The Effects of Variations in Organisation Structure on the Career Patterns of Female Managers: A Comparative Study

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1975
The aim of this study is to compare the structure of a number of operating companies of a multi national conglomerate using the Pugh/Hickson et al. method of analysis and to investigate the impact of the structural variables so identified on the career patterns of female managers within these organisations. While it was discovered that many of the variables were constant across all organisations in the study, due to the influence of the Head Office of the conglomerate, considerable variations were found to exist, particularly on the scales of specialisation, formalisation and configuration.

In order to compensate for the emphasis of this structural analysis on the formal organisation, the career patterns of these women is further studied in the light of Tom Burns' concept of interacting social systems, and the impact of the formal, career and political systems is considered through the use of interviews with various employees of the different organisations. It was discovered that particular aspects of the political system, broadly defined, had a singularly important influence on these female managers.

This study includes a historical background to the field of women in management, and contrasts the role of female managers' in the industrial sector with the Civil Service.
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The advent of the Women's Liberation movement appears to have prompted the publication of numerous books and articles on the situation of the working woman. This study, however, attempts to go beyond the realms of polemic, and investigate the causes of the particular locations of women in one conglomerate, with specific reference to the interacting social systems in the organisations studied and the career patterns of female managers.

The novelty and dimensions of the problem of women at work depend on a number of factors, but particularly they depend on the social class of the woman and her marital status. The question of the novelty of the so-called "problem" is closely related to the matter of socio-economic class, for the working class woman, be she single or married, has been working for centuries without the aid of Germaine Greer or even of Emmeline Pankhurst, as the following passages indicate. The whole question of women working has essentially been focussed on the middle class woman. Furthermore, it has been socially accepted that the single middle-class woman might work, but it is only recently that the middle-class married woman has been presented with this opportunity. The following paragraphs, therefore, attempt to trace the historical development of "the working woman".

Prior to the industrial revolution for the bulk of the population, home and work were one and the same thing. Husbands, wives and children participated in the spinning and weaving industries, in farm work and in household chores. There was no conflict between the roles of worker, wife and mother as the three were acted out simultaneously. The process of industrialisation brought this phase to a close by separating the home and the work place. The exploitation of the working class was shared by men, women and children and the extreme poverty of that time meant that the question of whether or not a woman should work was irrelevant - the choice was never there. One might suggest, however, that any role conflict experienced by the working wife at this time was negligible, since the economic compulsion to work outweighed any other considerations.

This transition is effectively described in the following passage:
heat and cleansed it ready for the spinners in the factory. By this they could earn eight, ten or twelve shillings a week, and cook and attend to their families. But none are thus employed now; for all the cotton is broke up by a machine, turned by the steam engine, called a devil: so that the spinners' wives have no employment except they go to work in the factory all day at what can be done by children for a few shillings, four or five per week"(1).

E.P. Thompson talks about the trend from 1800 onwards for small masters to give way to larger employers and "for the majority of weavers, stockingers or nailmakers to become wage earning outworkers"(2). Similarly in the 1830s he states that "as domestic employments failed, so the cheap labour of women as field labourers grew"(3).

Between the years 1851 and 1881 adult women comprised ⅓ of the total working population, and of the women of working age in this period ⅕ was employed, the remainder being dependent on their husbands or families for support. Since it was only the relatively wealthy who could afford this support, it is reasonable to deduce that the majority of this ⅕ came from the poorer sectors of the working class. Indeed, the social implications of this situation had a considerable and adverse impact on the working class man, as Thompson indicates:

"In many mills, the spinners or the existing labour force had priority for their own children. Where it took place, it added to the weaver's shame his dependence upon his wife or children, the enforced humiliating reversal of traditional roles"(4).

Thus the industrial Revolution led to the separation of the roles of wife/mother and worker-a process which had a considerable impact on the situation of women in Britain. Therefore, the problem of whether or not to work is neither a new one, nor a particularly serious one for the working class woman. She has a history of work behind her and the motivation of economic necessity to encourage her to follow in the tradition of her ancestors.

(1) From an address to the Public of strike bound Manchester by "A Journeyman Cotton Spinner" in Black Dwarf 30/9/1818.
(3) Ibid. pg 245.
(4) Ibid. Pg 341.
The situation is a very different one, however, when the case of middle class women is considered. Checkland compares the situation of the middle-class woman with both that of the working class woman and the aristocrat:

"Though aristocratic women had always had a high degree of freedom, those of the middle class were closely bound"(1).

"Middle class women, in fact, in strong contrast to their working class sisters, had to fight for the right to work"(2).

In her book "Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution" Ivy Pinchbeck claims that the participation of middle-class women in the industrial sector in fact decreased with the Industrial Revolution.

"Except in the trades conducted chiefly by women, the tendency was for women's activity in the business sphere to decrease during the period of the industrial revolution...... when the home was separated from the business premises women ceased to take an active share in their husband's affairs and so lost the experience they would otherwise have gained"(3).

Elsewhere she claims that by 1840

"the effects of increased wealth and the exclusion of upper class women from industry and trade were easily discernable"(4).

Pinchbeck also quotes Margaretta Rendel, writing in her diary in 1853:

"A lady, to be such, must be a mere lady, and nothing else"(5).

Wanda Neff, too, contrasts the life style of the working class woman in the first half of the nineteenth century with that of the middle class woman:

(2) Ibid. Pg 321.
(4) Ibid. Pg 315.
(5) Ibid. Pg 315 from J.E. Butler - "Memoir of John Greg".
In an age when women of the lower ranks were notoriously overworked, not only the aristocracy, but both the upper and the lower middle classes protected the females of their households from any kind of useful employment" (1).

The ideology which supported the "idle women" during this period in history is essentially the same as the one which ties middle class wives to their homes in the 1970s, as Juliet Mitchell points out:

"First coming into prominence as a socially significant phenomenon in the 1870s, married women of leisure were a symptom and then a symbol of prosperity. An idle wife meant the family could afford to leave the hangover of feudal housewifery (eg the production of food) to others, first to servants, later to shops and gadgets, and certainly had no economic need for her to be in gainful outside employment. The full-time housewife still bears this significance: "There's no need for my wife to work", "I wouldn't let my wife work," are ways of saying "I'M doing alright in economic and job status" (2).

The middle class woman was thus caught in a double bind - they were not permitted to follow an occupation in their own right in the first instance, and secondly

"far from being wholly occupied with household concerns, middle class women now found that much of their customary work was slipping from their hands" (3).

It is interesting to note, however, that these middle class women were the first to experience a systematic control of fertility, as Banks' book "Prosperity and Parenthood" effectively demonstrates (4).

It was a combination of these factors which led to the emergence of the first feminist movement. The fight for emancipation was symptomatic of the imposed characteristics of the feminine role, the aims of the movement being the right to be educated, the right to vote - the right to work.

(3) Lee Holcombe Victorian Ladies at Work - Middle class working Women in England & Wales 1850-1914 David & Charles1973,Pg.4
"the Women's Rebellion - the outrageous suffragette Movement of 1910-14 - was above all things a movement from darkness into light, and from death into life.... it's unconscious motive was the rejection of a moribund, a respectable, a smothering security"(1).

He points out that to a great extent the cause of the movement lay in the incompatibility of the ideology and the population structure of the time. The middle class ideology prevalent at the turn of the century maintained that for a woman

"Her whole career lay in marriage, her security was founded in her husband's ability to provide for her, her ambition satisfied itself in helping him along his path through the world"(2).

Conversely, therefore

"the unmarried woman was in no such case. Everything was denied her. Education, business, love - all were impossible"(3).

Unfortunately, however, the surplus of women of marriageable age over men of a similar age meant that a great many middle class women did not marry, and did have everything denied them, for in 1891 there were 1,063 females to every 1000 males(4). Thus Holcombe can talk about ladies who had to work for their living as "a surplus and depressed minority, who were pitied and who pitied themselves"(5).

It was among this depressed minority, and the eloquent, monied and staunch middle-class married women who both supported their pitiful plight and envied it, that the first feminist movement emerged. While some contemporary feminist writers - eg. Greer and Mitchell - would claim that the movement was a failure, there can be little doubt but that it did open the doors for women to vote, to be educated and to enter occupations and professions formerly closed to them.

(2) Ibid. Pg 125.
(3) Ibid. Pg 126.
movement was essentially a middle class movement. As we have seen the right to work had never been denied to the working class woman. More than this, the core of the movement appeared to have been more than a little disdainful of the working class woman. The following quotation illustrates this attitude quite forcibly.

"Sylvia Pankhurst was not merely showing signs of independence, which was bad enough; she was actually down in the East End, in a disused baker's shop, in the middle of the Bow Road, with its stench of soap-works and tanneries and its pervading grime. Above the shop doorway she had inscribed in gilded Roman letters, VOTES FOR WOMEN: and her mother and sister could not but feel that this exalted legend was very much out of place in such surroundings, and then the people who would come in to see Sylvia! All sorts of women in sweated and obscure trades - rope-makers, waste rubber cleaners, biscuit packers, chicken pluckers, women who made wooden seeds for raspberry jam, all the uninspiring varieties of hopeless slum! Logic suggested that these, of all women, were most in need of the vote: but logic did not play much part in the inner conclaves of the WSPU"(1).

It is possible to argue, however, that the major steps towards women's advancement in business and the professions had been taken well before the emergence of the Suffragette movement; these major steps being the opening up of educational opportunity for women. Queens College for Women, for example, was established in 1848, with Bedford College, following two years later. The growth of civic universities in the 1880s greatly enlarged the opportunity for women to be educated, as they had no bars to the entrance of women. Women were permitted to hold the University of London degree from 1878. However, as Sanderson points out

"these developments, though of profound social significance had little impact on the relations of the universities and industry before 1914"(2).

For while a number of industrialists of the day gave financial help to the women's colleges, they appeared to expect no return in terms of qualified womanpower for their companies, did nothing to encourage these educated women to enter industry, and it is suggested that the majority of these early graduates almost invariably went into various forms of teaching.

(1) Dangerfield op. cit. Pg 167-7.
"The vast majority of the early women graduates went to staff the new high schools and the local authority girls secondary schools and indeed it would have been a disaster for the education system if they had gone into industry in any numbers at that time"(1).

It was around the start of the first world war in 1914 that the proportions of women graduates becoming involved with business and industry increased. Sanderson (2) traces the percentages of university women entering business over this period.

**TABLE I Changing percentage proportions of entry into business and industry of women graduates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>1870-1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1938</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.35</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newnham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperial College</th>
<th>1933-1939</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35.5</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>London School of Economics</th>
<th>1902-20</th>
<th>1920-32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Royal Holloway</th>
<th>pre-1914</th>
<th>1917-21</th>
<th>1922-6</th>
<th>1927-31</th>
<th>1932-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>London University</th>
<th>1930-1</th>
<th>1931-2</th>
<th>1932-3</th>
<th>1933-4</th>
<th>1934-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liverpool</th>
<th></th>
<th>1926-30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birmingham</th>
<th>pre-1914</th>
<th>1919-25</th>
<th>1925-31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newcastle</th>
<th>pre-1914</th>
<th>1919-24</th>
<th>1925-9</th>
<th>1930-4</th>
<th>1935-8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheffield</th>
<th>pre-1914</th>
<th>1921-5</th>
<th>1926-30</th>
<th>1931-9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The end of the first world war saw "an acceptance of highly educated women in industrial science and industrial welfare work, both new professions which were virtually created by war and which then became

(1) Michael Sanderson, op.cit. Pg 314.

(2) Ibid. Pg 330.
part of the changing pattern of employment in the inter-war years"(1). These women tended to retain their foothold after the war for a number of reasons, which fall into the categories of economic and demographic.

The major economic reasons relate to the existence of a post-war inflationary "boom" immediately after the war, which led to the reduction in value of savings. This was followed from 1921 by the depression, which, together with high rates of taxation, resulted in the majority of unmarried women being a virtually unbearable financial burden on their families. The demographic situation of the period meant that furthermore there were a considerable number of such unmarried women in Britain, since in 1921 there were only 915 males per 1000 females (2).

In 1921, for example, there were 1.7 million women of the marriageable ages of 20-24, while there were only 1.3 million men of the marriageable ages of 25-30. In the period of 1921-1931 one-third of the women in the 25-35 age group were unmarried, due to the effects of the war and the long term sex structure of the population.

Another important demographic factor which increased the likelihood that the unmarried woman would work was the fact that her parents were more likely to live beyond 70, and thus need to be supported financially in their old age. In 1931 the numbers of people in the 70-74 age bracket in England and Wales had doubled since 1901, and the majority of this support fell on the unmarried daughter (3).

Thus from the first world war onwards there can be seen a distinct upward trend in the employment of middle class women, although the woman who pursued a full-time career, apart from during the wartime conditions, was usually unmarried. This trend continued up to the second world war, during which period the division of labour by sex lost its significance, as women stepped in to fill the variety of posts vacated by the men who had gone to fight. Thus in 1938 of women aged between 15 and 64, 35.8% were working, while by 1951 this had risen to 41.3%.

(1) M. Sanderson op. cit. Pg 318-9
(2) Social Trends No. 3 1972 HMSO London Pg 59.
(3) See M. Sanderson op. cit. Pg 319.
of women, single and married, who work, and in the range of occupations they hold.

The rise of the second feminist movement in Britain in the late 1960s, however, reflects the view of many women that the success of the Suffragettes was limited. It is considered that, while women do have a "right to work" and are admitted into the majority of the professions, the pace at which these changes have been effected has been a gradual one, and also that there has not been an accompanying redefinition of the role of women in society. The difference in emphasis between these two movements is vividly described by Germaine Greer.

"The old suffragettes, who served their prison term and lived on through the years of gradual admission of women into professions they declined to follow, into parliamentary freedoms which they declined to exercise, into academies which they used more and more as shops where they could take out degrees while waiting to get married, have seen their spirit revive in younger women with a new and vital cast...\]

... The new emphasis is different. Then genteel middle-class ladies clamoured for reform, now ungenteel middle-class women are calling for revolution"(1).

However, there is one basic similarity between the two feminist movements - namely that they are both intrinsically middle class movements. For while Mitchell argues that

"It is far too crude to claim in an unqualified way that the Women's Liberation Movement is middle-class, but this is always done".

She has to admit that

"Its largest membership comes from the educated middle-class"(2).

The aims of the movement are many and varied, compared to the fairly specific aims of the Suffragettes, but are basically concerned with a reconsideration of the female role. Thus it is not surprising that this movement has an international following, compared with the more parochial nature of the first feminists.

(1) Germaine Greer - The Female Eunuch Paladin Books 1971 Pg.11
(2) Juliet Mitchell - Women's Estate Pelican Original 1971 Pg 36.
All the countries examined by women's liberation groups can point to the same areas and usually something like the same degrees of discrimination. Women in all countries constitute a little more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the labour force (the American figure of 42% is the highest). Their wages range from around $\frac{1}{2}$ to nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the equivalent male wages. The largest percentages of women workers are in all cases, in unskilled jobs"(1).

A more detailed account of some international comparisons may be found below.

This, then is the background leading up to the present situation for women who wish to work - a virtually unchanging pattern for the working class woman, but an outstanding change for the middle class woman. Let us now turn to the actual situation as it exists today.

In 1968, over half of the female population aged 16-64 were economically active - 52.6%, while 0.7% were unemployed, making an

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE II Level of Economic Activity in the Female Population aged 16-59</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working full time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working part time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporarily sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total &quot;active&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total &quot;inactive&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) J. Mitchell - op. cit. Pg 41.
"available" female workforce of 54.3%. Over 1/3 of the total workforce is composed of female labour (in 1971 there were 25,094 thousand people employed of which 9,275 thousand were females). Of this number nearly 1/3 are married, while on the other hand, nearly half (44.5%) of the married women are working.

The distribution of this population by age group, however, shows large differences between them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE GROUP</th>
<th>% of each age group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FULL TIME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL AGES</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economic activity is at its highest level among the 16-19 age bracket where 75.2% are active, falling sharply to a minimum among 25-29 year olds, and reaching a second peak in the 45-49 year olds. It is interesting to note the importance of part-time work for the 30-34 year old - 20.3% compared to 20.0% for full-time work, for this, coupled with the low percentage of economically active 25-29 year olds appears to indicate a trend towards leaving work for the birth of one's first child (the fertility rate being highest among 25-29 year old females) and working part-time while they are young, before returning to full-time employment at a later date.

(1) See Social Trends, published by HMSO-Vol.3 1972 Pg 71.
(2) from A Survey of Women's Employment - by Audrey Hunt Pg 24.
This apparent trend may obscure the facts, however, that nearly \( \frac{3}{4} \) of the working women are responsible for children under 16 years of age and that \( \frac{3}{4} \) are running a home in addition to doing their job. Moreover, one of the major findings of the Government Social Survey\(^{(1)}\) was that 29.5% of the women who were not working thought it "practically certain" that they would return at some time in the future. These figures indicate above all that there are no insurmountable barriers to married women, as well as single women, working and looking after a family at the same time, and many of the comments made by the interviewees emphasise this point.

However, a final point of interest in this survey of the available data on women's employment is that it has been frequently shown that more highly educated women are more likely to be economically active than less highly educated, and this statement holds true for both single and married women. Statistics on the British experience of this phenomenon are provided by Audrey Hunt's survey\(^{(2)}\).

Table IV shows that as the terminal education age increases, so does the percentage of women working. Moreover it also shows that highly educated women were more likely to be working full-time and less likely to be working part-time than were the less highly educated.

TABLE IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERMINAL EDUCATION AGE</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16-18</th>
<th>19+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working full-time</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working part-time</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, one can say that the resources directed to educating women are not the waste that some people tend to consider them to be.

\(^{(1)}\) Ibid. Pg 56
\(^{(2)}\) Ibid. Pg 27.
This point is emphasised still further in this survey when women who were not at that time working were asked whether they thought they would return to work in the future. The results are shown in Table V.

TABLE V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERMINAL EDUCATION AGE</th>
<th>14 &amp; Under</th>
<th>15 Under</th>
<th>Total 15 &amp; Under</th>
<th>16-18</th>
<th>19+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Practically certain</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlikely</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>54.2%</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking into account the age difference in the sample, there appears to be a greater likelihood of more highly educated women returning to work, even if they are not economically active at present.

These findings have been duplicated in other countries, too. Various American investigations have shown a definite correlation between the education received by a woman and her likelihood of being economically active after marriage, irrespective of husbands income.

French studies have revealed that in France, too, the activity rate of women is in direct relationship with their educational level. The investigation carried out by the Institute National d'Etudes Demographiques explained this trend by claiming that the more highly trained a woman is, the more, rewarding her career will be, in both financial and intellectual terms. Moreover, education, particularly in the higher levels, promotes the habit of seeking satisfaction in mentally stimulating work, and thus the likelihood of dissatisfaction.

(1) Ibid. Pg 56

*Women whose full time education finished at the age of 15 were younger on the average than those who finished at 14 or earlier.


It was discovered that in 1954, 41.4% of all women between the ages of 15 and 65 with elementary education were economically active, while among university graduates the activity rates ranged from 77.4% of those with Arts degrees to as high as 82.4% for medical and social workers.

These statistics are particularly relevant to this study, since the majority of the female management in the organisation studied had taken some form of higher education, and the major management training scheme recruits graduates only.

In the light of the figures presented, which suggest a large number of women in the work force, it is interesting to look into the level of work that they are doing. One of the findings of Hunt's survey of women's occupations was that "very few women were employed in senior jobs of any kind" (1). If senior job is taken to include working in a managerial capacity, it appears that one working woman in 20 occupies such a post, and in some industries this ratio can be as low as 1 in 100.

The interim report of the P.E.P. survey of women in "top jobs" demonstrates that as one goes further up the salary scale, the ratio of women to men decreases sharply. The whole work force is composed of roughly 2 men to every 1 woman. When one considers the salary bracket £2000 to £2999, however, this figure becomes 20 men to every one woman, while in the £5000+ bracket, the figure is 50 men to every 1 woman.

The Inland Revenue compiled a similar, more detailed, table (2) of the number of men and women with earnings at certain levels, as assessed for PAYE, as indicated in Table VI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAYE earnings</th>
<th>NUMBER - 1000s</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>Women — if the proportion of men:women were the same in these grades as in the work-force as a whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£5000+</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£3000 – £4999</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£2000 – £2999</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Audrey Hunt op. cit. Pg 8
(2) M.P. Fogarty, R. Rapoport and R. Rapoport — Women in Top Jobs - an interim report - P.E.P. 1967 Pg. 9
(3) Report of the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue 1964-5 Cmd 2876 - Table 55.
This uneven distribution of men to women in managerial grades is reflected in the ratio of men to women in the major business schools in Britain. By 1970, for example, 4 years after its opening, the London Business School had accepted only 3 women, 2 of whom have graduated.

Again if one looks at the proportion of women in professional associations, it becomes apparent that even in professions into which women have been formally accepted, such as Personnel Management, men rule the roost.

The Institute of Mechanical engineers - 0.2% of members are female.
Association of Certified & Corporate Accountants - 2.7% of members are female.
Institute of Personnel Management - 25% of members are female.
Society of Chiropodists - 54% of members are female.

The interesting feature about the chiropodists is that it is an occupation which can be practised at home and which allows considerable flexibility of hours, and which, therefore, is ideally suited to the married woman with children, which the other occupations mentioned above are not.

The experience of disproportionate numbers of men to women in senior positions is echoed in the United States. Orth & Jacobs(2) for example found that in 82% of the companies surveyed more than 10% of employees were female and in 31% more than 50% were female. However, in the same companies, 83% reported that less than 10% of their professional and technical workers were women, 82% reported less than 10% of their first line supervisors were women, and 51% reported that less than 10% of their managers were women.

Thus, there can be little doubt that women who work have a smaller chance of reaching senior positions than men have. Although this has discouraging affects on the women concerned, the implications

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of this phenomenon have never been considered particularly grave. Now, however, demographic trends are emerging which suggest that, in fact, a serious problem does exist in the underutilisation of "woman power".

The trend towards an ageing population is one cause of this dilemma. In 1911, 6.8% of the population was over the retirement age. By 1951, this figure had increased to 13.5%, and by 1971 it was 16.0%\(^{(1)}\). The implications of this trend for manpower planning is that more people in the retirement age groups are going to depend on less people in the economically active age group to support them, both directly and indirectly, through National Insurance contributions and so on. The implications of this trend are exacerbated, however, by the trend of increasing educational standards and the concomitant later entry to work among the younger section of the population\(^{(2)}\). In 1953-4 the total number of undergraduates and post-graduates at University alone was 80.6 thousand. By 1965-6 this had swelled to 168.6 thousand, and in 1968-9, the figure was 211.3 thousand. Thus we see a trend of considerable shrinkage of economically productive personnel who must support increasing numbers of the old and young sectors of the population.

While this trend demonstrates the necessity of utilising available manpower, it does not by itself point out why women should be allowed to, and even be encouraged to, develop their full potential, particularly in the sphere of management. However, as Estill Buchanan points out in her article in Personnel Administration, in the next few years the male population aged 35-45 will be at its lowest. Yet this is the age group which contains most managers. She estimates that the situation will arise where one million fewer men will be required to fill - if the present trend of staffing continues - more managerial positions. She concludes that one of the most satisfactory ways of solving the dilemma, without completely restructuring the management organisation, is to make fuller use of the management potential in women\(^{(3)}\).

\(^{(1)}\) Social Trends op.cit Pg 52.
\(^{(2)}\) Ibid. Pg 133.
Many features of this British experience are found elsewhere. In the United States of America, for example, 36% of the labour force in 1969 was female and approximately 41.6% of the female population worked. However, in 1967 only 3.3% of the fully employed women earned over ten thousand dollars per year, while the equivalent figure for males was 24.3%.

It is in the light of such evidence that Juliet Mitchell claims:

"The pattern for professional women in England is broadly the same as in other advanced capitalist countries. They either work in female dominated jobs (in which case, as in nursing and teaching, the whole profession is downgraded, its status equals a service, its money befits a 'charity') or they are such a minute percentage of the profession that they are isolated into the ironic category 'exceptional women'."

Doctor Sommerkorn and her colleagues make extensive comparisons between the situation of women at work in East and West Germany, with a number of significant results. They claim that in West Germany

"today the still commonly held picture of the ideal woman is suited neither to our industrial society which needs the help of women workers nor to a democratic form of government based on the political participation of all citizens, nor to the generally recognised fundamental principle of equality of opportunity in education."

In the twentieth century the percentage of the labour force made up of women has remained constant at around one third, and the percentage of working women aged between 14 and 65 compared to the total female population of the same age has remained around 46%, with the exception of the war years, as the following figures indicate:

(1) See Personnel Journal January 1973 Pg 33
   "New Answers to an Old Question: Woman's Place is in the What?"
   R.A. Stull.
(2) Juliet Mitchell - op.cit. Pg 129.
(3) Dr. I. Sommerkorn et al "Women's Careers: Experience from East and West Germany" P.E.P. 1970 Pg 14.
TABLE VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, while "the working woman in the Federal Republic has become an integral part of the structure of society"(2), there are a number of ways in which it appears that women are not treated as equals in this structure of society.

Sommerkorn claims for example that

"Girls are statistically under-represented in all types of secondary school in the Federal Republic, with the exception of schools which give their pupils some kind of vocational training in addition to general education or which are not a source for applicants for top jobs"(3).

This is reflected in the fact that in 1964 females formed only 29% of all University students, while they formed 65% of the students at vocational schools. Furthermore, it is important to realise that the attitudes of the girls themselves indicate that they do not consider their future in terms of a responsible, highly paid job.

Sommerkorn mentions for example that

"A regional survey conducted in Stuttgart among the girls taking the Abitur showed that the family remained the central pivot of their lives; they therefore based their choice of career only on the idea that they would eventually have a family, and 93% of them wanted to give up their jobs as soon as they had children"(4).

(1) I. Sommerkorn op.cit. Pg.20.
(2) Ibid. Pg 20.
(3) Ibid. Pg 12.
(4) Ibid. Pg 17.
One of the principal paths to leading positions in industry in West Germany is through holding a degree in economics, although a legal background is occasionally used. However the ratio of women to men economics graduates has remained constant since 1914 at 1:9, while the corresponding ratio for doctorates is 1:14. Furthermore 26.4% of female economics graduates turn to traditional female occupations, such as teaching (1).

While there is, therefore, a concentration of women workers in less responsible posts, figures for West Germany do reflect those of Audrey Hunt's Study, when she compares the 70% of women graduates who work with the average for all women who work of just over 40%. Sommerkorn claims that these figures indicate a direct correlation between level of education and pursuing a career - a relationship which is further supported by the Swedish evidence that every additional year of education increases the proportion of women who work by 7% (2).

East Germany, on the other hand, has one of the highest percentages of women in employment in Europe - 45% of the labour force is female and 78% of women of working age are in employment.

The equality and employment of women in East Germany rest on the ideological foundations of the Marxist-Leninist view of female emancipation as well as on the necessity derived from an acute labour shortage due to the Second World War and the flight of refugees after the war, the sex ratio at present being 119 females to 100 males. It is significant that "The advancement of women, particularly as regards professional qualifications, is a social and national responsibility", or so the Constitution claims. However

"The difference in the comparative qualifications of men and women and the still small number of women in leading positions is seen as a contradiction which it is essential to remedy as socialism develops (3).

(1) I. Sommerkorn op. cit. Pg 39.
(2) Ibid. Pg 23.
(3) Ibid. Pg 64.
The state appears to make an effort to provide day care for children, labour saving devices and other features which facilitate the married woman with children working, but when an analysis is made of the posts which these women fill, it appears that East Germany shares the situation which exists in the West, namely that their policies have had little success in actually getting women into top, or even moderately well-paid jobs. In the economy as a whole, for example, approximately 18% of all women workers rank as skilled workers while the equivalent figure for men is 70%. The average monthly income of full-time workers in East Germany in 1967 was 662 marks, but under 7% of women workers were paid above this, while just under 50% of male workers earned more. Similarly, while \( \frac{3}{4} \) of all workers with college training are women, only 9% of all senior positions in occupations are filled by women\(^{1}\).

Thus, the most striking common feature which emerges from this comparison between Britain, France, America and East and West Germany is that while women occupy a great many posts in a variety of occupations, they appear to be conspicuous by their absence from the senior positions.

It was in the light of the consideration of historical, demographic and comparative data that the decision was made to concentrate on the situation of women managers rather than on working women in general, for it was felt that, by so doing, the clarification of the constituent elements in their so-called "problem" could best be effected.

The next stage in the research programme was a methodological one, for while it was accepted that the basis of any such project must involve the observation of relevant facts, and their analysis in terms of the hypothesis in question, it was feared that insufficient knowledge exists as to the nature of such relevant facts, and that this could lead to the ignoring of certain vital aspects of the situation. It was decided, therefore, to use unstructured interviews with as many people as possible in order to isolate the relevant variables.

\(^{1}\) Ibid. Pg 74-76.
It was decided that a pilot study would be undertaken to test the assumptions and methodology of the investigation, and it is to this that we must now turn.
The Conceptual Framework of the Study

This study is primarily concerned with the interrelationship between the female manager's orientation to work and the impact of the organisational structure on her career pattern. In this chapter we are concerned with an overview of work that has been carried out on women as employees and organisational studies which have emphasised the impact of organisational structure on the employees of that organisation.

The most significant factor regarding the literature on women as employees is that there is very little published material concerning women as managerial employees. Epstein in her book "Woman's Place" reports:

"a recent survey by the Harvard Business Review states that there are so few women in management positions that "there is scarcely anything to study" (1)."

Some studies do exist, nevertheless, and these will be discussed later in this chapter. As far as the general field of women at work is concerned, the majority of studies appear to regard the employment of women as giving rise to problems, usually in terms of conflict between the woman's role of wife and worker. This standpoint has involved a range of questions which have underlying them the assumption that women employees are different from male employees in their motivations, overall orientations to work and so on.

Twenty years have passed since Caplow wrote his "Sociology of Work" (2) in which he explained women's occupational inferiority to men. He based this explanation firstly on the peculiarities of women's employment patterns, among which he numbered their discontinuous careers, their role as secondary breadwinners, their relative immobility in geographical terms and so on. The second and allied aspect of this explanation was his consideration of two cultural norms:

that it is disgraceful for a man to be directly subordinated to a woman, except in family or sexual relationships.

(2) that intimate groups, except those based on family or sexual ties, should be composed of either sex, but never of both (1)

Consequently, Caplow argues that

"a woman's job must be one which does not involve the subordination of adult males, or any close participation with male workers doing parallel jobs". (2)

Thus we have very carefully laid out for us the belief that women as employees are a different species from men as employees, and that a woman should never have males subordinate to her. Caplow does, in fact, concede at one point that

"an occasional highly gifted woman may be used in an authoritative position, where the number of her direct subordinates is small and where the nature of the job requires little co-operation with executives on the same level".

It is interesting, twenty years later, to look at the occupational roles of the women in the study in the light of Caplow’s "conditions". It is also enlightening to consider a point that he makes at the beginning of the chapter.

"It is unlikely that the proportion of women employed will sustain any marked long-term increase so long as the contemporary family structure remains intact, and the role of housewife continues to be the leading role for adult women" (3).

It appears that these changes are in fact occurring. Sullerot points out the impact of changes in fertility patterns on women’s employment:

"When the youngest child starts school the mother has forty years of her life before her.... This is a truly revolutionary change, in the past woman has always been defined by reference to her maternal role, yet at present the years devoted to maternity hardly add up to a seventh of her total life span. From now on the longest phase of her life will be that which follows the completion of her family" (4).

(1) Ibid. Pg 238.
(2) Ibid. Pg 245.
(3) Ibid. Pg 234.
Audrey Hunt (1), too, has indicated that the increase in numbers of females undergoing higher education may lead to more women working continuously, or with only a short break for maternity.

Yet, even with these changes in view, much of the literature is focussed on the "women are different" or "women have problems" perspective which Caplow fostered. Hence in 1969, Morgan wrote

"The work experiences of women are different from those of men. This difference springs, in the case of women, from the expectation that the primary focus of her interest is in the domestic sphere. Thus even for the working wife or mother there is a decision whether or not to go out to work. For the majority of working men, no such point of decision arises"(2)

Similarly Epstein writes:

"The image of the perfect woman, the values and norms revolving about the female role, and the very participation of women in the professions are contradictory, ambiguous and sources of personal strain"(3).

While this problem centred orientation is hardly an unrealistic one, for indeed, writers such as Klein (4), Myrdal and Klein (5), Jephcott (6) and Hunt (7) appear to have a very realistic outlook on this issue, it is possible to suggest that their approach is one which presents a limited perspective, one which assumes that women workers have a single set of attitudes towards and experiences of work. It is hoped that this study will indicate the variety of such attitudes and experiences among women of similar occupational and social statuses, and it will be proposed that there are as wide variations within the sexes as between them.

(1) Audrey Hunt, A Survey of Women's Employment HMSO 1968 Pg 27
(3) Cynthia Fuchs Epstein - Women's Place University of California Press 1971 Pg
(5) A. Myrdal & V. Klein Women's Two Roles - Routledge & Kegan Paul 1956.
(7) Audrey Hunt A Survey of Women's Employment op.cit.
Top Jobs”. The studies show no basic difference between the level and style of work performance of the women who in present conditions have reached top jobs and those men in similar positions... the abilities and interests of men and women overlap considerably"(1).

"Women in Top Jobs" is one of the few published studies in Britain which is concerned with women as managers, with Margaret Cussler's book, The Woman Executive(2) as its American counterpart, although the latter preceded it by over a decade. The study examines the position of senior female employees in two large companies, the BBC and the Civil Service, and does admirable work in presenting women managers as a worthwhile area of study. However, the perspective chosen by Fogarty et al was that of role and role strain in women managers, so to an extent they were once again taking the problem centred approach to the question of women's employment. Thus while comparative data from "Women in Top Jobs" will be used in this report, the assumptions, and indeed the primary concern of the two studies differ.

One of the major areas of difference between the two studies is that the present one attempts to link the career pattern of the women managers with the structure and nature of the organisation for which they work, and it is to this topic that we now turn.

That organisations vary in structure is undeniable, as the different typologies of Blau & Scott(3), Etzioni(4), Parsons(5) and many others indicate. Nor has there been any lack of study concerning the cause of these differences. Joan Woodward(6), Tom Burns and G.M. Stalker(7) are two notable works in this field. Yet when looking at the impact of the structure of an organisation on the people working for

(6) Joan Woodward. Industrial Organisations - Oxford University Press 196
"The determination of an organisation's structure appears to be quite an easy task when the organisation has a fully developed organisational chart showing line of authority and communication, and a manual of procedures and rules specifying the extent to which positions and tasks are predefined for the incumbents. This ease is only possible, however, when one can be sure that these officially described relationships are in fact allowed in the day-to-day operations of the organisation - and as everyone knows, this is not usually the case. Deviations of some magnitude almost inevitably occur in any type of organisation. This means that for the member of the organisation, experience must supplement official statement; while for the analyst, supplementary data must be added to official statements"(1).

It was in recognition of this very point that particular attention was paid in this study to both the method of describing the organisation's structure and to obtaining the supplementary data to which Hall refers.

The method of describing organisational structure and the resultant theories of organisation has varied considerably in the literature. One perspective which originated with Max Weber's(2) work tended to view organisations as structured in such a way as to most rationally achieve the clearly defined goals. Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy has the distinct underlying assumption that the goals and purposes of the organisation are explicitly stated and that the procedures, regulations and division of labour within that organisation emanate directly from this overriding aim of rational goal attainment. While one can question both the clarity of goal specification in an organisation, and that Weber's bureaucratic type of organisation structure is in fact the most efficient way of achieving those goals, there are a number of characteristics of this ideal type of bureaucracy which are of significance to this study. Weber emphasises, for example, that selection and promotion procedures in a bureaucracy are typically based on technical qualifications. Intuitively, therefore, one might suggest that women stand a better chance in "bureaucratic" selection and promotion procedures, since, if they have similar technical qualifications to men, they will

be judged on these achieved characteristics rather than on ascribed ones. Similarly, the ideal type stresses that impersonality of relations is the order of the day, that standardisation of procedures ensures continuity in the position, should the incumbent of that position change. All of these features of Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy would appear to overcome the disadvantages in employing women which Caplow raised. The adverse attitudes should be compensated by the impersonality of relations and emphasis on technical qualifications, while the effect of women's assumed higher turnover rate would be lessened by the emphasis on the role rather than the incumbent and by the standardisation of procedures. Thus, one might suggest that women would be more successful in a very bureaucratic type of organisation structure than in a more flexible one. However, Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy does not exist in practice, as Hage has shown, and as Weber himself indicated. One of the main factors accounting for this, apart from the fact that Weber was concerned with a theoretical concept and not an empirically based theory, is that this type of perspective on organisations is primarily a "closed-system" one. It ignores the interaction of the organisation and its environment - the fact that individuals within an organisation are only partially socialised by that organisation and in the main socialised by the society of which they are members. Thus factors influencing women's employment, such as attitudes and perceptions, women's orientation to work and so on can never be fully examined without reference to an open system approach to organisation structure.

One example of this open systems approach is that of Michel Crozier's analysis of two French organisations. He indicates here the extent to which the environment in general and the culture in particular which surround an organisation can have a considerable influence on its goals, structure and processes.

The investigation of the impact of environmental influences on organisational structure, and in turn the impact of structure on women managers is the central theme of this study. What evidence is there to suggest that organisational structure can affect the career patterns of employees?

Mouzelis's characterisation of the modern large-scale industrial organisation forms the basis of this evidence. He considers that fundamental to the structure of such organisations is the all pervasive elements of bureaucratisation, by which is meant

"the existence of a system of control based on rational rules, rules which try to regulate the whole organisational structure and process on the basis of technical knowledge and with the aims of maximum efficiency".(1).

A number of sociologists have indicated that this system of control can have far reaching implications for employees.

Burns and Stalker for example have indicated the influence of change in the case of older employees:

"To be an older man in any industrial concern used to mean the possession of local knowledge of the organisation,... which made him more valuable, more knowledgeable, more fitted for seniority than younger men. Given reasonable equivalence in intelligence and qualifications, to be older meant that one was more effective and better qualified. But in the new situation of technical and commercial change, this basis of authority has become invalidated(2)."

Gouldner is more specific about the mechanism by which structural and personnel variables interact:

"Bureaucratic rules fulfil typically different functions for different ranks in the industrial bureaucracy. It would seem, in fact that under certain conditions it is necessary and normal for the rules to be such as to make prediction difficult or impossible for lower strata personnel".(3).

This emphasis on impersonality occurs frequently in descriptions of a "pure" form of bureaucracy. Weber for example talks about

"the dominance of a spirit of formalistic impersonality"(4).


One of the manifestations of this apparent concern with impersonality is in the selection and promotion of staff so that the individual with the best technical qualifications would be appointed, regardless of sex. The fact that this does not occur, as will be demonstrated in the course of this study, can only suggest that informal pressures perform a vital role in the functioning of organisations, and this must be considered alongside the pure form of bureaucracy according to the Weberian typology.

Michel Crozier, in fact, points out the existence of these informal pressures and concludes that there are two main reasons why modern bureaucratisation has not developed along the lines that Weber predicted.

"Two general factors, in our opinion, influence the evolution of organisational patterns in modern society in a way Weber did not foresee. These factors... are (1) the constant progress in the techniques of prediction and organisation and (2) the growing sophistication of the individual in an increasingly complex culture. Organisational progress has made it possible to be more tolerant of the personal needs and idiosyncrasies of individual members"(1).

He thus suggests that the individual is now more aware of the implications of bureaucratisation, and is thus more able to deal with its depersonalising influences. Moreover, he considers that the lifelong commitment to the organisation which Weber hinted at was not a sine qua non of career progress.

"Organisations will be content with a more temporary loyalty from their members, even at the highest echelons, and individuals will not press the organisation to protect them by using the rules in the most binding way. With pressures from the top and counter pressures from below decreasing, rigidity.... will tend to diminish"(2).

Crozier, therefore, can see little excuse for the organisation to deny its ability to treat its employees flexibly, but this

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(2) Ibid. Pg 297.
In general, there was little provision for part-time work, flexibility of hours, retraining, and the other factors which would facilitate the career development of the women managers, and thus in the case of married women, especially those with children, this "temporary loyalty" Crozier mentions is virtually a necessity.

Thus, while the concept of bureaucratisation is seen as fundamental to the situation of women managers, it is also appreciated that Weber's "ideal type" of bureaucracy is not necessarily applicable in the conglomerate under study. The importance of external conditions on organisation structure must therefore be realised, and they are emphasised by many writers on organisation theory. Sammuel and Mannheim state, for example that

"The Bureaucratic structure of the organisation results from constraints within which the organisation functions; the combination of goals, resources, size, ownership, age, etc., which create a context which determines the emergence of a specific bureaucratic structure"(1).

A study of this "Specific bureaucratic structure" implies therefore the necessity to undertake a systematic attempt to relate behaviour to contextual and organisational settings. It was decided, that the use of the Pugh, Hickson et al.² conceptual scheme for organisational analysis would be the most effective means of describing the organisation structure. Their typology involves a comparative study of different parts of organisations, analysing the structure in terms of a set of variables. These variables are specialisation, configuration, standardisation, centralisation, formalisation and flexibility.

Specialisation is concerned with the division of labour within the organisation.

Configuration is concerned with the role structure, and thus the shape of the organisation.

(1) Sammuel and Mannheim - "A Multi-dimensional approach toward a typology of bureaucracy" ASQ 1970 Pg 216.

(2) Pugh Hickson et al - "A Conceptual Scheme for Organisational Analysis" ASQ - Vol.8 No.3 1963.
Standardisation concerns the degree to which the organisation prescribes rules or definitions to cover all procedures, qualifications for office, rewards for role performance and so on.

Centralisation concerns the locus of authority to make decisions affecting the organisation.

Formalisation concerns the extent to which communications and procedures in an organisation are written down and filed.

Flexibility concerns changes in the organisation structure.

The uniformity of the scales measuring these variables has the advantage of enabling profiles characteristic of the structure of various organisations to be constructed, thus permitting the direct comparison of the structural features of such organisations.

Having described the organisation structure, it would be necessary to link this with the actual career patterns of the female managers. In order to achieve this Burn's concept of the plurality of social systems was used.

In his paper "On the Plurality of Social Systems"(1), Tom Burns writes:

"Complex societies such as our own depend for their survival on maintaining a flow of the best qualified people to the top places in Society where the best talents are most needed. To do this, a complex system of educational and occupational promotions open to merit has been set up. But beyond this it is essential for every member of the society to enter the race and compete as best he can and to regard success in these terms as one of the highest personal goals in his life".

The conceptual framework of this study is derived from this statement in the following way:

1. It is apparent that "every member of the society" is not entering the promotion race, either because they cannot do so or will not do so. It is our intention to look at the woman manager as a possible "special case" among the

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economically active section of the population in order to establish

a) Whether or not she is involved in the promotion race
b) In cases where she is not, what are the factors which affect this situation.

2. It will be suggested that structural features within the organisation play an important part in the women manager's desire and ability to compete - and her success in competing - in this promotional race. The Pugh/Hickson analysis will be employed here to compare the structural features of three organisations in an attempt to compare the relative effects of these features on the career patterns of the female managers.

3. One of the major disadvantages of the Pugh/Hickson analysis is that it concentrates on the formal system within the organisation. As they themselves state:

"The project deals with what is officially expected should be done, and what in practice ALLOWED to be done: it does not include what is ACTUALLY done, that is, what "really" happens in the sense of behaviour beyond that instituted in organisational forms"(1).

This aspect of the work of Pugh/Hickson et al is particularly important if one is concerned with the effects of both the formal system and the career system, the nature of which is described by Burns thus:

"All social milieux in which such competition occurs have codes of rules, explicit and implicit, which distinguish illegitimate behaviour from legitimate, and apply sanctions of some kind to transgressors, .... The existence of such codes, and of such definitions, bespeaks the presence of a specific class of acts and relationships, with its own normative rules governing relationships - i.e. of a social system, existing in juxtaposition with the social system represented by the formal organisation, with its own norms, relationships and acts"(2).

(1) Pugh, Hickson et al "Dimensions of Organisation Structure" ASQ Vol.13 No. 1 1968 Pg 69.
(2) Tom Burns op.cit. Pg 233.
It was to compensate for this bias in the information gathered, and to examine factors affecting the career system that a series of interviews was carried out among women managers. This additionally served to test Burns' contention that:

"the rules of the game being played in the two social systems I have already mentioned - the formal organisation and the career system - may themselves be the subject of conflict"(1).

Burns moreover points out the existence of a third system affecting the organisation and its members - the political system. He states that decisions concerning "policy matters" normally involve the formation of groups or sections concerned with promoting one or other course of action, and that these groupings tend to persist, since

"the individual may be, and usually is, concerned to extend the control he has over his own situation and prospects, to increase the value of the resource which he represents to the organisation"(2).

These "formations" are the hub of internal politics in the organisation, and as such, their influence on the career prospects of our sample was examined.

Thus, in general terms, it is possible to regard the aim of this study as being to examine the interacting social systems within a number of work organisations through the career pattern of women managers. The formal system is examined through the use of the Pugh/Hickson methods of analysis, while the career and political systems are examined through a series of interviews with relevant personnel.

The establishment of this conceptual framework leads to methodological considerations. The formal system, as indicated above, was analysed through the Pugh/Hickson typology in the following way:

(1) Ibid Pg 233.
(2) Ibid Pg 233.
Firstly, given the nature of the conglomerate, it was discovered that some of the scales would be unnecessary, since the scores would be constant due to the centralising influence of the Head Office. It was found, for example that the centralisation scale need not be administered to all the organisations, since Head Office decrees at what level certain decisions should be made and that there was little variability between the few cases in which it was tested. It was decided eventually that the scales of specialisation, configuration and formalisation were the only ones of direct relevance to this study.

Secondly, a scale, similar to that of Pugh et al. was constructed in each case, and the resulting questionnaire was administered to a senior member of the Company's staff during an interview.

Finally, the answers were coded and a number of scores for each scale obtained, on the basis of which the companies were compared.

An organisational profile having been established by this method, the next step was to employ an unstructured interview technique in order to investigate the interaction of the career and political systems. An outline of areas covered in the interviews may be found in Appendix A.

It is important to note, however, that a pilot study was undertaken before this methodology was finally decided upon, and we will not consider this part of the study.
The Pilot Study

The pretesting stage or pilot study of any survey has various functions, many of which are determined specifically by the nature of the survey itself. A number of functions tend to be generally applicable, however, as does the claim that, in many respects, the pilot work to a study resembles the dress rehearsal in a theatrical production—a trial run before the actual occasion when the techniques and assumptions of the investigation are put into operation. The most common functions fulfilled by this stage in the investigation are:

1. To test the suitability of the methodology, such as the relative merits of a structured interview compared to a questionnaire.

2. To test the adequacy of the sampling frame, as in the case of testing whether or not a random sample taken from the electoral roll adequately represents the population.

3. To test the phraseology of questions, particularly in the case of a questionnaire, when there is little chance of "comeback" on the respondents should a question be misunderstood.

4. To test the variability of the population to be surveyed. This is of particular importance in the determination of sample size, as the larger the variability, the larger the sample size must be.

5. To test the feasibility of pursuing certain objectives of the study by ascertaining the possibility of obtaining accurate and relevant information.

Apart from these general points, there are others which have particular importance in commercial research organisations, such as the probable cost of the final study, the efficiency of the organisation of, and interaction between, field workers and office staff, clarity of instructions to interviewers, and so on.
The functions of the pilot study associated with this particular project were as follows:-

1. To clarify the composition of the population under study. Since it was assumed that the total population of women managers in most organisations would be small, there was no question of employing random sampling techniques for the derivation of the sample. Thus the questions relating to the adequacy of the sampling frame and variability of the population were not relevant to this particular study - it was more important to obtain data from all eligible personnel. However, one major problem did occur in the preliminary stages of this study as regards the composition of the population of interest - namely the question of obtaining some definition of a manager to enable a comparative study to be undertaken, particularly since experience has shown that an enormous variability exists between organisations in this matter. Thus, one of the functions of this pilot work was to isolate a satisfactory criterion of "Manager" to facilitate this comparative approach.

2. To test the suitability of the methodology to be employed in the survey. Three main tools were considered: questionnaires, structured interviews and unstructured interviews. In the course of this preliminary investigation all three were utilised and a comparative analysis of their effectiveness was undertaken.

3. To determine the most suitable phraseology and order of questions.

4. To elucidate as many of the relevant variables as possible before going into the field. This was particularly important, given the dearth of theoretically oriented studies of this area, for it was feared that essential data might be omitted, should a pre-conceived approach be employed.

This standpoint follows closely the maxim of Glaser and Strauss, which states that:
"potential theoretical sensitivity is lost when the sociologist commits himself exclusively to one specific pre-conceived theory, for then he becomes doctrinaire and can no longer "see around" either his pet theory or any other"(1).

In order to fulfil these various functions the co-operation of a large international company was obtained.

This organisation was founded in the 1930s as a small family concern and has now grown into one which employs about 75,000 people, many of whom are women, and which operates 55 major factories all over the country. It also has a number of subsidiaries and associated companies overseas. The company is concerned with the manufacture of electrical equipment, and is therefore aimed at a rather different market from that of the conglomerate which is the subject of the main study. However, it was felt that this would not alter the utility of the variables elucidated by the study. Furthermore, both organisations are concerned with the manufacture of consumer goods, the main source of variability between their products being in their durability.

In the course of the investigation the picture emerged of an organisation which depends to a great extent on its founder. He was mentioned in almost every interview, many people, from shop floor operatives to senior managers, claiming to know him personally. His regular visits to the various sites and his active chairmanship of the company was particularly emphasised.

The company appeared to be very flexible in its structure, approximating to Pugh, Hickson et al's "implicitly structured" organisation type in many respects. There are no formal job descriptions, and thus a very loose definition of tasks, and when it was asked, "what is the company policy on X?" the answer was usually given, often with a certain degree of pride, that the company policy was to have no policy. This was substantiated in the management recruitment and succession, as many people holding positions of responsibility - including the technical manager of one of the subsidiary companies - have no technical qualifications whatsoever, which is in complete contrast to any "ideal type" of bureaucracy,

where technical qualifications form the basis for promotion. There is no formalised management recruitment scheme in existence. However the long service of the majority of employees is striking, the average length of service among the personnel interviewed being nineteen years.

The implicitly structured nature of this organisation was further borne out by the absence of organisation charts, and the lack of emphasis on centralisation, to the extent that most of the sites retain their autonomy, and the individual discretion on the part of managers is high. The rapid post-war growth of the company appears to be responsible for many of its outstanding structural features. It was claimed, for example, that the rapid growth of the company had not been accompanied by any great organisation change, and that, in fact, the company was the same as it was twenty five years ago - only larger.

One of the major consequences of the nature of the organisation was the lack of available information on numbers of employees in each department, numbers of women in various types of jobs compared with the number of men, and other such personnel or organisation oriented information. Thus it is only on a subjective basis that the organisation can be classified as highly oriented towards workflow activities, as opposed to specialised administrative and support functions.
During the pilot study information was obtained from 20 "senior" - as defined by their organisation - women employees of the company, and a number of male employees, particularly the group personnel and training officer.

The first function of this pilot study, as mentioned above, was to establish the identity of the population of relevance to the study, and specifically to establish some criterion of "management". The latter was particularly important due to the anticipated comparative nature of the study, as it was feared that there would be a lack of standardisation if the companies' own definitions were to be used. Initially various criteria were used, such as salary level, number of subordinates and amount of responsibility, but it was established that these often gave an inaccurate picture of the management nature of a position, or, particularly in the latter case, were virtually impossible to measure objectively. The organisation which formed the basis of the pilot study had no specific definition of management, but discussions with the Group Personnel Officer led to twenty female employees with "management-type" positions forming the basis of this part of the study.

This problem was one of the first leading to the decision to carry out a comparative investigation into different branches of one conglomerate, since this meant that the company's own definition of management could be used in all cases, with a reasonable assurance that the managers so designated would be comparable.

The positions occupied by these women varied considerably, from the highly conventional role of personal assistant occupied by four of the women, to the broader area of Personnel, where four were employed, mainly in the Welfare section, with a further two women qualified as industrial nurses, to the normally male oriented areas of buying, production management, and accounts.

Because of this range it was established that certain classifications of women managers could usefully be made. One such classification uses the traditional orientation of the job - in terms of "maleness" or "femaleness" as the key variable. Further, it was established in these early stages that a classification of women
managers in terms of their background would be valuable—namely the old-school“ who had taken advantage of the opportunities of the war to carve their niche in the organisation, and the younger women, frequently graduates, whose positions rest to a far greater extent on technical competence. As a result, it was decided that in the majority of cases these might be treated as separate categories in the main study, and it was considered probable that two distinct sets of causal factors would be found.

The utility of this classification was tested in the course of the pilot study, and it was indeed apparent that different factors accounted for the success of the women depending on their background and their present position.

The range of length of time with the company of the older women varied from sixteen to twenty three years, and the posts they held tend to be among the most powerful of the sample, for example technical manager of a research laboratory, Assistant Buyer, Head of the Wages Department. Apart from these two sources of variation, however, there are two major similarities between these women:

1. None of them has a single "formal" qualification.
2. They have all grown with the company.

The following details from the interviews attempt to illustrate these features:

Mrs. W - Personal Assistant to one of the directors - her status and range of job requirements have grown as the status of "her" director has increased.

Miss. A - "The growth of the company in terms of size has meant that my job has become more interesting" - she is Personal Assistant to a Director.

Mrs. R. - "The Scope of my job has really grown with the company" - she is Personal Assistant to the Managing Director.

Miss. T. - an Employment Officer - entered the company as a receptionist/visitors' guide, and has reached her present position through building up a great number and variety of contacts throughout the factory and offices. She was transferred to Personnel work, and her job content
has gradually increased and developed since then.

Mrs. W. - she is now head of the Wages Department for a whole area, having joined the wages department as a clerk twenty three years ago.

Mrs. P.—who joined the company twenty three years ago was recruited into the buying department as a part-time clerk, and since she had a young son, she continued in this capacity for some time. As the department was a small and closely-knit one, everyone was able to do everyone else's job—thus giving extensive experience to Mrs. P. As the company grew in size, so did the Buying Department and the status of this original group of people. Eventually, when her son was old enough, Mrs. P. started working full-time, and was appointed to the post of Assistant Buyer and since buying is the only centrally administered function in the whole organisation, it is a post of considerable importance.

Miss. O. - she is at present the Technical Manager of a research laboratory. She joined the company eighteen years ago, after her father had refused to let her go to University. With no technical qualifications she started work as a laboratory assistant and "worked her way up". As the research side of the company's activities increased, so did her status in the organisation.

Among the younger women, however, the picture tended to be somewhat different. Of the five women who came under this category two were science graduates employed in the specialist scientific areas, two were qualified industrial nurses, and one female Business Studies graduate who works in the Personnel Area. Their length of services ranged from ten to two years, but in all cases they were recruited for a particular job and have stayed within that specific job area. Thus, the most senior of them, in her spare time Britain's representative in this area on international scientific panels, was recruited by the company specifically for this department, and while she is now in charge of the department, her sphere of competence, and thus possible promotion avenues, has not been widened.

Thus, it might be anticipated that the future trends will be more in line with "mechanistic" requirements for technical qualifications
rather than the "organic" style of individual growth with company growth, to use Burns and Stalker's terminology.

The clarification of certain features of the population under study through this pilot investigation led to a number of conclusions:

1. that the definition of manager is a comparative study would lead to considerable problems in "matching" samples, unless different operating companies of a conglomerate were to be studied, as only then could meaningful comparisons be undertaken.

2. that even within this overall category of manager, the range of background of the employees and the nature of the roles they perform led to the further classification of women managers in terms of firstly their background and qualifications and secondly the extent to which their job could be considered of a traditionally female nature.

The second objective of the pilot stage was to establish the most appropriate methodology to employ in the study. Three main alternatives presented themselves, namely a questionnaire, probably administered by internal company mail, an unstructured interview and a structured interview.

Using a questionnaire to obtain information from women managers had a number of serious disadvantages and very few advantages. The usual advantage of a questionnaire is that it enables a large number of people to be covered with relatively small resources. However, the population of women managers is so small that this was not a particularly significant advantage.

One of the major disadvantages of using this method was that since relatively little is known about the factors affecting career patterns of women managers, it was feared that a formal questionnaire might prevent important factors emerging during the course of the study, only factors specifically mentioned in the questionnaire being tested. Thus it was anticipated that an interview situation might

While the questionnaire was seen as potentially restricting as a method of data collection. Furthermore, it was anticipated that, given the nature of the population - i.e. managers - who normally have a considerable amount of paperwork to handle in a day, the response rate might be very low.

For these reasons it was decided that an interview would be the most satisfactory method of data collection. Since the data was to be collected on a comparative basis, however, it was considered necessary to take a structured approach, thus allowing some areas of questioning to be common to all interviewees, while, at the same time, permitting sufficient flexibility to pursue additional points as they might arise.

During the interviews connected with the pilot study degrees of flexibility in ordering of questions, numbers and type of interviewer interruptions, question phrasing, all were varied in different ways until the most appropriate degree of informality and depth of questioning and response was achieved.

It was discovered, for example, that preconceptions about the study on the part of the interviewees made a considerable difference both to their willingness to respond and their actual responses. Those who believed the study to be concerned with the Women's Liberation Movement slanted their answers accordingly, while the section who thought that the study was management sponsored and therefore, that anything they might say would be taken down and possibly used against them, were similarly hesitant. Thus, the importance of presenting the study in its correct light as early as possible in the interview situation was one of the first and most important findings of the pilot work.

The order of questions was varied throughout the interviews at this stage, and it was discovered that the optimal response rate was achieved by beginning the interview with factual questions, such as date of joining the company, and by leaving any emotionally-tinged questions until the end. Similarly, the wording of questions was found to be of great importance, particularly when dealing with such areas as marital status, relationships within the company, and
to have no family commitments, but would complain that their domestic commitments were heavy. A technique similar to that used by Kinsey\(^{(1)}\) - if in less spectacular circumstances - was employed for issues which may have proved to be sensitive, such as prospects of matrimony, dislike of the company, and so on. In such cases, the onus of explanation was put on the interviewee, not the interviewer, so that it was assumed that an individual would be against certain company policies or aspects of company structure, and it was found that fewer people claimed to be entirely happy with all aspects of the company using this method than when the question was phrased in a less positive way.

The fourth and final major function of the pilot study was to obtain a clearer idea of the variables which influenced the career patterns of women managers. Initially the interest lay in ways in which an organisation might help or hinder the careers of potential or actual women managers.

Thus it was of particular interest to discover during this pilot work that, although little was done positively to attract women to jobs of responsibility, great consideration was shown to those who were recruited, particularly to the married women. In two instances, for example, when members of the family were critically ill, the women concerned were told to feel free to come and go as they pleased, and in one case the company even hired a nurse to look after the invalid. A young woman with two children is allowed to come in late any morning the children are being difficult, and another woman in similar circumstances, but in a less responsible job, works shorter hours than these prescribed. Another example of company concern is in the case of a young girl recruited to the company who was found accommodation. All these examples illustrate both an acceptance by the company of the constraints placed on women managers by their roles of wife and mother and a very successful attempt to facilitate the integration of their two lives.

While it became apparent that such features did have a considerable impact on women managers careers, however, it became equally apparent that there were other variables of significance to

The most striking point was the impact of the organisation structure on the roles of the women managers studied. This was manifested firstly in the rapid growth factor, which led to the concomitant growth of certain roles, as in the case of the buyer mentioned above. Secondly, it was apparent that the flexibility of the organisation was a vital factor in the success of married women, as in the provision of part-time work and the other facilities mentioned above. Thirdly, the low bureaucratic nature of the organisation was exemplified by the low importance placed on technical qualifications, as in the case of the technical manager mentioned above. A much greater importance was placed on a recruit "fitting into the organisation", thus perpetuating the intense company loyalty and "one big happy family" atmosphere.

The major result of this realisation of the importance of the structural factors was the decision to use some sort of analytical tool to measure these on a comparative basis. It was consequently decided that the typology constructed by Pugh, Hickson et al (1) should be employed. However, while this analytical framework would be more than adequate to establish the structural features of the organisation, it was believed that these and the "welfare" aspects of the organisation alone were insufficient as variables affecting women manager's career patterns, and thus it was decided to use the Pugh/Hickson typology to establish the "formal system" and the interview data to examine the career and political systems, as defined by Tom Burns (2) and described in the previous chapter.

Thus, the pilot or pre-testing stage in this study fulfilled a number of functions:

1. It led to the consideration of the term "woman manager" and thus in part to the decision to concentrate the main section of the study on different companies within a conglomerate.


2. It led to the decision to use a structured interview approach to data collection, and provided the opportunity to test out different phraseologies, ordering of questions and amounts of flexibility in order that the most satisfactory "mix" might be achieved.

3. It led to the clarification of the variables affecting the career pattern of women managers, so that the Pugh/Hickson typology was selected to measure the "formal system" of the companies co-operating in the main study, and that Burn's career and political systems were identified as formalising other relevant variables, to be examined by means of interview data.
One of the major findings of the Pilot Survey mentioned above was that a comparative study would be more effective in the elucidation of the situation of women managers than a case study of one company. This conclusion was based on two considerations: firstly, that very few companies employ enough women managers to justify the testing of a hypothesis on the basis of their data alone; secondly, that the impact of the interacting social systems on the female managerial career patterns would only be manifested in a comparative study.

However, it appeared equally important to the validity of the results of the study that the organisations selected should be as closely comparable as was feasible. The importance of this comparability is emphasised by Rogers:

"Ideally, the best method when attempting to examine a business organisation would be to adopt the same procedure as a scientist does in the laboratory. He holds all the variables in an experiment constant, except one. Obviously business life is far too complicated to permit this to be done. The only alternative, therefore, is to select an industry where as many variables as possible happen to be constant"(1).

In the light of these considerations, the co-operation of a large industrial conglomerate was obtained, thereby holding constant at least some of the organisational variables, details of which appear below. The results of this study, therefore, are based on the findings from a number of interviews held in the Head Office of the conglomerate and two of its operating companies.

In this chapter a historical perspective of the organisation is presented, in so far as it affects its structure and policy, in addition to a description of this structure. The personnel policy of the organisation will also be described particularly with regard to its managerial staff, and this will include a discussion of the job evaluation system and management recruitment system.

The conglomerate was founded in the 1920s by the merger of two already thriving industrial concerns. Since then, however, the

to one with an annual turnover of £3 thousand million, with five
hundred companies in over sixty countries. These statistics illustrate
what has been the major structural and policy problem of the
conglomerate since its birth, namely the problem of the balance
between headquarters and operating companies. Should all decisions
be taken by the Head Office? How much autonomy should operating
companies be given? This problem is exacerbated by the fact that the
conglomerate, as it is at present, has been formed by the fusion of
what had been many different companies, with an enormous range
of different products, and which differ markedly even now in size,
location and market. Therefore, local knowledge has always been
a most valuable asset, and it is generally feared that it would be
rapidly obliterated under the weight of over-centralisation.

Basic centralised control, however, has always been advocated,
and this rests upon three instruments:

1. The annual Operating Plan: an estimate of prospective sales
   and costs.

2. The annual Capital Expenditure Budget: on the provision of new plant
   or renewal of existing plant.

3. The annual Review of Remuneration and Selection of Top
   Management.

The emphasis behind the use of these instruments is essentially on
flexibility and persuasion, rather than a source of central control.

In fact, the amount of centralisation has varied in the whole
organisation over the past decades, but even in a period of considerable
decentralisation the Head Office could never be described as a mere
holding company, as indicated by a tendency to uniformity of policy in
matters of marketing, welfare services, legal matters and the selection
and promotion of staff, which is discussed in depth below.

The final point of importance regarding the structural development
of the organisation is the appearance, and increase in numbers, of
individuals and committees responsible for co-ordination of the
There is the "Special Committee" which is a sub-committee of the Board Directors concerned with the overall co-ordination of the company, a U.K. committee dealing with co-ordination within Britain, an Overseas committee, and so on. In 1966, the type of co-ordination changed from "regional" to "industrial product" organisation which facilitated the uniformity of policy on international brands for the overseas markets.

It follows from this system of organisation and its underlying principle of unity, that the companies' managers should have wider horizons than those of their particular operating company. It is for this reason that the major management recruitment scheme, which is discussed in detail below, is operated on an organisation wide basis, and not on the operating company level.

The organisation appears to view management as one of its most valuable assets, particularly as far as expansion is concerned. As one of the Directors said:

"The limits of effective expansion are likely to be set very largely by the extent to which an adequate number of capable managers with appropriate experience can be developed to meet the changing needs of the concern"(1).

Consequently, a complicated performance appraisal system has been developed to explore all the possibilities of management potential, and this in turn has led to a comprehensive company policy regarding recruitment, promotion and job evaluation, which will now be discussed more fully.

Job Evaluation may be defined as "the process of determining, without regard to personalities, the worth of one job in relation to that of another"(2). In this particular organisation, very much depends on this evaluation, including financial reward, status, and even where one may eat one's luncheon, and consequently it was decided that the system should be carefully studied, and any possible sources of bias, which could act against a woman particularly, be established.

The ranking system, which is based on the information obtained from job description forms. This form requires information on the following topics:

1. Place in the organization, usually the job's position within the organization.
2. General objectives of the job.
3. Main tasks and responsibilities.
4. Contacts arising from the job, both internal and external.
5. Relevant information regarding the job.

This form is usually completed by the immediate superior of the individual, in consultation with both the superior and the individual concerned. The form is then reviewed by the job evaluation officer himself. The emphasis is on what is done, not how it is done, since methodology is rapidly changing in most sectors. This process serves three main functions:

1. It gives the individual a second chance to disagree with the job's description.
2. It shows that the company is interested in the welfare of its employees.
3. It facilitates the discovery of further information about the job and the obtaining of a more objective view of the job's importance.

Thus, for every job in the organization, there is a written job description.

The next stage in the process is to allocate a particular job a grade and within that grade a salary range. Usually all the jobs in a particular sector are allocated the same salary range. This is usually based on the information obtained from job evaluation forms which is based on the information provided in the job description forms.
and the job evaluation officer discuss the order of importance of the jobs, and this, together with the job descriptions, is used to fit any particular job into a scale, using "known job values" as points of reference. These values are also utilised in allotting a salary range to any job.

There is considerable discussion between operating companies and the Head Office to maintain an organisation-wide balance in job classification, and the same gradings are used throughout. In the Head Office and the headquarters of the operating companies the standard grades were:

- Clerical - 6 grades.
- Assistant Manager - 5 grades.
- Manager - 7 grades.
- Senior Manager - 7 grades.
- Directors and other such personnel have a special grading system.

In this study, as previously mentioned, the grades of interest are those of manager and above, although assistant managers were interviewed in some of the operating companies in an attempt to discover the reasons for their particular grading.

It is the claim of most job evaluation officers that their system is entirely objective, and that they are only evaluating the job, not the person doing the job. However, it is an obvious criticism that a lack of objectivity is bound to exist, by virtue of the vital importance of human judgement in the process. The individual's manager may not know enough about the job to make an accurate assessment of the important points in it, for example, or the individual, particularly if she is a young girl, may be too embarrassed to disagree with her superior in front of the job evaluation officer. It was, in fact, admitted by one job evaluation officer, during an interview, that while it should not be so, there was a distinct possibility of an individual's job being graded lower than its real worth due to personality clashes or prejudice. Another criticism of the job evaluation system is that it takes no account of market fluctuations in the value of particular jobs.
However, in the course of this investigation, it emerged that this traditional criticism is unfounded in this organisation, since female data processing personnel, who tend to have a high market value outside the organisation, are graded more highly within the organisation than those in the traditionally female sectors, such as Consumer Advisory Services, who often carry more responsibility in terms of managing people than the data processing staff. For this to be possible, the claimed "objectivity" cannot exist, and thus it is not impossible that a woman assistant manager might be doing a full management job, without enjoying the attendant benefits, as the example given in the text illustrates. However, it is hoped that the full implications of the job evaluation system will emerge in the course of discussions about the location of women managers within the organisation.

The final topic of interest in this section is the management recruitment process. There are a number of avenues of entry into the ranks of management. Indeed, the Chairman once said:

"We try to see that in our business there is always a ladder by which a man with the right qualities can climb to the next stage"(1).

Thus one avenue of entry to management is to work one's way up, but the majority of managers were recruited with management in mind. There are three methods of entry for these people:

1. Direct entry, for people with professional qualifications, such as accountants, lawyers and so on.

2. Direct entry for graduates. This is used particularly in the case of Business School graduates, economists, and people with very specific interests, such as in Market Research and the production function.

3. The graduate managers training scheme. This scheme provides the steady inflow of general managers which is vital to the company, and the training received is widely acknowledged to be one of the best in the country.

This scheme is operated in the following way:

(1) From "The Managers" - a speech delivered 24/5/56.

52.
The individual operating companies state their requirements for potential managers with the aid of their forward planning procedures at the end of every year, often specifying whether male or female graduates are required. This usually amounts to between sixty and one hundred graduates per annum spread over the whole organisation. At the same time, university graduates are applying to the Head Office.

The company's selection procedure is aimed at choosing people who are potential upper middle managers, and has been gradually adopted from as early as the 1920s, with help from such institutions as the Tavistock, to its present form. The actual selection is a two-fold one. Having applied, the candidate is then invited to the first interview, usually at his university. If he succeeds in passing through this first sieve he is then invited to attend a selection board, at which the interested companies are represented.

Once a candidate has been selected, he is allocated to an operating company, and a programme of training is devised for him. This usually follows the pattern of a few weeks induction course, a period of time "on the road" as a salesman (about nine weeks in some cases to as much as six months in others), then a succession of short-term jobs and projects until his first management appointment, which usually occurs after about two years with the company.

TABLE VII

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<th>Training Programme</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>induction</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainee period</td>
<td>sales</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>projects</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contribution at Assistant Manager level</td>
<td>15 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time to reach management job classes</td>
<td>30 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three main areas that an applicant may choose to work in: Commercial, Technical and Marketing functions. It appears, however, that any women who are accepted work in the Marketing function alone, in spite of the fact that many female applicants have the
the Technical function. It appears that the companies who are willing to recruit women prefer them to work in the Marketing sphere, rather than in the commercial sphere, apparently due to the relative lengths of the "pay-off" period. It was claimed that it takes at least four years for a commercial trainee to become fully qualified, and therefore that women would be unsuitable. This is based on the fact that the average length of service of the thirty two women trainees who left the company between 1961 and 1967 was 2.7 years compared with 3.1 years for the men who left. At first this difference does not seem too great, but the vital fact which is omitted in this statement is that these thirty two women formed 90% of the total number of female graduates recruited to the scheme.

Thus, given the criteria for recruitment to the scheme, viz. potential upper middle management, the argument against the recruitment of women for jobs with long specialised training needs e.g. as previously mentioned in Accounts and the Commercial function – or indeed for any job which entails much training seems a very persuasive one.

Let us look with more attention to the available statistics regarding the recruitment and training of women graduates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE VIII</th>
<th>Women Applicants to Management Training Scheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>ARTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>301 (incl. in Arts Total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(up to July 31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (incl. 1969's social Science number)</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows the distribution of applicants over the past three years to the training scheme by discipline and sex. It shows particularly that large numbers of women do apply for the scheme, and that they are spread quite evenly over the Arts, Sciences and Social Sciences. It is interesting to note that approximately 17% of all applicants are female while less than 10% of successful candidates are female.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBER RECRUITED</th>
<th>NUMBER REMAINING</th>
<th>AVERAGE SERVICE OF LEAVERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However the most striking figure emerging from the data is the 90% loss rate between 1961 and 1967 of women recruited compared to 51% of men recruits. This fact, coupled with the fact that they also have a short average length of service (2.7 years) would appear to be a cast-iron excuse for not recruiting women. It appears that only five sectors of the conglomerate are prepared to consider recruiting a female graduate, in any case. These are the Head Office, three operating companies and the Market Research company, which is a special case, since its Chairman and a high proportion of the senior managers are women.

To return to the recruitment and training of women graduates - the companies who are prepared to recruit women usually do so almost entirely for their Marketing divisions. The only exception to this appears to be one women recruited to the Personnel division. Many people were asked to explain this phenomenon and one of the major reasons appeared to be that one achieved a better return on one's investment by placing the female graduates in the Marketing sphere. The rationale for this policy appears to rest on the assumption that a Marketing function requires creativity and organisation, rather than a particular expertise which takes time, and therefore money, to be developed, and thus the female graduate can start pulling
Another reason for the placement of women in a Marketing division rather than any other, one that is rarely explicitly stated, but is often implicit in the comments of male managers, is the fact that a marketing manager has virtually no subordinates, it is purely a staff function, and as such has little actual management content. A Brand manager may have an assistant Brand manager but that is likely to be all. Thus one escapes the frequently stated problem of prejudice from subordinates - their refusal to work under a woman boss, and so on, and instead replace this with the highly satisfactory situation, from a male point of view, of a female manager having to ask one for information - e.g. sales statistics, advertising figures etc.

This reason is borne out in another, more negative, way by looking at the main reasons given for a woman not being recruited into other functions within the organisation. The technical function, generally speaking involves line responsibility, the manager usually spending at least a period of his time as a production manager. It is claimed that a women would be unable to enforce sufficient discipline to ensure the maintenance of production schedules, that the language would probably be offensive to her, that she would have to do too much lifting, etc. - or more bluntly, that the production workers would not work with her. One must apparently ignore the fact that female supervisors of mixed production lines exist very successfully in the factories, and also that one woman interviewed in the engineering concern that formed the pilot study of this survey was in charge of all production in one of its subsidiaries, and appeared to have survived the odd four letter word without an attack of the "vapours", just as her male subordinates have survived the ignominy of a woman boss. However, by the placement of female graduates in a marketing department even the risk of these problems is avoided.

None of the companies in the study would even consider allowing a woman to enter its sales side - even if she wanted to - because "selling is man's job". Again, the physical discomfort, this time of driving long distances daily, was mentioned, but the major factor seemed to be that most buyers, particularly in supermarkets, which are the most important customers, are hard-bitten, ruthless men who need to be treated with equal ruthlessness if the product is to be successfully distributed. Thus the sales function is in
The commercial function does not recruit women graduates, although most commercial departments do have women working for them, often on transfer from Head Office on the Audit side of the business—indeed, the Assistant Chief Accountant of the whole organisation is a woman. The reason for this paradox is hard to ascertain directly, but it appears to hinge on the time factor. If a commercial manager decides to recruit a graduate, it is probable that he or she will know very little about accounting conventions and so on, and since the training procedure is virtually constant for all graduate trainees, it is likely to be at least 15 months before this more specialised training can begin. Graduates are particularly encouraged to qualify for the A.C.C.A. which at the very least will take 3 years, and so already this training period is longer than the average 2.7 years of service. However, someone who is transferred from Head Office is already sufficiently trained to be of immediate use, as, of course, is the direct entrant who is already professionally qualified, (the route taken by the female Assistant Chief Accountant mentioned above) and so their investment characteristics are obviously better.

Thus the placement of virtually all the female graduate recruits to the management scheme is with the marketing sector.

As previously mentioned, 90% of the women graduates recruited between 1961 and 1967 have left the company. The next step, therefore, is to discover their reasons for leaving. An examination of the records up until August 1971 showed that 90% of the graduates who left did so for domestic reasons, usually on the birth of their first child. This is hardly surprising, however, when one looks at the average age of these women, compared to the national average age of marriage and the relative rates of fertility which were discussed in the introduction. Assuming that a girl graduates from University at the age of 21 and she stays the average 2.7 years with the company, she will be 23.7 years old, which is well beyond the average age of marriage in Britain, and rapidly approaching the height of her most fertile period. In fact, it appears that these graduates defer marriage, or more especially the birth of their first child, until they are established in a career. This, of course, is of little comfort to the companies
who have apparently wasted time and money in training them.

In the course of this investigation considerable light was cast on this particular issue of the financial wastage involved in recruiting female graduates and some possible solutions are offered.
Organisation A

Organisation A is the Head Office of the British Section of the Conglomerate, employing approximately 1400 employees, chiefly in specialist or administrative functions. In its role as Head Office the organisation is not directly concerned with production, and performs principally the functions of co-ordination, communication, Research and Development.

The organisation's present structure originates from the merger in 1929 of a British and Dutch organisation, Organisation A's structure being a development on the original British holding company which was mirrored in structure by its Dutch counterpart. Even in 1929 there was considerable emphasis on professional management, a company publication even claiming that professional managers carried as much weight as any member of the founding families in policy determination. The emphasis initially was essentially on centralisation, as the merger of the two companies was rapidly followed by the world depression of 1929-32, and a great deal of rationalisation was undertaken by the newly founded conglomerate. The 1950s and 60s saw a swing towards a far more decentralised policy, however, and the structure of the organisation at the time of this study reflects this policy in the predominance of the service specialisms such as research and development, legal and O.M.

Organisation A is located in central London.

The Structure of Organisation A is somewhat different from Organisations B and C, reflecting its specialist and service characteristics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE X</th>
<th>BOARD OF DIRECTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(25 men)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCIAL</td>
<td>MARKETING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and SECRETARIAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts</td>
<td>Advertising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Consumer Interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>Marketing Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overseas Marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sales &amp; Distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Staff = 258</td>
<td>Total Staff = 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Managers = 91</td>
<td>Total Managers = 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Female Managers = 3</td>
<td>Total Female Managers = 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59.
It is interesting to note, for example, the relative size of the Research and Patents Section - approx. 593 employees compared with the 123 in the marketing section. This difference in size is indicative of the company policy of leaving the marketing function very largely up to the operating companies, and confirming its area of interest to the very general level of overall marketing information and policy, while the research function is closely co-ordinated to avoid duplication and to facilitate application of research "by-products" in new areas. The Financial and Secretarial concern is also relatively large (258), due mainly to the existence of Taxation, Legal, Insurance and Economics Sections, all of which are the sole concern of Company A, and not found in any of the operating companies.

This emphasis on specialised function has had important implications for the employment of women managers in Company A. Approximately 10% of the management of Company A is female, but there are wide differences between the divisions. Thus approximately 3% of the management in the Financial and Secretarial division is female, as is 1% of the Organisation division's management, while 22% of the managers of the Personnel division, 14% of Marketing Managers and 10% of the Research and Patents division's managers are women. Comparative figures from the other two organisations which make up the main part of this study reflect this position in general terms, since in these cases the majority of the women managers are situated in marketing departments, with some representation in the area of Personnel.

Thus the basic picture emerges of women managers succeeding in Marketing, highly specialist roles or in traditionally female roles. The two exceptions to this are the women working in the Financial Group, one of whom is a senior manager, and indeed the most senior
woman in the sample. The reasons for her success and otherwise will be discussed later in this chapter, but this unusual if not exceptional case is worth noting at this stage.

Much has been written so far on the specialist nature of Organisation A, and we now turn to a more formalised discussion of its structural features, using the Pugh/Hickson typology.

Organisation A - Functional Specialisation

Organisation A contained 10 out of the 12 possible functional specialisms, missing only those which were relevant solely to an operating company, namely Sales and Market Research. The absence of these is explained by the fact that this organisation is the Head Office of the conglomerate, and as such has no product to sell or to research in terms of markets. Similarly the role specialisation analysis indicates the high relative position of this organisation (see Appendix D). Comparison with the Pugh/Hickson results indicate that this organisation is in the high ranges of their data in specialisation.

This feature of the formal structure of organisation A contributes to the relative success of women managers within the organisation. As the summary above indicates, a great many of the women are in specialist roles in specialist departments.

Formalisation: as shown in Appendix E, Organisation A tends towards a greater degree of formalisation than the other organisations in the study, and it is organisation A's influence over the other two which is the major factor accounting for the similarity of these results.

Thus analysis of Organisation A indicates that lines of authority, procedures and rules appear in writing to a considerable degree - particularly when compared with the Pugh/Hickson results. It is also against this background of a highly formalised formal system that the ramifications of the career and political systems are most clearly visible as they indicate the variations that occur when particular individuals in particular situations by-pass what is formally supposed to occur.
middle position of the three in terms of numbers of employees, although the distribution of those employees is different from both Organisation B and C in the numbers of staff allocated to the specialist functions specifically associated with Head Office functions, just under two thirds of the total staff being employed in these areas. Similarly there is a significantly disproportionate number of staff employed in Public Relations (57 compared to the 5 and nil in the other two organisations) and to a smaller extent in the Personnel function.

Figures for the chief executive's span of control are somewhat misleading as they necessarily deal with the chairman of the whole conglomerate, which does not have a simple Chairman: Board of Directors structure as do the other organisations which are operating companies.

From this analysis, the picture emerges of the structure of Organisation A scoring high on the scales of specialisation, formalisation and configuration.

If these scores are regarded in terms of the Pugh/Hickson et al empirical taxonomy of work organisations, they would represent a close approximation to the full bureaucracy, described by the authors in the following way:

"This organisation would thus be expected to show the characteristics of a work flow bureaucracy (for example, standardisation of task control procedures) as in large manufacturing corporations, together with the characteristics of personnel bureaucracy (for example, centralised authority for decision making". (1)

It is the contention of this study that these structural aspects of the formal system have considerable impact on the career patterns of women managers, particularly with regard to the high degree of specialisation and the standardisation of employment activity. However, certain additional variables existing in the context of the career system and political system have an important affect on the

situation of these women, and it is to these, as evidenced by the interview material, that we now turn.

It is apparent from the interviewee sample that there are three basic "types" of female manager in Organisation A:

1. the women who have been with the company for twenty years or longer, who entered with few, if any, formal qualifications, who entered initially the clerical or secretarial side of the organisation, and whose present status is usually attributable to the growth in status of their department - especially the personnel department - as well as their "long service".

2. the woman who entered the organisation with a degree or equivalent qualification over fifteen years ago, and whose initial career pattern, if not whole career pattern, has been very different from that of an equivalent male.

3. the young female graduate, who has entered the organisation often under identical, if not similar, conditions to her male counterpart.

These three categories of employees indicate different aspects of the interacting social systems, as their career patterns and factors affecting the success of these careers tend to differ in various ways.

If we take the members of our Sample coming under the first category, they are all currently employed in the Personnel Department, two of them reaching their current posts via secretarial positions, and the third as an assistant to the company secretary. Perhaps the most striking feature they have in common, however, is that they are all single. Thus there have been no instances where their private lives have come into conflict with the expectations of the organisation. Interviewee 31A, for example, claims that her career progression would have been virtually impossible had she had family commitments, as formerly her job "used to encroach on my private life to an enormous extent, as I had to travel extensively and entertain foreign visitors".

The experiences of all three of these interviewees illustrate the impact of the political system on the furtherence of their careers. Interviewee 35A for example believes that her elevation to managerial status was significantly influenced by the company's desire at that time to enhance its image as an employer by promoting extensively "from within" -
i.e. by using existing employees. Thus, through the patronage of the company policy-makers in general and the Personnel Department in particular, she was provided with the opportunity to achieve managerial status, not necessarily because she, above all other women of her grade, deserved it, but to provide fuel for the political fire of the policy makers.

27A, on the other hand, believes that she succeeded not by the company's having a formalised career pattern in mind for her, but rather by her having to take the initiative and taking advantage of every opportunity which presented itself. To do this she would ally herself to those in the position to select her for "suitable" posts, although she claims that the conditions of the war enabled her to take on the first significant amounts of responsibility.

Interviewee 31A transferred to the company's then Staff Department when she learned that it was to be reorganised into a Personnel Department. As the functions and role specialisation of this department increased, so did her status, as she became involved with management training and management development. In this way she was able to exploit the opportunities which the actions of the political system provided for her.

Thus these women entered the organisation with the formal and career systems to some extent militating against them, and certainly with no logical career pattern open to them, but through the influences of the political system they have reached relatively senior positions in the company. It is worth noting in the light of their progress, however, the comment made by 35A, as she claimed that "it would be very difficult for a girl to follow my career path now. For example, all secretaries have to be of 'A' level standard, even though my Head of Department isn't particularly concerned with paper qualifications". It is possible to argue that her success has been considerably influenced by this lack of concern with paper qualifications, and as such is an important example of how "patronage" by a superior is often crucial in the success of a woman manager, as the discussion below on older, qualified women will indicate.
However, it is also possible to suggest that the formal system of the organisation has intervened here to prevent effectively this by-passing by the political system, so that women in a similar position now can no longer experience this type of route to success. Furthermore, the corollary of this argument is identified in the interviewee's perception of her prospects with Organisation A. The increased specialisation and formalisation within the formal system have combined to "strand" this interviewee in her present position, as the demarcation between her present job and those to which she might legitimately aspire has increased significantly, hence making her progression from one to the other less "natural", and this is exacerbated by the accompanying increase in the demand for and significance of formal qualifications for jobs of this type.

It is also perhaps significant in the light of these comments on qualifications that all three women are dissatisfied with the training and lack of courses, and are certain that men would have experienced a more satisfactory situation. However, this must be set against the fact that all three women are occupying predominantly female roles – e.g. 35A talks about only one male incumbent in eighteen years and the staff of both 31A and 27A are totally female. A large proportion of the interviewees fell in the second category of employees – namely they all had a degree, or a professional qualification, they had all been with the company for twenty years or so, and consequently were of about forty years of age. Collectively they indicate the inadequacies of the career system of the organisation at the time of their recruitment to the organisation, and in many cases they indicate the effect of the political system on employees.

The examples given in the text indicate the ways in which these women in some cases used aspects of the political system to overcome an almost anti-female culture, and in others, how the political system reinforced this culture.

Information received from interviewees 26A, 33A and 30A indicate that they were all recruited into the organisation for specific posts, and the company had specifically chosen women graduates because
they could foresee no career progression from these posts and because they (apparently in error) believed that women would accept stagnation in career terms more readily than would a man. 29A, on the other hand, has followed an essentially straightforward career pattern in one (very specialist) department.

In many ways 29A is the most simple example of the older female graduate in organisation A, as her career pattern results from the interplay of only two fairly clear forces. Firstly, as an element of the formal system, the highly specialist (she calls it a "backwater") nature of the translations department has resulted in her career progression being a straightforward one. She has been in the department for thirty years and although she was married for most of that time, she had no children and thus had no need to deviate from the gradual progression, that was to a certain extent inevitable. Similarly she sees no prospect of further advancement in the organisation, and perceives her employment until the age of retirement as being in this department.

It is important to note that this specialist department has always been a "female" one, the incumbent of her particular position, the most senior one in the department, having been held by a woman for virtually the whole of her employment in the company. From these factors emerges one of the significant aspects of this woman's career, namely that she, and all the other female incumbents of her position, have been given the grade of manager in an area from which there are no prospects of promotion, particularly into positions of power in the organisation, or even into line management from which promotion might be possible. Thus, while the ideology of the organisation appears to emphasise the importance of promotion prospects for all, this is obviously not the case as far as some of the women managers are concerned.

The other significant factor affecting her career, however and one that is both mentioned above, and which assumes particular importance in the cases of the other older graduates, is that she was invited to apply to the organisation by, and in many ways became
particular instance of the political system coming into play - as against the formal systems requirements of selection procedures - occurred because she had worked with the man in question during the war.

This phenomenon is perhaps more dramatically illustrated in the case of interviewee 33A, a Cambridge Mathematics graduate who joined Organisation A through their graduate management training scheme. In addition to her degree qualification she was also trained in secretarial skills. Her management training consisted of being sent round to various departments for a 4-6 week time span, with a view to "getting to know the people in the organisation", until after five months she was appointed as secretary to a particular department. This apparent anomaly between her being a management trainee and being appointed as a secretary is explained to a great extent by the company's warning to her when she first joined that "they could promise nothing in terms of career progression" - a statement which she believes is still true today, but which the company is no longer honest enough to make.

Nevertheless, the manager of her first department was "one of these fairly unconventional men who was fully in favour of women managers", and thus she was first given encouragement and support in her ambition by a male superior. Similarly she acknowledges a major "break" in her career as being the establishment of a particular department, in which one of the key figures wanted a female assistant with a mathematical background. This transfer, which was due almost entirely to the political influence of this male manager in a key department, was the beginning of the transfer from essentially secretarial functions to managerial ones. While this transfer of functions was apparently beneficial to the interviewee, one might perhaps question the intentions of these two individuals in granting this "patronage" since it is quite useful to know that the potential rival for one's job, is in fact, heavy handicapped as far as the organisation is concerned because she happens to be female. However, perhaps the most influential factor in her career to date was the recruitment of an eminent statistician into the organisation, who specifically requested that she should work with him. She worked with him for ten or twelve years, during which time she worked with most departments in the organisation and in most European countries.
of the political system on this interviewee's career pattern that when he left the company, five years ago, she was transferred to the marketing division where her career horizons were dramatically narrowed, and where she has to deal with sales managers who "treat me with mild indifference and certainly pay me little attention". Thus the removal from the organisation of her chief ally led to her transfer from the relatively influential area of the organisation to the far less influential position of Statistician in the Marketing Department, and so further illustrates the importance of the political system in the careers of these women managers.

33A has now been with the company for twenty three years, but can see no way of progressing in the immediate future.

Interviewee 30A, one of the most senior woman managers in the organisation similarly considers that the most significant influences in her career were in the form of two male managers for whom she worked at different stages. Neither of them were prejudiced against women managers and "were in fact particularly proud of me", thus supporting her, and again providing this "patronage". However, she also cites numerous examples of ways in which both the formal and career systems, with the emphasis on career progression and promotion on the grounds of technical competence, were overtaken by the political system, which she had to fight in order to succeed.

The most striking example occurred after she had done her first job in the company for two years. She had been recruited as a qualified accountant, but was only using her technical knowledge to a limited extent. After two years she demanded promotion to another section, only to be told that she had been recruited specifically for that job, and furthermore that a woman had been recruited simply because she would be less ambitious and thus more likely to be content in one job for a long period of time. However, she fought this decision and was eventually given the responsibility for the audit of a group of companies.

Furthermore, she believes that women have to be significantly more competent than a man in order to get a similar promotion, this belief
a position straight off - she has always had to do the job for a period of time first.

Interviewee 26A reflects the latter sentiments of the previous case as well as the career pattern of 29A. She was a qualified lawyer and was invited to apply for a post in the legal department of Organisation A - again, a very specialist department. While it has never been explicitly stated, she believes that she was recruited into the organisation because the department was new and they wanted a fairly submissive employee. She has remained in the department for the whole of her career with the organisation, and considers it highly likely that she will remain so. She echoes the feelings of the previous interviewee too, when she claims that; "One has to be more capable than a man" in order to succeed in the organisation.

These women managers, examples of a number of women who were among the earliest female graduates employed by the organisation, indicate a number of areas of significant conflict between the formal, career and political systems of the organisation. The ethos of career progression was always present, but for male managers - these women appear to have succeeded in spite of, rather than because of, the formal and career systems. Perhaps the impact of the culture of the organisation on the women managers described above is most clearly outlined in the following quote from 26A:

"I despise the internal politics of this company - it's a man's world from start to finish. One is always judged by men, one has to be more capable than a man, and also more devious, steering a course through cattiness and aggression".

While the interviewee is referring to the internal politics, it is perhaps more accurate to label this male orientation of the organisation as part of its culture or ideology - a culture which, taken together with the former social limitations on women responsible positions, has prevented the necessity of the political system having to act against these women managers, since they have never existed in sufficient numbers to threaten the existing political factions in the organisation.
The final category of women managers to be discussed is the young graduate, and the situation of these women is most clearly exemplified in the case of 34A, a young, married law graduate, who, unlike the lawyer 26A, wanted a broader basis to her career, and so waited until she could join the marketing division rather than joining the legal department. While she was in fact recruited for a specific vacancy, she has been treated as a general management trainee, thus avoiding the "pigeon holing" effect experienced in the two examples described above. She has been sent on numerous courses and perceives her situation as being no different from that of a man in a comparable position.

To what may we attribute this apparent change in the treatment of women with management potential? Evidence from a number of the interviewees indicates that the company policy has certainly "softened" in respect of women in management, thus 31A mentions that when she was recruited to the organisation there were no women managers, and that over the years the prospects for women in management have improved - "but it's been a long struggle". These improvements must also be regarded in the light of social changes affecting the role of women in general, as indicated in the introduction to this study.

Thus it appears that many of the conflicts between the formal, career and political systems mentioned above have been resolved for the newer intake of female graduates, largely due to the gradual change in the ideology of the organisation over time. However, the female managers described so far have either been single, or where married, their private life and career have not conflicted. The newer graduates may, by virtue of their probable role of working wife and mother, introduce new problems for the organisation to consider, namely maternity leave, leave of absence for children, or, as in the case of 34A, a request for a transfer abroad to accompany her husband, also an employee of Organisation A. There are women managers at present employed in the company who have children - eg 28A and 32A, but they already had children before they joined the company, and have a well organised system which enables them to work without their private life impinging on the organisation. However, experience in the other organisations studied indicates that an increasing number of female graduate managers
wish to take the so far unconventional step of having children AND continuing to work, and as one young woman manager said:

"Organisation A essentially likes the conventional. Being a woman manager itself is unconventional enough; the company won't take much more!!

The validity of this comment is reinforced by the following statement made by a male manager in the organisation:

"the organisation is slow and ponderous - there are systems for everything, so you always know exactly where you are".

In summary, therefore, Organisation A appears to approximate to Pugh, Hickson et al's (1) ideal type of a full bureaucracy as far as the formal system is concerned. However, many features in the experience of the women managers over the last twenty years or so indicate that aspects of the career and political systems have to be recognised as influential. It is interesting that an older male manager stated:

"The size of the company is the vital factor - there are so many people that you can absorb the insecurity of men and cover up mistakes".

It is possible to suggest that this same insecurity of men led to the various political manoeuvres such as the patronage mentioned above, as well as to the reinforcement of the ideology of the company which, until very recently, apparently militated against the women managers.

Other manifestations of possible opposition to women managers are outlined in the following quotes from male managers:

"There is a definite (Organisation A) type, and he (sic) will always get the job".

"One of the main problems is that women don't seem to be concerned with company politics".

There are some senior male personnel who don't think that women are able to take the responsibility that goes with a management post.

All three of these comments reinforce the view of a company ideology that is predominantly masculine, and yet there can be little doubt that, influenced by changes in its social environment, the policy of the organisation is changing in favour of the qualified woman – be she a graduate or professionally trained – although this change is detrimental to the unqualified woman, who, having entered the organisation as a typist or secretary, has far less chance of promotion than her similarly unqualified, but older, sisters had. What remains to be seen as far as Organisation A is concerned, however, is whether or not this new generation of women managers, far from appearing unconcerned about company politics, in fact begin to use the political system to a far greater extent than previously, in order to further their careers in the same way and with the same success apparently achieved by their male colleagues.
Organisation B

Organisation B is one of the largest subsidiaries of the conglomerate under study. It is concerned with the manufacture and marketing of numerous brands of a certain range of products.

Its present structure originates from the early 1960s when three smaller subsidiaries, making similar products, were amalgamated. A few years later a fourth such subsidiary manufacturing one distinct product was incorporated in this structure.

At present the company employs approximately 4\frac{1}{2} thousand people, and has three distinct manufacturing centres, all in the north of England. The planning and commercial centre of the company is situated in London. In addition it has a subsidiary which markets a range of specialised goods for the industrial sector.

The company, operating in the market of non-durable consumer goods, depends heavily on its marketing skills, including advertising and market research. The housewife, does not make annual purchases of the company's products, but weekly. In a statement by the Chairman made in 1971 it was estimated that six million of the Company's products are sold in Britain per week. There are obvious differences in skills therefore between marketing a consumer durable or heavy machinery for industry and this type of product. In a consumer dominated market such as this the company must be clearly aware of marketing techniques, competitors activities etc. - a situation which is reinforced by the high ratio of managers : total staff in the marketing and advertising departments compared to the commercial department, for example (40:84, 5:9 compared to 43:313) as indicated in Table XI.

One distinguishing feature of organisation B is its history of paternalism. When interviewed, many of the older employees emphasised the "family firm" atmosphere that existed, particularly prior to the 1960s reorganisation. The founder of the company and his successors endeavoured to maintain a close tie with their employees. In 1888, for example, special housing was erected to house many of the factory workers - a venture which still exists today. While this housing lacked many of the amenities regarded as essential by today's standards -
Chairman of Organisation B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Total Staff</th>
<th>Total Managers</th>
<th>Total Female Managers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managing Director of Industrial Subsidiary</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising Director</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Director</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Director</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Director</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel Director</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Director</td>
<td>3548</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chairman's Department</th>
<th>Total Staff</th>
<th>Total Managers</th>
<th>Total Female Managers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
employer, and while the underlying motivation may be viewed suspiciously by the politically conscious of the left of the present day, at the time it was a movement which was regarded as dangerously radical.

Other illustrations of this paternalistic ethos abound. A Founders Day was instituted, for example, when, among other festivities, the children of employees received a leather bound copy of one of the "classics". Similarly families of employees were taken on conducted tours of the factory, outings were arranged and so on. However, there was a more authoritarian side to this paternalism.

In 1900, for example, girls working at the factory who wanted men invited to the weekly winter dances had to submit the prospective partners' names to the social department which issued invitations 'unless there be reasons that militate against them.' Furthermore, the village pub was forbidden to open on a Sunday- a situation which survives today.

In spite of these more severe aspects, the pervading paternalistic ethos is missed by most of those who are old enough to compare this past with the present, and it is perhaps not too misleading a juxtaposition to point out that there were no strikes in the factory until two years ago.

It is particularly interesting to note two major aspects of the way the company regards the role of women.

1. Its background of traditions which, it might be suggested, would lead to women's employment in all but the most conventional jobs being discouraged.

2. A second feature of the company which could influence the progress of women's employment is its overriding concern with "the housewife". The statistics, preferences and motivations of this particular being stalks the corridors of the company's head office, as the marketing specialists attempt to assess her probable reaction to advertising campaigns, product developments etc.

There are two main aspects of this latter orientation:

a) It could be argued that the company would benefit from employing a number of women managers, since they would
presumably be able to empathise with the housewife more successfully than their male counterparts. This would be of value particularly in such areas as advertising, marketing and market research i.e. functions where consumer behaviour is of prime importance.

b) The alternative view, which was heard expressed frequently during this research project, is that understanding the housewife's needs is a vital part of the business of this organisation, and large amounts of money must be spent in furthering this understanding. However, the "housewife" whom the company considers to be "typical" is the stay-at-home Mum variety, and thus the woman manager, even if she is a wife and mother, is essentially atypical, and hence is at best of no more value than a male manager in this area, and at worst is actually misleading, since her views would be very different from those of the average housewife, while purporting to be the same.

The ideology of the company is such that the latter view is the one which has been adopted, and thus unlike Organisation C no attempt appears to have been made to recruit women managers as a specific asset, and it might be suggested, even at this stage, that the interaction of the paternalistic background and the perception of the role of the female manager would lead to considerable curtailment of the careers of perspective women managers.

Being these points in mind, the location of the women holding managerial grades may now be noted. Of the 330 managers in Organisation B seven are female. Of these two are in Market Research, two in Brand Management, one is a commercial manager, one works in consumer liaison and the seventh is a systems analyst. In addition to these women, twenty others were interviewed. They were all highly placed on the assistant management scale, and as such were potential managers. Of these sixteen were in typically female roles such as typing supervisor, consumer advisory services, Personnel Administration Officer, Supervisor of Market Research interviewers etc. Among the women assistant managers whom were interviewed, there was only one assistant brand manager,
one Industrial Relations Officer, two technologists and a number of computer specialists - i.e. relatively few women who could be considered as entering "a man's world" in terms of their employment situation.

More detail about these women will be given later, but the important distinction which can usefully be made at this stage is that between typically "feminine" jobs, such as in consumer advice, typing and to a certain extent the lower grades of personnel work, the marginal areas, such as computer work, which, possibly due to its recent development, has unusually good opportunities for women, and the typically "masculine" jobs such as commercial management.

For further information on the amount of specialisation, and other variables likely to affect the career patterns of the female managerial employees, we now turn to the scores on the Pugh/Hickson type of analysis.

**Organisation B - functional specialisation**

Organisation B contained the greatest number of functional specialisms of the three organisations studied - 11 out of the 12 possible specialisms were found in this company, the only absent one being that of a legal section, which is, in this conglomerate, a head office department (see Appendix D). This is of considerable importance as far as the employment of women managers is concerned since, as mentioned above, virtually all of them are employed in specialist roles, only one of the subjects - the printing factory supervisor - holding any kind of line responsibility. This emphasis on specialism is reinforced in the analysis of role specialisation, in which Organisation B again scores highest (See Appendix D).

Not only are the scores high in comparison with the other two organisations, however, but also they fall in the top ranges of the Pugh/Hickson results and this, together with the concentration of women managers in the specialist role, tends to support the hypothesis that specialisation is one of the important variables affecting individuals career patterns, and in this case, especially those of women.

Formalisation results (Appendix E) demonstrate the pervasive influence of the
conglomerate's Head Office, since this measurement of the extent to which rules and procedures are written down indicates very little difference in scores between the three companies. Certainly Organisation B shows little evidence of a significantly greater degree of formalisation than the other two organisations.

Configuration figures, shown in Appendix F, demonstrate the considerable size difference between the organisations, and does almost certainly explain some of the differences in scores on the specialisation scale, as there is certainly a tendency towards positive correlation between size and degree of specialisation. However, it does not explain why the concentration of women in the specialist areas exists, nor why the specific differences between the organisations in particular areas should be as they are — for example, the 19:11 difference in market research in Organisations B:C compared with their differences of 313:42 in accounts. These differences are explained more satisfactorily one suspects, by differences in the ethos of the companies concerned. Thus, the picture emerges of Organisation B as being not only a formalised and specialised large company, but also one which, in part due to its history of paternalism, in part due to its product range and, as some of the interviewees indicated, in part at least due to its top management approaches perhaps most closely the mechanistic model put forward by Burns and Stalker (1). It is important also to bear in mind that these three scales only were employed because Head Office policy dictated procedure etc., on the other scales, and thus all three organisations would score the same. However, the omission of these specific scores for each of the companies must not obscure the fact that there was a high degree of standardisation and centralisation in the organisation, and this further supports the identification of Organisation B in particular as one which possesses a clearly structured formal system.

As with Organisation A, these high scores on the scales of specialisation, formalisation and configuration approximate closely to the Pugh Hickson et al, model of a full bureaucracy. Data gathered from the interviews indicate the importance of Head Office influence,

particularly as regards personnel policy, in addition to the presence of a highly centralised decision making process and authority structure within the company.

However, while the impact of these structural features on the career patterns of women managers forms an important part of this study, we were also concerned with the interaction of the social systems within these organisations. The Pugh/Hickson scales have outlined the major features of the formal system, and we now turn to the career and political systems, as illustrated by the interview material.

The sample can conveniently be divided into three main sections:

1. "The old school" - who have been with the company for twenty years or more, and who have reached their present positions through long service and developing along with the company.

2. the graduates who joined the organisation through the graduate management training scheme.

3. The non-graduate entry, who joined the company with 'A' levels or less, and who have developed in a particular specialism.

The main purpose in subdividing the sample in this way is that it illustrates more clearly the differential impact of structural features on the women, and also the ways in which the various social systems interact.

If we look at the channels of recruitment, for example, the graduate entry was through the usual "milk round" method - i.e. the company visited various universities, held preliminary interviews there, then called successful candidates to a formal selection board, as described elsewhere. In the case of the older women, however, the paternalistic and family history influences are clearly apparent, as many of them joined the company because it was "the thing to do" or because there was a family tradition of working for Organisation B. The third main method of entry was through advertisement. These methods of entry are in fact similar to those of male staff to a great extent particularly as far as the graduates and factory employees were concerned, in that the "milk round effect" obviously applied to both male and female graduates, while there were also significant familial patterns of employment in the factory. However, many males had been transferred
from other companies in the conglomerate - a method of entry which was not found except in one instance among the female sample. If one turns to promotion possibilities and career patterns, however, a somewhat different picture emerges. The differences in male and female career patterns will be discussed in more detail later - suffice it to say at this stage that it was one of the features of the organisation most frequently commented on by the female sample.

The interviewees were each asked about their perceived chances of promotion - what they thought their next job would be within - or outside - the organisation, and how they felt about their progress within the organisation to date. A number of the women attributed their own development and success largely to the development and success of the organisation. Interviewee 22B, for example, had organised and developed the consumer advisory and complaints section from a very small function to a department of approximately a dozen people. The growth in the importance of the function has been accompanied by the growth in her own particular status within the organisation. Female staff in the computer section, too, attributed their high job grades and status to the rapid growth of the section in the recent past - and a number added that this rate of growth had now slowed significantly, and thus that new recruits entering the section now could in no way expect similar promotion and job opportunities. To a certain extent it is possible to point out men in a similar position in the organisation, whose standing has increased along with that of their section, but it is important here to note again the importance of the specialism to these women, as opposed to the simple line responsibilities which are the male province. The situation of a number of women in the Personnel Department is fairly typical (see for examples interviewees 1B, 2B and 4B). The personnel function at the time of their advent into the department was primarily a record keeping one. Consequently they were able to use their basically secretarial/clerical training to advantage, and some progressed well in the organisation. However, now that the personnel function has become more technical and sophisticated, these women, lacking any technical or "paper qualifications" are marooned - unable to progress significantly further in the department or function. It is in this sort of example that one sees perhaps most clearly the conflicts between the formal and career systems within this particular
organisation. While it is perfectly reasonable to assume that the developments within the personnel function might have overtaken the competency of at least some of these women, it is difficult to marry the statements made to at least four of the sample that they have at the average age of 35 - reached the height of their career in the organisation while at the same time the organisation appears to pay considerable attention to career development, personnel appraisal, management by objectives and so on. The whole appraisal system (described in Appendix G) is geared not only to past performance over the previous year, but to promotion possibilities and training needs, and yet many of the "old school" and non-graduate female managers consider that their promotion possibilities are negligible.

Some women employees have found their promotion chances diminished because they have accepted jobs in unusual areas. The best example of this is interviewee 11B, a science graduate who successfully applied for a job in the technical side of the organisation. She soon discovered, however, that none of her male counterparts was a graduate, and that even though she was in charge of a technical team, her grading was only that of an assistant manager. However, she enjoyed the work, and was fairly contented until she mentioned the subject of promotion possibilities. She was told that she had very little chance of promotion, and her protest that the Company would not treat a male graduate in this way was met by the statement that the job she was doing was not one for which a male graduate would be recruited - she had been recruited because being female she was likely to be either unambitious or to have short time horizons.

This rather extreme example is highly untypical of the female graduates in the sample. The graduates who entered through the management training scheme have generally experienced similar promotion patterns to their male counterparts, although they too, have experienced certain adjustment phases in the interaction of the social systems in the organisation. Interviewee 8B, for example, highlights the political and formal systems in conflict in her recruitment to the organisation. She wanted to take up a career in personnel with the company, but it is the policy of the conglomerate not to recruit females directly into the personnel

81.
function, but to require that they work elsewhere in the organisation first. At her selection board, however, was a director who was prepared to offer her a post in personnel immediately. Since in the last resort it is the representative of the company who states whether or not they have a vacancy for a trainee, the board had to waive the ruling, and she was recruited.

The interaction of the three systems is seen most clearly however when one looks at the examples quoted in the interviews indicating discrimination against women managers in the organisation. The one most frequently mentioned by non-graduates was that while the company paid considerable attention to the career patterns of their male employees, this was not the case for the women. Interviewee 3B, for example, while denying that discrimination against women existed in the company, did emphasise that men have a logical career pattern worked out for them, while women's progress is far more piecemeal. Interviewee 17B similarly claimed that male employees have a more logical career pattern. While the attitudes expressed to interviewee 11B (mentioned above) would certainly explain some of this lack of planning, it does not explain why the majority of the graduates have succeeded. It is possible, for example, that the sentiments expressed in 18B hold more than a little of the truth, namely that the company expects its managers to be self-confident and "pushing", while the women over thirty-five years of age in the organisation had been reared in an ethos which deplored "pushing" females - hence the fate of these women lay to at least some extent in their own hands.

Another broad area of discontent was the perception of a number of women that their male counterparts were more likely to be sent on courses than they were. Interviewees 4B and 13B were particularly concerned about this. Certainly the company prides itself on the number and range of courses it offers to its managerial employees, and yet a large proportion of the sample had been on none of these. However, again, this was untypical of the graduate entrants.

Apart from these two general areas there were specific instances of discrimination against women in the sample. One case is quoted, (10B) of a woman who married someone working in the same product group as she was. Company policy was against husband and wife working in such close proximity and so she was transferred sideways to another group. This move has effectively curtailed her chances of promotion.
in the company - her husband being totally unaffected! There are other cases, eg 8B, of women being appointed to a job at a lower grade than that of its previous (male) incumbent, and of females being given lower year end pay increases than their male counterparts. One point of interest which emerged from this study was that to a significant degree the turnover of female staff - reported to be much higher than men due to their family commitments - was brought on by the company themselves to a considerable extent. 66% of the sample stated that they had no intention of leaving the company due to having children - a high proportion of these being well past the peak fertility stage or already having children, and thus probably being very firm in their intention. More important, however, was the fact that of those who claimed they would leave if they had children, the majority wished to work part-time. A number of them stated however that this would be impossible with organisation B, since it appeared to be unwilling to make any concessions to part time work except occasionally in the case of clerical or secretarial staff.

Finally, statements were frequently made during the interviews which are exemplified by the following:

"The company is unenlightened as regards its policy on women, and quite frankly this is due mainly to (names one of the directors) - he's so old-fashioned".

"Many of the men in this company are just against women working - even their own graduate wives".

It certainly appears that the influence of key members of the top management is a highly significant factor in the progress of women managers in this organisation, and this interaction between the career and political systems in Organisation B must certainly be counted as one of the most important influences on the women managers studied.

What conclusions may be drawn from this example of interacting social systems and their impact on women managers?

The first point is that the centralisation of authority which accompanies this type of "personnel bureaucracy" appears to control the recruitment procedure of the organisation with a considerable degree of rigidity. It is only in the past six or seven years that female graduates have been accepted by the company on equal terms with
uneir mare counterparts. Formerly the personnel policy appeared to accept women employees in only the more traditional areas of consumer advice, secretarial and personnel work, but the latter in mainly a clerical capacity. This ideology co-exists with one that regards the "housewife" as the typical woman, and it might be suggested firstly that these two ideologies are mutually reinforcing, and secondly that to some extent they have their roots in the origin of the organisation with its paternalistic orientation.

The second feature of this organisation is that its relatively high level of specialisation has provided employment possibilities for a number of women to assistant manager level, but at this stage the political system appears to take priority over the formal and career systems, as a great many of these women perceive no future promotion prospects for themselves.

In essence, therefore, it appears that with the exception of the recent female graduate entrants, the career system in which the majority of women managers are located is basically different from that of the male managers, in that in many cases different criteria are used for their recruitment and promotion and that their career patterns and training opportunities are recognisably different.

Thus, in the case of Organisation B it is possible to argue that the interacting formal, political and career systems have in the past had a detrimental effect on women vis a vis men managers, although the most recent generation of female graduate managers appear to be experiencing this to a lesser degree.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Organisation C

Organisation C is the smallest of the three units which make up the subject of this study - and indeed is one of the smallest in the conglomerate in terms of numbers of employees - the total at the time of the study being 396, as shown in Appendix F, with the exception of its sales force, which is regionally dispersed, its managerial staff is based in London.

The structure of the company is very similar to that of Organisation B although it employs considerably fewer people - as mentioned above - and hence the chairman has a significantly smaller span of control:

TABLE XII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Group co-ordinator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Chairman of Organisation C |

| Marketing Director | Sales Director | Financial/Personnel Director | Technical Director |

85.
As the departmental responsibilities are far less clearly defined than in Organisations A and B, the breakdown of staff into management and non-management which follows in Table XIII is on a different basis than in the other two organisations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Number of Managers</th>
<th>Total Number of Staff</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Management</td>
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<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising Services</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotional Services</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Research</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales &amp; Salesmen</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Routines Office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Administration</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>71</strong></td>
<td><strong>396</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The organisation as it exists at present has been influenced significantly by its long history. Its records go back to the mid-seventeenth century, and there is detailed information of a family firm making a cold cream soap - not dissimilar to one of the existing brands - as far back as 1887, while another of their existing brands was founded even earlier, in 1789, although this company was not taken over by the conglomerate until 1953.

The family firm was acquired by Organisation B in 1919, and eventually re-emerged as a separate entity on the formation of the conglomerate in 1929.

The firm diversified into tooth care products in the 1930s, and since then has built a considerable reputation for diversification and innovation. Their last major diversification was in the early 1960s when it took over a company concerned with hair care preparations.
In common with Organisation B, Organisation C is a highly marketing oriented concern, dealing with products appearing on the weekly shopping list rather than with consumer durables. Thus it is not surprising to find once more the highest ratio of managers : total staff in the marketing area (16:29). However there is one fundamental difference between these two organisations in their marketing orientation, and this lies in their image of their consumers. As mentioned elsewhere, the overriding concern of Organisation B and hence their perception of the market, was in terms of "the housewife", a perception which, in part at least, therefore excluded women managers as being in any way representative of their consumer. It was frequently commented on in Organisation C however that the company dealt almost exclusively with products for the individual woman qua woman, and that women managers played an important role and gave valuable service to the organisation due to their identification with the market.

Thus apart from the differences in size between this Organisation and that of A and B, there is also this essential difference in the ideologies of the organisations, in part exemplified by the differences in the perception of their market, and in part manifested in the company policy regarding women managers. It is therefore perhaps not too surprising that the company has always had a very positive policy towards the recruitment of female managers, at least 25% of their graduate management recruits being female. They appeared to be concerned that these women were adequately trained and that they followed as logical a career pattern as their male colleagues.

Interviews with senior male managers indicated that they believe that women managers have an important role to play in the company. They also stated on various occasions that they believed that if a woman stayed with the company for five years she would more than adequately repay any investment in her training. This attitude is exemplified by the fact that the Chairman had held a luncheon for the female managers in the company, and apart from just generally talking to them in an attempt to discover more about their attitudes and motivation; he specifically encouraged them in their work, and assured them that if they wanted to have children, the company would endeavour to smooth the path for their return to work.
Having noted both the perception of the market and the attitudes towards women expressed by the senior management of the company, it is interesting to note that at the time of the study there were eight female managers - one of whom was on leave of absence as she had just given birth, but who was intending to return to work after her six weeks leave. More important, however, is the fact that five of these women were all employed in the Marketing department - and were in fact all brand managers. There were no female line managers, and departments such as sales and even the commercial department were virtually closed to women managers, although there was one female accountant. This latter point is particularly relevant where promotion possibilities are concerned. As mentioned above, five of the women were brand managers. They could reasonably aspire to being marketing managers in the not too distant future - but for the fact (a) that not even this apparently "enlightened" company has ever employed a female marketing manager and, more significantly, that one of the better recognised routes to marketing manager is through sales, which, as we have said, is effectively closed to women. The other two women managers were in the very female orientated areas of consumer advice and as a beautician in the company's salon.

The marketing department was split into three product group - teeth, hair and skin. It is perhaps significant that the image of the consumer in the "teeth" group was far more oriented towards the housewife, and at the same time employed no female managers at all, compared to the more "woman" orientated areas of hair and skin care.

If we now turn to the analysis of the structural variables of Organisation C and compare them with the other organisations, some of the other features adding to the potential success of the females become apparent.

Functional Specialisation

Organisation C contained the fewest number of functional specialisms of the three organisations studied (see Appendix D) - with only 7 out of the possible 12 areas being represented. Perhaps the most significant absence is that of a specialised Employment, Training, Welfare and Security function. This is further amplified in measurement of role specialisation where the company again obtains the lowest score,
and falls in the middle ranges of the Pugh/Hickson results. Given
the predominance of specialist areas in the employment of women managers
and assistant managers in the other two organisations it would be
possible to suggest that Organisation C had few facilities for the
employment of these women. However, as indicated above, and as will be
developed later, other structural and contextual variables in the
organisation interact to lessen the effects of this lack of specialisation.

Formalisation

As mentioned elsewhere, the pervasive influence of the Head
Office is apparent in the results on this scale. However, examination
of the scale illustrated in Appendix E shows that where variations
in the scores do exist, Organisation C generally emerges as less
formalised than the other organisations. The absence of job
descriptions for all jobs in the organisation, particularly, ties in
with comments made by interviewee 25C and also perhaps with the absence
of a specialised personnel function.

Configuration

figures, shown in Appendix F, indicate the small size
of Organisation C compared to the other two units. It is particularly
interesting to note, however, that with the exception of sales - a
province as yet unpenetrated by women managers - by far the largest
number of managers is to be found in the Marketing Department
compared to its nearest rivals - but very much allied areas - of market
research and advertising, which possessed three managers each. This
comparative perspective, when regarded in terms of Pugh, Hickson et al's
empirical taxonomy of work organisations, leads to the classification
of Organisation C as an implicitly structured organisation\(^{(1)}\) since it has

"low scores on the structural characteristics measured
with the particular scales of rather overt regulation
that were used"\(^{(1)}\).

The underlying hypothesis is that such an organisation is run

"not by explicit regulation but by implicitly transmitted
custom, such as the traditional means usually typical of
organisations of small or medium size"\(^{(2)}\).

---

(1) Cf D.S. Pugh, D.J. Hickson and C.R. Hinings "An Empirical Taxonomy
of Structures of Work Organisations" - Administrative Science Quarterly
Vol.14 No.1 1969 Pg 117.

(2) Ibid Page 117-8.
As far as the impact of these structural features on the career patterns of the women managers in Organisation C is concerned, the inherent flexibility of this implicitly structured type of organisation structure has to be evaluated against the possible curtailment of their range of activities due to the relatively low number of specialisms available to them.

These scores, therefore give some indication of the structural differences between Organisation C and the others, particularly in terms of its smaller size, and lower degrees of formalisation and specialisation. However these are only measures of the formal system in operation in the organisation, and it is the interview data which provides information on the political and career systems within this company.

The informal atmosphere and good relations between staff was frequently mentioned - eg "Everyone except the Chairman is on christian name terms".

"The directors seldom keep to formalised communication channels - they just drop in for a chat".

"I would feel quite happy about wandering in to see the Chairman".

This "informality" appeared to have two main manifestations:

1. that people work in small groups to a far greater extent than in any other company studied. This is of particular relevance to the political system in the organisation, as comments such as that made by interviewee 25C bears out - "you have to engage in political wrangling in order to get more than a specified number of people on your side to get a project through".

2. The informality and associated relatively low level of formalisation led to considerable flexibility towards staff hours, leave etc. This was particularly vital in the case of the female brand manager who had a baby, but returned to work as soon as possible. To some extent it is possible to see this as some sort of test case, and as far as one could see
it was a successful one. Thus it is perfectly conceivable that similar allowances might be made for future female managers - which would have the effect of providing long term career prospects for the female graduate management trainees, and thus on the career system in general.

Another important factor which distinguishes Organisation C from the other two organisations is the homogeneity of background of its female managers - as all but two fit into the graduate management trainee mould, as compared with the mix of graduates, non-graduates and "old school" non-graduates found elsewhere.

It is possible to suggest that this apparent youthfulness, taken together with the informality and apparent and reported flexibility of the organisation combine to present a very "organic" type of company image - to use Burns and Stalker's (1) typology once more.

Some of the interviewees in fact pointed out areas of similarity and difference between Companies B and C particularly. One of the important features of difference lay in the relatively low turnover of staff as between different jobs in the company in the case of B compared to the fairly rapid turnover in C - "people change jobs here like nobody's business". It was known that Company B in fact had a stated policy of not moving people, particularly brand managers, more than once every two years in order to keep some continuity in the brand.

Commenting on the degree of formalisation in Organisation B, one Company C respondent stated that "Frankly people here just laugh at (company B) - they seem to make work for themselves".

Finally, the degree of informality in Company C was compared with the perceived formality of Company B, particularly in terms of management's relations with senior management and Board members.

The women in the sample were unanimous in their denial of the existence of discrimination against female managers, although the position of marketing manager was obviously regarded with some interest. They were also united in their desire to continue working with or without family commitments.

It must be noted, that while a number of the female managers in Company C are married, only the lady mentioned above has a child. She returned to work after taking only the standard maternity leave, and has certainly coped exceedingly well with her dual role. However, in spite of the Chairman's statements at his luncheon, any successful co-ordination of home and work on the part of this manager is due virtually solely to her own efforts - for example in living near the office and employing both a nanny and a housekeeper rather than the company's efforts, which were apparently confined to permitting her occasionally to bring her child into work in cases of nanny's holidays and other domestic emergencies.

The extent of the company's commitment to the idea of women management is perhaps further exemplified in the proposed move of premises from central London to the outer London area. A purpose-built office block was to be commissioned, and great emphasis was laid on the range of amenities that would be available, such as squash courts, indoor swimming pool etc. When challenged, however, the Board of Directors had to concede that they had not even considered instituting a creche or playgroup in or near the new building, and at the time of writing there is no evidence to suggest that such a scheme might be brought into operation even on a commercial basis, for the foreseeable future.

It is, therefore, perhaps not too cynical to question the strength of the policy makers' wish to have a management which is female oriented if not dominated, as they are apparently prepared to make some concessions to this section of their labour force, but one must question whether these are as an exception to the rule or as the rule. Obviously the test of time must be applied in this case before the full implications of the political system and its effect on the career system can be ascertained.
As far as Organisation C is concerned the following conclusions emerge:

The size and configuration of the organisation has had a significant effect on the employment of women as managers in the organisation. As mentioned elsewhere, women have tended to be successful in areas of specialism, such as personnel, or the more typically female roles as consumer advisory services. Organisation C, mainly because of its size, does not have a separate personnel division, and many of the specialist services are "hired" from outside organisations - thus the breadth of opportunity for women in the organisation is to some extent structurally curtailed.

Thus Organisation C is an excellent example of the differences between the formal systems structural effects on the organisation and those of the career and political system. Whilst in Organisation B it was apparent that women managers were tolerated, but rarely welcomed, Organisation C, in spite of its structural constraints made a positive attempt to attract female managers to the organisation, and furthermore to keep them once recruited. The perception which management held of its market had a large part to play in this, as did the informal, flexible ethos of the company. The pervasive influence of the Head Office was obviously felt in the Organisation, but it was mediated by the political system, in particular the attitudes and perceptions of the top management, to result in an organic organisation structure.
CHAPTER EIGHT

The Civil Service - Some Comparisons

As a comparison to women in managerial positions in industry, this section aims to investigate the role of women in the administrative and executive classes of the Civil Service. From this, it is hoped to obtain comparative information on women's career progress, given that the qualifications of the women themselves may be assumed to be constant.

This section, therefore, will, firstly, give an account of the historical background to the employment of women in the Civil Service; secondly, it will outline where these higher grade women Civil Servants are to be found, their marital situation and their success relative to male colleagues. It will then compare the status and conditions of these women to those forming the population of the main study.

Historical Perspective

According to Lee Holcombe:

"The employment of middle-class women in the Civil Service in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was, in a sense, a microcosm of the employment of middle-class women generally in this period. In the earlier years of the period, owing to conditions prevailing in the service, few women civil servants were employed, just as there were few women shop assistants and few women clerks. But as the years passed, the nature and structure of the service changed, as did the character of the retail trades and of the clerical occupations, making possible and even essential the employment of middle-class women"(1).

Women were first employed by the Civil Service in the 1870s - more by chance than design since the service "took over" various organisations which were already employing women, for example, the Post Office. At this time the posts were almost invariably of the clerical type, for which women were paid at a lower rate than their male counterparts. Open competition as a means of selecting female Clerks was introduced in the Post Office in the 1880s with age limits 18-20.

Kelsall reports that then:

"came the gradual provision of a small number of openings for women inspectors, beginning with Mrs. Nassau Senior's appointment in the Local Government Board in 1873. The first woman inspector of schools was appointed ten years later, and by 1905 the Board of Education had a Chief Woman Inspector whose staff a few years later comprised 27 other women Inspectors" (1).

The 1914-18 war led to the most significant progress in the employment of women in the Civil Service. Under the pressure of war time conditions, administrative duties were often performed by women, although their job titles were not changed. Women graduates were employed as "administrative assistants", and Kelsall quotes the case of one woman actually being given the title of Assistant Secretary (2).

Thus it is possible to argue that it was only in the period of social change surrounding the First World War that women began to infiltrate the higher echelons of the Service - mostly by persistence, ability and, inevitably, luck, rather than by a conscious decision on the part of the employers. However, the authors of the P.E.P. report "Women in Top Jobs" do not consider the changing social climate to have been the most important factor in this development.

"The most specific and insistent reforming pressure on the Civil Service came from the two women's associations within it. The larger, the National Association of Women Civil Servants recruited from clerks and typists, had evolved through various changes of title and structure from the first women's association, that of the Women Clerks in the Post Office, formed in 1901. The second, the Council of Women Civil Servants, recruited from women in the professional, administrative and higher executive grades took this title in 1925 having originated in 1920 as the Standing Joint Committee on Women in the Higher Grades of the Civil Service " (3).

One of the major successes of these organisations was the removal of the marriage bar for women in 1946. Ever since the 1930s women have been free to apply for entry to the Civil Service in most of the departmental

(2) Ibid - Pg. 170.
classes, but until 1946 women were required to leave on marriage, the view being that most women left anyway when they got married, and those who remained were unable to concentrate on two tasks at once, the latter argument having been used by no male chauvinist, but Dame Maude Lawrence in evidence to the Tomlin Commission of 1929-31.

Since 1946, however, married women have been allowed to apply for posts in the Civil Service.

Another apparent source of inequality between men and women was that in the period 1925-39, out of approximately 490 competition appointments to the Higher Civil Service only 35 or 7% were given to women. Kelsall looks at three possible reasons for this—

Firstly, that women were not as capable as men to pass the entrance examination. However, on looking at their respective papers, Kelsall comes to the conclusion that "there was comparatively little difference between the sexes in this respect"(1).

Secondly, he points out that large number of women were excluded from the competition because of the marriage bar.

Thirdly, he claims that many women were discouraged from even competing for a post, firstly because there were only limited fields which they could enter (they were barred from any post which involved dealings with defence and overseas territories) but secondly because "women were often made to feel that a prejudice against their sex existed"(2).

Certainly prospects of promotion for women civil servants had been traditionally poor. Lee Holcombe claims, for example, that:

"After low pay, the greatest grievance of civil servants, was that of their limited prospects of promotion, and here women were at a special disadvantage for their chances of rising to higher, better-paid positions were considerably more restricted than men's...."women could not obtain promotion to higher grades of the service like men but were restricted to the supervisory classes within their own grades". (3)

In this case, it was only after the second world war that work was arranged so as to make it interchangeable between men and women, and that women were considered together with men for promotion.

(1) R.K. Kelsall op.cit. Pg 171.
(2) R.K. Kelsall op.cit. Pg 173.
(3) Lee Holcombe - op.cit. - Pg 176.
The final structural bone of contention regarding discrimination against women in the Civil Service concerned the issue of pay. It was not until 1955, at least in part due to the two organisations mentioned above, that the Government announced a plan to equalise men's and women's pay, specifically through changes in increment, with a view to equal pay being in operation throughout the Service by 1961. At this time the pressure groups, seeing the promised equal pay and realisation of improved conditions, disbanded themselves - a move which might be considered somewhat premature, when one realises that in fact there has only been equal pay for men and women in most grades since 1962, and that some posts are still paid according to the sex of the incumbent, although they should be brought into line by 1975.

Thus a considerable degree of similarity may be observed between the history of women's employment in the Civil Service, and their employment in industry, the major difference being that the discrimination against married women, against women in certain types of job, and against women in certain grades of job was formalised "de iure" in the Civil Service rather than practiced "de facto" in industry.

Location and conditions of Women Civil Servants

The Fulton Committee's survey of the Civil Service was moved to remark in the conclusions that

"The Civil Service is a particularly enlightened employer of women, making no ostensible discrimination against them in pay and prospects.... even so all the signs are that they compete on less than equal terms with men"(1).

The aim of this section is to investigate the evidence that exists in order to ascertain the extent of equality of conditions between men and women in the Civil Service and to compare these conditions with those experienced by women working in industry.

The first area of study concerns the type of positions held by women in the Civil Service. As the table below indicates, when one looks at the various staff groupings separately, it is clear that the pattern of female employment in the Civil Service is a reflection of the

pattern in society in general, namely that women tend to hold low status jobs while men generally move into higher status employment. Thus women formed only 8.8% of the staff in the administrative grade, but 49.7% of the clerical workers.

TABLE XIV Proportion of Women Permanent Staff in major categories (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff group</th>
<th>1950 (April 1st)</th>
<th>1970 (Jan. 1st)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men %</td>
<td>Women %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin.</td>
<td>93.4 (2,522)</td>
<td>6.6 (179)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exec.</td>
<td>80.2 (26,397)</td>
<td>19.8 (6,516)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>65.2 (47,876)</td>
<td>34.8 (25,599)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science and Technical I</td>
<td>97.0 (14,015)</td>
<td>3.0 (433)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science and Technical II</td>
<td>92.5 (15,568)</td>
<td>7.5 (1,270)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Actual numbers of employees are in brackets.

Thus, it appears that relatively few women reach the highest grades of the Civil Service. The second question to be answered must therefore be why does this distribution occur? Are the women restricted formally or informally to certain grades, or do they not aspire to higher grades? (2)


(2) Notes on grades:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Numbers</th>
<th>Salary Range</th>
<th>Annual Leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On July 1 1968</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Secretary</td>
<td>£ 10,460 )</td>
<td>£ 9,800 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Sec.</td>
<td>£ 7,100</td>
<td>6 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Secs.</td>
<td>£ 6,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asst. Sec.</td>
<td>£ 4045 x 6.60</td>
<td>5 weeks after service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>£ 2599 x 940</td>
<td>10 years total service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asst. Principal</td>
<td>£ 1,071 x 14 to £ 1,827</td>
<td>4 weeks and 3 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The answer inevitably lies in a combination of factors, stretching throughout the career structure of the Civil Service.

The table below for example shows that while in 1970 woman formed 33.3% of applicants for entry through open competition to the assistant principal grade, they form only 30.5% of the successful applicants.

TABLE XV Successful application in open competitions for entry to assistant principal grade (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1968</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APPLICATIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUCCESSES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) *The Employment of Women in the Civil Service: The Report of a Departmental Committee CSD Management Studies 3 HMSO 1971 Pg 41.*
Furthermore of those who did succeed in the open competition, not all actually entered the service, as Table XVI indicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE XVI</th>
<th>Successes and entries as a percentage of application from each sex for the assistant principal grade (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Successes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Year relates to year of competition and not necessarily to year of actual entry.

Thus from these two tables it is apparent that women tend to be less successful than men in competition for posts in the assistant principal grade. Furthermore this has certainly been the case since 1948, as the following figures suggest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE XVII</th>
<th>Number of successful candidates in Method I and Method II Competitions - 1948-67(2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Method I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-51</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-55</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-59</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-63</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-67</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-67</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(1) From "The Employment of Women in the Civil Service" op cit Pg 41.

(2) Up to 1969 there were two methods of open competition for the assistant Principal grade of the administrative class - Method I which was discontinued in 1969, involved a series of written examinations in academic subjects, similar to degree examinations. Method II was more specifically a qualifying examination, and those who passed it went on to a series of tests and interviews over a two day period.
It is perhaps interesting to note that on average women fared equally well (or badly?) under either method, constituting approximately 14% of the successful candidates over the period 1948-67 in both cases. It is interesting to compare these percentages of successful women with the 10% of successful graduates in our sample.

However, given that women formed 30.5% of successful applicants to the Administrative grade in 1970, why did they only form 8.8% of the total staff of that grade? Perhaps the most obvious explanation lies in the tendency for married women with children to leave full-time employment. Fogarty et al (1) quote the example of a cohort of 45 women who entered the Civil Service through open competition between 1947 and 1954.

"By 1968, of the original 45 women, just over a third (16) had left the service for marital and family reasons, another 4 having left for what can be called "occupational" reasons, 16 were married and were working in the class alongside 9 single women from the original cohort".

While these figures indicate a high wastage rate among females in this class, the rate is considerably lower than the 90% wastage rate of female graduate management trainees in the industrial study, noted in Chapter 4.

The report on the employment of women in the Civil Service acknowledges this wastage in resources:

"The Service undoubtedly loses many valuable trained people among women who resign to start & bring up their families, and in the future is likely to lose a greater proportion of its staff in this way. They represent from the point of view of the Service an investment which yields less than a full return and to the extent that they come back to the Service this loss would be reduced" (2).

The report goes on to suggest that while this wastage exists, little is done to control it, since the Civil Service has a particular model of its employees' career patterns:

(2) The Employment of Women in the Civil Service op.cit. Pg 7
"We have found little discrimination against women in conditions of service, but equality in this sense is no longer the heart of the matter. The crucial point is that the conditions of employment and career patterns in the Civil Service, at any rate in the more responsible positions are based upon a general expectation of unbroken service from entry until retirement" (1).

It is this latter point which is of great importance in this investigation. The Civil Service is often considered to be the bureaucracy par excellence and certainly justifies this title to the extent that its rules and regulations are notorious. Thus it finds a certain amount of difficulty in dealing with the situation which has arisen in the last few years, namely that of women wishing to return to work after two or three year's break for child rearing. The situation is much easier for the woman who is prepared to take the acknowledged 2-3 months maternity leave - there are rules to cover that eventuality, but the arrangements for a return to work after a longer break reflect the attitude that such a thing is exceptional, and that nothing in particular should be done to encourage it.

However, the CSD's study claims that it would be perfectly feasible to have a special competition for reinstatement, and where there is the possibility of attenuation of skills, that women could be sent specially prepared information to keep them up to date.

The higher grades of the Civil Service also have very few possibilities for the part-time worker, although in the course of their investigations, the members of the CSD's study group were frequently asked about part-time work. As a result of this they conducted a survey of the major departments and in fact discovered a wide variety of work which could be done on a part-time basis. Whilst obvious difficulties existed with positions which required frequent contact with others, or in which there was need for continuity of control, the specialist type of job appeared to lend itself quite well to this approach. Furthermore, this group claims that

(1) Ibid Pg 7.
"Where part-time workers have been engaged some departments have found that the standard of their work is higher than that of the full-timers". (1)

While the married woman with children apparently faces difficulty in conforming to the male standards of performance in her job, this presumably does not explain the phenomenon that even when length of service is held constant the women are under-represented, as the following table indicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Established before 1940</th>
<th>Appointed 1940-65</th>
<th>Established after 1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Grade</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper grades</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e. Asst. Sec. &amp; above</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower grades</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(150)</td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>(199)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fulton Committee, Social Survey of the Civil Service, Chapter III.

Similarly the woman's potential or actual family situation provides little in the way of explanation for the type of area in which she works, yet the ministries do differ significantly in the numbers of administrative class women they employ.

It appears that women for some reason cluster in the "social" or "economic" ministries rather than in Customs and Excise for example.

(2)

The PEP survey, for example, states that in 1965 the largest concentrations of women were found in the following Ministries:

(1) The Employment of Women in The Civil Service op.cit. Pg 21
(2) Women in Top Jobs op.cit. Pg 267
It is possible to suggest, therefore, that while the Civil Service Department found little discrimination against women in conditions of service in the Civil Service, women appear to be under-represented in the Administrative Class from the stage of applicant right through to Under Secretary. If Tom Burns conceptualisation of interacting social systems \(^{(1)}\) is applied to this situation, it might be suggested that the formal system did little to hinder the progress of women in the Civil Service, but that factors operating at the level of the career and political systems were largely responsible. The points of comparison outlined in the next section illustrate some of these factors, many of which are found in both the public sector and private sector organisations.

**Conclusions**

The final section of this chapter will attempt to illustrate the similarities, differences between opportunities and conditions of employment for women in the Civil Service and the industrial organisations on which this study is based.

As far as applications for entry are concerned, the Civil Service receives a larger proportion of applications from women than the industrial organisation - 27.8% compared to 17.4% - although in absolute terms, the industrial organisation is more popular with applicants, having received 2236 applications in 1970 from both men and women, compared to 824 for the Civil Service. In both cases, the applications were for graduates and a similar starting salary was offered.

However, in actual recruitment terms, the Civil Service accepts on average five times as many women - thirty per annum compared

\(^{(1)}\) Tom Burns - op.cit. Pages 232 - 249.
to six in the industrial organisation, while the overall number of graduates recruited is similar in both organisations - just under a hundred in both cases. Thus women have a better chance of being accepted to hold a post in the Civil Service.

As far as placement within the organisation is concerned, women in both cases appear to have a more limited choice of positions open to them. As stated above, women in the Civil Service tend to cluster in the "social" and "economic" ministries, rather than in Customs and Excise, for example, while in the industrial organisations Marketing and certain specialist functions appear to attract the majority of females while the sales force is entirely male. It is interesting to note, however, that unlike women in the industrial context, on entering the administrative class, women enter a stable, unitary structure, where they do not have the opportunities which certainly exist elsewhere, to carve specialised spheres for themselves. Instead they are obliged to prove to their male colleagues that they can do as well as men what formerly men alone did. They cannot make themselves indispensable to the organisation by accumulating information and "odd jobs" - and in these terms are therefore probably more equal to the men in their role performance.

It is interesting to note, when comparing these organisations that although the women graduates still leave for family reasons, their average length of service is quite different. In the industrial organisation, as previously mentioned, the average length of service for the women graduates is 2.7 years, while in the Civil Service it is 5 years - almost double. There are obviously a number of reasons for this discrepancy, but on the evidence received it would appear that the Civil Service is more conducive to career orientation, in that it has formal maternity leave procedures, and, according to the statements of many interviewees is willing to be flexible if it is convinced of a woman's determination to remain working full time after the birth of her child. The industrial organisation, however, appears to expect women to leave on childbirth - never to return, and this inevitably becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

However, there is still evidence of prejudice against women administrators as there is against women managers in the industrial
organisation. When, for example, male Civil Servants were asked to evaluate probable successful functioning in the higher levels of the service, they rated 56% of the men as being capable of being Under Secretary, compared with 33% of the women (1).

In conclusion, therefore, one can only say that discrimination, conscious or unconscious, against women occurs in both organisations when one is talking about the administrative or managerial grades. However, it appears that the Civil Service accepts more women recruits than the industrial organisation, and is rewarded to some extent in their longer service. But a more striking difference emerges in terms of the possibilities for career orientation, since the Civil Service provides the machinery whereby a woman who wishes to have children yet stay in the service can do so, while the industrial organisations, certainly at present, do not.

One could attribute these differences to a number of factors, but the vital one here does appear to be linked to the type of work done by these women civil servants and the extent to which their roles and responsibilities are clearly delineated. Since there is little opportunity for "empire building" in terms of job content, personnel are more easily transferrable and thus absences can be tolerated more easily. Therefore, it may be concluded that the organisational structure does account to a considerable extent for some of the differences in the experiences of women in the Civil Service and the industrial organisations. The bureaucratic feature of clear role demarcation leads to its incumbent not being indispensable—a disadvantage for the older woman who has probably built her job up herself, but an advantage for the younger woman who needs two or three months leave of absence. Similarly, the method of recruitment—via written examinations as well as interviews and so on—probably leads to greater emphasis on ability than the recruitment methods of the industrial organisations.

However, an important asset for women Civil Servants undoubtedly exists in the fact that employers have had to consider them and their needs for a considerable period of time, and in the fact that two pressure groups did exist in the past. The mere fact of their existence has meant that the employers, unlike their industrial counterparts, have had

formal bodies to deal with concerning women's rights, and not just the voiced opinions of a few activists.
Conclusion

It was stated in the introduction that the aim of this study was to investigate the factors affecting the particular locations of women managers in a conglomerate, with specific reference to the interacting formal, political and career systems in the organisations studied. The information gathered in the course of the study from the application of the Pugh/Hickson analysis, from the women managers themselves and from the male interviewees leads us to the view that the political system is the most important influence on the success or otherwise of women managers in this conglomerate. Thus, although a highly structured career system exists in all the organisations studied, and although the formal systems, as analysed through the Pugh/Hickson typology, were shown to share large areas of similarity, aspects of the political systems of these organisations has been shown to differ considerably and we consider the groups who are responsible for the generation and diffusion of the organisational "charters" to be a key variable in the political system as far as the women managers are concerned.

Before this aspect of the study is examined in detail, however, we will endeavour to pull together some of the other major findings of the study.

The first point which may be emphasised is the historical perspective which the three major types of women manager illustrates. For while contemporary feminists such as Greer and Mitchell might despair at the low level of progress of women in industry since the Suffragette movement, the time span covered from the first women managers to the present ones certainly does indicate that some progress has been made.

By dividing the sample into the three sections of the "old school", long serving unqualified woman manager, the middle range, middle aged qualified woman manager, and the young qualified woman manager, the two related trends of progress of women in the organisations and the role of women in society are illustrated. The virtual
inevitability of the association of these two trends is emphasised by Hall:

"Organisations do not operate in a vacuum. They affect their environments and are affected by them. It is quite clear that organisations are in constant interaction with other organisations, clients and customers and general societal conditions. At the same time organisations themselves influence general social change"(1).

As outlined in the introduction, there has been a gradual increase in the numbers of women entering occupations with management opportunities, this trend being found initially among the unmarried, but now among the younger married, sector of the female workforce. The sample of women managers from Organisations A and B is certainly indicative of such a trend.

The existence of a cohort of unmarried women managers who entered the organisation usually with secretarial qualifications over twenty years ago, and whose present positions in the organisation tend to be concentrated in the areas of personnel and consumer advice contrast vividly with the young graduate female manager, who has very often entered the organisation on the same terms as her male colleagues whose job opportunities are certainly far wider in scope than the older woman, and who either is already married or envisages being so, without this preventing her from following her chosen career.

It is interesting to note, however, that the most female oriented organisation, organisation C, did not display this range of female management, the majority of the sample falling into the third category of young graduates.

Thus the first general conclusion that emerges is that there have been associated changes in these organisations and in society in general as to the numbers and types of women who successfully put themselves forward for management positions. However, it is also important to note the overwhelming bias of the interview data which supports Viola Klein's conclusion from the "Britain's Married Woman Workers" survey (2) that women's lives today are, as much as ever

dominated by their role, actual or expected, as wives and mothers, and that all occupations are subordinated to this. Even the most ambitious young women managers had found it necessary to work out strategies for coping with husbands and children, even where these did not, at present exist, and it is this apparent necessity to be able to fulfil conventional female roles in addition to the more unconventional occupational one that continues to work against the woman manager being considered the same as her male colleague.

The P.E.P. team considered, in fact, that this source of difference was joined by another, perhaps more fundamental one - that of differences in ambition and career orientation.

They claim that:

"Women are more likely than men to have what might be called a general rather than a specialised type of ambition; to be interested in balancing family or leisure interests against work, and to settle for a satisfying job, which leaves room for this rather than to drive towards the peaks of a profession"(1).

This statement is reinforced to a certain extent by a number of even the young female managers as few of them have any clear idea of their promotion prospects, and furthermore many of them claim to be willing to give up their jobs for rearing their children, thus emphasising the different perception of their career from their male counterparts. However, while this perception is all too well known to those responsible for selection and promotion, the corollary is not, namely that the woman manager is likely to be less occupationally mobile in the short term, more content to remain in one job for a longer period of time, and above all, highly likely to return to her previous occupation after having reared her children, in most cases with at least twenty five years of service ahead of her. The implications of this for the organisations concerned will be considered at the end of this chapter.

Thus, certain conclusions may be drawn concerning the sample of women managers studied, perhaps the most notable of which is that few of them appeared to be militantly feminist, few remarkably ambitious.

and few of the younger section prepared to forego the role of mother for the role of woman manager. Even in Organisation C, the most female oriented organisation of the study, the women managers appeared to be far more concerned with the problems and satisfactions of their current position to be concerned that they were pioneers in any sense of the word, or that their future promotions would cause repercussions for the future employment of women managers throughout the conglomerate.

If we now turn from the sample of women managers to the formal organisations in which they operate, a number of conclusions emerge. If we compare the structure of the three organisations studied through the use of the Pugh/Hickson typology, the impact of Head Office policy is immediately obvious. The use of scales of centralisation and standardisation would have been un-productive as all three organisations would have scored the same due to the prevalence of Head Office policy in these areas. However the scores on the scales of specialisation, formalisation and configuration do appear to discriminate between the organisations, as shown in Appendices D, E and F. Results on these scales indicate that all three organisations are among the most highly structured of the Pugh/Hickson sample, with Organisation B scoring particularly highly on the specialisation scale. The Pugh/Hickson taxonomy (1) as applied to these organisations places both organisations A and B in the category of Full Bureaucracy while organisation C approximates most closely to an Implicitly Structured organisation.

What are the implications of this formal organisation on the women managers? The types of position available for women managers to fill and the numbers of these posts are two of the most important aspects of the formal organisation. Chris Argyris has been highly critical of the inadequacies of most formal structures to make full use of their personnel, and it is possible to argue that Organisations A and B particularly are no exception.

"All organisations begin with a formal structure designed to achieve their core activities. To date, all the structures designed have been inadequate in their ability to capitalise on human potentialities"(1).

If we turn to the way in which the formal structures have "capitalised on human potentialities" and the criteria for career success which exist in the various organisations, or to the career system in general, we find that various conclusions emerge. Loring and Wells(2)(3) apply Likert's(3) management styles or "organisational climate" to the study of women in management, and significant parallels are observable between their description of the benevolent authoritarian organisation and our own data.

"In benevolent authoritarian organisations, women may have the opportunity to rise into first or second-level management positions.... Most of the management positions open to women in this climate are staff positions; co-ordinating functions; trouble-shooting assignments, personnel and training functions, customer and public relations activities, and research roles. Line positions held by women are most frequently in selected departments, such as accounting and computer-related functions. There is usually heavy emphasis on technical excellence and many of these positions are "terminal" management positions for woman: they are not avenues to continued advancement"(4).

Examples from our sample which fall into these categories are numerous - the older women who worked in the personnel and training department of Organisation A, the computer staff of Organisation B, the translations manager in Organisation A, and so on. This location has similarly been noted by the P.E.P. team:

"The women tended to have done well in the most quickly expanding parts of the organisation or in little corners where they were the only people with a particular skill or specialised knowledge"(5).

(1) Argyris C - "On the Effectiveness of Research and Development Organisation" American Scientist 54,4 (1968), Pg 344.
(5) M. Fogarty et al Women in Top Jobs op.cit. Pg 33
The impact of the organisational climate as an influence on the careers of women managers is discussed in greater detail below, but the general point arises from the present study, as well as those of Loring and Wells and P.E.P. that women's career patterns have been considerably influenced by the expectations of their (male) superiors and by the career system, the debatable criteria for promotion and so on. Given that the three studies are geographically dispersed, if not temporally, it is possible to suggest that the similarities noted above must, to a considerable degree, result from the similar environment, social conditions or culture in which the various organisations exist, for this would also account for the changing career patterns of the young graduate managers in our sample. However this emphasis on the environment does obscure two important facts - firstly that, explicitly at least, the career system in all three organisations in our study has supported the idea of equal opportunity for all, that merit was the most important criterion for promotion, and so on, and yet implicitly this patently has not been the case; and secondly, that even though environmental influences were similar on the three organisations in this study, there were considerable differences as to the relative success of male and female managers in the organisations.

It is in order to explain these phenomena that we now turn to the role of the political system in the careers of the women managers. Tom Burns' concept of a political system and its interaction with the formal organisation and the career system is described in the following way:

"the rules of the game being played in the two social systems I have already mentioned - the formal organisation and the career system - may themselves be the subject of conflict. Major decisions about changing the rules of the game usually require much antecedent search and discussion, not so much to accumulate information as to test out and align consensus; decisions about 'policy matters', therefore, ordinarily involve the formation of groups and sections concerned with the advocacy of one or other course of action... (the individual) may be, and often is, able to increase his personal power by attaching himself to parties or sections of people who represent the same kind of resource and wish to enhance its exchange value, or to cabals who seek to control or influence the exercise of patronage in the organisation"(1).

Comparing the data obtained from the interviewees with this description it is apparent that collectively the women managers have made no attempt to increase their power and status by joining together into one of the "parties or sections" to which Burns refers - indeed, with the possible exception of Organisation C the women managers were seldom in contact either formally or informally. It might be suggested that this was a conscious decision - that by not appearing to be a distinct and separate category of employee the women managers would be more successful in their careers, or one might argue that there are relatively so few of them that such a political group would be impractical or at least lacking relatively in power. However, again turning to the interview data, the evidence there suggests that by far the most likely explanation of this apparent lack of political grouping on the part of the female managers is simply their disregard for, if not disdain for, these "political" aspects of business life. Interviewee 4B perhaps sums up the feelings of many of these women when she says "I don't want to fight for progress - I just work hard". This is endorsed by 18B who claims this lack of political manoeuvring is particularly noticeable among the 'old school' type of female manager - "we are much less inclined to push for things". However it is interviewee 26A who makes the most direct attack on the concern of male managers with the political system:

"The management of this company is over-concerned with 'empire building' and because of this it is lax and inefficient".

In general terms, then, the data supports the views proposed by 26A that "women are more often committed to doing a job of work well than doing well in broader, career, terms". Thus it is suggested that the main reason for the lack of collective action and mutual support among the women managers is that they consider this an unnecessary part of their work lives, and in the majority of cases, feel a positive dislike for it, while at the same time realising that the men managers do use the political system for their own advancement.

Yet ironically while these women do not collectively play a role in the political system many of them quote examples of how the political system has helped or hindered their careers, or in some
cases of how they have been "pawns" in that system. Examples of individual 'patronage' as mentioned by Burns have been quoted in the text, indicating one major influence of the political system on these women, as have cases of male managers choosing female assistants for admittedly responsible posts thus minimising the risk of an effective threat from their second-in-command (see for example 33A). Thus whether they like it or not the women managers are part of the political system, and it might be suggested that if they wish to experience similar career paths to those of their male colleagues they will be obliged to become more aware of, and active in, this particular sphere. It becomes increasingly obvious, when studying the interview data, as mentioned above, that the majority of our sample was overwhelmingly concerned with doing their current job competently, and not "dirtying their hands" with company politics. On the other hand it becomes apparent that company politics are one of the most important influences on their present and future careers, and that the aims and attitudes of the senior management group of the different organisations provides the most significant influence. This proposal is backed by the P.E.P. team who state that:

"Comparisons between occupations or organisations, or even between departments of the same firm, show how women's career commitment, work performance and job stability can be influenced by employers' greater or lesser willingness to take them and give them responsibility"(1)

Richard Brooks has similarly found that the perceptions of women managers held by their male colleagues has a considerable effect on their careers. He found that the "newer" industries such as the computer industry, public relations work and market research appeared to be particularly well-suited to women, as, in general, their staff are younger, and thus brought up in social conditions in which it is acceptable for middle-class women to work(2).

(1) M. Fogarty et al Women in Top Jobs op.cit. Pg 16.
Thus it is suggested that senior management's perception of the role of women in management is translated into an "organisational culture" or part of the political system which may in fact over-ride the career system in the company, and hence at least in part the difference between Organisation B and C. While the senior management of Organisation B was apparently not in favour of women in management, if not against them entirely, Organisation C deliberately attempted to recruit women managers, and had a positive attitude towards them.

This difference in attitude, is reflected in the two operating companies' different perceptions of their market, although it would be inaccurate to claim that this is a causal link. Organisation B, as indicated in the text, is particularly concerned with "the housewife", and certainly sees the market for its products as being composed of this 'brand' of female. This perception, it is suggested, is not congruent with one which sees women as being equal to men in a work role, and thus to the development of female management. Organisation C, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the woman qua an individual, and thus there is no necessary conflict between their perception of the market and of women as managers.

Organisation A, having no identifiable market as such, other than the operating companies of the conglomerate, has no such congruency problem, although the senior management's perception of the role of women managers is obviously an important influence on the women's careers, as the interview material indicates.

In summary, then, the interacting social systems appear to influence the location and career patterns of female managers in a number of ways. The size and, related to this, the amount of specialisation which exist in the formal organisation, influence the women since as our data, along with that discussed by the P.E.P. team, indicates, women managers are most frequently located in the specialist departments with staff, as opposed to line, responsibilities.

The Pugh/Hickson analysis indicated that the formal organisation of A and B approximated to their "full bureaucracy" while the structure of Organisation C was much closer to their implicitly structured type.

As a result of the policy of Head Office, the career system which operated in all three of the organisations studied was relatively common — they had the same graduate management recruitment scheme, the same gradings for positions and so on. There was considerable attention paid to training, job evaluation, and career progression in all three organisations, and yet considerable differences emerge. It is for this reason that the political system is suggested as being the most influential as far as the women managers were concerned, even though they failed to either recognise or acknowledge it to be so. For it is through the workings of the political system, through the groupings and cabals, the patronage and the pressures that a corporate "attitude" towards women managers is generated and transmitted, and it is this which has most strongly affected the women in our sample.

The possible existence of such a "corporate attitude" is not specifically examined by Burns in his discussions on the political system within organisations, but it is our contention that such a phenomenon must certainly be a key component of interacting social systems, and furthermore that it is justifiable to consider it as a component of the political system on two major grounds. The first and most important of these grounds is that such a corporate attitude forms the major framework for action on the part of senior management towards certain groups or individuals — in this case female managers. The basis for such an attitude derives from particular prejudices of the senior managers as individuals together with information on female managers, or potential managers, from other groups or individuals who "have the ear of" senior management, and particularly in the latter case, it is possible to argue that these are political processes employed for a politically expedient end, and thus that the existence of such a corporate attitude is a component of the political system.

The second major reason for including the "corporate attitude" towards female managers under the political system is that the information gathered in the course of this study includes a considerable number of examples of the existence of a negative corporate attitude being cited as the underlying reason for the lack of logical career patterns for female managers or for their poor promotion prospects.
While it would be a gross generalisation to claim that this is due to all male managers manipulating such an "attitude" to their own advantage, this patently is the case in a number of the situations quoted in the text.

Thus it is this combination of factors which leads to the view that the existence in some organisations of a negative corporate attitude towards female managers is one of the most important factors affecting female managers, and furthermore that this corporate attitude properly comes within the realms of the political system.

What implications does this have for the future of women in management, particularly in these organisations? It is our contention that to a large extent the future of women in management lies in the hands of the women themselves. Firstly, if they wish to be treated in the same way as their male counterparts they must evince similar behaviour. If career progression demands participation in the political system they must participate, or accept the consequences of appearing to be different. If the company considers evidence of ambition to be a necessary criterion for promotion, then ambitious women may expect better chances of promotion than their apparently unambitious sisters — the lack of ambition apparent in such cases as 1B, 4B, 6B, and dislike of responsibility shown by 16B provides no encouragement to senior management to change its attitude concerning women managers, and as the previous discussion has suggested, the future of women in management depends fairly heavily on this attitude.

A change in social or economic conditions may also lead to a change in this area. At present there is no pressing need for women as opposed to men in management, and this serves to reinforce the view that as a rule managers are male, with the occasional, highly qualified female as the equivalent of the "statutory black". It is possible that economic conditions might encourage companies to alter this view. However it is far more likely that the performance of existing women managers will be the critical factor which will affect the career patterns of women in the future.
Appendix A

Notes on Methodology

The aim of this appendix is to amplify some of the points made in the text regarding the methodology employed in this study and particularly in relation to the interviews conducted with the female managers of the various organisations.

The information required to complete the Pugh/Hickson et al schedules, even in their revised and abbreviated form, was collected by means of a structured interview usually on two separate occasions with two different senior members of the organisation concerned. Overall there were few problems associated with this stage of the study, as the answers on the various schedules tended to be easily accessible to one or other of the two informants, and the questions were not normally perceived as infringing any company confidentiality. It was perhaps a further advantage of studying organisations associated with one conglomerate that there were very few terminological differences between the organisations.

It is however necessary to point out one major difficulty associated with this process of obtaining very factual information through a structured interview and that is what we might term the lack of stimulation inherent in the type of information required by the schedules. Because the questions were of a highly factual nature and therefore left relatively little room for expansion and no room for personal opinion there tended to be little to stimulate the interest of the respondent. While it is our belief that this did not significantly affect the results of this study, it is a point which future researchers might like to consider.

The methodology employed in the second part of the study was different in nature from the completion of the schedules concerning organisation structure and thus involved a different range of problems.
As indicated in the text, an unstructured interview technique was adopted throughout this section of the study.

Thus, while there is no questionnaire as such to be incorporated into this report, this note indicates the major areas covered by the interview.

Area I - recruitment to present position. In this section some indication as to the means of entry to the interviewee's present position was sought. Items of major interest concerned whether it was an internal promotion or recruitment from outside the organisation, the sex and qualifications of the previous incumbent of the position, including a comparison of the qualifications of the latter with those of the interviewee.

Area II - present job content. The aim of this section was to discover (a) amount of responsibility associated with the interviewee's present position including such matters as number of subordinates reporting directly to her.

(b) the span of discretion associated with this position, for example, the extent to which the requirements of the job were formally stated.

(c) the actual content of the job, and the extent to which it is influenced by shop floor technology or specialist bodies, such as market research.

While the ethics of the organization was against open discussion of the job grades of individuals, the interviewees appeared to be quite willing to discuss the job grading system in an abstract way, even to the extent of commenting on their agreement or otherwise with their own job grading.

(d) a secondary objective of this section was to ascertain the extent to which the interviewee's present position could be considered a masculine preserve. In many cases, for example, it was found that a position had been held by women from its creation and thus a woman in that position at the present time could hardly be considered as an indication of a new trend. In some cases, however, the interviewee was
the first woman to hold such a post, and it was believed that this might well be indicative of a potential trend towards wider opportunities for women.

**Area III - relationships with colleagues.** In this section of the interview an attempt was made to explore the sometimes sensitive area of how the interviewee perceived her colleagues reactions to her, and thus the area of possible resentment due to her sex. This was usually linked back to the answers given under the previous area of investigation namely the number of subordinates and the person to whom she was directly responsible.

**Area IV - Attitudes towards her job.** In this section the interviewee was asked questions concerning her satisfaction with her present job, whether or not, given the opportunity, she would like to give up work completely, the extent to which she considered her work encroached on her personal commitments, etc. The area of plans for the future was also covered in some depth.

Another series of questions concerning the interviewee's career development was also explored. The organisations under study place considerable emphasis on the importance of a logical career progression for its employees, and so it was considered to be of some importance to ascertain the extent to which these women managers saw themselves as having followed both a similar path to a male manager, and a "logical" one in terms of the guidelines laid down by their companies.

**Area V - attitudes to the company.** This final area of investigation aimed at discovering how the women felt they had been treated by the company and the extent to which they felt any loyalty towards it. They were asked whether they thought that discrimination against women existed in the company, and whether any improvements could or should be made in the company structure.

Thus, in the course of the interview, which lasted on average between one hour and 1 1/2 hours, an attempt was made to discover information about the interviewee and her position in the organization in terms of five major headings:-
1. how she came to be holding a particular job
2. what her present job entails
3. her relationships with others in the company
4. her attitudes towards her work
5. her attitudes towards the company

The type of person being interviewed, viz. senior personnel interviewed in their work environment, led to a number of important considerations. Firstly, the format of an unstructured interview emerged as superior to the two other major alternatives of a structured interview and questionnaire for the following reasons: the structured interview emerged as being unsuitable, as suggested in the text, because of the dearth of material in this area thus leading to the necessity for casting the net for potential information as wide as possible. It was considered that the limitations imposed by a structured interview would curtail the information obtainable to an extent that was not justified by the increase in comparability of data and objectivity achieved by this method. Additionally it was our belief that the breadth and depth of the experience of our sample and their relatively high status in the organisations was such that their co-operation could be both more readily obtained and more profitably utilised should they be given the wider scope for answering afforded by the unstructured interview. The questionnaire method was considered unsuitable firstly because of the limitation on scope of data as mentioned above, and secondly because the individuals in our sample have a large volume of paperwork associated with their occupational roles, and thus the additional load associated with the completion of a fairly lengthy questionnaire might seriously affect the response rate.

The choice of method of data collection having been made, the major problem area which remained was the establishment of initial contact and rapport with the subjects. Since the interview concerned the work role of the subject it was decided that her work place would be the most suitable environment. In order to facilitate this initial contact a letter was sent from the Personnel Department of each organisation to the subjects indicating in broad terms the nature of the research, the fact the research had the approval of the company, and requesting
permission for the researcher to contact the individual. In no case was this permission refused, and so the next stage involved making appointments by telephone with each of the subjects. In the majority of cases the venue of the interview was the interviewee's office, but in a few cases this was inappropriate due to the office being shared and insufficiently private and alternative accommodation was found, usually through the co-operation of the Personnel Department.

The opening stages of the interview generally involved an explanation of the background to and purposes of the research, followed by the more factual type of questions concerning the interviewee's present post. These opening stages were crucial in respect of three major factors: firstly to alleviate apprehension on the part of the interviewees, to put them at their ease and thus establish a measure of rapport between interviewer and interviewee.

Secondly, to correct the view that the research was being undertaken on behalf of the company, and thus that anything said might be used 'in evidence' against the interviewee;

Thirdly, to correct the view that the research was based on a highly feminist basis, and thus that a conversation concerning the Women's Liberation movement was required.

It was discovered that one of the major ways of establishing rapport with the subjects was to indicate a familiarity with the departmental structure, terminology used in the organization, etc., as this appeared to gain the respect of the female managers who then felt that they were talking to "one of us" rather than an outsider, or worse still, an Academic!

Once rapport had been established and the perceptions of the research corrected or clarified the interviewees showed little reluctance to answer questions and in many cases elaborated on the answers to a great depth. By starting with factual questions and leading on to more personal questions the interviews provided a wide range of information without any apparent embarrassment or hesitation on the part of the interviewees.
It is, of course, possible to suggest that a number of weaknesses result from the methodology used. The first involves the possibility of interviewer bias both through the interpretation of answers and through the initial explanation of the purposes of the study to the interviewees. The second weakness lies in the non-comparability of the data - due to the unstructured nature of the interview it was obviously difficult to ensure that the same areas were covered in the same way with different interviewees. It is our belief however that under the circumstances this was the most appropriate methodology and that the weaknesses were outweighed by the advantages. The third weakness, which is perhaps more serious, is that by interviewing the subjects in their workplace on work related matters, in spite of assurances from the interviewer, the subjects might have considered it against their best career interests to answer all the questions as frankly as possible. While it is our belief that this only affected a few of the interviews this obviously should be borne in mind when considering the results of this study.

This appendix has been included in the hope that it will provide a background against which the results of the study may be evaluated and also that other researchers in this area might take note of some of these points and perhaps improve on them in the future.
Appendix B

The Sample

The people who contributed to this study may be considered under three broad headings:

1. Senior male employees in the Personnel Departments of the organisations studied. A total of six such male managers were interviewed, their contribution being mainly in the areas of data for the completion of the Pugh/Hickson schedule, and background information on the Personnel policy in their organisation, particularly as regards female managers.

   The major criterion for the selection of these individuals, apart from their willingness to contribute, was that they should perform similar roles and be of comparable status across all four organizations in this study, in order to ensure as far as possible that their information would be provided against a common background.

2. Male managers in the organizations who had numerous contacts with female managers, either as superiors or peers. There was only one instance of a male interviewee being directly responsible to a female manager. There were ten interviews given by this category of manager, mainly yielding information on promotion prospects of female managers and other general background data on the organisations. There was no attempt to randomly select these individuals: they were interviewed because they had a considerable knowledge of their organisation and the role of female managers within that organisation.

3. The third and largest category of interviewees was that of the female managers themselves. As mentioned in the text, this category was comprised of women bearing the organisational designation "manager" and women who were given the title of assistant manager. These women were selected using a number of criteria:

   (a) All females designated as 'manager' were interviewed.

125.
(b) From a list of all assistant managers in each organisation, a number were chosen to ensure as far as possible an even distribution across departments - i.e. one female assistant manager from each department which employs female assistant managers was selected.

(c) Additionally, female managers who did not already form part of the sample, but whose job content was not entirely of a support nature (e.g. canteen staff) were included.

The overall sample size of female managers was fifty-one. As indicated in the text, these women fell into one of three categories:

(a) "The old school" of older, non-graduate women. 40% of the sample fell into this category.

(b) Older, graduate or professionally qualified women, who made up 28% of the sample.

(c) Young graduate women, forming 32% of the sample.

Case histories of women from each of these categories is to be found in Appendix C.
Appendix C

Sample Case Histories

1. Interviewee 18B

She was persuaded to join her present organisation by her father, who had been employed there for his entire working life, and who particularly valued the "secure" nature of his employment. She joined the clerical staff initially, but realised that secretarial training was essential in order to "get on" in the organisation, and so she underwent the secretarial training programme.

Shortly after the war she left the organisation to join one of the Intelligence Departments in the Civil Service. She took and passed a series of Civil Service examinations and obtained "a vast amount of useful experience". However, although she believed her career prospects to be good with the Civil Service, she thought that life would be more dynamic and stimulating back with Organisation B.

Having returned, she did secretarial work for ten years, until she was a supervisor. At this time it was decided that typing services should be centralized, and so her status and authority declined significantly. She worked as a secretary in the Public Relations section and then with Marketing Administration. This transfer was accompanied by assurances that the position had vast potential, but it soon became blatantly obvious that this was not the case - "the section acted as the Cinderella of the Marketing Department" - and her job ended up once more as being a typing supervisor.

Eventually, however, the whole Department was reorganized, which led to her working in the Promotions area - a post which she found rewarding and interesting, in spite of the rapid turnover of staff, and thus the range of different attitudes shown towards her by various superiors. A further reorganization resulted in her being offered her present post in the area of Competitors' Activities. Her immediate (male) predecessor in the job had carried the designation of "manager" but to date she has remained an assistant manager.
She is single and in her forties, and so she does not expect family plans to upset her career. She considers there to be very few work demands which encroach into her home life and leisure activities, and claims that she would hate to give up work. In spite of this, however, 18B was fairly critical of the lack of vertical communication in the organisation, and of weaknesses in the career system, whereby plenty of opportunity is said to exist for the non-graduate within the organization, while very few cases exist where such an opportunity has been afforded. She concluded, nevertheless, that her generation of female employees are less inclined "to grouse and push for things" than younger women.
2. **Interviewee 35A**

She left school at 16 as her parents could not afford to support her any longer. She consulted a Youth Employment Officer who had contacts with Organisation A, and so she joined the company as a trainee typist. She took various secretarial examinations and worked as a secretary for a number of years in various departments such as central pensions office and training.

At this time assistant managers' vacancies were posted on a central notice board, and anyone was free to apply. She applied successfully for a post in training and worked there for a considerable length of time. Managerial posts however were only filled by nomination by the head of department, and she was nominated, thus reaching her present grade.

She considers that two factors worked very much in her favour - firstly that an internal candidate was preferred as he/she would appreciate "the company way of doing things". Secondly, that the company wanted to promote "from the ranks" as this would be advantageous to its image.

Her present job, Training and Education Manager, involves training at clerical, typist and secretarial levels. She runs the Further Education scheme and various ad hoc schemes such as training for decimalisation and metrification. Her trainees are nearly all female, and her present post has only had one male incumbent in the past eighteen years.

She believes that it would be very difficult for any girl to follow her career path these days, at least in part due to the fact that all secretaries have to be of Advanced level G.C.E. standard, in spite of the fact that the interviewee's superior is not particularly concerned with paper qualifications. Even the graduate secretaries have little chance of promotion as the specialist departments in the organisation have removed many of the more responsible parts of their job, such as booking travel arrangements, doing translations and so on.

She is single and in her late forties. This interviewee was uncertain as to her chances of promotion in the organisation, largely due to her lack of formal qualifications, and the sharp demarcation between her present training section and that of management training.
3. **Interviewee 30A**

She trained as a Chartered Accountant in Scotland for five years and when her firm would not pay enough she came to London with two friends to look for work. She wrote round to "dozens of firms" who advertised in the professional journal - many did not even reply - and Organisation A in fact rejected her. Six weeks later they wrote to ask if she was still interested in a position, she was interviewed and recruited.

She joined the company as a Personal Assistant in the Internal Audit Section, which used her knowledge of accountancy, but only to a limited extent. She learnt that they had recruited a woman specifically because she would be less ambitious, and therefore more likely to stay in that particular job for a greater length of time. She was, among other things, involved in the design of management appraisal forms, as the organization had a sophisticated management succession system even then. After two years in the job she demanded a change - a demand which caused considerable consternation since she had been recruited specifically for that job. Eventually however she was sent on internal audits until she was given responsibility for the audit of a group of companies.

She has had two important "lucky breaks" in her career due to two superiors who were not prejudiced against women, and in fact were particularly proud of her. However she feels very strongly that a woman has to be better than a man to get a similar promotion, and she in fact has never been appointed to a position straight off - she has always had to do the job for sometime first. She had to specifically ask to be sent on audits abroad, and while there were never any problems, she was always given a male escort. Eventually however she was given international responsibility.

This "international" aspect of her work led her to consider that she would have been unable to do her present job - that of Assistant Chief Accountant - had she been married, due to the high level of work/home interface.
4. **Interviewee 33A**

She is a Mathematics graduate from Girton College, Cambridge. On graduation she joined the Scientific Civil Service, but only stayed for six months as she felt that it was not quite what she wanted. She went back to the Cambridge Appointments Board, who could offer her nothing but the advice to undergo secretarial training. After successfully completing this she was told of the company's graduate management training scheme.

When recruited to the organisation she was warned that they could promise nothing in terms of career progression. She in fact believes that this statement is frequently true today, but that the company is no longer so honest. She was initially sent round the various departments spending four to six weeks in each, with a view to getting to know people in the organisation. After five months she was appointed secretary to a department concerned with animal feed stuffs. While her boss was fairly unconventional and fully in favour of women managers, his assistant - also female - was particularly interested in this area, and so the interviewee saw little chance of promotion in that department. As she had always been interested in training, her transfer was to that department as an assistant manager, where she taught typing, shorthand and mathematics. However, she became unpopular over the latter, as she tried to teach the clerks the underlying concepts rather than techniques, and this was not acceptable. At this time her major break occurred, as a new division concerned with internal management consultancy was set up. One of its key figures wanted a female assistant with a mathematical background, and she was appointed. An eminent statistician was brought into the Company three years later and she was transferred as his assistant. She remained there for ten to twelve years, during which time she worked with most departments and most European countries.

The statistician left five years ago, and at that time she was appointed to the marketing division, where a re-organisation was taking place. She feels limited by this sudden narrowing of her horizon, although within her specific field she has considerable freedom.
Her present job content involves the application of quantitative methods in the sales and distribution area - but she considers that sales managers treat her with mild indifference, and certainly pay her little attention when she has meetings with them. Given these attitudes, she believes that it will be a long time before the sales area is open to women.

She has been sent on various management and specialist courses since she joined the company, but generally she has to take the initiative in suggesting them, rather than the organisation suggesting that she attend them.

She believes that she would have been unable to do the job had she been married as there has been considerable travelling and work to be done at home during her career.

She has been with the company for twenty-three years now, but has little idea as to where she could go in the organisation from here.
5. **Interviewee 25C**

She joined the conglomerate after university through the graduate management training scheme. She worked in the Head Office for nearly two but considers that it was an underutilization of resources, since while it was, in theory, a graduates job, she was too inexperienced to request the right sort or amount of information, and therefore would receive inadequate information in return. She requested a transfer to an operating company and was sent to organisation C.

She joined the company in the Market Research section, and effected a re-organisation in this field during the eighteen months she was there. When she was about due for a promotion, an acting Brand Manager fell ill, and so she took over - "a classic case of being in the right place at the right time". She is supposed to have an assistant brand manager under her - but at the time of the study this post had not been filled.

She believes that being female has made no difference to her career, and that she is on very good terms with both superiors and subordinates. Her job is very flexible - she is not even aware that a job description exists. She is allowed to use her initiative, even in terms of sales, market research, advertising, etc., although she is not directly accountable for the profitability of the brand.

She has been sent on various courses appropriate to her grade, such as Marketing, Advertising and General Managements.

Her job requires frequent travelling and late nights - but she has the full cooperation of her husband. She has no intention at present of having children.

So far she has not been faced with - or at least is unaware of - any discrimination as far as her career pattern is concerned. However the next promotion would take her to Marketing Manager, and as there are four or five Brand Managers for each one the gradient of the pyramid increases significantly. The company has never had a female marketing manager, and so she is somewhat sceptical about her promotion prospects.
6. Interviewee 34A - An analyst in the Marketing Department

She is a law graduate. After her Final Examination she made a number of applications to companies - however she decided to go to Australia for eighteen months. On her return she again applied to various large companies. She saw Company A's advertisement for a female law graduate, but on application she discovered that the job was not what she wanted. She did however ask to be kept in mind and eventually the company recontacted her.

She was recruited for a specific vacancy, but treated as a general graduate management trainee. Her job description is very clear - she is left in no doubt as to what her job entails, but it is left to her discretion as to how she does things - e.g. the way in which data is collected, analysed and disseminated.

She feels that her job is seriously affected by her Head Office position, in that there are no visible concrete results from her actions, particularly in terms of profit, due to the "service/advisory" nature of the company.

She has been with the company for five years and is married to another employee of the company who is likely to be sent abroad in the next year, in which case both the company and she will have to adjust their career plans, with the probable result that a routine promotion will not be forthcoming.

To date however she has found very little problem in combining work and marriage, there being a "negligable amount" of interface between these two spheres of her activity.

She perceives no difference between the organisation's treatment of her and its treatment of male graduates, and is more than satisfied with the company as an employer.
## Analysis of functional specialization in the three companies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Organisation A</th>
<th>Organisation B</th>
<th>Organisation C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Public relations and advertising</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sales and service</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Transport</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Employment</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Training</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Welfare and Security</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Buying and stock control</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Accounts</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Design development</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Organisation and methods</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Legal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Market Research</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Score: 10 11 7

The Pugh/Hickson data indicates a mean of 10.19 over the full 16 items.

*Since the companies studied were Head Offices the items on the Pugh/Hickson scales relating to factory activities have been omitted—viz. Maintenance, Inspection, Production Control and Methods.
Appendix E

Formalization

This scale is intended to measure the extent to which lines of authority, procedures, and rules are written down.

I Role definition:

1. Percentage of employees with handbooks
   - Organisation A: All
   - Organisation B: 25%
   - Organisation C: All

2. Number of different handbooks
   - Organisation A: 1
   - Organisation B: 4
   - Organisation C: 1

3. Is the organization chart accessible for anyone to see?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: No
   - Organisation C: Yes

4. Does a job description exist for all jobs in the organisation?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: No

II Information passing:

1. Is management approval in writing necessary for certain decisions?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: Yes

2. Is there a suggestion scheme in operation in the company?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: No

3. Are there specific memo forms?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: Yes

4. Are there written minutes of conferences?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: Yes

5. Are employees given welfare documents on engagement?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: Yes

6. Is there a specific dismissal form or report on dismissal?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: No
   - Organisation C: No

7. Is there a house journal?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: No

III Recording Role Performance

1. Is there a specific work assessment record?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: Yes

2. Is there a petty cash voucher authorizing or recording expenditure?
   - Organisation A: Yes
   - Organisation B: Yes
   - Organisation C: Yes
3. Is there an application form for spending £1,000 +?   Yes   Yes   Yes
4. Is there a requisition form for engaging a worker?   Yes   Yes   Yes
5. Is there a formalized management assessment form?   Yes   Yes   Yes

N.B. This scale has been abbreviated from the original Pugh/Hickson et al scale due to the lack of production work in the organisations studied. The results are thus not comparable with the Pugh/Hickson et al results.
1. Chief Executives span of control - i.e. the number of subordinates who report DIRECTLY to the Chairman, with no intervening level (excluding his secretary)

Organisation A - 25
Organisation B - 10
Organisation C - 5

2. Size of specialized functions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Organisation A</th>
<th>Organisation B</th>
<th>Organisation C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public relations</td>
<td>12 57</td>
<td>1 5</td>
<td>3 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>5 9</td>
<td>3 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>73 474</td>
<td>29 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel</td>
<td>31 103</td>
<td>20 129</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts</td>
<td>67 192</td>
<td>43 313</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>24 66</td>
<td>40 84</td>
<td>16 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market research</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>8 19</td>
<td>3 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Specialist Staff</td>
<td>204 844</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>17 101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL STAFF

1362 4577 396
Appendix G

Organisation B's appraisal system

**Basic purpose:** the system aims to improve the performance of the employees of the organisation by indicating strengths and weaknesses of the individuals and by establishing plans to exploit these fully or eradicate them, as the case might be.

Every manager has a responsibility in this two-way process of appraising subordinates and being appraised.

**The appraisal report:** Each manager must complete a form on the lines given below, on the management who report to him. This form must be in turn agreed by the subordinate and the manager's own superior. The form is used as the basis for the annual appraisal interview, which is in turn used in the assessment of year end merit pay increases.

**The appraisal form:**

1. Overall performance in present job - assessed on a five point scale
2. Individual's strengths and weaknesses - the individual is assessed on a five point scale on each of the following variables:

   - Contacts
   - Judgement
   - Planning
   - Creativity
   - Complexity
   - Initiative
   - Flexibility
   - Leadership
   - Training
   - Communication
   - Knowledge

3. Potential Assessment -
   - The manager (a) is promotable YES/NO If yes - how far in 5 years? When should the first promotion take place
   - (b) should be transferred
   - (c) should stay in present job
   - (d) should leave the service of the organization

4. Training needs - (a) Job training
   - (b) Development training
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