender prescribed roles, or whether they could move out or beyond them into roles traditionally ascribed to the other gender.

Having looked at gendered process, the chapter continues by discussing sexuality and emotion, topics usually denied or suppressed in organisations, as discussed in chapter 2.

Sexuality and emotion

The first item for discussion in relation to sexuality is the degree to which each organisation recognised it. *Mediaco* was unusual in being very open about sexuality. It was around in the air, as something natural and enjoyable. Consensual relationships between opposite sex and same sex partners were accepted as long as they did not interfere

with work, though not encouraged. A similar attitude prevailed at *Leisure Services*, though slightly more muted. Interestingly one interviewee in *Leisure Services* said that one of the offences for which employees were most frequently sacked was having intercourse on the premises. By contrast in both *Finco* and the *Partnership* awareness of sexuality appeared to be suppressed. One area where the sex of the employee came to the fore prominently is that of motherhood, as discussed above, and neither *Finco* nor the *Partnership* were comfortable with this. In a number of organisations there were consensual male-female relationships, with and without the benefit of wedlock. The IT department of *Finco* was described as a marriage mart, with a high number having formed attachments with working colleagues. There were a number of marital relationships among *Trust* staff, with no particular rules about this. However in the *Partnership* one respondent felt that one of the pair would have to seek alternative employment in order to avoid any possibility of compromising situations.

In a number of organisations relationships between men and women were described as pleasant and cordial. For example the women managers at *Finco* said that most colleagues behaved in a professional and friendly manner. This was not the case everywhere. One female manager at *Leisure Services* said that she had never been aware of being a woman before, as she had just felt a person in previous employment. A more extreme version of this climate can be termed a negative sexualised environment. Evidence of male interest in sexuality was reported, as manifested in female pin-ups on the *Westco* shop floor, in the lockers at *Engco*, and in the post-room and porters room at *Finco*. What is interesting is the organisational, or to be more precise, senior managers' toleration of these phenomena. By allowing these pinups to be displayed they were in a sense sanctioning a leakage of male sexuality. Another way of explaining this in psycho-dynamic terms is that they were allowing the cruder aspects of their sexual interests to be projected onto blue collar workers. This meant that women continued to know that they were viewed as sexual objects, but without being able to attribute this to their managerial colleagues. Reflecting from the point of view of the researcher, in most organisations respondents were managers or those destined to be managers. Men from the professional and managerial classes are less likely to display interest in women or sex overtly, certainly not towards female researchers, so I had no direct data.

A milder version of this sexualised environment is sexual static (Rosener, 1995), where men and women do not feel comfortable. In *Finco* one man explained to me why mixed sex networking did not work. He told me that employees gathered in the company bar after work on a Friday. Initially the men would chat together whilst the women were elsewhere changing their clothes for a night out. He said that as soon as women entered, then they, and not work chat, became the centre of attention. The women usually left for other venues, and then the men relaxed and resumed their discussions. He said that he had seen similar mechanisms at work with the team of a corporate client.

There is a fine line between the social construction of meaning in relation to sexualised jokes, and sexual harassment. One example, which comes to mind, is from *Mediaco*. On the door of one women manager's office there was a picture of two jam tarts. Underneath someone had written: 'Chloe and Karen are having a meeting', referring to the manager and her immediate subordinate. This was considered amusing by all concerned. In other organisations such behaviour would have been constructed as sexist, and possibly subject to disciplinary action.

One interesting finding in a number of organisations was that women responded to the sexualised climate by using their sexuality. This was not sleeping one's way to the top, but rather manipulating the susceptibilities of certain men (Gherardi, 1995). One manager at *Leisure Services* told me that although she had a job for which casual attire was usually appropriate, she always put on a skirt and jacket to see one particular male colleague. At *Mediaco*, women sales staff were thought to relate flirtatiously to customers. A milder version of this was the use of femininity at the *Partnership*, but all staff there, male and female, were expected to use their charm with clients.

In most organisations there was an assumption of heterosexuality (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991). For instance in *Westco* and its subsidiaries there was an unquestioned assumption and reinforcement of heterosexuality. This was particularly strong in accounts of the shop floor with their pin-ups, swearing and traditional male working class culture. The apotheosis of heterosexism was in *Partnership*. The model path for a young man was to settle down with an ideal 'company wife' by the time he was 30. This paragon's virtues, according to the women managers, included having no

serious career aspirations, being socially gifted, unfailingly courteous, and charming, willing to put the company first, and utterly reliable. There were lesser expectations of the company wife in *Finco* and *Engco*. Women managers at the *Partnership* thought that men supported in this fashion had little or no idea of what it is like to have to think about more than just the job.

When asked about homosexuality the response in most case study organisations was on the lines: 'We have one of them'. One marker of organisational commitment to EO is the attitude to gay people. They were positively welcomed in the holding group of which *Mediacco* is a part, and accepted in *Leisure Services*. However in *Westco* and *Engco* acceptance was more equivocal, and gays kept quiet in *Finco* and the *Partnership*. There appeared to be evidence of what Roper (1994) describes as homosociability in *Westco*, *Finco*, and the *Partnership*, where men preferred the company of other men to mixed company. With young men in many cases enabled to delegate their parental duties to their spouses, they could divert some of their emotional attachment to other men in the company.

In most organisations only a narrow range of emotions were accepted. In *Westco*, although there was an unspoken requirement to control all emotions except for anger, many of the managers interviewed had a deep unarticulated emotional attachment to *Westco*, more evident with the men than with the women. They had given the best part of their working lives to the company, they believed in it; it was more than just loyalty, it could be said that they loved *Westco*. Although not expressed in these terms, a similar impression prevailed in *Engco*. The expression of feelings was acceptable in *Servco*, unlike the rest of *Westco*, providing this was not in the customer areas. Similarly, swearing and displays of emotion were acceptable in *Leisure Services* away from the public, but moodiness was disliked. By contrast the *Trust*, *Servco* and *Mediacco* appeared to accept that a full range of emotions might occasionally be displayed. The moderation of expression in *Engco* was commented on in chapter 9.

Two aspects were interesting in this brief survey of sexuality and emotion. First, a number of times different interviewees from the case study organisations commented

spontaneously on amicable, and indeed enjoyable, relationships between men and women. Second, it appears that there are associations between the degree to which an organisation accepts sexuality in the workplace, the degree to which emotions can be expressed and the degree to which mothers feel accepted and acceptable.

Significant symbols and alternative perspectives for each case study organisation

In *Westco* the significant symbols in relation to gender are those already alluded to in chapter 7: the cult of toughness, macho behaviour and the reputation of the fearsome director, and the admiration for things military. All of these have strongly gendered connotations. In *Westco* there were a series of artefacts indicating underlying beliefs which devalued and negated women, which included ignoring women managers in meetings, pinups on the shop floor, shouting, and swearing then apologising. In these ways men – but not all men - demonstrated that women did not have a place in the organisation as active agents (see Appendix 14).

One way in which gender divisions were reinforced in *Westco* was through myths about the unsuitability and unreliability of women in basic grade jobs. For instance one woman was said to have been off sick for the entire nine months of her pregnancy. Because one or two women had been unsatisfactory, this had been generalised to all women, and justified their continued exclusion. There were similar stories that justified the exclusion of ethnic minority employees. This myth fulfils the three functions cited by Alvesson and Berg (1992). First, it conveyed a basic but incorrect assumption about reality, the effect of pregnancy upon women. Second, it supported behaviours that would otherwise be unacceptable, the exclusion of women from employment in certain parts of the organisation. Third, it expressed a deep pattern that justified the contradiction inherent in honouring and excluding women. However as these meanings were not shared throughout the organisation, this places the interpretation of the myth in the symbolic perspective. The only woman mentioned positively in a basic grade core operations post was ex-army and had 'the right attitude', once again an echo of the militaristic theme discussed in chapter 9.

One of the most striking symbols of *Servco* was its building, which conveyed an air of comfortable, prosperous solidity. The office of the female director was particularly striking. It had gleaming, dark wood office furniture, and was partially wood panelled with subtle, concealed lighting. The rest of the colour scheme was pale green and pink, with rose pink in and out trays and desk accessories. The desk was clear, and the room tidy and business like, but also clearly feminine. This feminine presence was also manifest in the parental role that the female director was said to take with staff from time to time. The 'mothering' of a young male member of staff appeared the outcome of a feminine/maternal culture. Thus, just as male dominated organisations such as *Westco* and *Engco* had a masculine aura, so *Servco* had a feminine one. This interpretation is an example of symbolic particularism. The difference between *Westco* and *Servco* indicates elements of fragmentation (Meyerson and Martin 1987).

The strongest gendered symbol in relation to the *Trust* was necessarily ambiguous, as it was the androgynous management style of managers. It could be said that the *Trust* valued in its top managers a combination of the 'nice and the strong', taking the best of what are generally perceived as female and male characteristics, similar to the androgyny described by Bem (1974). The strongest example was the Chief Executive, Sarah, who was discussed in chapter 9. In suggesting there was an androgynous management style, this was not to suggest that managers were asexual clones. Rather there was a common value base, within which individual differences of style could be accommodated. This was put succinctly by a male manager:

'Good male and female managers have a similar style... open, direct, good listeners, concerned to get things done, and receptive to change'

In opposition to this integrationist approach (Meyerson and Martin, 1987) taking a wider view would mean looking at internal fragmentation and external attack. The masculine sub-culture of the medical specialist has already been referred to as a form of resistance, admittedly considerably tamed. As well as this attack from within, there were carping comments from without, also mentioned above. The *Trust* could therefore be viewed as a site of potential fragmentation (Meyerson and Martin, 1987).

The outstanding symbol of *Leisure Services* has already been mentioned several times earlier in this chapter, the gendering of divisions. This combined the symbols of difference enumerated in chapter 9 such as management style and dress, with gender. The gendering of divisions was discussed with three senior managers in the department, and all ascribed the same gender categories to the same divisions. However, more junior colleagues did not accept the suggestion about the ascription of masculine and feminine characteristics to different divisions. It was unclear whether those at the top were more perceptive, or whether this description was more salient and potent for them.

An interesting series of events occurred after completion of the main findings of the case study. As a result of the route by which access was originally arranged, the female council leader expressed her desire to see a version of the findings. The possibility of two live feedback sessions was discussed, one with the leader, former director and incoming director, and a second with the interviewees. Suddenly alarm bells sounded among the assistant directors, and they stated their unease with any feedback to the council leader. A series of telephone conversations took place. I discussed this with both the Acting Director and the former Director who had been promoted to another management post, stressing that there was no way that I wished to damage anyone's position. I offered to tell the leader that I did not consider it appropriate to give her a report because of the frankness with which the interviewees had talked. This offer was not taken up and in the event a compromise arranged. First, I gave a live presentation to which all interviewees were invited. Disappointingly, none of the Assistant Directors interviewed attended, a fact that was commented upon negatively by those present. Second, I gave a short written report to the incoming Director, which we discussed, and she indicated where she wanted amendments. She said that my findings confirmed her initial impression of the department. The management team discussed the amended report before it was approved for release to the council leader, and agreed with the findings (apart from minor amendments). However, the Director reported that they had been most unhappy about the process and had stated that they would not take part in any similar research project in the future.

I did not record every single personal and phone conversation during my initial and subsequent negotiations with *Leisure Services*. However, the former director knew the route by which the request for access had come. More interesting than the question of who might be at fault for the misunderstanding was the reaction of the Assistant Directors. My principal finding was that there was conflict within the department about management style, and differences between divisions on a number of points linked to gender. Perceiving themselves thus criticised, it appeared that the Assistant Directors felt unable as a group to contend with the findings, but were able to find a point of unity against me. In psychological terms I became a viper in the nest, and they rejected me.

As well as symbols that appeared relevant to the entire department, individuals in *Leisure Services* drew my attention to artefacts that were significant to them. A senior female manager drew my attention to the fact that the Council had a female leader, who was also a single parent. Although the leader had not pushed forward policies that particularly favoured women, the fact of her being there was a significant symbol that power was not the sole prerogative of men. It was said that she had brought a more direct and inclusive style to Council and committee meetings, and that her presence aided the legitimisation of women managers. Given the emphasis paid to 'elected members' discussed in chapter 9, this symbol might have been of wider significance. A further individualised symbol was the alleged favouritism towards women in the library service. One male interviewee told me that there is a dress code for men but not for women, who in some cases wore items forbidden to men. In addition, two thirds of the staff toilets were for women, in a building that was built in the early 1980s, well after the Sex Discrimination Act. These instances could be viewed either as strengthening the female aura of the Libraries Division, or more legalistically as examples of discrimination that favoured women. Both of these examples are interpretations within the symbolic particularist perspective.

Both men and women in *Finco* were certain of the existence of the glass ceiling. One artefact that reinforced the belief that top management was unattainable for women was the apparent lack of any women's toilets on the top managers' floor, about which several interviewees were adamant. Only during the feedback exercise did it become

apparent that there were toilets, but they were very difficult to find. The significance of this seems to be not whether there were female toilets, but rather the widespread understanding that there were not. *Finco's* HQ was a modern building, about 20 years old, so any partiality in the toilet provision could be assumed to be a deliberate ascription of top managerial roles to men. Both the glass ceiling and the gendered perceptions of work appeared to be widely held socially constructed meanings in *Finco*.

The image of the family as a potent symbol within *Engco* was thoroughly discussed in chapter 9, and this was also probably the most significant symbol from a gendered perspective. If the metaphor of the pater familias is extended, then the position of women in this family becomes clear, as they would be cared for and accepted as long as they remained subordinate. *Engco* was not a company that appeared overtly hostile to women. There were close similarities with the 'Gentlemen's Club' culture described by Maddock and Parkin (1993), where there is courteous and paternalistic behaviour towards women provided they keep in their place. Those women who could 'fit' *Engco* were accepted. However, if women had contemplated stepping out of their accepted roles, as discussed above, this could have lead to problems.

A further important symbol was that of engineering, exemplified by the scale models and product examples in the entrance lobbies of various facilities. As one male manager put it, *Engco's* engineering products were not 'sexy', as they were industrial products sold to other industries, and lacked appeal to women. Engineering had long been regarded as a key component of competitive advantage, and it was said that an engineering background legitimated a manager. As indicated above in discussion of gendered jobs in *Engco*, and the problems with retaining female graduate engineers, engineering had strong masculine connotations of 'real work' and technical ingenuity, and was related to the symbol of organisational might discussed in chapter 9. This situation was not however static, as engineering had become a contested symbol. *Engco* had realised that to compete in global markets engineering prowess was not enough, and that other skills, such as finance, personnel, marketing, and foreign languages, were needed. This debate was creating a destabilising effect on engineering's power base within *Engco*. By implication it also altered the perceptions of the value of the relative contributions of men and women, as the latter were more likely to be associated with

the other required competences. This process suggested that there was a contested terrain within the socially constructed meaning.

The *Partnership* was a further organisation where the principal gendered symbol was also the principal symbol discussed in general terms. The previous discussion in chapter 9 of the importance of customers in the *Partnership* suggested an image of these as unreasonable, demanding children. Given an underlying assumption that work came first in the *Partnership*, an employee who was also a prime carer was diluting her commitment to the firm. The main problem for women in this organisation was tied closely to perceived competitive advantage. The *Partnership* tried always to say yes to clients. In transactional terms (Berne, 1961) this had the nature of parent-child transactions between the firm's staff and clients, with the firm as indulgent parent and the client as demanding child. Motherhood was an acute problem in the *Partnership*, because seen from the point of view of the firm, a woman who had a child was thus a traitorous and neglectful parent in psychological terms to the client/children. It can be suggested that the *Partnership* was thus (understandably?) hostile to mothers. The women accepted this analysis, but not the men with whom it was discussed. An additional point is that whilst the *Partnership* would not wish to be seen to be pandering to prejudice, if a client asked for a member of staff to be removed from their case, they would comply.

At the *Partnership* as a consequence of the organisational hostility to mothers, there were effectively three genders: men, honorary men (women without apparent domestic/caring responsibilities) and mothers. Gherardi (1995) suggested that one may view gender as a political category and that not all female jobs are done by women. In these terms, the men and honorary men at the *Partnership* were doing men's jobs, support staff were undertaking women's jobs and the position of professionally qualified mothers was ambiguous and vulnerable. Nominally they were doing men's jobs, but perceptions of the intrusion of their private roles into the work sphere (in reality the other way round) nullified their status. Gherardi (1995) also suggests a contradictory interpretation of the gendering of the *Partnership's* jobs. She proposes that all service jobs, including where professional services are offered, are imbued with a female aura. This would tie in with the feminine dress of the *Partnership's* professional women, and the charm and

interpersonal skills of the men. On balance however the first interpretation is more salient for the *Partnership*.

As indicated above, *Mediaco* was a company where sexuality was out in the open, and the principal symbol associated with gender was in fact sex. 'Sex sells' was the espoused belief of the Managing Director, and posters advertising *Mediaco* demonstrated this by featuring a scantily clad schoolgirl in a provocative pose. The Managing Director's nickname outside the company was 'Nanny Whip', which had overtones of deviant sexuality, combining both the authoritarianism of her internal nickname, 'the headmistress', and the preoccupation with sex. The Managing Director was not in the least concerned about this nickname. Anything went, she stated, provided *Mediaco* sold its services. An alternative view would be to perceive these data as examples of the commodification of sex, which was not confined to images of women. Pictures of *Mediaco*'s male stars adorned the entrance hall, though some of these appeared older than the youthful image *Mediaco* generally liked to convey. This view of sexuality appeared part of a web of socially constructed meanings, which also defined masculinity and femininity, acknowledged homosexuality, and regulated both working and intimate relationships.

Summary

This chapter has indicated how normal and normative career paths through organisations are gendered, and has also shown how gender is processed in every case study organisation, creating and recreating meaning daily.

The discussion of EO and associated policies indicated that there is no necessary connection between espoused values and underlying assumptions in this field. Women may progress well in organisations committed or not committed to Opportunity 2000. They may also experience major problems in Opportunity 2000 organisations.

In a majority of case study organisations, there is a close conceptual and constructed meaning connection between those symbols identified as significant in general terms and those identified in terms of gender. This is shown in Table 10.2

Table 10.2: A summary of general and gendered symbols discussed in chapters 9 and 10 respectively

	General symbols discussed in chapter 9	Gendered symbols discussed in chapter 10
<i>Westco</i>	Toughness	-> Men's work Myth re unsuitability/ Unreliability of women
<i>Servco</i>	Caring	Maternalism
<i>The Trust</i>	Chief executive Professional caring Medical subculture	-> Androgynous management style -> Contested terrain – within/ without
<i>Leisure Services</i>	Differentiated divisions Elected members	-> Gendered divisions -> Female leader of Council
<i>Finco</i>	Sponsors	-> Glass ceiling Gendered perceptions of work
<i>Engco</i>	Family and pater familias Conquering nature/competitors	-> Paternalism -> Engineering
<i>The Partnership</i>	Clients as demanding children	-> Mothers as traitors
<i>Mediaco</i>	Family – sibling rivalry The headmistress	Sex -> Nanny Whip

Key: -> = link between symbols

Indeed in the case of *Leisure Services*, *Engco* and the *Partnership*, the separate discussions respectively in chapters 9 and 10 of differential/gendered divisions, the symbol of the family and the meaning of clients to employees was an artificial divide. In other cases a close association can be seen between general and gendered symbols. This suggests that one of the main research questions of this study has been answered, that is, that organisations are gendered and that this is integral to other aspects of organisational culture.

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Chapter 11: Conclusions

Introduction

This chapter revisits the research questions and hypotheses outlined at the beginning of this project. After commenting on methodology, summaries and conclusions will be formed on the basis of the findings, which will be reviewed in the following order. First, the findings from the repertory grid exercises are re-examined, principally those constructs that respondents associate with successful managers, and good managers. Second, the findings are reviewed from a culture-as-variable perspective, using Schein's (1992) concepts of espoused values and underlying assumptions. Third, the interpretation of the data from other perspectives of the culture-as-metaphor field is deliberated. Fourth, the methodological implications of the eclectic approach used are discussed. Finally, suggestions are made for the direction of further research in this field.

Research questions

Chapter 1 outlined a series of linked research questions and hypotheses. The first group was concerned with gender and organisational culture:

1. organisational cultures are gendered.
2. men and women experience organisational culture differently.
3. there are separate masculine and feminine cultures within organisations.
4. masculine culture is dominant, feminine subordinate.
5. organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially.
6. difficulties women experience in organisations are linked to underlying organisational assumptions.

The second group was concerned with management style:

7. organisational culture influences management style.

8. men and women value different management styles.
9. there are links between how men and women progress in organisations, and the organisations' respective management styles.

On reviewing these research questions it is apparent that some are couched in terms of the culture-as-variable school, that is, in terms of cause and effect. They will therefore be addressed in these terms, but also from the perspective of culture-as-metaphor. Both these perspectives were discussed in chapter 3, and used to elucidate findings in chapters 9 and 10.

These research questions were reduced to four hypotheses:

- (i) organisational culture is gendered.
- (ii) women and men managers experience organisational culture differently.
- (iii) men and women managers have different perceptions and values in relation to management style.
- (iv) organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially.

Comments on methodology

Chapter 7 outlined comprehensively the implementation of methodology for this study and the usefulness of multiple methods of analysis is discussed here. In effect five different methods of analysis have been used:

1. Constructs derived from repertory grid were categorised into a typology purpose-constructed for this study (Appendices 19 and 20).
2. Espoused values and underlying assumptions were elucidated and grouped into supporting, conflicting and ambiguous groups (Appendix 14).
3. Chapters 9 and 10 contain narrative accounts of findings.
4. For ease of comparison tabular records of findings were written derived from the narratives in chapters 10 and 11 (Appendices 21, 22 and 23).
5. Using a broadly symbolic perspective, the significant symbols and data in each organisation were interpreted.

The data thus re-arranged into the above types of findings inevitably overlap, and thus aid triangulation. The juxtaposition of discussion of espoused values and underlying assumptions, augmented by an interpretative approach in chapters 9 and 10, was particularly helpful, as an interpretative approach appeared to offer a deeper understanding of why each organisation was as it was. For instance, the organisational hostility to women at the *Partnership* in the face of rational personnel procedures can be better understood if the interpretation of mothers as traitors is accepted. The stuckness of *Leisure Services* about differentiated divisions became clearer when these were understood as gendered. *Engco's* paternalism elucidated the slow progress women have made despite organisational commitment to Opportunity 2000, and also in *Engco* the contested understanding of engineering as a key symbol explains prior problems for women, and fluidity around the gendered nature and perceived value of certain jobs. In *Westco* the cult of toughness, linked to notions of 'men's work' and gendered myths, illuminated the conflict around management style as well as the resistance to women. In the *Trust* the symbol of the Chief Executive helped to anchor an androgynous management style that was supportive to women.

There were two organisations where the interpretation of data from a symbolic perspective did not significantly augment the thrust of this study. In *Finco* little was added by re-interpreting existing data from a symbolic perspective that had not been explained in terms of espoused values and underlying assumptions. In *Mediaco*, however interesting and enlightening the family and sexual metaphors were, they added little enlightenment in terms of women progressing.

Review of repertory grid findings

The result of mapping respondent's constructs against the typology of managerial characteristics was fascinating in terms of what it revealed about how to progress in a

current day UK organisation. The detail can be seen in Appendix 19. A generally coherent and consistent picture emerged, both within and between organisations

The main finding was that to progress, personality descriptors were by far the most important characteristics, followed by choices and opportunities. Personal attributes can of course be perceived in a gendered way, and the literature reviewed in chapter 3 indicates that choices and opportunities are likely to be more constrained for women. After these in order of importance were managerial skills and behaviour and then cognitive skills. Gendered perceptions may affect the way these categories are assessed respectively for women and men. This was followed by job related behaviour, which was distinguished from career related behaviour, the next mentioned category. The former of these included activities such as networking and socialising, and these were more fully discussed in relation to the glass elevator in chapter 10. Next, constructs about personal circumstances indicated that women could be handicapped in the promotion race, principally because of the conflict between work and domestic responsibilities. The categories identified as primary differences and physical attributes were of less importance, as discussed in chapter 8.

It was suggested in chapter 8 that a fairly consistent composite picture emerged of a person likely to succeed in the case study organisations. It was however stressed that the profile was probably context sensitive, and that a common vocabulary might obscure locally constructed meanings.

All the above findings, interesting as they are in terms of organisational progression, did little more than confirm prior findings on the difficulties women face in progressing, as discussed in chapter 4. The limitations of these findings, relative to the central enquiry of this study, can be highlighted in two ways. First, looking at it from the point of view of a culture-as-variable perspective, they do not explain why things were as they were in each case study organisation. Second, from a culture-as-metaphor perspective, the constructs in themselves do not explain underpinning shared meanings, symbols, or sense-making.

The second repertory grid exercise identified those characteristics thought to be the prerogative of a good manager, as seen in Appendix 20. The differences between this

collection of constructs and the first repertory grid exercise are summarised in Table 8.12. Briefly, respondents considered good managers first and foremost have good managerial skills, with personality descriptors in second place. Cognition came next, followed by values. The differences between the two exercises, together with any bias resulting from the implementation of the methodology, were discussed in chapter 8. In summary it appeared managers perceived progression in terms of personality, but successful performance in the job as managerial behaviour. In all but one organisation, the *Trust*, there was a lack of congruence between these two ideals.

As it was possible in the analysis of the repertory grid data to identify it as originating from men or women, research question 8 was tested:

men and women value different management styles

Although occasional differences could be identified, on a substantive basis differences between men and women were not significant. There was more significance in variations between organisations, as discussed in chapter 8.

Turning to narrative accounts of management style in chapter 9, there were similarities between organisations. For instance a number were said to be changing from a command-and-control management style to a more empowering style where there was greater emphasis on interpersonal skills (*Westco, Finco, the Partnership*). There were however also distinct differences between organisations in relation to management style, which have been discussed thoroughly in chapter 9. This relates to question 7:

organisational culture influences management style

This was couched in terms of the cause-and-effect arguments of the culture-as-variable perspective. If instead a view is taken from the culture-as-metaphor perspective, rather than state that organisational culture influences management style, it could be suggested that management style is a manifestation of culture. Thus the similarities and differences in management style were similarities and differences in organisational culture, and a hypothesis can be neither proved nor disproved. Instead, it becomes

inappropriate to frame it at all. Again, on the question of general descriptions of organisational culture, there was more consistency than difference between men and women within each organisation.

Reviewing findings from a culture-as-variable perspective

In chapters 9 and 10, and more specifically in Appendix 14, espoused values and underlying assumptions were enumerated that related both to general and gendered aspects of culture. Schein's (1992) model of culture was used, as discussed in chapter 3. In all organisations there were espoused values that supported each other, that conflicted with each other and were ambiguous. There were also underlying assumptions that contradicted each other. These are set out in Appendix 14.

Using Schein's (1992) model helped highlight similarities and differences between organisations. For instance, in a number of organisations as discussed above, respondents said that the organisation was changing from a command-and-control to a more participatory management style. In some cases espoused values and underlying assumptions were supportive of this change, and in other cases there was conflict or ambiguity. Similar congruity, contradiction and ambiguity could be seen in relation to the stated commitment of each organisation to EO.

The first research question:

organisational cultures are gendered

was amply demonstrated in chapter 10, and Appendix 22, when instances of gendering were found to pervade all case study organisations. These included for example: gendered job segregation; glass ceilings, walls, and elevators; sexist behaviour; stereotyping of women as less committed; men's networking; deficient personnel policy and procedures; poor career guidance for women; and long hours as a proxy for commitment. These are translated into espoused values and underlying assumptions in Appendix 14. No organisation studied could be described as gender neutral, that is, an organisation where gender did not play a part in organisation.

In relation to research question 2:

men and women experience organisational culture differently

it appears that evidence is mixed. On the one hand there were greater differences between organisations than within organisations. Generally a coherent and consistent account of each organisation emerged from both men and women, for example, *Finco*'s responses to changes in the market place. Each organisation had a distinctly different cocktail of characteristics, although there were common features. When differences in emphases emerged, they were both related and unrelated to the gender of the informant. For instance women in some organisations related sexist comments, as experienced in one division of *Engco*, and men sometimes said more than their female colleagues did about why women had difficulties gaining promotion, as in *Finco*. On the other hand the women in *Westco* commented on poor communication, which was not mentioned by men. One manager in *Mediaco* gave a different account of key figures in the organisation compared with colleagues, and this appeared unrelated to gender. The reader will remember that organisational culture was explored from the standpoint of managers, which means other viewpoints from, for example, basic grade employees, have been omitted.

On the other hand, there are qualitative differences between the description of each organisation and the experience of gendered individuals within it, as indicated by the list of gendered behaviour in Appendix 22. As discussed in chapter 10 and Appendix 22, the experience varied between and within organisations. Men and women described largely the same features, but from different viewpoints. It follows therefore that among those interviewed, generally middle managers in each organisation, that evidence of discrete, separate masculine and feminine cultures that transcended other subcultures was not evident. This means that research question 3:

there are separate masculine and feminine cultures within organisations

is not supported by this data.

Research question 4 is:

masculine culture is dominant and feminine subordinate

In most organisations the dominant culture was headed by, and worked in favour of men, for instance *Westco*, *Finco*, *Engco* and the *Partnership*. However in *Leisure Services* there was a perception of masculine and feminine subcultures; in the *Trust* and *Mediaco* there appeared to be gender balanced cultures (men would probably claim they were numerically female dominated), and in *Servco* there was a female dominant culture. In all cases the women interviewed described themselves as members of the dominant culture rather than of a subculture. However outcomes in terms of the extent to which women progressed in each organisation should be sufficient to indicate that experience was different. Awareness of difference varied. If outcomes are different and unfair, and women the object of both overt and covert sexism, then why did women managers identify themselves with the dominant culture? Straying into the culture-as-metaphor camp, it could be suggested that to be constantly thinking about subordination is painful. It is easier, and perhaps more psychologically helpful, to be positive, and therefore to identify with management colleagues.

Research question 5:

organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially

was amply supported, even in those organisations where women do well. It is the main thrust of this study to propose that this is linked not only to gendered aspects of culture, but embedded in the wider culture of the organisation, as will be discussed more fully below.

A linked hypothesis, 6, is:

that difficulties women experience in organisations are linked to underlying organisational assumptions.

This is another way of framing the main research question of this study and will also be discussed more fully below. By looking at the espoused values and underlying assumptions in chapters 9 and 10, links are suggested between those that related to respectively general and gendered aspects of culture.

The last research question is:

there are links between how men and women progress in organisations, and the organisations' respective management styles

This is not framed in cause and effect terms, merely suggesting a putative correlation. The organisations with a more consultative/participatory style, such as the *Trust*, *Servco*, and *Mediaco* appeared better for women. The *Partnership* had some similarities, but also differences, and these are discussed below.

As indicated most of the discussion in this section is based on Schein (1992). He places himself primarily within a functionalist perspective, looking for ways to enable the organisation to function better. Nevertheless, his model can be used for research purposes, as discussed in chapter 6. The culture-as-variable perspective assumes cause-and-effect relationships, for instance that a particular management style leads to certain outcomes in relation to EO. By contrast, the culture-as-metaphor perspective perceived management style and EO outcomes as related meanings and symbols. This is the subject of the next section.

Reviewing findings from a culture-as-metaphor perspective

With the culture-as-variable approach a broad-brush picture of each organisation was assembled. When instead the culture-as-metaphor perspective was adopted, the particular nexus of meaning for each organisation, which was generally narrower but deeper, could be examined. The research questions will now be re-examined from this perspective, building principally on those symbols discussed in chapters 9 and 10.

Research question 1:

organisational cultures are gendered

was amply demonstrated by the gendered symbols for each organisation, which in some cases were indistinguishable from the general symbol system. For instance, gendering was one of the principal ways in which the divisions in *Leisure Services* were differentiated.

Research question 2:

men and women experience organisational culture differently

was most starkly indicated by the experience of women in the *Partnership*, when discussing the proposed symbol of clients as demanding children. As indicated in chapter 10, they felt that the men simply did not understand how it was to have to think about anything but the job. In general terms, as discussed in the previous section, most women identified themselves with the dominant culture of the organisation. The differences experienced in most cases related to gender, for instance, the cult of toughness and associated underlying assumptions in *Westco*, and the glass ceiling in *Finco*, which meant women had in certain respects qualitatively different experiences to their male colleagues.

In relation to research question 3:

there are separate male and female cultures within organisations

and research question 4:

masculine culture is dominant, feminine subordinate

a mixed picture is presented by the findings in the culture-as-metaphor perspective. In no organisation were there completely segregated cultures. However in a number of organisations there were associations between men which excluded women, symbolised by the belief that there is 'men's work' in *Westco*, and paternalism in *Engco*. The division between *Westco* and *Servco* was probably the nearest example of dominant

masculine and subordinate feminine cultures. However in *Mediaco* although there were gendered jobs, there appeared to be no separate subcultures based on men and women. In the *Trust* the dominant culture was androgynous rather than male or female, although this was contested respectively by the masculine subculture of the consultants, and the male dominated external culture of the NHS.

As suggested at the start of this section, the interpretation of symbols gives a deeper but possibly less extensive view of organisations. Research question 5:

organisational culture influences progression for men and women differentially

is not necessarily fully explained by the symbols explored in each organisation. This will be more fully discussed below.

Research questions 6 and 7 relate principally to the culture-as-variable perspective, so will not be discussed here. Research question 8 was more appropriately discussed in the section on repertory grid constructs, and will not be pursued further.

Women's progression: explanation or interpretation?

As stated in chapter 1, this study commenced with the idea of finding out more about why women fail to progress as expected in organisations. Pursuing a culture-as-variable approach tries to answer the question why, that is, it deals with cause-and-effect, and seeks to provide an explanation. Adopting instead a culture-as-metaphor perspective tries to describe how, and seeks to interpret meaning or symbols. Having adopted an eclectic approach drawing on both perspectives, the following discussion will look at both explanations and interpretations.

In looking at the findings, the organisations studied appeared to fall into three groups, with one belonging to none. First, the positive organisations for women were the three organisations headed up by women: the *Trust*, *Servco*, and *Mediaco*. Next came *Leisure Services*, which did not have a glass ceiling but nevertheless did not quite fit

with any other group. The main reason for this seemed to be the distinct divisional subcultures, which meant that aggregated evidence was inconsistent. These organisations appeared positive for women as follows. Women had attained important and powerful positions, as in *Mediaco* and *Servco* where the representation of women managers was pro-rata to the proportion of women in the company. In the *Trust* and *Leisure Services* there was less than pro-rata representation, but they were still organisations where women could rise to the top. These four organisations, to different degrees, were also accepting of mothers, open to differences of sexuality, and more open than the other case study organisations to a full range of expression of emotion. There were no immutable mechanisms in the way of women advancing, as there appeared to be elsewhere. The *Partnership* had much in common with the first group in terms of a positive management style, but differed on some key problems for women where it had more in common with *Finco*. Lastly there were *Westco* and *Engco*, in which women experienced similar but not identical problems. The reasons for grouping the organisations in this way is discussed next. The summary of findings can be found in Appendix 23.

The *Trust*, *Servco* and *Mediaco* had much in common in terms of management style: they demanded a positive outlook, staff were trusted and expected to learn from mistakes rather than be blamed, and they were not risk averse. Both the *Trust* and *Servco* had good internal communication policies, although the evidence was more equivocal in relation to *Mediaco*. They were open to innovation, and believed in acknowledging and rewarding staff. Their management style was participative and empowering (perhaps somewhat less so in *Mediaco*) and there was no conflict about management style. Interestingly, they were all prepared to dispose of passengers, by using probation periods constructively or dismissal procedures. In other organisations redundancy or prevarication was used. *Servco* and *Mediaco* acknowledged and rewarded staff, whereas evidence about this was more equivocal in the *Trust*. The *Partnership* was similar to this first group in the following respects: positive outlook, learning from mistakes, empowering management style, no conflict about management style, getting rid of passengers and with a sharp focus on both customers and targets and/or profits. Evidence on the other points was less clear. *Leisure Services* also resembled this first group in relation to being open to innovation and risk, but not necessarily in other respects. One of the key differences between this first group and the others was the confusion about

management style in *Finco*, and conflict about it in *Westco* and *Leisure Services*. *Finco*, *Westco* and *Engco* resembled each other in their reported risk averseness. One might surmise as a result of this evidence that a particular type of management style, which rests on particular underlying assumptions, is associated with a culture more friendly towards women. Interestingly it represents the type of organisation thought to be more desirable and robust in the current age.

In all organisations respondents suggested substantial similarities between good and successful managers, but these were non-contradictory and overlapping rather than being broadly identical, as discussed in chapter 8. Only in the *Trust* were there substantial similarities.

There are further differences between and among the groups. Preference in promotion was given to internal candidates in *Mediaco*, the *Partnership*, *Finco* and *Engco*, and these were organisations where sponsorship and/or networking were also important. Turning from positive differences to ones that appeared to have a negative effect on women, in *Engco* and *Finco* perceived competitive advantage was tied to men, although the origin of this differed. In *Engco* it was tied to ideas about engineering which were contested, whereas in *Finco* there were subtle assumptions that certain business transactions were better fronted by men. As indicated in Appendix 22, *Westco*, *Engco*, *Finco* and the *Partnership* had a larger share of sexist behaviour in general terms, such as sexist language, or stereotyping females. *Leisure Services* had less overt sexism. The *Partnership* and *Finco* both put considerable emphasis on corporate entertaining, and women were excluded from some activities. In addition both companies had formal and informal male networking opportunities, which enabled young men to proceed up glass elevators. This was the crucial difference, which put these two companies into the same category, although they also shared with *Westco* a tendency to political games-playing.

Various factors distinguished *Westco* and *Engco* from the other groups, shared to a limited extent by *Leisure Services*. First was their significant time orientation towards the past, whereas all other organisations had a focus principally on the present and future, and second their emphasis on hierarchy. Time orientation may be correlated to attitudes towards EO for women, and the underlying cultural assumptions (Schein, 1992)

which seemed helpful to or associated with women's progression included a time orientation in the present or near future, as opposed to one in the past. The honouring of hierarchy may be another manifestation of management style rather than something separate.

In all organisations there were gendered jobs, which sometimes extended to gendered divisions, and this did not in itself appear a bar to women progressing; it depended with which other factors it was associated. However precisely which jobs were regarded as masculine or feminine was not uniform between organisations and might even be fluid within organisations, as in Figure 10.1. At *Mediaco* the gendering was the opposite way round to elsewhere, in that creative jobs were masculine and commercial jobs feminine. In the *Trust*, *Mediaco* and *Leisure Services* glass walls did not necessarily indicate a glass ceiling, merely a different route to the top, although *Engco* women thought that it was the glass walls that created the glass ceiling. Conversely, both the *Partnership* and *Finco* offered above minimum maternity pay, which appeared woman-friendly, but they also had glass elevators that enabled men to progress more quickly. Both companies were very awkward about allowing women to return to part time work after maternity leave and queried their commitment, evidence of covert sexism. Neither of these organisations was overtly sexist, unlike *Engco* and *Westco*, where there were put-downs and pinups. Golf, sport and male networking varied in their salience; in the *Partnership* they were a crucial vehicle for corporate entertaining and internal and external networking; in *Finco* this was evident but less important; in *Westco* it was seen more as a way of the different grades of (male) staff getting together, and in *Engco* mostly an extension of the social club.

Chapter 10 suggested that there is no necessary connection between Opportunity 2000 and women's advancement. Women could both progress or not progress within organisations that were and were not members. Similarly the effectiveness of EO policies, regardless of whether they were simple, elaborate or even non-existent, varied between organisations.

By considering the evidence in appendix 22 on personnel procedures, appendix 23 on the everyday processing of gender, and discussion in chapter 10, it appears that EO was internalised in the *Trust*, *Servco* and *Mediaco* and to a lesser extent in *Leisure Services*.

Internalisation is used to indicate that there were common underlying assumptions, which guided behaviour, resulting in positive outcomes for women.

Returning to the four substantive hypotheses listed at the beginning of this chapter, the first and second are supported by the findings of this study, and as discussed above, the third has not been supported. The fourth hypothesis has been substantially supported.

Unanticipated findings

Some findings emerged from the case studies, which were not anticipated. One was the previously mentioned disregard of management competencies as routes to progression. A second was the frequent mention of interpersonal and particularly communication skills, both with reference to the gaining promotion and much more so in relation to what makes a good manager. A third finding was the influence of certain key figures in organisations. This study commenced with some scepticism about the degree to which leaders influence organisational culture (Schein, 1992). However significant people emerged from the data in some organisations. In the *Trust* and *Mediaco* this was the female Chief Executive and MD respectively. In *Leisure Services* it was the former Director, and in *Engco* surprisingly a female personnel manager. Lastly, it was interesting that in some organisations, *Westco* and *Finco* and to a lesser extent *Engco*, it was men rather than women who revealed key data about obstacles to women progressing.

Conclusions and future research directions

To conclude this study the relationship between these findings and prior research as principally reviewed in chapter 4 is discussed.

The following findings confirm existing research: the fact that all organisations, and by extension all organisational cultures, are gendered; the existence of covert and overt sexism in organisations; and the gaps between personnel and EO policies and practice.

Some of the findings were ambiguous in relation to prior research, particularly in regard to the efficacy of Opportunity 2000. The generally low value placed on ethics sits uncomfortably with assertions that women are more concerned than men about ethics.

Certain of the findings have not to my knowledge been previously documented, and therefore represent a distinctive contribution to knowledge. These include the association between organisations that were positive for women and a management style encompassing participation, openness to learning from mistakes, and, curiously, the determination to rid the organisation of 'passengers'. The association of organisations unhelpful to women with a time orientation at least partly towards the past was also interesting. No previous references were found in the literature to 'sportsmen's dinners', which may be peculiar to the North of England. All the repertory grid data on how managers perceive one progresses in current day organisations casts a fresh light on recruitment, selection and promotion processes. In relation to these findings, and those on successful managers, it was not clear why the variations between case study organisations existed. One finding, which appears to confute existing research, or at least current received wisdom, is that glass walls do not lead inexorably to glass ceilings.

Directions for future research follow:

1. Investigation of hypothesised associations between organisations that have good outcomes for women and
 - a participative management style
 - a preparedness to rid themselves of passengers
 - organisations willing to learn from mistakes and not risk averse
 - time orientation
2. Further investigation of organisations where glass walls do and do not lead to glass ceilings.
3. More case study (as opposed to statistical) evidence of the outcomes of Opportunity 2000.
4. Sportsman's dinners as an unresearched bastion of unreconstructed masculinity.
5. Perceived competitive advantage as a barrier to managing diversity.

6. Political awareness versus political games-playing.
7. Progression and promotion in organisations relative to the stated procedures.
8. The purported changes in management style of organisations.
9. Reasons for variations between organisations as to what is valued in successful managers, and good managers.
10. Replication of the methodology with other organisations, including cross-culturally.

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List of Appendices

1. List of possible case study organisations

This lists a number of organisations that were approached as possible case studies for the thesis.

2. Example of a covering letter requesting access

3. Case study requirements - as used for the Trust, Leisure Services and Finco

This outlines the requirements for case study organisations, so that they were clear about time commitments and possible publications.

4. Case study requirements - as used for Engco, the Partnership and Mediaco

5. Interview protocol - pilot

This is an aide memoire for conducting interviews, to ensure all interviews were conducted with necessary uniformity.

6. Revised interview protocol

This is a revised version of no. 5.

7. Grid used in Westco and the Trust

This is an example of the repertory grid used to tabulate data from interviews in Westco and the Trust.

8. Group workshop protocol

This was used as a script and aide memoire to ensure uniformity of treatment in group sessions.

9. List of information and personnel policies

This list was sent or given to all case study organisations to act as a checklist for relevant documents.

10. List of topics used in Westco workshops

This is illustrative of the types of topics discussed in workshop sessions.

11. Field note reminders

This is a short checklist for writing up field notes.

12. Repertory grid - processing cards

This was a reminder of the manual processing necessary after each interview to enable each construct card to be uniquely identifiable

13. Checklist for interim summary findings

This was used to enable comparable summaries of case study organisations to be written.

This was used to enable comparable summaries of case study organisations to be written.

14. Tables of espoused values and underlying assumptions

This encapsulated espoused values and underlying assumptions, both general and gendered, for each case study organisation.

15. Typology of managerial characteristics – version 1

16. Typology of managerial characteristics – version 2

17. Typology of managerial characteristics – version 3

18. Typology of managerial characteristics – version 4

These appendices are successive versions of a typology of managerial characteristics, which was used to categorise the constructs elicited from respondents through repertory grid.

19. Findings – informants' constructs of how one progresses in organisations

This is an application of the typology shown in Appendix 18, categorising the data elicited in response to the question about progression within case study organisations.

20. Findings – informants' constructs of what makes a successful manager

This is a second application of the typology shown in Appendix 18, categorising the data elicited in response to the question about what makes a good manager.

21. Personnel policies and related information in case study organisations

22. The everyday processing of gender in case study organisations (and related EO considerations)

23. Summary of findings

These are matrix representations allowing comparison between case study organisations.

Appendix 1: List of possible case study organisations

Case Study Organisations

Case studies completed

The Trust

Leisure Services

Finco

Manufacturing Organisations committed to Opportunity 2000

<u>Company</u>	<u>Date approached</u>	<u>Result</u>
Digital	3.5.96	Unable to help - reorganising ?could try later in year?
ICI	3.5.96	Unlikely to be able to help - time
IBM	9.5.95	No resources to help (but available to colleague)
Procter & Gamble	14.5.96	Unable to help
Awaiting reply		
Zeneca	21.3.96	never replied
Rank Xerox	10.5.96	
Shell	10.5.96	
Unilever	13.5.96	
Whitbread	14.5.96	
Du Pont	15.5.96	
Glaxo Wellcome	16.5.96	
Macvities	19.5.96	

Unlikely

Cawoods Oils/British Fuels

Manufacturing Organisations not committed to Opportunity 2000

Vauxhall 25.5.93 Do not wish to proceed with the project

Private sector company with female MD

Coates Engineering 26.3.96 Not enough women in company
JDA 23.4.96 Too busy
KCE (Karrimor) 21.3.96 Company too small > 20

Miscellaneous organisations committed to Opportunity 2000

Cooper and Lybrand 23.5.96 (unlikely)

Miscellaneous organisations not committed to Opportunity 2000

Liverpool Hsg Trust 27.7.93 probably OK (vol sector)
Grant Thornton 3.5.96 Too busy with IIP
? try later in year

Appendix 2
Example of a covering letter requesting access

27.7.93

Mr David Bebb, Chief Executive,
Liverpool Housing Trust,
12, Hanover Street,
Liverpool
L1 4AA

Dear Mr Bebb,

Research Proposal

Thank you for talking to me about my research proposal, further details of which I enclose. As I explained, I am in the process of registering for a PhD, with the aim of looking at men and women in management, and how organisational culture affects participation rates and management style. As I mentioned, the LHT came to mind because of what I had learned about the organisation from students who have attended the Business School, and I would be grateful if you could consider letting me use your organisation as a case study.

You will see from my enclosed proposal that I intend to look in depth at six organisations. At this stage I am looking for agreement in principle, and would return to discuss a more detailed protocol at a later date. If of course you would like to meet me before deciding, I should be happy to arrange this. My phone numbers are work 051-231-3814 (messages 3860) and home 0706-818299.

Yours sincerely,

Elisabeth M Wilson, BA, CQSW, MBA
Senior Lecturer

Appendix 3

Case study requirements - as used for the Trust, Leisure Services and Finco

casereq

LIVERPOOL JOHN MOORES UNIVERSITY
LIVERPOOL BUSINESS SCHOOL

PhD Research - Elisabeth M Wilson

Case Study protocol - information for case study organisations

1. In negotiating with the organisation it would be helpful to have a named individual who could act as a reference point for advice and information.

2. I wish to undertake interviews with 12 managers, 6 male, 6 female, matched as far as possible for levels of responsibility. I am interested in managers from supervisors up to Director level. Beyond this it would be helpful to have a mix of functions and background if possible. I would welcome advice on the selection of participants. The named individual or personnel/HR department may be able to help with this.

Each interview will last a minimum of 2 hours; they tend to last longer if the interviewee is talkative.

3. I will also run two group discussions with the 6 male and 6 female managers separately, lasting half a day/three hours.

4. Access to policy documents and information would be helpful, such as:

Equal Opportunity policy

Policies on discipline, grievance, bullying, harassment

Training and development policy

Recruitment, selection and promotion policies

Succession Planning

Structure chart

Staffing profiles/statistics

Equal Opportunities monitoring

5. Access to other individuals who are in a position to provide information may be helpful.

6. The findings will form part of a PhD dissertation and will therefore be in the public domain. The findings may therefore be used in other publications. All organisations will be disguised and referred to simply as 'the Council' or an invented name such as 'Finco' (for a financial services company).

Appendix 4

Case study requirements - as used for Engco, the Partnership and Mediaco

casereq2

LIVERPOOL JOHN MOORES UNIVERSITY
LIVERPOOL BUSINESS SCHOOL

PhD Research - Elisabeth M Wilson

Case Study protocol - information for case study organisations

1. In negotiating with the organisation it would be helpful to have a named individual who could act as a reference point for advice and information.
2. I wish to undertake interviews with up to 12 managers, 6 male, 6 female, matched as far as possible for levels of responsibility. I am interested in managers from supervisors up to Director level. Beyond this it would be helpful to have a mix of functions and background if possible. I would welcome advice on the selection of participants. The named individual or personnel/HR department may be able to help with this.
Each interview will last about 2 hours, longer if the interviewee is particularly talkative.
3. I will also run two group discussions with the 6 male and 6 female managers separately, lasting between two and three hours.
4. Access to policy documents and information would be helpful, such as personnel, training and Equal Opportunity policies.
5. Access to other individuals who are in a position to provide information may be helpful.
6. The findings will form part of a PhD dissertation and will therefore be in the public domain. The findings may therefore be used in other publications. All organisations will be disguised and referred to simply as 'the Council' or an invented name such as 'Finco' (for a financial services company).

Appendix 5

Interview protocol - pilot

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

***** NB TAKE CARDS*****

1. Introduce myself - lecturer in HRM, registered for PhD

Using Westco as pilot case study

What has John Smith explained?

women and men managers, and organisational culture

confidentiality - personal

- company

publication

2. If appropriate, ask if interview can be tape recorded. Otherwise, written notes

3. Check:

job title

job content

length of time in co.

length of time in current post

location of post

4. Shape of interview

two topics to be investigated in structured way

trying to find out your ideas

explain about core constructs

5. How do people get on in this organisation?

Choose a set of elements (use initials or nicknames if you prefer):

- three people who have done or are doing well in the organisation or who are recognised as potential high flyers

- three who are proceeding moderately well but are unlikely to reach the top

- three who are low achievers and are recognised as having almost no promotion prospects

- at least one in each group should be a woman (and I need to know which)

(NB I need to keep the cards or make a note of the gender)

6. Eliciting the constructs:

In what way are 2 of these similar and different from the 3rd?

Can you tell me something two have in common that makes them different from the third?

...in terms of...

which are more likely to succeed in Westco

how well they have done or are likely to do in Westco

the impression they make on you

their background
what type of people they are
job experience at Westco

Try to elicit:
propositional
sensory
evaluative constructs

Write the constructs on cards. Keep notes on back.

Laddering:

Why? - up - conceptual
What kind of people do you think are likely to get on?
Why is that?
Why is that important in your opinion?
Why is that an important distinction to make?

How - down - concrete
Can you tell me more about how x and y are different?
Can you give me more examples of how x and y are different?

7. Construct Grid 1

Which do you think is more important in order to get on in this organisation?

1	Elements	5
Bipolar	- - - - -	Constructs

On a scale of 1 - 5 rate how important are these constructs?

- 1 = very unimportant
- 2 = fairly unimportant
- 3 = neither important or unimportant
- 4 = fairly important
- 5 = very important

8. How much do you feel at home in this organisation, managerially and personally?

Do you feel that you fit in?
Can you act as you really want?

Choose a set of elements a series of organisations:

- three in which you feel really at ease
- three in which you adapted and coped
- three in which you feel uncomfortable, personally challenged, or actually hated

One of the organisations must be Westco

The organisations could be selected from any work, voluntary, sporting or leisure organisations; if necessary you could choose as elements organisations known to you indirectly, for instance an organisation for which a friend or relative works. They must be real organisations.

9. Eliciting constructs

In what way are 2 of these similar and different from the 3rd?

Can you tell me something two have in common that makes them different from the third?

...in terms of...

how you feel about them

the way the place is run

how things are organised

how people behave with each other

Try to elicit:

(propositional?)

sensory

evaluative constructs

Write the constructs on cards. Keep notes on the back.

Laddering:

Why? - up - conceptual

Why is that?

Why is that important in your opinion?

Why is that an important distinction to make?

How - down - concrete

Can you tell me more about how x and y are different?

Can you give me more examples of how x and y are different?

10. Construct Grid 3

How would you judge these organisations (against your constructs)?

	Element - Westco only	
1		5
Bipolar		Constructs

On a scale of 1 - 5 rate how important are these constructs?

9. Are there any comments you would wish to make about what we have been discussing?

10. Are you willing to take part in a group discussion?

When are you usually available?

11. May I phone you again if I am unclear on any point?

Checklist for Gridwork

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Appendix 6

Revised interview protocol

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

***** NB TAKE CARDS*****

1. Introduce myself - lecturer in HRM, registered for PhD

Undertaking 6 case studies

What has been explained?

women and men managers, and organisational culture

confidentiality - personal

- company

publication

2. Check:

job title

job content

length of time in co.

length of time in current post

location of post

3. Shape of interview

two topics to be investigated in structured way

trying to find out your ideas

explain about core constructs

4. How do people get on in this organisation?

Choose a set of elements (use initials or nicknames if you prefer):

- three people who have done or are doing well in the organisation or who are recognised as potential high flyers

- three who are proceeding moderately well but are unlikely to reach the top

- three who are low achievers and are recognised as having almost no promotion prospects

- at least one in each group should be a woman (and I need to know which)

(NB I need to keep the cards or make a note of the gender)

5. Eliciting the constructs:

In what way are 2 of these similar and different from the 3rd?

Can you tell me something two have in common that makes them different from the third?

...in terms of...

which are more likely to succeed in this organisation

how well they have done or are likely to do in this organisation

the impression they make on you

their background

what type of people they are

job experience in this organisation and elsewhere

Try to elicit:
propositional
sensory
evaluative constructs

Write the constructs on cards. Keep notes on back.

Laddering:
Why? - up - conceptual
What kind of people do you think are likely to get on?
Why is that?
Why is that important in your opinion?
Why is that an important distinction to make?

How - down - concrete
Can you tell me more about how x and y are different?
Can you give me more examples of how x and y are different?

6. The management style you admire

Choose a set of elements a series of (real) people:
can be in this or other organisations
- three whose management style you really admire
- three who are average managers
- three whose management style you think is totally unacceptable and ineffective

7. Eliciting constructs

In what way are 2 of these similar and different from the 3rd?
Can you tell me something two have in common that makes them different from the third?

...in terms of...
how you feel about them
their effectiveness
the way they handle people
how they organised things
how they sort out problems
their achievements or failures

Try to elicit:
(propositional?)
sensory
evaluative constructs

Write the constructs on cards. Keep notes on the back.

Laddering:

Why? - up - conceptual

Why is that?

Why is that important in your opinion?

Why is that an important distinction to make?

How - down - concrete

Can you tell me more about how x and y are different?

Can you give me more examples of how x and y are different?

8. Are there any comments you would wish to make about what we have been discussing?

9. Are you willing to take part in a group discussion?

When are you usually available?

10. May I phone you again if I am unclear on any point?

Appendix 7
Grid used in Westco and the Trust
 GRIDS

Constructs (rate 1-5)	Elements						
.....							
1.....							
2.....							
3.....							
4.....							
5.....							
6.....							
7.....							
8.....							
9.....							
10.....							
11.....							
12.....							
13.....							
14.....							
15.....							
16.....							
17.....							
18.....							
19.....							
20.....							

Name:.....Orgn.....Date.....

Appendix 8
Group workshop protocol

BRIEF FOR Case Study Organisations
NOT to be given out

The nature of Organisational Culture

There are many definitions of organisational culture. The following is from Edgar Schein (1992):

'A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.'

Three levels:

I ARTIFACTS

observable behaviour

language/titles/address

customs

traditions

rituals

ceremonies

emotional display

organisational processes

reward systems

recruitment

promotion

disciplinary

physical artefacts

technology

products

architecture

clothing

organisational history

myths

stories

II VALUES

espoused values
shared beliefs
formal philosophy eg mission statement
strategies
goals
rules of the game
climate
press releases
behavioural norms

III UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

taken for granted
guide behaviour
rarely articulated - therefore powerful
tend to surface in times of crisis

beliefs
perceptions
thoughts
feelings

IV COMMENTS

Not all groups/organisations have a single integrated culture
There may be subcultures

PROTOCOL FOR GROUP DISCUSSION - Case Study Organisations

1. Short intro

myself

others in group

purpose of research

PhD

publication

anonymised organisation/contributions

confidentiality

2. Short lecture on culture

see photocopy of Schein pp 148-9

NB Not exploring all aspects of culture.

3. ACTIVITY

Elicit Descriptions of artifacts

write everything on flipchart sheets

NB different colours for artifacts, espoused values, underlying assumptions

hang on walls

ARTIFACTS

observable behaviour

language/titles/address

customs

traditions

rituals

ceremonies

emotional display

organisational processes

reward systems

recruitment

promotion

disciplinary

physical artifacts

technology

products

architecture

clothing

organisational history

myths

stories

FROM THESE identify espoused values
ask question why?

eg why do you dress as you do?

check if all in group agree
write on flipchart sheets

II VALUES

espoused values
shared beliefs
formal philosophy eg mission statement
strategies
goals
rules of the game
climate
press releases
behavioural norms

First stab at shared underlying assumptions:
Do the espoused values explain all the artifacts?
Explore where they do not fit/ make sense.

III UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS (important in relation to gender)

NB SORT INTO HELPFUL AND UNHELPFUL

taken for granted
guide behaviour
rarely articulated - therefore powerful
tend to surface in times of crisis

beliefs
perceptions
thoughts
feelings

Appendix 9

List of information and personnel policies

pol&stat

LIVERPOOL JOHN MOORES UNIVERSITY
LIVERPOOL BUSINESS SCHOOL

PhD Research - Elisabeth M Wilson

Factual information from companies/organisations

With the help of colleagues I have compiled a list of personnel and other policies which might have Equal Opportunity implications. I have ticked the ones for which I have copies for your organisation, and put a V next to those which have been described verbally to me. I would be grateful if, without putting you to too much trouble, you could send me any additional information.

I must emphasise that I am not expecting any organisation to have policies and/or information in all or even most of these areas.

1. Demographic information

- women/men

- ethnic minorities

- disabled

- any other groups

Numbers by salary/grade

Any change over time

Cohort analysis

Turnover rate

Part timers/full timers/job sharers - grades

Exit interviews

Comparative statistics for the industry if you have these

2. General company statements

Annual report

Mission statement

Customer charters

Press statements re Equal Opportunities etc.

3. Personnel policies

Policies on discipline, grievance, bullying, harassment

Recruitment, selection and promotion policies

- any focused recruitment towards disadvantaged groups?

Recruitment information e.g. brochure, person specification for first line/middle/senior manager, application form

Succession Planning
Career development
Structure chart
Appraisal
List of management competencies if used
Pay and benefits policy (including during maternity leave)
Selection for redundancy and early retirement
Relocation/mobility requirements (dual career couples?)
Staff Attitude Surveys
Support for networks
Occupational health service
- health practices aimed specifically at women
Health and Safety policies/practices
- any exclusionary policies relating to your industry

Job share
Part time work
Homeworking
Zero hours contract
Flexitime
Term time only
Short term contracts
Rolling contracts

Training and development policy
Mentoring
Policy re secondments
Policy re allocation to projects/project teams
Management training
- selection
Accessibility of training
- timing
- venue

Formal representation structures
- trades unions
- staff associations
- works councils, including European Works Councils
- policies/issues raised

Equal Opportunities monitoring
When policies were last/will be next reviewed

4. Equal Opportunity policies

Equal Opportunity policy
- which groups included

Equal Opportunities monitoring
Commitment to Opportunity 2000 or not
Positive action e.g. pre-entry training, women only management training
Targets

Enhanced maternity leave
Career breaks

Help with child care:
- advice e.g. Childcare Solutions
- money/vouchers
- workplace crèche/nursery
- paternity leave
- parental leave
Carers' leave
Help with elder care

Policy towards workers with disabilities
- recruitment
- retention

Charitable work by the organisation
- on whom/what groups/communities focused

Take-up of initiatives
Any benchmarking undertaken e.g. Opportunity 2000
When policies were last/will be next reviewed

References:

MccGwire, Scarlett (1992): Best Companies for Women, Pandora
Business in the Community (1996): Opportunity 2000: Fourth year Report executive summary

Appendix 10

TOPICS DISCUSSED AT GROUP WORKSHOP SESSIONS - PILOT STUDY

<u>Servco</u>	<u>Women Managers</u>	<u>Men Managers</u>
physical artifacts clothes name badges	clothes	clothes name badges
architecture room appearance personal decoration	accommodation cleanliness personal decoration doors	
equipment		
communication address jargon swearing	communication address jargon swearing sense of humour	communication address swearing
celebrations/rituals socialising	celebrations/rituals socialising golf	celebrations/rituals socialising golf
organisational history		
learning		
emotions	emotions	emotions
hierarchy decision making rewards punishments	rewards punishments dislike of procedure	hierarchy decision making rewards punishments dislike of procedure
conflict	conflict	conflict
recruitment/promotion termination		termination
discipline	discipline	discipline

gender
mothering

gender
meetings
women's promotion
caring responsibilities

gender
meetings
men's views
caring responsb's
macho managem't

management development

mgt development

Appendix 11

Fieldnotes - reminder

1. administration of interview
2. working/interview environment
3. Person
 - physical description
 - clothes
 - body language, voice
4. Reflexivity
 - how related to me
 - how I related to him/her
 - gender issues

Appendix 12

Repertory grid - processing cards

1. Grid charts
 - highlight women
2. Female interviewee
 - colour code on left hand corner
3. All cards
 - initial on back, name, organisation, part of interview
4. Constructs
 - highlight numbers of female elements
5. Dictating
 - re-order notes
 - dictate
6. Copy out grid score onto construct cards

Appendix 13

Checklist for interim summary findings

Organisation:

What business/industry is the company in?

What is the source of competitive advantage?

What are the core competences?

Attitude to environment/market

What are the key espoused values?

What are the key underlying assumptions?

What image does the organisation like to portray?

What are alternative images?

Time orientation

Gendered jobs

Gendered stereotyping

Gendered divisions

Gendered industries

EO espoused values

Gendered underlying assumptions

Why does organisation have an EO policy?

Which Maddock and Parkin gender culture type?

Where did this information come from?

Is there a glass wall?

Is there a glass ceiling?

Is there a glass elevator?

History of organisation for women/EO

What is the main problem for women in this organisation?

What is the form of resistance to women?

Where did this information come from?

How do I visualise this?

What did the organisation feel like?

If I worked there how would I have to adapt?

Appendix 14: Tables of espoused values and underlying assumptions

Tables of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, Westco

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
Growth organically and by acquisition
Work is fun

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Participative management style	Resolve conflict by debate

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Westco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Participative management style	Military experience s a good preparation for management
	Manual staff must be controlled, and kept in their place
	Uniforms are necessary to distinguish grades of employees
	Hierarchy matters; we need it to function, for instance to resolve conflicts
	Another way of resolving conflict is to shout
	Listening is not important
	Sometimes managers need to behave in a macho way
	Different people and functions do not need to inter-relate
Employees need praise	Reward = you will not be punished, and you will keep your job
Entrepreneurial	It is safer to take decision via formal or informal committees
Plan for the future	The past is a guide to future decision making
We need to develop a customer/service orientation	Internal customers do not matter
Socialising is a way of breaking down barriers (men)	The company cannot and will not organise socialising (men)
	There's no value in socialising (women)

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Westco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Consensual, profit-sharing organisation	Workers must unite against management through the Union
Hierarchy matters; we need it to function	Bureaucracy is wrong

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, Westco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
If employees are no good, they must go -	Slowly

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, Westco

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
N/a

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Westco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Equal opportunity policy in respect of ethnic minorities	Ethnic minority employees are unreliable
MD open to women managers	Women are unpredictable, unreliable, irrational, bad news
Headhunt for the best person (male or female) for the senior jobs	Women are good in supportive roles e.g. in office work
	Women must be twice as good as men to get on (women) – fortunately this is not difficult
Equal opportunities for women (verbal)	Westco is a man's organisation
	Domestic responsibilities are nothing to do with us
Participatory management style	Male managers can and should appear macho on occasion
Golf days are an opportunity for everyone to get together	Golf days are an opportunity for men to get together without women
Women can apply for any job in the organisation	Women have no technical knowledge,

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Westco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Women's jobs are easy	A woman's presence tames a meeting of men

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - gender issues, Westco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
N/a	

Tables of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, Servco

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
Communication is the key to customer service and internal relationships
Unsuitable employees will not be retained
Time orientation in the present and medium future

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Empowered management style	OK to express individuality What you say counts, whoever you are
Protocols	Professional standards are important
Customer orientation	Communication is an important skill
Learn from mistakes	Not risk averse
Happy, motivated workforce	Employees need encouragement and praise

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Servco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
It's OK to express feelings	A positive attitude is demanded
We are positive	Talking about conflict is not comfortable

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Servco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
It's OK to express your individuality	You must have the right attitude to fit in

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, Servco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
N/a	

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, Servco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Caring culture	Maternal culture

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, the Trust

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
Communication matters
Professional behaviour for patients
Participative management style
Time orientation in the present and medium future

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Learning organisation	It is OK to ask if you don't know
	Challenge is necessary for change and innovation
	It is OK to learn from mistakes
	Openness to new ideas
Patients Charter	Managers must deliver
Recognition of staff	Belongingness
The Trust way	Loyalty
Stewardship of public money	Open and accountable

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, the Trust

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Caring for staff	Unreliable managers must go
Autonomy of Trust	NHSME: Trusts can't be trusted
Consensus management	Doctors are powerful
Poor performers must go	Poorly performing doctors must be tolerated
Participative management style	Consultants can behave in a macho fashion
Care for yourself (staff)	Work to complete the job

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, the Trust

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Caring for patients	Caring for staff

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, the Trust

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Consensus management (attempted)	Direction is needed if consensus is not agreed
OK to challenge	Must be positive
Openness to new ideas	The Trust way is best
Inculcating internal service culture	Not owned by longer serving staff
No problems, only challenges and solutions	?
No threats, only opportunities	?

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, the Trust

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions	
There is no significant difference between the management style of men and women	

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Member of Opportunity 2000	Women are good managers
Special leave for caring responsibilities is important	Caring responsibilities matter
Flexible work arrangements are important	
Take full holiday entitlement	Care for staff

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, the Trust

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Caring responsibilities matter	Caring responsibilities get in the way of work
Equal opportunities	Women get preferential treatment (men)
	Age matters for managerial preferment
	Clinicians operate an old boys network
	Financial pressure may take precedence in appointments

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, the Trust

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Work till the job is done	Lead a balanced life

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - gender issues, the Trust

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Opportunity 2000	Gendered jobs

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, Leisure Services

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
Customers are important stakeholders
Elected members are important stakeholders
Rules are necessary for fairness

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Department exists to provide enjoyment	Work is fun
Open style of management	Free to contribute
Happy department	Moodiness not tolerated
Commitment to continuous improvement	It is OK to learn from mistakes
	Develop staff

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Leisure Services

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Participative management style (All one department/corporate (the gold standard department	Directive management style (some managers)
	Divisional fiefdoms
	Defend own patch
Caring for staff	Clients/contractors do not trust each other
	Do the hours necessary to do the job
Unbureaucratic	Watch your back
	Rules for leaving collections are necessary (libraries)

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Leisure Services

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Deal with issues	It is better to be liked
Deal with poor employees	Avoid washing dirty linen in public

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, Leisure Services

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Staff are valued	Council not always good at demonstrating this
	Job must be done regardless of pressure
	Newcomers and their ideas are welcome
	If nothing wrong, you are doing OK
	Pay attention to poor employees
Devolve responsibility and budgets	Cannot always trust staff
It is OK to make/learn from mistakes	Prove yourself (feel under fire)
Try to have harmonious department	Each division goes its own way
Management speak	Public sector values
Care for staff	Do not ignore prolonged absence

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, Leisure Services

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions	
Sexual banter is OK (not harassment)	
Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Harassment policy	Sexual and racial harassment are wrong
Equal opportunities	Harassment not tolerated
	Flexible hours/job share is acceptable
	More women managers are desirable
	It's OK to be gay
	Women managers benefit from special training

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Leisure Services

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Take leave and time off	Get the job done
Delegate	
Equal opportunities	Redeployment must take precedence over open recruitment
	Men are men and women are women
	Gendered stereotypes of divisions
	Gendered jobs
	Men only need to be told how to dress appropriately (Libraries)
	A specialist officer is not necessary for women
Men and women should be treated the same	Using your sexuality occasionally is helpful (woman)
	It is unacceptable to swear in front of women

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Leisure Services

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
N/a	

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - gender issues, Leisure Services

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Sexuality is not important	Only certain drinks are suitable for men to drink
	It is acceptable to assess women managers' appearance
All recruiters should have EO training	Councillors are competent to select without EO training
Equal opportunities	Politically correct language is not necessary
Lead a balanced life	For some jobs a supportive spouse/family is necessary

Tables of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, Finco

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
Customers matter
Informal, friendly climate
Dress code (except IT)

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
The company looks after its staff	The company believes that social and sports facilities are good for staff
Different companies within the group have different mission statements	Communication and co-operation between different companies in the group is not necessary

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Finco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Teamwork is important	Internally competitive
Appraisal is important	Appraisal is not nice
The company rewards excellent staff	Industry average pay is enough
The cultures of the merged companies are the same	The cultures of the merged companies are different
A disciplinary procedure is important	Do not bother to use the disciplinary procedure
	Do not wash dirty linen in public
Open, equitable, internal promotion system	Working long hours demonstrates commitment
	Ad hoc promotion system relying on sponsors and self promotion
The company believes in training	Training is not necessary
	Industry specific training is all that is necessary for specialist roles such as personnel
Managers should trust staff	Mistakes are sometimes acceptable and sometimes not
Behaviour should be professional	The powerful can behave badly
Time orientation is in the present and future (6-12 months)	It is sometimes helpful to think about the past

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Finco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Good managers have intellectual skills (men)	Good managers have reflective and intuitive skills (women)
Be assertive	Be diplomatic

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, Finco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Empowering staff	Managers believe in empowerment, the organisation does not
	Do not give difficult problems to senior managers
	The company believes that employees do not need explanation, training and support in order to be empowered
Managers are open and non-hierarchical (most)	Some managers do not believe in being open and

	non-hierarchical
Managers should be entrepreneurial	It may be unwise to risk making a mistake
	Supernormal profits mean that the company can relax

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, Finco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Develop women	Women managers can be in project teams
Good employer	Above average maternity pay

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Finco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Equal opportunities policy	Do not 'come out' if you are gay
	This is a male world (women)
	It is not necessary for the company to join Opportunity 2000
	Women are not suitable for top positions
	Some jobs are better done by men, and some better done by women
	Wives should support their husbands in their managerial careers
	Women are good in support roles and departments
	Using your sexuality can be useful (women)
	Mothers must prove their commitment
	Mobility may be necessary for promotion

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Finco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
The international business course is necessary for advancement	Women who attend the international business course may not advance
The company is better run by men, who dominate numerically	If women behave like men this will not help them

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - gender issues, Finco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
N/a	

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, Engco

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
Management style should be caring and directive
Good behaviour is important – polite and non-confrontational
Honesty is important

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Engco is a good employer	Sports and social facilities are good for staff
Engco is a caring employer	The company is humane in redundancy
It is important to tackle poor performers	Engco will fight Industrial Tribunal cases where there is a good case
Engco is committed to Investors in People	Developing staff is important

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Engco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Plan for the uncertain global future	The past is important
	Cautiousness is important
	Internal benchmarking is sufficient
Appraisal is important	Keep praise and criticism low key
R & D are important	Scientists are boffins
Engco is committed to the environment	Engco conquers nature
Engco needs well qualified employees	Career development is not important
The company dress code is important	The company dress code need not be followed by all managers
Engco is a caring company	It is sensible business practice to acquire and close other companies
Engco is one company	Individual operating companies can behave in an insular manner
It is important to tackle poor performers	Tackling poor performers is not a high priority

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Engco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Engineering is the most important skill for competitive advantage	Engco needs a variety of skills to be competitive
Engco is caring	Top managers are ruthless
It is OK to speak out	It is better to toe the party line
More extrovert people gain promotion	Don't make a fuss, don't stand out

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, Engco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
ISO 9000	It is important to sign up for these. It is not so important to follow through
ISO 14000	
Investors in People	
Health and Safety	Outsiders may have something to offer
Appoint from inside	

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, Engco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Equal opportunities	Mature, black and second chance trainees are welcome
	Allowances can be made for children in placing graduate trainees
	(short) career breaks are acceptable
Engco is a caring company	It is morally and legally right to have an Equal Opportunities policy
Opportunity 2000	Recruit women engineers

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Engco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Equal opportunities	Appoint the suitable local candidate
	Gendered job perceptions
	Job segregation by gender is acceptable
	It is OK to make fun of women managers
	It is not necessary for the company to help dual career couples
	Wives will follow husbands overseas
	Commitment is demonstrated by long hours
	Managerial positions are only open if you can achieve them at the right age
Opportunity 2000	It is important to sign up for this even if we are not sure what to do
	Sexist remarks are not banned
	No women are suitable for the Board
	No career development for receptionists and secretaries
	Part time work is discretionary
Engco should recruit female engineers	Engineering is a man's job

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Engco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Engco cares for staff and former staff	Engco does not care for the dependents of staff
Maternity leave is a right	Maternity leave is inconvenient (some managers)
Women managers are worthy of respect	Women managers are not as deserving as their male colleagues
	Women managers can be made fun of
Women are good at personnel	Personnel is not a good route to general management
Men should be assertive	Women should not be too assertive
Men can go from the bottom to the top of Engco without qualifications	Women need qualifications to advance
Men feel comfortable with each other	Women should not behave like men

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - gender issues, Engco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Recruit female engineers	Female engineers are token or exceptional
Networking is one way of supporting women managers	Engco need not support networking
	Women's networks are full of raving feminists

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, the Partnership

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
Serving clients is supreme
The Partnership has an empowering culture
The Partnership is open and friendly
People skills are important

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Investors in People	Training is important to be the best
Partnership staff are an intelligent elite	Poor performers cannot stay
One big team	Socialising is important
The partner reviews critical working papers only	The partner is a backstop

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, the Partnership

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
One big team	Support staff are not as valuable or important as fee earning staff
	Internal competition for advancement
Long term view	Short term focus on fee earning
Formal, meritocratic routes to advancement	Informal routes to advancement
Lead a balanced life	Complete work to a deadline, whatever it costs
Grow office	Take work from competitors

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, the Partnership

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Big egos are not acceptable	Self promotion is necessary for advancement
Ethical, honest	Must take others' clients to expand
Do the job at all costs	Make allowance for pressure on colleagues

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, the Partnership

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Learn from mistakes	Do not upset the client
	Do not make mistakes (some managers)
Rigorous selection procedure	Agencies and headhunting used when necessary
Appraisal is important	Appraisal is not necessary as often as indicated
	No news is good news
Lateral thinkers are needed	Conformity is expected
One big team	Different sub-cultures in different departments are acceptable
	Team spirit depends on partner and team
Disciplinary procedure	Self discipline is expected

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, the Partnership

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions	
N/a	

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Opportunity 2000	The Partnership should provide above average maternity leave

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, the Partnership

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Equal opportunities	Do not 'come out' if you are gay
	There is an age limit for reaching partnership
	Gendered jobs
	The Partnership assumes you are in a position to put the firm first
Meritocratic promotion system	Male networking may help your career
	Play golf and sport to get on (for a man)
	Fight your corner
	Carve a niche
Opportunity 2000	Come back soon after maternity leave
	It is perfectly acceptable that women on maternity leave may miss a pay rise
	Part time work is discretionary
	Part timers are less committed
	Career breaks are discretionary
	Secretaries and receptionists have jobs, not careers
Sexist behaviour is acceptable	
One big team/socialising	Sport and booze are good ways of socialising (men)
Gender neutral, professional	Gendered perceptions of departments
Open, honest	There is no significance in a number of young women leaving

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, the Partnership

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
It is acceptable for men to be angry	It is not acceptable for women to be angry
Having children is a sign of maturity for men	Having children is a sign of disloyalty for women
Men should not swear in front of women (men)	It's OK to swear (women)
The Partnership has Equal Opportunities	The Partnership is unfriendly to women

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - gender issues, the Partnership

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
N/a	

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – general issues, Mediaco

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
The bottom line is supreme, therefore targets are supreme
Creativity is necessary for competitive success
Wear appropriate dress for your role and task
It is OK to say it
Reward achievement
Celebrate success
The customer (individual, corporate) is important
Work the hours needed for the job
Bad/outrageous behaviour is accepted if you are good
In this business you need to pander to egos
Unsuitable employees will not be retained
Time orientation almost exclusively in present and near future
Decisive, partly consultative management style
Co-ordination is essential

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Socialising is part of the job	Having fun is important
	Work hard, play hard
	A happy office is productive and creative

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Mediaco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Official preference is given to someone already in the group when recruiting	The rule of internal preference can be ditched for business or personal reasons
Damage to company property will result in dismissal	Employees with a strong following among customers will not be dismissed
Employees can have lunch breaks and sick leave with discretion (managers)	Employees have a right to lunch breaks and sick leave (employees)
The parent company is a 'people' company	The cost of human resources must be contained and controlled

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – general issues, Mediaco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Profit is most important (holding company)	The product is most important (employees)

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - general issues, Mediaco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Internal communication is important	Internal communication is not as important as external (some managers)
	The company/group/industry grapevine is efficient
Mediaco is like a family	Mediaco is internally competitive

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that support each other – gender issues, Mediaco

Identical/similar/supportive espoused values and underlying assumptions
It is OK to be black, young or gay
It is OK to be a mother or single parent
Consensual relationships between same or opposite sex partners are acceptable

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Mediaco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Recruitment procedure	The industry grapevine is more efficient for some jobs
Equal opportunities	There are men's jobs and women's jobs in this industry
	There are no suitable women candidates for the group board

Table of underlying assumptions that conflict with each other – gender issues, Mediaco

Underlying assumptions	Underlying assumptions
Equal opportunities	Give the customers what they want
	Older people are not suitable for this industry

Table of espoused values and underlying assumptions that are ambiguously related - gender issues, Mediaco

Espoused values	Underlying assumptions
Equal opportunities	It is OK to use sex and sexuality to sell the product
The group is committed to the Disability Discrimination Act	Up to now the group has not thought about accommodating people with disabilities as employees

Appendix 15

Typology of managerial characteristics as at 27.11.96

1. personal qualities/characteristics

- what the person might have regardless of being a manager or not, rather like the old fashioned idea of traits

intellect, analytical ability

desire for knowledge

ambition, self motivation, self confidence

self promoting

pleasant

drive, dynamic,

proactive (3?)

diplomatic

committed

well organised

risk taker

extrovert

positive

negative versions of this are:

controlling one's emotions

ruthless (4?)

devious (4?)

2. Biographical details

gender

age

children

background in technical skills/profession

outside professional links

management qualification

management experience elsewhere

right opportunities

training

being allocated to projects

having a sponsor/mentor

golf (I think this could be a research project in its own right)

smart appearance

3. Managerial skills - what a manager needs on an everyday basis

interpersonal skills

communication (1?)

problem solving

leadership

open style

democratic/fair

handle meetings

make decisions

hold your own in debate

delegate

proactive (1?)

caring for staff

supportive

4. managerial outlook - what you need to get to the top

breadth of vision

corporate view

innovatory/receptive to innovation

political awareness

negative versions of this are:

playing the organisational politics

working long hours

Appendix 16

Typology of managerial characteristics rearranged as at 6.2.97

1. Managing Yourself - personal qualities/characteristics

- what the person might have regardless of being a manager or not, rather like the old fashioned idea of traits

intellect, analytical ability, desire for knowledge

ambition, self motivation, self confidence

drive, dynamic, energetic

self promoting

proactive, risk taker

pleasant

diplomatic

committed

well organised

extrovert

positive

negative versions of this are:

controlling one's emotions

ruthless (4?)

devious (4?)

2. Biographical data

personal gender

age

children, career break

background in technical skills/profession

training

management qualification

management experience elsewhere

outside professional links

right opportunities

being allocated to projects

having a sponsor/mentor
golf/sport
smart appearance (1?)

3. Managing the job - skills a manager needs on an everyday basis

interpersonal skills

communication (1?)

hold your own in debate

problem solving

leadership

handle meetings

make decisions

democratic/fair

open style

delegate

caring for staff

supportive

4. Managing the organisation/managerial outlook - what you need to get to the top

breadth of vision

corporate view

innovatory/receptive to innovation

political awareness

negative versions of this are:

playing the organisational politics

working long hours

Appendix 17

Typology of managerial characteristics as at 9.5.97, based on seven case studies

propositional = easily observable properties

sensory = how a person feels/perceives

evaluative = how a person evaluates

1. Managing Yourself - personal qualities/characteristics

what a person may have regardless of being a manager

Propositional

Sensory

Evaluative

loud
self confidence
presence

strong

extrovert/outgoing

ambition/self motivation
drive/dynamism
energetic/enthusiastic
self promoting
proactive/risk taker
assertive
individual

pleasant/personable/friendly
open
self knowledge
positive
sense of humour

diplomatic
committed/hardworking

conscientious/diligent
well organised/systematic

honest
loyal
tolerant
flexible

desire for knowledge
willingness to learn
creative

ruthless/streetwise
devious
controls emotions

client orientated

2. Biographical/factual data

Propositional

gender

age

race/ethnic origin

sexual orientation

children/career break

mobile

work long hours

intellect

analytical ability

technical skills

professional qualification

degree

management qualification

company career/person

track record

external management

experience

outside professional links

right opportunities

high profile assignments

overseas experience

sponsor/mentor

networks

socialises

right place at right time

development/training

golf/sport

men's formal/informal

organisation

professional image

smart appearance

Sensory

attractive

uses sexuality

Evaluative

knowledgeable

3. Managing the job - managerial skills and competences

Propositional

Sensory

Evaluative

interpersonal skills

communication

straight talker

democratic/fair

open style

approachable

gives staff credit

people person/caring for
staff

supportive

develop staff

coach/challenge

motivate staff

balance task/people skills

adaptive

problem solving

leadership/leads by

example

handle meetings

make decisions

using authority

handle discipline

delegate

prioritises/time

management

4. Managing the organisation - what you need to get to the top

Propositional

Sensory
charismatic

Evaluative
breadth of vision
corporate view/strategic

innovatory
open to change/innovation

politically aware/astute
playing the organisational
politics

Appendix 18

Typology of managerial characteristics as at 3.6.97

Managing Yourself - personal qualities/characteristics
 what a person may have regardless of being a manager

Values	Personality descriptors/attributes	Job related behaviour
Honest		Client orientated
Loyal		Professional image
Tolerant	ambition/self motivation	Smart appearance
Democratic/fair	drive/dynamism	Ruthless
people person/caring	Self confidence	streetwise
	Assertive	Devious
Attitudes	energetic/enthusiastic	Controls emotions
Positive	resilient	Uses sexuality
desire for knowledge		
willingness to learn	extrovert/outgoing	Career related
accepts responsibility/	strong	behaviour
blame	Individual	Networks
	presence	Socialises
Cognitive abilities and	charismatic	Golf/sport
understanding	loud	Men's formal/informal
		organisation
Intellect	proactive/risk taker	Plays the organisational
Analytical ability	flexible/adaptable	politics
Knowledgeable	open to change/	
Creative	innovation	
politically aware/astute	innovatory	
Breadth of vision		
Corporate view/	personable/friendly	
strategic	open	
	approachable	
	sense of humour	
	self knowledge	
	straight talker	
	diplomatic	
	committed/hardworking	
	reliable	
	Conscientious/diligent	
	well organised/	
	systematic	

2. Biographical/factual data

<p>Primary Differences</p> <p>Gender</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Woman - man <p>age</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - younger - older <p>race/ethnic origin</p> <p>sexual orientation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - heterosexual - gay <p>Physical attributes</p> <p>Attractiveness</p> <p>Height</p>	<p>Result of career/life choices/opportunities</p> <p>Degree</p> <p>Management qualification</p> <p>professional qualification</p> <p>development/training</p> <p>External management experience</p> <p>Outside professional links</p> <p>Company career/person</p> <p>Track record</p> <p>Right opportunities</p> <p>High profile assignments</p> <p>Overseas experience</p> <p>sponsor/mentor</p> <p>children/career break</p> <p>prepared to be mobile</p> <p>prepared to work long hours</p>
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3. Managing the job - managerial skills and competences

<p>Skills</p> <p>interpersonal skills</p> <p>communication</p> <p>problem solving</p> <p>handle discipline</p> <p>delegate</p> <p>prioritises/time management</p> <p>balance task/people skills</p> <p>technical skills</p>	<p>Behaviour</p> <p>Open style</p> <p>supportive</p> <p>gives staff credit</p> <p>develop staff</p> <p>coach/challenge</p> <p>motivate staff</p> <p>leadership/leads by example</p> <p>handle meetings</p> <p>make decisions</p> <p>using authority</p>
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Appendix 19: Informants' constructs of how one progresses in organisations												
rg1table												
Findings from first Repertory Grid exercise, using typology 4												
How do you progress in this organisation?												
	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of Informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Values			0			0			0			0
honest			0	2		2	1	1	2			0
loyal			0	1		1			0		1	1
tolerant			0			0			0			0
democratic/fair			0	2	1	3		1	1		1	1
people person		1	1		3	3	2	1	3	1		1
conscience			0			0		1	1			0
Total values mentioned	0	1	1	5	4	9	3	4	7	1	2	3
Attitudes												
positive	1		1	1	1	2	1		1	2		2
desire to learn		2	2	1		1	2		2	1		1
accept responsibility/blame			0			0		1	1	2		2
Total attitudes mentioned	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	1	4	5	0	5
Cognitive abilities/understg												
intelligence/intellect/bright	1	1	2	1		1		3	3	3	5	8
analytical/logical ability	1	2	3	3	1	4		3	3			0
knowledgeable			0			0	2	1	3	1		1
creative/innovative/ideas	2	4	6	2	2	4		2	2	0	3	3
politically aware/astute		1	1	3	2	5	1	2	3	4	1	5
breadth of vision		3	3	1	1	2		3	3	2	2	4
corporate view/strategic	1		1	3	2	5	1	4	5		1	1
Total cognition mentioned	5	11	16	13	8	21	4	18	22	10	12	22
Job related behaviour												
client orientated	1	1	2			0	1		1	1		1
professional image	1	1	2		1	1	2	2	4	1		1
smart appearance	1	1	2		2	2	4		4	1	1	2
ruthless		1	1			0		2	2	1	1	2
streetwise	1	1	2			0			0		1	1
devious		2	2			0			0			0
controls emotions		1	1			0			0			0
uses sexuality			0			0			0	1	1	2
comfortable with opposite sex			0		1	1			0			0
Total job related behaviour	4	8	12	0	4	4	7	4	11	5	4	9
Career related behaviour												
networks	1	1	2	1		1	2	1	3		2	2
socialises			0	1		1	1	2	3	1	1	2
self promotion	2		2	1		1		1	1	1	1	2
golf/sport	1		1			0		1	1	1		1
men's formal/informal orgn.	1		1			0			0	3	1	4
Total career related behaviour	5	1	6	3	0	3	3	5	8	6	5	11

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	Tot
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Values												
honest	1	1	2			0			0	4	2	6
loyal			0			0	2		2	3	1	4
tolerant			0			0			0	0	0	0
democratic/fair		1	1			0			0	2	4	6
people person	1	1	2			0	1		1	5	6	11
conscience			0			0			0	0	1	1
Total values mentioned	2	3	5	0	0	0	3	0	3	14	14	28
Attitudes												
positive		3	3		2	2	1	1	2	6	7	13
desire to learn			0	1		1	2		2	7	2	9
accept responsibility/blame	1		1		1	1		1	1	3	3	6
Total attitudes mentioned	1	3	4	1	3	4	3	2	5	16	12	28
Cognitive abilities/understg												
intelligence/intellect/bright	2	4	6	1	1	2	1	3	4	9	17	26
analytical/logical ability		1	1			0		1	1	4	8	12
knowledgeable			0			0			0	3	1	4
creative/innovative/ideas	2	1	3	3		3	1		1	10	12	22
politically aware/astute	2	2	4	1		1			0	11	8	19
breadth of vision	2	1	3			0	1		1	6	10	16
corporate view/strategic			0	1		1			0	6	7	13
Total cognition mentioned	8	9	17	6	1	7	3	4	7	49	63	112
Job related behaviour												
client orientated			0	1	1	2			0	4	2	6
professional image		2	2	2	1	3			0	6	7	13
smart appearance	2	1	3			0		2	2	8	7	15
ruthless	2	1	3	1		1	2		2	6	5	11
streetwise			0		1	1		1	1	1	4	5
devious			0			0	1		1	1	2	3
controls emotions		1	1			0			0	0	2	2
uses sexuality			0			0	1	2	3	2	3	5
comfortable with opposite sex	1		1			0			0	1	1	2
Total job related behaviour	5	5	10	4	3	7	4	5	9	29	33	62
Career related behaviour												
networks	1	1	2	2		2	1		1	8	5	13
socialises			0	1		1	1	2	3	5	5	10
self promotion	1	2	3		2	2	1		1	6	6	12
golf/sport			0	2	1	3			0	4	2	6
men's formal/informal orgn.			0	1		1			0	5	1	6
Total career related behaviour	2	3	5	6	3	9	3	2	5	28	19	47

	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Personality descriptors												
ambition/self motivation	5	6	11	2	3	5	5	3	8	4	2	6
career aspirations/goals			0			0	1		1			0
dynamism/drive	2		2	1	3	4	3	3	6		5	5
self confidence		6	6		3	3	2	2	4	3	2	5
assertive/tough		1	1	2	4	6	3	1	4	1	1	2
energetic/enthusiastic			0		1	1	2	1	3	1	1	2
resilient/handles stress		1	1	2	3	5	2		2	2		2
extrovert	1		1			0		1	1	1	2	3
strong			0		1	1	1	2	3			0
individual			0			0			0			0
presence			0			0			0			0
charismatic			0	1		1	1	1	2	1		1
loud			0	1	1	2	1		1			0
quiet			0				1		1			0
proactive/risk taker	3	2	5	3	1	4	1	1	2	6	1	7
flexible/adaptable	2	1	3			0	3	2	5			0
open to change	1		1	1	1	2	1	2	3		2	2
open to Innovation	1	1	2		1	1	2	2	4			0
personable/friendly			0	3	2	5	5	1	6		1	1
open/relaxed			0	4	3	7		1	1	1		1
approachable			0			0			0			0
collaborative			0	1		1			0			0
detached	1		1	1	1	2		2	2			0
sensitive	1		1			0		1	1	1		1
does not tolerate fools			0	1		1	1		1			0
sense of humour		3	3			0		1	1	1		1
not playing the fool	1	1	2			0			0			0
self knowledge			0			0			0			0
own person	1	1	2			0			0			0
yes person		1	1			0			0		1	1
straight talker		1	1			0	2	2	4	3		3
diplomatic		1	1	2	1	3		1	1	3	1	4
committed	1	1	2	2		2	2	3	5	1	1	2
hardworking			0			0	2	3	5	1	2	3
thorough			0			0			0			0
reliable/consistent	2		2			0	1	1	2			0
well organised/efficient	1		1	2	4	6	4	2	6		2	2
Total personality descriptors	23	27	50	29	33	62	46	39	85	30	24	54

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		Totals
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Personality descriptors												
ambition/self motivation	5	5	10		1	1	1	3	4	22	23	45
career aspirations/goals	1		1			0			0	2	0	2
dynamism/drive	3	1	4	2	1	3	2	3	5	13	16	29
self confidence	1		1	2	1	3		1	1	8	15	23
assertive/tough	1		1			0		1	1	7	8	15
energetic/enthusiastic	1		1		1	1	1	3	4	5	7	12
resilient/handles stress	2	3	5	6		6			0	14	7	21
extrovert	4	1	5		1	1	1	2	3	7	7	14
strong	1		1			0		1	1	2	4	6
individual			0			0	1		1	1	0	1
presence			0			0			0	0	0	0
charismatic	1	1	2			0			0	4	2	6
loud			0			0		1	1	2	2	4
quiet		1	1			0			0	1	1	2
proactive/risk taker		1	1	1		1	1	1	2	15	7	22
flexible/adaptable	3	1	4			0		1	1	8	5	13
open to change			0			0		1	1	3	6	9
open to innovation			0			0		2	2	3	6	9
personable/friendly	1	3	4	2	2	4	1	2	3	12	11	23
open/relaxed	1		1	1	1	2			0	7	5	12
approachable			0			0			0	0	0	0
collaborative		1	1			0			0	1	1	2
detached			0			0			0	2	3	5
sensitive			0			0			0	2	1	3
does not tolerate fools			0			0			0	2	0	2
sense of humour			0	2		2			0	3	4	7
not playing the fool			0	1		1			0	2	1	3
self knowledge			0			0	1		1	1	0	1
own person			0			0			0	1	1	2
yes person	1		1		1	1			0	1	3	4
straight talker			0			0	2		2	7	3	10
diplomatic	2		2	2		2	1		1	10	4	14
committed		2	2	2	3	5	2		2	10	10	20
hardworking	3		3	2	1	3	2	4	6	10	10	20
thorough			0			0			0	0	0	0
reliable/consistent		1	1	1		1	1	1	2	5	3	8
well organised/efficient	1		1	1		1		1	1	9	9	18
Total personality descriptors	32	21	53	25	13	38	17	28	45	202	185	387

	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Primary Differences												
gender - man	1	1	2			0			0		1	1
gender - woman		1	1	3	2	5			0	2		2
unsure			0		1	1	1		1			0
age - younger	2	1	3	2		2	2	2	4	1	1	2
age - older			0		1	1		1	1			0
race/ethnic origin			0			0			0			0
gay			0			0			0			0
class	1		1			0			0			0
Total mentioned primary diffs.	4	3	7	5	4	9	3	3	6	3	2	5
Physical attributes												
attractiveness	2		2			0			0			0
tall		1	1			0	1		1			0
short			0			0	1		1			0
not bearded			0			0		1	1	1		1
Total mentions physical atts.	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	0	1
Result of career/life choices/ opportunities												
-probably external to org												
degree/qualification	2	4	6	1		1	2	2	4	0	1	1
no qualification		0	0			0	1	1	2		1	1
professional qualification			0	1	1	2	1	1	2		1	1
external mgt. experience			0			0			0			0
outside professional links			0			0	1	2	3			0
newcomer	4	4	8			0	2	5	7			0
no children	1		1			0	1		1	1		1
no career break			0			0			0			0
supportive spouse			0			0			0	1		1
prepared to be mobile		1	1			0			0	1	2	3
prepared to work long hours		1	1			0	2	3	5	3	2	5
subtotal	7	10	17	2	1	3	10	14	24	6	7	13
probably internal to org.												
company career person		1	1	2		2	2	1	3			0
track record			0		2	2		2	2			0
specific functional background	1	3	4	5	5	10	2	2	4	1		1
business/mainstream exp.	3		3			0	1		1	3	1	4
breadth of experience	5	4	9	1	1	2		1	1		3	3
right opportunities	4	1	5	1		1		1	1	3		3
overseas experience/travel	2	1	3	1		1			0			0
sponsor/mentor	1		1			0			0	3	1	4
subtotal	16	10	26	10	8	18	5	7	12	10	5	15
Total mentions choices/opps.	23	20	43	12	9	21	15	21	36	16	12	28

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		Totals
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Primary Differences												
gender - man			0			0			0	1	2	3
gender - woman			0		0	0		1	1	5	4	9
unsure	0	1	1	0	1	1	0		0	1	3	4
age - younger			0			0			0	7	4	11
age - older			0			0			0	0	2	2
race/ethnic origin			0		1	1			0	0	1	1
gay			0			0	1		1	1	0	1
class	1		1			0			0	2	0	2
Total mentioned primary diffs.	1	1	2	0	2	2	1	1	2	17	16	33
Physical attributes												
attractiveness			0			0	1	1	2	3	1	4
tall			0			0			0	1	1	2
short			0			0			0	1	0	1
not bearded			0			0			0	1	1	2
Total mentions physical atts.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	6	3	9
Result of career/life choices/ opportunities												
-probably external to org												
degree/qualification	3	1	4	1	1	2	1	0	1	10	9	19
no qualification	1		1		1	1	1	1	2	3	4	7
professional qualification			0	1		1			0	3	3	6
external mgt. experience			0			0			0	0	0	0
outside professional links			0			0			0	1	2	3
newcomer			0		1	1			0	6	10	16
no children	2	1	3	1	3	4		1	1	6	5	11
no career break	1		1			0			0	1	0	1
supportive spouse			0	1		1			0	2	0	2
prepared to be mobile	1	1	2	1		1	1		1	4	4	8
prepared to work long hours	2		2	4	3	7	1		1	12	9	21
subtotal	10	3	13	9	9	18	4	2	6	48	46	94
company career person	3	1	4		2	2			0	7	5	12
track record	1	1	2		2	2	2		2	3	7	10
specific functional background	2	4	6		1	1		2	2	11	17	28
business/mainstream exp.			0			0		1	1	7	2	9
breadth of experience	2	2	4		1	1	1		1	9	12	21
right opportunities	6	1	7	1	2	3			0	15	5	20
overseas experience	3		3			0			0	6	1	7
sponsor/mentor			0		1	1			0	4	2	6
subtotal	17	9	26	1	9	10	3	3	6	62	51	113
Total mentions choices/opps.	27	12	39	10	18	28	7	5	12	110	97	207

	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Managerial skills												
interpersonal skills	2	2	4	3		3	5	1	6	3		3
communication	2		2	2	3	5	2		2	3		3
articulate	1	2	3		3	3		1	1	1		1
listener			0			0			0	1		1
Number of informants			0			0		1	1		1	1
common touch		1	1			0		1	1			0
bullshitter/PR		1	1			0	1	1	2			0
writing			0			0			0			0
problem solving	1	1	2	1	3	4	2	1	3	1		1
handle discipline			0			0			0			0
delegate			0		1	1	1		1			0
delivers			0	2		2		2	2	3	2	5
prioritises/time management		1	1		3	3	2	1	3	1		1
balance task/people skills			0			0			0			0
technical/non-technical skills	1	2	3			0	1	2	3	3	3	6
Total mentions mgl skills	7	10	17	8	13	21	14	11	25	16	6	22
Managerial behaviour												
open style			0	2		2			0			0
supportive	2		2			0	1		1			0
gives staff credit			0			0			0			0
develop staff			0	1		1		2	2			0
coach/challenge			0			0			0			0
motivate			0			0		2	2	1		1
team builder			0	1		1			0		2	2
leadership	2	1	3		2	2			0		1	1
handle meetings			0		2	2			0			0
make decisions	1	2	3	1	3	4	1	1	2	2		2
using authority			0	3	1	4	1		1		1	1
Total mentions mgl behaviour	5	3	8	8	8	16	3	5	8	3	4	7
Total mentions skills/behaviour	12	13	25	16	21	37	17	16	33	19	10	29
Summary Information												
	Westco		Trust		Leisure		Finco		Engco		Partner	
	no		no		no		no		no		no	
Total values mentioned	1	10	9	5=	7	7	3	9	5	6=	0	9=
Total attitudes mentioned	3	8=	3	8=	4	9	5	7=	4	8	4	7
Total cognition mentioned	16	4	21	3=	22	4	22	4	17	4	7	4=
Total personality descriptors	50	1	62	1	85	1	54	1	53	1	38	1
Total job related behaviour	12	5	4	7	11	5	9	6	10	5	7	4=
Total career related behaviour	6	7	3	8=	8	6	11	5	5	6=	9	3
Total mentioned primary diffs.	7	6	9	5=	6	8	5	7==	2	9	2	8
Total mentions physical atts.	3	8=	0	10	3	10	1	10	0	10	0	9=
Total mentions choices/opps.	43	2	21	3=	36	2	28	3	39	2	28	2
Total mentions mgl skills/behv.	25	3	37	2	33	3	29	2	27	3	5	6

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	Totals
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Managerial skills												
interpersonal skills	1	3	4		1	1	1		1	15	7	22
communication		3	3			0		2	2	9	8	17
articulate			0			0			0	2	6	8
listener		2	2			0	1		1	2	2	4
negotiation			0			0			0	0	2	2
common touch		1	1			0			0	0	3	3
bullshitter/PR			0			0			0	1	2	3
writing		2	2			0			0	0	2	2
problem solving			0			0		1	1	5	6	11
handle discipline			0			0			0	0	0	0
delegate			0			0			0	1	1	2
delivers	1	1	2			0	1	1	2	7	6	13
prioritises/time management		1	1			0	1	1	2	4	7	11
balance task/people skills			0			0			0	0	0	0
technical/non-technical skills	2	1	3	1	1	2	1		1	9	9	18
Total mentions mgl skills	4	14	18	1	2	3	5	5	10	55	61	116
Managerial behaviour												
open style			0			0		1	1	2	1	3
supportive			0			0		1	1	3	1	4
gives staff credit			0			0			0	0	0	0
develop staff			0			0		1	1	1	3	4
coach/challenge			0			0			0	0	0	0
motivate			0			0		1	1	1	3	4
teambuilder		1	1		1	1	1		1	2	4	6
leadership	2	1	3		1	1			0	4	6	10
handle meetings			0			0			0	0	2	2
make decisions		3	3			0			0	5	9	14
using authority		2	2			0			0	4	4	8
Total mentions mgl behaviour	2	7	9	0	2	2	1	4	5	22	33	55
Total mentions skills/behaviour	6	21	27	1	4	5	6	9	15	77	94	171
Summary Information												
	Media			All organisations						wmn	men	Total
	no									no	no	no
Total values mentioned	3	8		Total values mentioned						14	14	28
Total attitudes mentioned	5	6=		Total attitudes mentioned						16	12	28
Total cognition mentioned	7	5		Total cognition mentioned						49	63	112
Total personality descriptors	45	1		Total personality descriptors						202	185	387
Total job related behaviour	9	4		Total job related behaviour						29	33	62
Total career related behaviour	5	6=		Total career related behaviour						28	19	47
Total mentioned primary diffs.	2	9=		Total mentioned primary diffs.						17	16	33
Total mentions physical atts.	2	9=		Total mentions physical atts.						6	3	9
Total mentions choices/opps.	12	3		Total mentions choices/opps.						110	97	207
Total mentions mgl skills/behv.	15	2		Total mentions mgl skills/behv.						77	94	171

Appendix 20: Findings - informants' constructs of what makes a successful manager												
rg2table												
Results of second repertory grid exercise												
	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Values												
honest			0		1	1	1	1	2			0
loyal			0	1		1			0	2		2
tolerant			0			0			0			0
democratic			0	2		2	1	3	4	3	1	4
fair			0	2		2	3	2	5	1	1	2
people person			0	2		2	2	2	4	5	4	9
trustworthy			0	2	1	3	3		3	2	1	3
conscience			0			0			0			0
Total values mentioned	0	0	0	9	2	11	10	8	18	13	7	20
Attitudes												
positive			0			0	1		1		1	1
desire to learn			0			0			0	2		2
accept responsibility/blame			0	1	1	2	5	2	7	1	1	2
courage		1	1			0	1	1	2			0
non-sexist			0			0			0			0
Total attitudes mentioned	0	1	1	1	1	2	7	3	10	3	2	5
Cognitive abilities/understg												
intelligence/intellect/bright			0		1	1	2	1	3	2	1	3
common sense			0	3	1	4	1	1	2			0
analytical/logical ability		1	1	1	4	5		1	1	5	2	7
knowledgeable			0	2	3	5	2	2	4		2	2
creative/innovative/ideas		1	1		1	1		2	2	2	3	5
politically aware/astute			0		1	1		1	1	1	2	3
breadth of vision		1	1	3		3	1	3	4	1	1	2
corporate view/strategic		1	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Total cognition mentioned	0	4	4	10	13	23	7	13	20	12	13	25
Job related behaviour												
client orientated			0			0			0			0
professional image		1	1		1	1	2		2			0
smart appearance			0			0	2		2			0
ruthless			0			0			0			0
streetwise			0			0			0			0
devious			0			0			0			0
controls emotions			0			0			0			0
uses sexuality			0			0			0			0
comfortable with opposite sex			0			0			0			0
Total job related behaviour	0	1	1	0	1	1	4	0	4	0	0	0
Career related behaviour												
networks			0	2		2			0		1	1
socialises			0			0			0	1		1
self promotion			0			0		1	1			0
golf/sport			0			0			0			0
men's formal/informal orgn.			0			0			0			0
Total career related behaviour	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	2

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	Total
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Values												
honest	1		1			0			0	2	2	4
loyal			0			0			0	3	0	3
tolerant	1		1		1	1	1		1	2	1	3
democratic			0	2		2		1	1	8	5	13
fair	1	3	4		1	1	1		1	8	7	15
people person	3	1	4	3		3	2	1	3	17	8	25
trustworthy	2	1	3			0		1	1	9	4	13
conscience			0			0			0	0	0	0
Total values mentioned	8	5	13	5	2	7	4	3	7	49	27	76
Attitudes												
positive		2	2	1		1			0	2	3	5
desire to learn			0			0			0	2	0	2
accept responsibility/blame	1	1	2	2	1	3			0	10	6	16
courage			0			0			0	1	2	3
non-sexist	2		2			0			0	2	0	2
Total attitudes mentioned	3	3	6	3	1	4	0	0	0	17	11	28
Cognitive abilities/understg												
intelligence/intellect/bright	1	3	4	1		1	1		1	7	6	13
common sense	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	6
analytical/logical ability	1	2	3			0	1		1	8	10	18
knowledgeable	2	1	3			0		3	3	6	11	17
creative/innovative/ideas			0	1		1	2		2	5	7	12
politically aware/astute		1	1	1		1			0	2	5	7
breadth of vision			0			0	2	2	4	7	7	14
corporate view/strategic	1	1	2		1	1			0	4	9	13
Total cognition mentioned	5	8	13	3	1	4	6	5	11	43	57	100
Job related behaviour												
client orientated			0			0			0	0	0	0
professional image			0		1	1	1		1	3	3	6
smart appearance			0			0			0	2	0	2
ruthless		1	1			0			0	0	1	1
streetwise			0			0			0	0	0	0
devious	1		1			0			0	1	0	1
controls emotions			0			0			0	0	0	0
uses sexuality			0			0			0	0	0	0
comfortable with opposite sex			0			0			0	0	0	0
Total job related behaviour	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	6	4	10
Career related behaviour												
networks			0			0			0	2	1	3
socialises	1		1			0	1	1	2	3	1	4
self promotion			0	1		1			0	1	1	2
golf/sport			0			0			0	0	0	0
men's formal/informal orgn.			0			0			0	0	0	0
Total career related behaviour	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	6	3	9

	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Personality descriptors												
ambition/self motivation		1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4			0
career aspirations/goals			0			0			0			0
dynamism/drive			0	1	2	3			0		1	1
self confidence		1	1	1		1			0		1	1
assertive/tough			0	1		1	1		1			0
energetic/enthusiastic			0	1	2	3	2	1	3	1		1
resilient/handles stress			0		1	1		2	2			0
extrovert			0			0			0			0
strong			0			0			0	1		1
individual			0			0			0			0
presence			0			0	1		1			0
charismatic			0	1	1	2		1	1	1		1
loud			0			0			0			0
quiet			0			0			0			0
even tempered			0	1		1		1	1	1		1
modest			0			0		1	1			0
proactive/risk taker		1	1	2		2		1	1	1		1
flexible/adaptable			0		1	1	2	2	4		1	1
open to/manages change		1	1	3	1	4	1	1	2		2	2
open to innovation		1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2			0
personable/friendly			0	2	1	3	2		2			0
open/relaxed			0	1	3	4		1	1	1		1
approachable			0		1	1			0	1	2	3
collaborative			0			0			0			0
detached			0	1		1	4	2	6		1	1
sensitive/sympathetic			0	3	2	5		1	1	2	1	3
does not tolerate fools			0			0			0			0
sense of humour			0		1	1	1	2	3	1		1
not playing the fool			0			0			0			0
self knowledge/belief			0	2	2	4			0	2	1	3
own person			0	3		3			0		1	1
yes person			0			0			0			0
straight talker			0	2	1	3			0		1	1
diplomatic			0	2	1	3			0	1	1	2
committed			0	2	1	3	2	1	3	1	2	3
hardworking			0		1	1			0	1	2	3
thorough/conscientious		1	1			0		4	4			0
reliable/consistent			0	4	1	5	4	1	5		1	1
well organised/efficient			0	1	2	3	4	4	8	1		1
Total personality descriptors	0	6	6	36	27	63	27	29	56	16	18	34

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	Total
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Personality descriptors												
ambition/self motivation	1	1	2			0	1		1	5	5	10
career aspirations/goals			0			0			0	0	0	0
dynamism/drive		2	2			0			0	1	5	6
self confidence	1		1			0			0	2	2	4
assertive/tough	2		2	1		1	1		1	6	0	6
energetic/enthusiastic	1		1		1	1			0	5	4	9
resilient/handles stress		1	1			0		1	1	0	5	5
extrovert	1	1	2			0			0	1	1	2
strong	1		1			0		2	2	2	2	4
individual			0			0			0	0	0	0
presence			0		1	1			0	1	1	2
charismatic		2	2			0		1	1	2	5	7
loud			0			0			0	0	0	0
quiet			0			0			0	0	0	0
even tempered			0	1		1			0	3	1	4
modest			0			0			0	0	1	1
proactive/risk taker		1	1			0	1		1	4	3	7
flexible/adaptable	2		2			0		1	1	4	5	9
open to/manages change	1	1	2			0		2	2	5	8	13
open to innovation		1	1			0			0	2	4	6
personable/friendly	1		1		3	3	1	1	2	6	5	11
open/relaxed	1		1			0			0	3	4	7
approachable	3		3	2	2	4	1	1	2	7	6	13
collaborative			0	2		2			0	2	0	2
detached			0			0			0	5	3	8
sensitive/sympathetic			0		1	1	1	1	2	6	6	12
does not tolerate fools			0			0			0	0	0	0
sense of humour		1	1		1	1		1	1	2	6	8
not playing the fool			0			0			0	0	0	0
self knowledge/belief			0			0	1		1	5	3	8
own person	2	1	3	1		1	1		1	7	2	9
yes person			0			0			0	0	0	0
straight talker	2	1	3	1		1	1		1	6	3	9
diplomatic	2		2		1	1			0	5	3	8
committed			0	1	1	2	1		1	7	5	12
hardworking	1		1			0		1	1	2	4	6
thorough/conscientious		4	4			0	1		1	1	9	10
reliable/consistent	1	1	2	1	2	3			0	10	6	16
well organised/efficient	3	1	4			0	1	1	2	10	8	18
Total personality descriptors	26	19	45	10	13	23	12	13	25	127	125	252

	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Primary Differences												
gender - man			0			0			0			0
gender - woman			0			0			0			0
unsure			0	1	1	2			0			0
age - younger			0	1	1	2			0			0
age - older			0			0			0			0
race/ethnic origin			0			0			0			0
gay			0			0			0			0
class			0			0			0			0
Total mentioned primary diffs.	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physical attributes												
attractiveness			0			0			0			0
tall			0			0			0			0
short			0			0			0	2		2
not bearded			0			0			0			0
Total mentions physical atts.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Result of career/life choices/ opportunities												
-probably external to org												
degree/qualification			0		1	1			0			0
no qualification			0			0			0			0
professional qualification			0	2	1	3			0			0
external mgt. experience			0			0			0			0
outside professional links			0			0			0			0
newcomer			0			0			0			0
no children			0			0			0			0
no career break			0			0			0			0
supportive spouse			0			0			0			0
prepared to be mobile			0			0			0			0
prepared to work long hours			0			0		1	1			0
subtotal	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	1	1	0	0	0
probably internal to org.												
company career person			0	2		2			0	1		1
record of promotion			0	2	2	4			0			0
track record			0			0			0			0
specific functional background			0			0			0			0
business/mainstream exp.			0			0			0			0
breadth of experience			0		1	1		1	1	2	2	4
right opportunities			0			0			0			0
overseas experience/travel			0			0			0			0
sponsor/mentor			0			0			0			0
subtotal	0	0	0	4	3	7	0	1	1	3	2	5
Total mentions choices/opps.	0	0	0	6	5	11	0	2	2	3	2	5

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	Total
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Primary Differences												
gender - man			0			0			0	0	0	0
gender - woman			0			0			0	0	0	0
unsure			0			0			0	1	1	2
age - younger			0			0			0	1	1	2
age - older			0			0			0	0	0	0
race/ethnic origin			0			0			0	0	0	0
gay			0			0			0	0	0	0
class			0			0			0	0	0	0
Total mentioned primary diffs.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
Physical attributes												
attractiveness			0			0			0	0	0	0
tall			0			0	1		1	1	0	1
short			0			0			0	2	0	2
not bearded			0			0			0	0	0	0
Total mentions physical atts.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	3
Result of career/life choices/ opportunities												
-probably external to org												
degree/qualification			0			0	1		1	1	1	2
no qualification			0			0			0	0	0	0
professional qualification			0			0			0	2	1	3
external mgt. experience			0			0			0	0	0	0
outside professional links			0			0			0	0	0	0
newcomer			0			0			0	0	0	0
no children			0			0			0	0	0	0
no career break			0			0			0	0	0	0
supportive spouse			0			0			0	0	0	0
prepared to be mobile			0			0			0	0	0	0
prepared to work long hours			0			0			0	0	1	1
subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	3	6
probably internal to org.												
company career person			0			0	1		1	4	0	4
record of promotion			1			1			0	2	3	5
track record			0			0			0	0	0	0
specific functional background			0			0			0	0	0	0
business/mainstream exp.			0			0			0	0	0	0
breadth of experience	1		1			1			0	3	5	8
right opportunities			0			0			0	0	0	0
overseas experience			0			0			0	0	0	0
sponsor/mentor			0			0			0	0	0	0
subtotal	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	9	8	17
Total mentions choices/opps.	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	2	12	11	23

	Westco			Trust			Leisure			Finco		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot
Number of informants	6	6	12	6	6	12	7	7	14	6	6	12
Managerial skills												
interpersonal skills			0		2	2	2	2	4			0
person management skills		1	1	2		2	3	1	4	1	1	2
communication			0	2	2	4	1	4	5	4	3	7
articulate			0	1	1	2			0			0
listener			0	3	2	5	2	2	4	1	1	2
negotiation/persuasion			0	1		1	2	2	4		1	1
common touch			0		1	1			0	1		1
bullshitter/PR			0			0			0			0
writing			0			0			0			0
counselling/questioning			0			0			0			0
problem solving			0		2	2	3	2	5	1	2	3
provide resources			0			0			0		1	1
handle discipline/confrontation			0			0			0			0
delegate			0	3	1	4	3	1	4	3	2	5
delivers/effective			0	3	1	4	2	3	5	2	2	4
prioritises/time management		1	1	2	3	5	2		2	1		1
balance task/people skills			0			0			0		1	1
technical/non-technical skills			0			0	1		1			0
financial skills			0		1	1	1	2	3			0
planning/project skills		1	1			0		2	2		1	1
Total mentions mgl skills	0	3	3	17	16	33	22	21	43	14	15	29
Managerial behaviour												
open style/participative		1	1	1		1	1	2	3	4	4	8
easygoing			0	1	1	2			0		1	1
supportive			0	2	4	6	3		3	2	4	6
visible			0	2		2	1	1	2	1		1
gives staff credit			0			0		2	2	1		1
trusts staff			0			0		1	1		2	2
develop staff		1	1	3		3	4	1	5	1	3	4
tolerant of mistakes			0			0		1	1		1	1
coach			0	1		1		1	1		1	1
challenge			0			0			0	1	1	2
motivate			0	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	1	4
team builder			0		2	2	1	2	3	1		1
team player			0	3		3		1	1	1	1	2
leadership			0	1	2	3		1	1		2	2
handle meetings			0		1	1		1	1			0
make decisions			0		1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
using authority			0		1	1			0			0
respected			0			0			0	1	1	2
does not court popularity			0			0	1		1			0
Total mentions mgl behaviour	0	2	2	15	14	29	13	16	29	17	23	40
Total mentions skills/behaviour	0	5	5	32	30	62	35	37	72	31	38	69

	Engco			Partner			Media			Total		
	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	tot	wmn	men	Total
number of informants	6	6	12	4	4	8	3	4	7	38	39	77
Managerial skills												
interpersonal skills	1	2	3	2	2	4			0	5	8	13
person management skills	2	2	4		2	2	1	3	4	9	10	19
communication	1	3	4	1	5	6	1	4	5	10	21	31
articulate		1	1			0			0	1	2	3
listener	3	3	6			0	1	1	2	10	9	19
negotiation/persuasion			0			0			0	3	3	6
common touch	1		1			0		1	1	2	2	4
bullshitter/PR			0			0			0	0	0	0
writing			0			0			0	0	0	0
counselling/questioning		2	2			0			0	0	2	2
problem solving	1	3	4	1	1	2	2		2	8	10	18
provide resources			0	1		1	1		1	2	1	3
handle discipline/confrontation	1	3	4			0	1		1	2	3	5
delegate	2	2	4	3	3	6		2	2	14	11	25
delivers/effective	2	1	3	1	1	2	1		1	11	8	19
prioritises/time management	3	3	6	1	4	5			0	9	11	20
balance task/people skills			0	1		1			0	1	1	2
technical/non-technical skills	3		3	1	4	5			0	5	4	9
financial skills			0			0			0	1	3	4
planning/project skills	1	3	4	1	1	2			0	2	8	10
Total mentions mgl skills	21	28	49	13	23	36	8	11	19	95	117	212
Managerial behaviour												
open style/participative	2		2	2		2	1	3	4	11	10	21
easygoing			0			0		1	1	1	3	4
supportive	1	1	2	3	1	4	2	1	3	13	11	24
visible		3	3			0			0	4	4	8
gives staff credit	1	1	2	1	2	3		1	1	3	6	9
trusts staff												
develop staff	1		1	2		2	1		1	9	5	14
tolerant of mistakes	1		1	1		1			0	4	2	6
coach			0		2	2		1	1	2	2	4
challenge		1	1	2	1	3	1		1	1	5	6
motivate	1	4	5	1		1	2	1	3	9	9	18
team builder	2		2			0			0	7	5	12
team player		1	1	1		1			0	4	3	7
leadership	1	2	3	1		1	4		4	3	7	10
handle meetings			0			0			0	0	2	2
make decisions		1	1			0	1		1	3	4	7
using authority	1	1	2			0	2		2	3	2	5
respected	3	1	4			0			0	4	2	6
does not court popularity		1	1	1		1			0	2	1	3
Total mentions mgl behaviour	14	17	31	15	6	21	14	8	22	83	83	166
Total mentions skills/behaviour	35	45	80	28	29	57	22	19	41	178	200	378

Summary Information	Westco		Trust		Leisure		Finco		Engco		Partner	
	no		no		no		no		no		no	
Total values mentioned	0		11	4=	18	4	20	4	13	3=	7	3
Total attitudes mentioned	1		2	7=	10	5	5	5=	6	5	4	4=
Total cognition mentioned	4		23	3	20	3	25	3	13	3=	4	4=
Total job related behaviour	1		1	9	4	6	0		2	6=	1	6=
Total career related behaviour	0		2	7=	1	8	2	7=	1	8	1	6=
Total personality descriptors	6		63	1	56	2	34	2	45	2	23	2
Total mentioned primary diffs.	0		4	6	0		0		0		0	
Total mentions physical atts.	0		0		0		2	7=	0		0	
Total mentions choices/opps.	0		11	4=	2	7	5	5=	2	6=	1	6=
Total mentions mgl skills/behv.	5		62	2	72	1	69	1	80	1	57	1

Summary Information	Media		All organisations				wmn	men	Tot	
							no	no	no	
Total values mentioned	7	4	Total values mentioned				49	27	76	4
Total attitudes mentioned	0		Total attitudes mentioned				17	11	28	5
Total cognition mentioned	11	3	Total cognition mentioned				43	57	100	3
Total job related behaviour	1	7=	Total job related behaviour				6	4	10	7
Total career related behaviour	2	5=	Total career related behaviour				6	3	9	8
Total personality descriptors	25	2	Total personality descriptors				127	125	252	2
Total mentioned primary diffs.	0		Total mentioned primary diffs.				2	2	4	9
Total mentions physical atts.	1	7=	Total mentions physical atts.				3	0	3	10
Total mentions choices/opps.	2	5=	Total mentions choices/opps.				12	11	23	6
Total mentions mgl skills/behv.	41	1	Total mentions mgl skills/behv.				178	200	378	1

	Trust	Servco	Mediaco	Leisure Services	Partnership	Finco	Engco	Westco
General company information								
Annual report			✓		✓			
Mission statement	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓
Corporate literature							✓	
Structure chart	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
Customer charter	✓							
Info. for public/customers	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓
Charitable work					✓			

Key: ✓ = Written policy/information received
 (✓) = Policy/information indicated verbally
 ? = Policy/practice conflicting or ambiguous
 Blank = No Data.

Supportive spouse helpful				✓	✓	✓	✓	
Women on the board/equivalent	✓		✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
Women are officially invisible	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	?	✓	
Women managers cited as competent	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Women managers have an advantage	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓
OK to be black	✓		✓	✓	?	✗	?	✗
OK to be gay	?		✓	✓	✗	✗	?	?
OK to be a mother	✓		✓	✓	✗	✗	?	?
OK to be younger	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?
OK to be older	✓		✗	?	✗	✗	?	✗
OK to have a disability	✓		?	?				
Sexuality acknowledged			✓	✓	✗	✗		
Consensual relationships OK	✓		✓	✓	?	✓		✓
Comfortable relationships between men and women	✓		✓	?	?	✓	?	
Negative sexualised environment	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	?	?	✓
Sexual static	✗		?	✓	✗	✓	✗	?
Sexual harassment	✗		✗	?	✗	✗	✗	?
Women use their sexuality	✗	✗	✓	✓	?	✓	?	
Wide expression of emotion tolerated	✓	✓	✓	?	✗	✗	✗	✗

Key: ✓ = Behaviour present.
✗ = Behaviour not present.
? = Data conflicting or ambiguous.
Blank = No data.

Appendix 23: Summary of findings

	Trust	Servco	Media-co	Leisure Services	Partner-ship	Finco	Engco	Westco
participative./empowering management style	✓	✓	?	?	✓	?	✗	?
demands positive outlook	✓	✓	✓		✓			
good internal communication strategy	✓	✓	?		?		?	✗
acknowledge and reward	?	✓	✓	✗	?	✗	✗	✗
no conflict re mgt. style	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗
get rid of passengers	✓	✓	✓		✓			
conflict resolution diplomatic	✓			✗			✓	✗
appraisal important			✓		?	?	?	
successful/good managers similar	✓		?	✗	✗	✗	✗	?
Targets/profits important	✓	✓	✓	?	✓			
customer focus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✗	✗
long hours	✓		?	✓	✓	✓		✓
learn from mistakes	✓	✓	✓	?	✓			
not risk averse	✓	✓	✓	✓		✗	✗	✗
open to innovation	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	?		
preference to internal candidates	?		✓	✗	✓	✓	?	?
Business takes precedence over EO	?		✓	?	✓	✓	✓	?
sponsorship/networking important			✓		✓	✓	✓	