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CHALLENGES TO UPWARD MOBILITY: PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FINANCIAL INDUSTRY

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Date: 9 November 2016

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Organisational Psychology

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To my Lord and my God, You continue to show me kindness and mercy. Glory be.

Abstract

The 21st century workplace is characterised by gender and racial diversity and intergroup contact which the world has never experienced before. This has far reaching implications for organisations given that a link has been made between an organisation's improved financial performance and the presence of women and minorities in senior and executive roles. Despite increasing racial and gender diversity in the South African workplace, positions within management do not accurately represent this occurrence. Statistics show that White males still account for more than a two thirds majority in terms of representation at senior and top management levels, and Black women have the lowest representation.

This research therefore explored the perceptions that Black women had regarding the barriers to their upward mobility in the South African Financial industry. The focus was on twenty Black women in varying occupational levels of middle, senior and top management. A combination of topics related to glass ceiling theory was used to derive statements which were presented to participants, using Q methodology, the study sought to discover and explore the patterns of perceptions in relation to these themes. Meta-stereotypes were also introduced as another theme to explore whether they existed to serve as a psychological barrier which influenced the perceptions and subsequent workplace attitudes and behaviours of the participants.

The findings revealed two patterns of perceptions. The first was inward looking and pertained to the participants' perceptions regarding their competence, hard work and career-mindedness. The second was more outward looking and pertained to the ambition of participants despite the challenges they perceived to exist. Negative meta-stereotypes were not found, indicating the absence of a negative psychological barrier to influence the perceptions of the participants.

Keywords: glass ceiling theory; South Africa; Black female; meta-stereotypes

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Area

The intention of the study was to research the perceptions that Black women have regarding the barriers to upward mobility in the South African Financial industry. By combining and addressing topics related to glass ceiling theory using Q methodology, a discovery of the subjective perceptions of Black women was made. The use of Q methodology enabled an exploration of the patterns of perceptions with the hope of gaining deeper understanding and providing insight into these perceptions. The study also introduced meta-stereotypes as another possible barrier which was yet to be explored in glass ceiling literature.

The study sought to emphasise the barriers as perceived by Black women in South Africa, in the 21st century, as well as produce findings that brought insight into their perceptions. The findings could also be used for further discussion amongst Black females in order identify the way they could navigate perceived challenges to successfully climb the corporate ladder.

1.2 Background of the Problem

The 21st century workplace is characterised by gender and racial diversity and intergroup contact which the world has never experienced before, and this has far reaching implications for organisations. A "Women Matter Report" by McKinsey and Company (2010) showed a link between an organisation's improved financial performance with the presence of women in senior and executive roles. This finding was supported in a "Women in Leadership" census by the Business Women Association (2011) which revealed that companies saw a significant contribution to their bottom-line when their senior management reflected gender diversity. However, despite increasing racial and gender diversity in the workplace, positions within management do not accurately represent such diversity. For the purposes of this paper the term 'glass ceiling' is used to describe this phenomenon. Since its introduction in 1986, it has become a popular metaphor used to describe invisible barriers that stand in the way of women seeking upward mobility in organisations (Powell, 2012). Also known as the "glass-ceiling-effect", the struggles women face in their attempts to move up to senior, executive and top management positions in corporate organizations has received worldwide recognition (Liff & Ward, 2001).

To challenge the status quo, numerous studies have been conducted to investigate the reasons that lie behind this reality. Results have indicated that although the glass ceiling is still considered a myth by many, it is real and nurtured by organisational culture, policies and strategies as well as women's own inadequacies (Mathur-Helm, 2006). In South Africa, the Employment Equity Commission (EEC) was established in 1999 and was mandated to identify the barriers and challenges faced by women and minority groups in the workplace. The overall aim was to empower women and minority groups once the barriers had been identified. However, despite the establishment of the EEC and its research findings, a 2012 Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) published by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) in 2013, revealed that the glass ceiling continues to persist. Statistics showed that although there was a slow decline in the representation of White males over the years, they still accounted for more than a two thirds majority in terms of representation at senior and top management levels, despite comprising only 11.3% of South Africa's workforce (DoL, 2012). White males occupied 72.6% of top and senior management positions in South Africa and reportedly continued to enjoy preference over other race groups in terms of representation, recruitment, promotion and skills development at these levels (DoL, 2013). In contrast, Africans, only held 12.3% of top management level positions. Trend analysis showed that Black females (the second largest economically active group at 34.2%), were only represented in 19.8% of the 12.3% of Africans in top level positions. In senior management positions, where Africans held 18.4% of these positions, of that, only 30.7% were Black females (DoL, 2013).

Although some strides have been made, a discrepancy still exists where the representation of Black women is concerned (DoL, 2013). Previous findings suggest that barriers to the advancement of women and minorities fall under the broad categories of behaviour and corporate culture barriers (further delineated into a myriad of elements such as perceptions, gender based stereotyping, 'old boys' networks, leadership style preferences and communication styles to name a few) and corporate practices (such as remuneration, training, promotion policies and career development). What is most concerning however is that these findings have emerged continuously for the past twenty years; revealing the extremely slow change occurring.

A study of glass-ceiling metaphors by Smith, Caputi and Crittenden (2012) concluded that most metaphor-linked explanations of the phenomenon involve a form of discrimination and

prejudice towards women seeking leadership positions. These metaphors will be discussed further in Chapter 2 as well as the possible role that meta-stereotypes may play.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Previous studies often look at issues related to the glass ceiling (e.g. mentoring, networking, support, discrimination, work-life balance) in isolation, yet each issue explains only a piece of the glass ceiling puzzle which is a result of a combination of these topics. Further to this, South African literature on the glass ceiling has often looked at racial or gender perceptions and/or experiences separately, and has not adequately examined at the juncture when race and gender intersect. The intersectional perspective argues that race and gender are important categories of difference and have an impact which cannot be ignored, and should thus be considered together in research (Fielden & Davidson, 2012). This notion was also expressed by De La Rey (1997) who put forward that a woman is not distinct from being either black or working-class or heterosexual. In other words, there cannot be a separation of who a woman is as she is simultaneously raced, classed and gendered. This is echoed by other researchers who argued that splitting gender from race reinforces the view that racial and gender stratification are mutually exclusive when they are in fact not (Crenshaw, 1991; Shefer & Ratele, 2011).

The abovementioned therefore expose a gap in existing literature, which the current paper has addressed by researching the perceived barriers as faced by Black women. The paper therefore combines all the topics under glass ceiling literature into one study, and focuses on a race and gender. This population group has been chosen as Black females comprise the second largest economically active population (EAP) in South Africa; however, their presence in senior and top management positions is the least (Department of Labour [DoL], 2013). These statistics thus make it pertinent to explore why this population group remains poorly represented within the different managerial levels in the workplace, and will do so by researching Black women's own perceptions of the barriers and/or challenges to their upward mobility.

Secondly, in the diverse South African workplace, organisations require positive intergroup relations to succeed. However, race groups tend to self-segregate – this is considered

a consequence of racial and gender prejudice and meta-stereotypes that create a psychological barrier to mixing known as intergroup anxiety (Finchilescu, 2010).

Previous literature has not adequately addressed the role of meta-stereotypes in the workplace. This has implications for intergroup relations in the South African workplace and thus raises the question as to whether negative meta-stereotypes in the workplace could serve yet another barrier to the upward mobility of Black females. The system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) suggests that members of disadvantaged groups can hold beliefs that legitimize the in-group's inferior status or behave in ways that affirm the status quo. Previous studies are yet to explore meta-stereotypes in the South African workplace to establish the extent to which they may play a role in the ever-continuing glass ceiling. Barriers such as exclusion from networking and mentoring opportunities (elements that require intergroup relations) have been cited as critical to an individual's advancement. As such, meta-stereotypes will also be introduced into the study and defined as the stereotypes that a member of an in-group perceives members of an out-group to hold of one's own group (MacInnis & Hodson, 2012).

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study hopes to reveal a deeper understanding and provide insight into the perceptions of barriers faced by Black women in the 21st century South African workplace. It is the desire of the author to create awareness of these perceptions within the context of the 21st century and reveal how these perceptions have changed or remained the same over time. It is also the hope of the author that the results can be used to the advantage of Black females with ambitions of climbing the corporate ladder. This would be through Black females engaging in meaningful conversations on their perceptions and experiences, and that the results together with their discussions will help inform their decision making in their navigation of the corporate environment to attain upward mobility.

1.5 Structure of the Research Paper

The following chapter (chapter 2) focuses on earlier literature pertaining to glass ceiling theory and provides a broad understanding of previous research. The research methodology is described in chapter 3 where the research design, sample, procedures and analysis methods used will be described. The results are presented in chapter 4. This includes the results for the Q methodology as well as the meta-stereotypes analysis. Finally, the results are discussed in chapter 5. Chapter 6 includes an overview of the assumptions and limitations of the research, the conclusion of the research as well as recommendations for the direction of future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

As stated in the introduction, the study will focus on both race and gender, looking at Black women in the South African financial industry. This is due to the exceptional circumstances that these women find themselves in as revealed in statistics. It is believed that Black women in South Africa face what can be considered a double oppression. This is in relation to them being female as well as black in a society which has a historical connection resulting in disadvantage and prejudice to members of these groups (Canham & Maher, 2015). This follows a contention raised by Fielden and Davidson (2012), who state that Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) women most often experience the double negative effects of discrimination due to their gender and ethnicity.

This argument is also found in black feminist literature which debates that although all women exist in a patriarchal society, there are differences in their ability to gain access to power, where race mediates in such a way that the various racial groups experience the effects differently (Davis, 1983; Hooks, 1992; Lewis, 1977; Mama, 1995; Marable, 2002; Pheterson, 1986). For instance, White women experience sexism alone whereas Black women are believed to experience the effects of a double jeopardy which involve both sexism as well as racial prejudice (Beal, 1970).

This double jeopardy speaks to the paradigm of intersectionality, which calls for the recognition that gender is complicated by one's differences in status such as class, race, sexual orientation, religious affiliation and disability (Canham & Maher, 2015). A study by Rosette and Livingston (2012) found that individuals with more than one subordinate identity experience more negative perceptions. A subordinate identity is one which is perceived less favourably in comparison to another, where Blacks are perceived less favourably than Whites, and women are perceived less favourably than men (Rosette and Livingston, 2012). Black women therefore suffer a double jeopardy of a dual-subordinate identity by being both Black and female. This double jeopardy is one which must be researched and understood in the attempt to identify the reasons behind the perceived barriers of the upward mobility of Black women. In a paper by Choo and Marx Ferree (2010) they called for a more conscious recognition of intersectionalities which can be delineated into three main methods of intersectional research. The first, group-centred approach, aims to give a "voice" to groups that are marginalised in more than one way, by placing them at the centre of the research (Choo & Marx Ferree, 2010). The second, process centred approach, views power as relational and

therefore focuses on the interaction between multiple oppressions at the point of intersection. The third approach is system based and does not focus on specific inequalities but rather focusses on historical, interactive and complex processes as shaping the entire social system (Choo and Marx Ferree, 2010). This paper draws on all three approaches. The research looks to give a voice to Black females' whilst drawing attention to multiple oppressions, and assessing the social and historical systems within which institutions in the Financial industry operate.

Meta analyses of the last three decades of literature reveal a predominant position that the barriers which hinder women's upward mobility in their careers is provided by the glass ceiling metaphor (Barreto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009; Burke and Vinnicombe, 2005). Scholars have argued across the continuum where some have believed in the existence of the glass ceiling, whereas others have purported it to be a fallacy. Some have argued that it has been stereotypes and discrimination against women which have been largely responsible for causing the glass ceiling. Others posit that it is theories linked to the glass ceiling metaphor which have legitimized and even helped to perpetuate the glass ceiling phenomenon, especially when used by those who argue that women are not adequate to hold leadership roles (Smith, Caputi & Crittenden, 2012). This paper looks at both ends of the continuum as well as other views along the spectrum.

2.1 Application of South African Legislature and the attitude within organisations

South African history has been marred by discrimination and organisations in the Financial industry, like other industries, operate within the legacy of this social and historical system. After 22 years of democracy, the South African constitution embodies and protects the human rights of equity, equality, fairness, inclusion and non-discrimination in all spheres of society, including the workplace, through various laws. Despite legislation in place to address the consequences of South Africa's history, the country continues to reveal statistics which show slow workplace transformation. In a case study by Booysen (2007) of a financial institution in South Africa, what was of interest was that the institution researched purported to be aligned to the country's legislation and as such embrace the necessary policies, procedures and strategies necessary to enable the vision outlined in the South African Constitution. However, despite having said policies and strategies in place, the organisation was still underperforming in their employment equity (EE) targets. Booysen (2007) found inconsistency between the organisation's EE policies and strategies, and this translated into poor

implementation of policy and strategy for realistic action plans (Booysen, 2007). What was of further interest in the findings of the study was that participants viewed the problem to be beyond that of poor application of legislation and a lack of translation of organisational strategy and policy into realistic action plans. The issues they identified delved deeper. Firstly, they cited insufficient focus, coordination and integration of implementation attempts (Booysen, 2007). It goes without saying that poor integration and implementation meant that the requisite outcomes were not achieved as planned. Secondly, they perceived a lack of shared understanding and communication to employees about EE and its value. Without a shared understanding of the organisation's view of EE and communication of its value, individuals were left to draw their own conclusions. Third, was the perceived lack of leadership commitment which tied into the fourth perception which was related to the fear of White males losing their jobs, which led them to hold onto senior and top positions (Booysen, 2007). These insights revealed a deep-seated problem which lies in the attitudes of organisations and their management where EE is concerned. One can argue that without the change in attitude, all efforts to transform organisation in Booysen's (2007) study, and any other organisation that finds itself in a similar position, will continue to be at a snail's pace. This means that such organisation can never reflect the true spirit and purpose of EE, to transform the country and shed the effects of its history.

In addition to the abovementioned factors, difficulties in headhunting due to a limited pool of Black females to recruit from as well as challenges in the organisation's ability to match offers made to Black managers to retain them were other reasons offered. These barriers seem contradictory to previous studies however, which reveal that a large pool of qualified women exists (Business Women's Association, 2011). Rendering these reasons as mere excuses, it would appear therefore that the issue lies not in the scarcity of Black female professionals, but rather in the ability and/or attitude of organisations towards identifying, attracting and retaining Black females (April, Dreyer & Blass, 2007).

2.2 Work-Life balance

Several studies (April et al., 2007; Crampton & Mishra, 1999; Davidson & Burke, 2004; Liff & Ward, 2001; Van Vianen, 2002) have reported that some women decline career opportunities which prevent them from climbing the corporate ladder, because of their role in the household where they are still held largely responsible. This perceived barrier is blamed on

societal constructs of as well as workplace policies. The frequently used metaphor in relation to this occurrence is referred to as the "maternal wall", and is used to describe the way women's careers are negatively affected when they take breaks in employment to have and care for children (Crosby, Williams & Biernat, 2004; Williams, 2004).

Straub (2007) argued that women are not be able to experience career progression as workplace policies are designed for promotion to occur around the age bracket at which women leave to have and care for children i.e. 30 to 40 years of age. Due to this negative effect, a study by Belkin (2003) found that women chose to leave their jobs to concentrate on raising children. Still (2006) suggested that the major reason for this decision was not the environment at work or workplace policies, but rather the result of a patriarchal society which resulted in gender inequality which played out at home. This resulted in spouses who were unwilling to adapt to take more involvement for family responsibilities, thus enabling women to continue to work and build their careers.

This opinion was recognised however challenged in the Harvard Business Review (2008). The authors conceded that despite modern ideals on shared parenting and household management, it still largely remained the responsibility of women. This was believed to have an impact on women who become pregnant in the peak of their career-building years, especially if they decided to extend beyond a maternity leave period to spend time with their children or complete their families (HBR, 2008). The article continued to acknowledge how climbing back up the career ladder was difficult after extended periods away from the workplace environment. This was perhaps aggravated by parental responsibilities falling more heavily on women. However, the article challenged societal expectations which dictate that the time off work must be taken by women. It also turned its attention to organisations which are harsh towards women if they are not perceived as ready for promotion, and the effect that taking a break to have children or reducing work hours had on this (HBR, 2008). Whether it was a result of societal expectations which meant a lack of spousal support, or more burden lying on a woman to rear children, or workplace policies disadvantaging women who choose to have children, literature shows a "maternal wall" barrier in the progression of women. Black women being no exception.

2.3 Promotion

Issues around promotion is another aspect which emerges frequently in glass ceiling literature and takes several interesting directions. Studies show that if a woman chooses the impression management strategy of 'self-promotion' as a mechanism to make superiors aware of her achievements to be considered for promotion, this would not reflect well on her (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010; Lips, 2009). Per these studies, if women were not shy to promote and receive recognition for their own achievements (see 2.10 on Ambition) it was considered less acceptable to do so nevertheless. To promote and take credit for one's workplace achievements would risk criticism from colleagues due to the perception that they were "unfeminine, pushy, domineering and aggressive" (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2008, p. S71). Doing so therefore served as a barrier to their promotion rather than an aid.

Another source of negativity that serves as a barrier lies in the metaphor known as "Queen Bee", which infers a queen bee that does not respond well if she perceives her power to be threatened by another woman (Mavin, 2006). This term was first proposed by Staines, Travis & Jayerante (1973) and was used to describe successful women who did not support the liberation of women. It has come to signify women in senior management who fail to help other women who are attempting to climb the ladder by assisting them in getting promoted.

Another aspect which serves as a barrier to the promotion of women lies in the practices of organisations in instances where promotion or advancement may require relocation, which poses an obvious challenge for women with family responsibility that have ambitions to climb the corporate ladder (Lloyd & Mey, 2007; Mathur-Helm, 2006).

On the other hand, women who had managed to break through the glass ceiling found that they were often promoted into precarious positions which increased their risk of failure (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). It becomes quite evident from research that women can face an unwelcoming, difficult and cold workplace environment which reinforces double standards which unfairly evaluate and discriminate against them (Fassinger, 2008).

2.4 Old boys club and networking

Fassinger (2008) also found that women were indirectly denied promotion opportunities by being excluded from information and social networks. Fassinger (2008)

argued that being denied entry to the 'old boys' club meant that women did not have access to the information that they needed to create promotion opportunities for themselves. In organisations which are not receptive to diversity, the ''old boys network" is reported to still exist, and women have reported the way they perceive to be largely excluded from networks and have had to create their own alternatives to what is considered a crucial factor in career advancement (Klenke, 1996).

The importance of informal networks for upward mobility was described by Castro and Furchtgott-Roth (1997) who explained how these informal networks result in crucial information exchange which assists one's career planning, strategizing, gaining of professional support, encouragement and increased visibility; all of which are necessary for career advancement. This is due to the formal power of the individuals within the "club" who form informal alliances and share access to important information and business decisions (Oakley, 2000).

Exclusion from these informal networks stems from the fact that many of these networking opportunities occur in sporting activities such as golf courses where women are not typically found (Oakley, 2000). The networking also occurs in men's clubs and cigar lounges which have unwritten rules denying women access (April et al., 2007). The networking sessions also occur after work hours, thus threatening family responsibility where women who have children or other family members to take care of are unable to utilise these opportunities to interact with individuals important to their advancement (Jackson, 2004).

2.5 Leadership and double standards

Leadership is another popular topic associated with the glass ceiling metaphor. There is the popular belief that leadership and success are linked to a person having the right combination of attributes - the "right stuff" (Wolfe, 2008). Janoff-Bulman and Wade (1996) as well as Barnett (2004) explained that "blaming the victims" by targeting the leadership characteristics and behaviours of women as being a major cause of glass ceilings has legitimized and perpetuated the phenomenon of glass ceilings. Eagly and Carli (2007) agreed with this view and argued that women leaders are sometimes seen as lacking the legitimacy that is given to their male counterparts because they are not recognized as being the best candidate chosen for a leadership position. They argued that blaming gender differences leads

to an unacceptable view that women are not made for leadership positions (Eagly and Carli, 2007).

A study by Davidson and Cooper (1992) reported a tendency to view women as followers rather than leaders. This has been attributed to the lack of strong role models for women, which has made it difficult to develop a mental model of women as leaders (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). This was believed to result in a lowered self-perception and a lowered evaluation of women's potential to be leaders (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). Thus, women report that they adopt professional styles that will make their male colleagues more comfortable (Klenke, 1996). Despite the ability to adapt, double standards have been reported where characteristics synonymous with men such as aggressiveness, objective thinking, dominance, competition and decisiveness have been shown to be preferred by both genders however when displayed by women receive negative evaluations (Klenke, 1996). Women therefore find themselves in a position where feminine managerial styles are viewed as ineffective yet when they adopt a masculine style they are criticised for not being feminine enough (Ragins, Townsen & Mattis, 1998).

The tendency to apply double standards has been shown throughout literature. Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt and van Engen (2003) conducted a meta-analysis of studies which researched transformational and transactional leadership styles and found that a transformational style was related positively to leader effectiveness whereas a transactional style had a more negative relationship to effectiveness. Even though research has shown transformational leadership as the most effective style, the workforce largely continues to perceive a transactional leadership style as best (HBR, 2008). This has been attributed to many issues such as the possibility that the traits of a transactional leadership style are perceived as more masculine in a world where there has been a psycho-social link made between masculinity and leadership (HBR, 2008). Transformation leadership on the other hand is typically associated with traits which are considered more feminine. Transformational leaders position themselves as role models and gain the trust and confidence of their followers (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). They are innovative and mentor and empower their followers for them to realise their full potential to contribute their best to the organisation followers (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). In contrast, transactional leadership is associated with masculine traits where a transactional leader builds relationship which require an exchange (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). They set clear responsibilities for subordinates which

they monitor and reward when subordinates accomplish these set out objectives (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001).

In keeping with the double standards found in the workplace, women who choose to adopt a transactional leadership style are criticised for being "too masculine" and lacking empathy, a trait which is an expectation of them as women, however men who exhibit transformational leadership and qualities such as empathy are highly praised (HBR, 2008). A study by Lips (2009) discussed the expectations placed on women leaders as opposed to their male counterparts. The research concluded that the expectation of women's leadership style is for them to be more compassionate, however their display of compassion results in people being uneasy in taking instructions from them.

This is also true for behaviours such as assertiveness where such a quality is viewed as "attractive" for males however not interpreted as favourably for female leaders (HBR, 2008). There is therefore discrimination in the form of gender stereotyping which results in leadership being seen very differently depending on one's gender, with women on the short end of the stick (HBR, 2008).

Still on leadership, an article by Liff & Ward (2001) argued that because women lack job clarity and have limited information on formal tasks and functions, this serves as a barrier for them because whilst occupying top positions, they are still performing less strategic and lower paying tasks. The author went on to argue that women are oblivious to the difference between the short and medium term goal oriented functions of middle management functions compared to senior and top management functions which require one to hold a wider strategic perspective (Liff & Ward, 2001). This assertion begs the questions, why would an organisation appoint an individual – regardless of their race and gender – if they do not exhibit the ability to appreciate the difference in functions as they rise higher up the ladder? This would be a poor strategic decision by an organisation which has implications on the bottom line, thus making the argument questionable.

2.6 Tokenism

What research has revealed regarding the appointment of women into more senior positions, is that there are often presumptions and perceptions that they are hired or promoted not based on their competence and experience but rather because of their gender (Oakley, 2000). To this end, women risk becoming "tokens" which leads to them feeling pressure to not fulfil negative stereotypes about their ability as women (Haslam et al, 2010). A study by Haslam et al (2010) revealed that women who are regarded as tokens tend to experience higher levels of scrutiny and scepticism.

Research has also shown that appointments still largely group women into gendered positions which are also prone to having limited career development opportunities (Klenke, 1996). Where women are placed in positions typically dominated by men, they report feeling the need to work harder to prove themselves and their credibility as managers, and feel as though their appointment is that of a "token woman" (Ragins et al., 1998).

2.7 Mentoring

Another barrier which previous studies have revealed involves the lack of mentoring for females. Mentoring is widely acknowledged as an important element for a successful career however research has shown that not enough women are being mentored or serving as mentors to other women (Klenke, 1996). The paradox here lies in that it is due to the poor representation of women in more senior management roles, that there is a shortage of influential women who can serve as role models and mentors (Catalyst, 2001, Mavin, 2006). This lack of what would otherwise be an important transfer of knowledge means that women do not have female senior and top managers to look up to and emulate to learn leadership styles and other skills which would put them in good stead in their aspirations to reach more senior positions (Collins & Singh, 2006). Although women can be mentored by men, it is believed that male mentors can never teach women how to negotiate the gender based stereotypes that they will encounter (Collins & Singh, 2006).

2.8 Organisational culture

Collins and Singh (2006) found that the barriers that arise in organisational culture are due to the men in the organisation who create an environment which prevents women from being appointed into more senior roles. Van Vianene (2002) concluded that organisational cultures, policies, and practises fostered unfavourable processes for women's advancement into top positions and thus worked against women and inadvertently excluded them. These results were also found by Liff and Ward (2001) who discussed the way organisations constantly gave out messages to their staff that to be in top management one must prove loyalty and commitment through working long hours and participating and getting involved in the senior and top management functions. The challenge thus arose where motherhood and family responsibilities came into play, and women who were unable to show this "loyalty" and "commitment" were undermined and excluded. This was also discussed by Mathur-Helm (2006) who made a connection between the under representation of women in senior management positions to the job requirements for such positions, such as the culture of long working hours and demanding job requirements, and how these discourage women from holding such positions. A study by Lance and Piercy (2003) found that women were not viewed as committed to the organisation in comparison to their male counterparts, and this was more so for women who were mothers.

2.9 Discrimination and bias

A study by Oakley (2000) found that women perceived gender bias as one of their biggest challenges. White males have reported a belief that women and minorities would take over in the workplace and impose different cultures and communication styles which would leave White males feeling excluded and angry (Ragins et al., 1998). Ragins et al. (1998) further revealed that female executives perceived White men to fear reverse discrimination and a resulting exclusion in the workplace which is why barriers are put in place to exclude women and minorities. Jackson (2004) found that in workplaces where there are more men than women in influential positions, the culture tended to adopt attributes that favour men. This was referred to as gendered organisations (Jackson, 2004).

2.10 Ambition

An article by Fels (2004) explored ambition in women, and found that the word alone was perceived by women to hold negative perceptions linked to egotism, selfishness or the manipulation of others for one's own benefit. Thus, none of the women in the study admitted to being ambitious. This was in stark contrast to the men who were interviewed who considered ambition to be very necessary and desirable.

Fels (2004) noted that the childhood ambitions of the female participants were unapologetic, grand, limitless and placed the women in important roles. These ambitions would require mastery of a skill as well as recognition of the accomplishment. In adulthood, the participants had gained mastery of the requisite skills, however instead of wanting acknowledgement and celebrating their accomplishments, they shunned the recognition (Fels, 2004). This was attributed to societal expectations when raising females from girls to women, where with age they are expected to increasingly cede attention to others because that is what is expected of them from society, especially in the presence of men (Fels, 2004). Research by April, Dreyer and Blass (2007) found that due to these societal values and expectations on women, many chose to abandon their ambitions.

Fels (2004) also discussed how women appear to be more open and seek affirmation with other women, and sometimes aggressively so, however in the presence of men, they preferred roles that complement rather than compete with males. This poses an obvious barrier in male dominated workplaces to the upward mobility of females, who instead of displaying leadership abilities to complement their mastered skills, will shy away and assume the role of assistants instead.

There is another barrier where ambition is concerned and relates to the self-perceptions and ratings that women give themselves. Fels (2004) revealed that as women grow and receive less recognition for their efforts, this has an impact on their ambition. Women who do not think they will reach a certain career goal will not attempt to attain it (Fels, 2004). The combination of a lack of appropriate affirmation together with the social gender based stereotypes result in the demoralization of women (Fels, 2004).

2.11 Meta-stereotypes

As stated in the first chapter, it is crucial to understand any psychological barriers which may prevent positive intergroup contact, as contact remains "our best hope" for promoting positive intergroup relations (Wright, Brody, & Aron, 2005). Research on meta-stereotypes suggests that being aware of others' stereotypically negative perceptions of one's social group makes the quality of intergroup relations worse, in addition to threatening the self-concept of those stereotyped (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998).

These perceptions are believed to result in emotional and behavioural consequences, especially where negative meta-stereotypes are present (Finchilescu, 2005). In a study, which investigated whether meta-stereotypes hinder inter racial contact, Finchilescu (2005, p. 465) explained that the experience of being stereotyped, could lead to feelings of being "de-individualised, of having one's personal qualities and experiences dismissed, and being subsumed within a large category". This is believed to lower self-esteem as well as threaten one's self-concept (Finchilescu, 2005). Findings from a study by Jang, Chiriboga, Kim and Rhew (2010) revealed costly implications for members of the in-group socially (further negativity from the out-group) and personally (reduced feelings of self-worth and sense of control over life outcomes). A study by Finchilescu (2010) found that the level of prejudice and degree of negative meta-stereotypes are predictors of intergroup anxiety, with meta-stereotypes emerging as more important (Finchilescu, 2010). Intergroup anxiety is a barrier to intergroup relations which arises because of the tendency for race groups to self-segregate (Finchilescu, 2010).

Intergroup contact is purported to elevate levels of intergroup anxiety resulting in members avoiding contact if possible, or hostile behaviour where avoidance is not possible (Finchilescu, 2005). In addition, a person's attitude and feelings towards the out-group is said to be affected, where the feeling of being disliked by the out-group is believed to lead to a reciprocal response which then reinforces or creates further stereotypes (Finchilescu, 2005). This would have obvious implications in the workplace if there is a mutual dislike between colleagues. This creates a barrier for Black women and their upward mobility.

In the workplace, not only is the intellectual ability of Black people often the subject of stereotyping (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995), so too are their personality traits and work

ethic. Studies have revealed that Black people are frequently portrayed as lazy, irresponsible and lacking self-discipline (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). These stereotypes can be detrimental to their progression in the workplace if they are not able to prove themselves as being different to perceived short-comings because of their race. It is therefore critical to research whether Black women hold meta-stereotypes related to these negative perceptions and whether this has an impact on their intergroup contact within the workplace, and whether this serves as another barrier to their upward mobility.

The Harvard Business Review (2008) concluded that there are unfortunately no easy solutions which exist when attempting to create gender equality in leadership. This is due to research findings which have shown that barriers are institutional, cultural as well as historical. In addition to this, research has also raised questions around women's self-perceptions and the extent to which such perceptions result in a population of capable women who do not imagine themselves in leadership roles, and if they do, are confused about what leadership characteristics they should exhibit to succeed (HBR, 2008).

In the same article, however, the real problem was not considered to be a ''glass ceiling''. Instead, the authors suggested that the challenges that women face in their career progression form part of a labyrinth within the workplace which they must navigate (Strategic direction, 2008). This labyrinth is caused by a combination of prejudices experienced by women and the workplace's reactions to these prejudices, which culminate in junctures in their working lives, with motherhood being the most significant (HBR, 2008). This argument is one that scholars advance due to their belief that the glass ceiling metaphor is no longer appropriate due to the strides which have been made in the workplace, albeit slow.

2.12 Research Questions

The current research sought to explore all the above-mentioned themes which have emerged in earlier literature. The perceptions which have emerged previously also appear to be different for women based on where they are positioned on the corporate ladder and this too will be investigated. Lastly, an assessment of meta-stereotypes will be introduced to discover whether negative meta-stereotypes emerge as a possible psychological barrier. The research questions which the study researched were therefore:

2.12.1. What patterns of perception about challenges/barriers to career advancement exist amongst Black women in the Financial Industry?

2.12.2. Do these patterns differ according to occupational level?

2.12.3. Are there perceptions related to negative meta-stereotypes which serve as a psychological barrier to the upward mobility of Black women in the Financial Industry?

The next chapter explains the methodology and materials used in the research.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aim of the study was to discover the perceptions held by Black females in the financial industry regarding barriers to upward mobility. This chapter describes the research design, sample and procedure which were employed to answer the research questions outlined in chapter 2.

3.1 Research Design

A mixed method design in the form of Q methodology was chosen to research the participants' patterns of perceptions. Q methodology was chosen because as a research technique it focusses on the subjective viewpoints of participants (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005; Watts & Stenner, 2012), which is the aim of the study. In addition, Q methodology allowed for the enhancement and validation of the research by collecting, analysing, and integrating both quantitative (numeric data) and qualitative (textual data) information to provide a better understanding of the topic (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005). Thus, where statistics were able to produce facts and figures, these findings were enlightened by providing the human element behind findings through the use of interviews.

3.2 Sample and Sampling

The target population for the study was Black females working in the Financial industry in South Africa. The sample drawn from this population, known as a P set, comprised of 20 (N=20) women within varying occupational levels of middle, senior and top management. The table below provides the demographic summary of the participants.

Table 1. Demographic composition of the sample

Age	
Mean	37.1
SD	8.63
Marital status	
Single	11
Married	8
Divorced	1
No. of participants with children	8
No. of participants with dependents other than children	11
Occupational level	
Middle management	9
Senior management	7
Top management	4
Years of experience	
< 5 years	3
6-10 years	6
>11 years	11

The sampling strategy which was adopted was one of non-probability purposive sampling due to the nature of participants required for the study being from a specific population. This strategy is used when the participants of interest are rare or difficult to find (Whitehead, 2009). Given the workforce statistics shared in chapter 1, it becomes clear how this was the sampling strategy which needed to be adopted. The P set was not intended to be random but rather consist of participants who were theoretically relevant to the topic and therefore expected to have a distinct viewpoint on the subject (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005).

There were a limited number of participants because the purpose of Q methodology is to examine a small number of participants on many test-items, known as the Q-set, as opposed to other methodologies which investigate a large number of participants on a small number of

tests (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005). The objective of doing this is to find individuals with similarities or differences in their experiences and attitudes on a specific topic (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005).

As a result of the size of a P set, the reliability of Q studies has received criticism due to the ability to generalise from the results. It is therefore important to note that the objective of the methodology is not reliability and generalisability, but rather its replicability (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005). In other words, the aim is not the ability to generalise results to the population, but rather to be able to derive similar viewpoints on a topic across different P-sets (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005). This is due to the notion that there will be a limited number of viewpoints on any topic, and any well-structured Q set and P set will be able to reveal these perspectives (Brown, 1980).

3.3 Procedure

The instrumentation used to collect the data was 57 statements which formed a Q set. This was accompanied by a demographic questionnaire as well as six questions which were aimed at determining meta-stereotypes within this sample (see Appendix A). Whilst administering the Q-set, participants were also interviewed and asked to elaborate on their responses by sharing their thoughts as they completed the exercise. Tubergen and Ollins (1979) as well as Reber, Kaufman and Cropp (2000) as cited in Van Excel & Graaf (2005), found completion of the Q-set to be sufficient, however that the addition of interviews enabled the researcher to understand the results better and thus reach deeper understanding and interpretation of findings. This was especially helpful where unexpected results were found, as the in-depth interviews with participants gave insight into their thinking and their perceptions.

Completing the Q study involved the following steps: defining the concourse, developing and validating the Q set, selecting the P set and data collection through Q sorting. These steps are further described below.

3.3.1 Defining the concourse

This step was considered one of the most important aspects as it needed to cover all relevant statements, beliefs, opinions and perspectives on glass ceiling theory. As discussed by Van Excel and Graaf (2005) the concourse is of utmost importance because it must combine all relevant material on a topic. The study therefore drew from previous research as well as literature found in newspapers, magazines and online material to compile the concourse from which the Q set would be derived.

3.3.2 Developing and validating the Q set

A Q set is a combination of statements which are derived from the concourse which consists of all aspects or discourse on the topic (Van Excel & Graaf, 2005). Watts and Stenner (2012) discussed how an effective Q set is characterised by coverage and balance. In other words, it needs to represent the broad opinions within the domain of the concourse (Watts & Stenner, 2012). By being able to cover all aspects which have emerged out of glass ceiling literature, a study is believed to achieve a balanced Q set.

In the process of putting together the Q set, one must consider whether the topic they are researching requires a structured or unstructured approach when selecting Q set items (Watts & Stenner, 2012). The statements are built in an unstructured manner when there is little or no existing theory, whereas a structured deductive approach can be adopted where there is existing theory (Watts & Stenner, 2012). A structured approach therefore was used for this study as there was an initial Q set obtained from a similar study conducted in the United States of America (USA) which compared the attitudes and experiences between women at top and middle levels of companies in the financial services industry (Slavet & Butterfield, 1999). In addition, there were themes in previous literature which were identified and believed to give sufficient coverage of the research topic. It is from these themes that items were generated from literature as well as the Q set obtained from Slavet and Butterfield (1999). The latter was modified to fit the South African context and then complemented with the identified themes from glass ceiling theory such as, mentoring, networking, promotion, ambition, work-family balance, discrimination and company culture and corporate practices.

Being a self-modified Q set, as a means of piloting or testing the adequacy of the statements, they were given to subject matter experts to review for face validity to ensure that all necessary discourse on the topic had been included. This process also assisted in refining the Q set as the wording for some statements needed to be clarified, duplications were removed and new items were generated following feedback from the experts. Once again, this provided confirmation of coverage. The final Q set consisted of 57 statements which is considered to fall within the 40 to 80 number of items which has become a standard in other Q studies. Once verified, the statements of the Q set were randomly assigned a number and loaded onto the Flash Q programme. The post-sort demographic as well as meta-stereotypes questionnaires were also loaded and were ready for Q sorting and completion by the participants.

3.3.3 Selecting the P set

Although the Fisher block design is advocated for systemic selection of a P-set (Brown, 1980), this study, like many others, made use of referrals, also known as snowball sampling. Watts and Stenner (2012) discuss that this is not the ideal method, however recognise that this often emerges out of practicality, which was the case for the present study. The researcher would like to argue that the study remained strategic in the sampling as the participants were asked to refer individuals who fit very specific criteria. The researcher could select the very first participant who fit the criteria of black, female and in management within the financial industry, who then proceeded to refer other individuals who fit the same criteria and would possibly be interested in participating. With this directed strategy in mind, snowball sampling then took place as each participant referred more individuals who strictly fit the criteria. Due to the strict emphasis on the criteria that needed to be met to refer an individual, some participants were not able to provide any referrals.

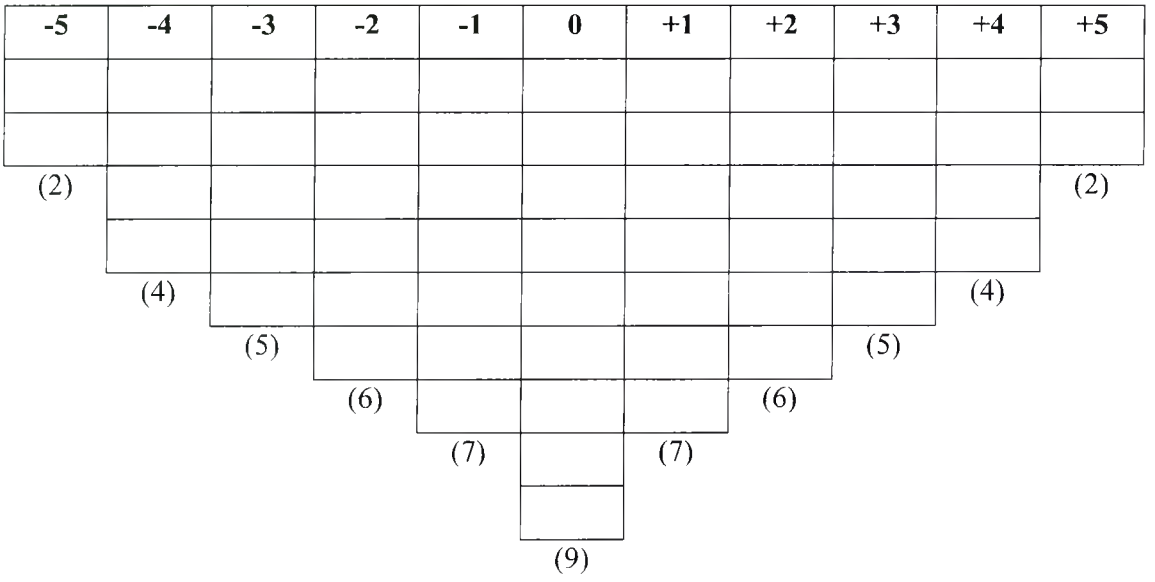
There have been endless debates on the appropriate number of participants for a Q study. Where Q studies generally use 25-40 participants, some argue a ratio of two Q set items for every participant, and never more participants than Q set items (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Watts and Stenner (2012) as well as Brown (1980) have however argued that Q methodology embraces studies with fewer participants and good studies can still be carried out with few participants in a multi-participant Q study. This study used 20 participants. There were limiting factors which resulted in this sample size and these limitations are discussed in chapter 5 under the limitations section.

3.3.4 Data collection through Q sorting

Q sorting can occur with either face-to-face or online administration. Both options provide their own advantages as well as challenges. With face-to-face administration, the task becomes resource intensive and more time consuming, however it remains the more preferred method as the researcher is sure that the participant engaged with the Q set and can elicit more information with the interview (Watts & Stenner, 2012). With the online administration, although it is less demanding on time and can be administered in the absence of the researcher, there is no guarantee that the participant truly engaged with the Q sorting task and there is no post-sort interview to gain in-depth insights into responses. The study therefore chose to combine administration methods where the online freeware of Flash Q was used to optimise time taken to complete the task as well as other resources needed. The presence of the researcher face-to-face provided the advantage of the interview to probe and gain deeper understanding into the perceptions of each participant.

Each participant was handed a laptop with Flash Q loaded onto it. They were provided with a participant number to enter the programme to begin the task. This number was incorporated into their participant identification number to maintain their anonymity in the research report. The programme requested the participant to read the statements and sort them into three piles reflecting a pile of those with which she agreed with, a pile of the statements she disagreed with and a pile of the statements she held a neutral opinion on. Secondly, the participant was required to rank order the statements on a grid shaped like a normal curve. After scrolling through the agree pile, a participant was asked to select the two statements with which she most agreed with. These were placed in the blocks under +5. The participant was asked to do the same with disagree pile and placed two statements under -5. This process was repeated for all the columns (+4, -4, +3, -3, and so forth) including the neutral column. The figure below is an illustration of the grid which was completed.

Figure 1. The Q sort grid



Once all statements had been placed on the grid, the participant was asked to assess the full grid and rearrange the statements until she was satisfied. Each statement number in each cell was then recorded for later use in data analysis. Throughout this process, the participant was questioned regarding certain choices she had made for the statements. Thirdly, the participant was probed as to why she had selected the statements at the two extremes of the grid. This was followed by the demographic questionnaire which required participants to indicate their age, marital status, whether they have dependents, qualifications, years of experience, designation in their current position and occupation level. This information was used to provide further insight in interpreting the responses of the participants.

The final aspect of the session involved the meta-stereotypes section. This section consisted of six questions where the purpose of the questions was to measure the degree to which respondents believe the other group to hold negative stereotypes towards Black women. Some of the meta-stereotypes were borrowed from a previous study on meta-stereotypes (Finchilescu, 2010), and were measured as bipolar adjectives on a 6-point semantic differential scale (Finchilescu, 2010). Analysis conducted on the scales revealed that the instrument had a good internal consistency with a Cronbach also coefficient of .74. Participants were required to respond to the question "I anticipate White male colleagues to feel the following towards me as a Black female". A low score on this scale would indicate that the individual believes that the out-group views them negatively, thus indicating negative meta-stereotypes.

The meetings were not anticipated to take more than half an hour. Considering the occupational level of participants which resulted in them having bust schedules, it would have been challenging for them to avail long periods of time to meaningfully engage in the study. It was therefore feared that any duration longer than 30 minutes would jeopardise the number of participants willing to take part in the study. Interestingly however, it is worth noting that once the participants started with the task, the content of the statements evoked high emotions and passion, and the meetings lasted anywhere from 45 minutes to 3 hours. Data collection took longer than the six weeks which were initially expected (data was instead collected over a period of 6 months) due to the overall challenge in finding the desired number of participants to complete the P set.

When all Q sorts had been collected, data was entered into analysis freeware called PQ Method following the instructions outlined by Schmolck (2014). The data on meta-stereotypes was analysed using the IBM SPSS 23 programme. Due to the small sample size, non-parametric testing was conducted which included the Mann-Whitney U test to make a comparison of differences in ranks. The Mann-Whitney U test was the non-parametric version of the parametric independent samples t-test (Pallant, 2007). Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the responses from the interviews (Smith, 2000).

To assist in the understanding of the interpretations and findings, an in-depth explanation of the statistical analysis is described in the results section (chapter 4). The step-by-step explanation will reveal the transition from Q sorts to factors using correlation and factor analysis, the next transition from factors to factor arrays using a weighted average of significantly loading Q sorts and lastly the transition from factor arrays to factor interpretations (Watts & Stenner, 2012).

3.4 Participant involvement and ethics

Approval to conduct the research was obtained from the University ethics committee (Appendix B). Referred participants were contacted via email which included a formal invitation to participate which detailed the nature of the study, the process to be followed, time involved and participant's rights (Appendix C). Those who responded favourably, were contacted further to arrange a face-to-face meeting, as a time and place convenient for them. The need for data collection to be face-to-face arose from the fact that the Q-set was completed on the researcher's laptop. At the face-to-face meeting, a consent form for taking part in the task as well as the recording of the interview required the signature of the participant before proceeding (Appendix D). Participation was voluntary and pseudonyms are used where particular responses are reported. The next chapter presents the results.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter offers the results of the research which was derived from the analysis of the Q sorts using the three methodological transactions as proposed by Watts and Stenner (2012). As stated in the previous chapter, an in-depth and step-by-step explanation is provided through these three transitions which occur in the process of Q methodology statistical analysis. The use of non-parametric tests was used to test the degree to which the participants believed that the other group held negative stereotypes of them.

4.1 First transition – from Q sorts to factors

There was a total of 20 Q sorts which were intercorrelated and analysed using PQ Method designed by Schmolck (2014). In the first transition, the aim of the intercorrelation was to determine the nature as well as extent of the relationship between any two Q sorts. The intercorrelation table for the present study is depicted below.

Table 2. Intercorrelation matrix for Q sorts

Q sort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	-	0.36	0.36	0.66	0.42	0.53	0.14	0.46	0.67	0.59	0.46	0.52	0.57	0.62	0.55	0.59	0.64	0.38	0.64	0.63
2		-	0.49	0.67	0.53	0.55	0.16	0.55	0.52	0.61	0.41	0.28	0.40	0.41	0.50	0.56	0.48	0.22	0.59	0.51
3			-	0.40	0.38	0.37	0.06	0.29	0.30	0.41	0.34	0.29	0.38	0.44	0.31	0.27	0.37	0.43	0.36	0.39
4				-	0.56	0.67	0.25	0.57	0.57	0.71	0.58	0.47	0.54	0.58	0.65	0.72	0.65	0.27	0.73	0.64
5					-	0.69	0.09	0.47	0.47	0.64	0.45	0.30	0.42	0.47	0.50	0.64	0.52	0.18	0.72	0.52
6						-	0.20	0.47	0.54	0.64	0.44	0.33	0.53	0.54	0.53	0.65	0.53	0.28	0.69	0.64
7							-	0.10	0.18	0.00	-0.07	0.15	0.17	0.22	0.17	0.20	0.22	-0.08	0.17	0.07
8								-	0.54	0.70	0.49	0.36	0.44	0.53	0.51	0.61	0.70	0.09	0.57	0.54
9									-	0.68	0.51	0.54	0.52	0.61	0.56	0.67	0.63	0.41	0.67	0.44
10										-	0.69	0.46	0.59	0.64	0.68	0.76	0.73	0.33	0.69	0.61
11											-	0.43	0.43	0.45	0.56	0.58	0.57	0.34	0.50	0.56
12												-	0.55	0.56	0.33	0.52	0.55	0.29	0.53	0.38
13													-	0.70	0.51	0.58	0.62	0.14	0.59	0.57
14														-	0.61	0.67	0.74	0.19	0.57	0.62
15															-	0.69	0.69	0.20	0.59	0.59
16																-	0.82	0.17	0.72	0.61
17																	-	0.15	0.67	0.61
18																		-	0.33	0.33
19																			-	0.54
20																				-

The shaded areas in the table are an indication of the correlations which exist between Q sorts. Q sort 3 intercorrelates with all Q sorts except 7, 8, 12 and 16. Q sort 7 has no correlation with any other Q sort. Q sort 12 intercorrelates with all other Q sorts except Q sorts 2, 3 and 7. Q sort 16 has no relationship with Q sort 3 and 7. With Q sort 18, the only other Q sorts that correlate are those of Q sort 1, 3, 9, 10 and 11. From the above it becomes apparent that all the participants (except participant 7 completely and to some lesser extent participants 3, 12, 16 and 18) sorted the Q-set items into similar configurations.

Following intercorrelation, the system was instructed to perform a centroid factor analysis by extracting several factors (the program allows for up to seven) which were subjected to a "by Q-sort" factor analysis. The purpose of this factor analysis was that is enabled the researcher to explain as much as possible about the relationships which exist between the Q sorts by identifying shared or common meaning i.e. factors. Following the guideline by Watts and Stenner (2012), the starting point for factor extraction depended on the number of Q sorts (in this case because there were 20 Q sorts the starting point was 4 factors), three extraction rounds occurred where the initial instruction was for the extraction of four factors, then three, then two. The final decision was to choose an extraction of two factors as this explained the largest percentage variance and accounted for the highest number of Q sorts explained. This is elaborated on shortly. The decision to extract two factors resulted in the output of a table of two unrotated factor loadings, presented below.

Table 3. Unrotated factor matrix

Q sort	1	2	Communality	Communality (%)
1	0.75	-0.12	0,58	58
2	0.67	0.32	0,55	55
3	0.50	0.20	0,29	29
4	0.84	0.08	0,71	71
5	0.68	0.28	0,54	54
6	0.75	0.19	0,60	60
7	0.18	-0.25	0,09	9
8	0.69	0.01	0,48	48
9	0.77	0.12	0,61	61
10	0.86	0.14	0,76	76
11	0.66	0.12	0,45	45
12	0.59	-0.25	0,41	41
13	0.70	-0.22	0,54	54
14	0.78	-0.32	0,71	71
15	0.75	-0.02	0,56	56
16	0.85	-0.11	0,73	73
17	0.84	-0.27	0,78	78
18	0.35	0.19	0,16	16
19	0.84	0.04	0,71	71
20	0.75	0.08	0,57	57
Eigenvalue	**10.10**	**0.73**		
Variance (%)	51	4		

The above table indicates correlations and allowed for the calculation of communality, which informed the percentage variance of the Q sort which had been accounted for by the study. In other words, communality assisted in understanding how much one Q sort held in common with all other Q sorts where a higher communality indicated that a Q sort was highly representative of the group of Q sorts that it correlated with. Lastly, the table provided eigenvalues and percentage variance explained by a factor. Together, the eigenvalue and variance explained for each factor provided an indication of both strength as well as explanatory power of a factor (Watts & Stenner, 2012). In other words, for factor 1, the eigenvalue of 10.10 and variance of 51% revealed that the factor held the most powerful explanatory power of the study. Factor 2 had an eigenvalue of 0.73 and variance of 4%. Factor 2 was included as a factor although it had an eigenvalue less than 1. According to Brown (1980) a factor is worth exploring if its eigenvalue is less than 1 if it contains more than 2 sorts that loaded significantly.

It was then necessary to determine which Q sorts loaded significantly on each factor. The criteria used to determine this was if the factor loading was significant at the 0.01 level using the rule 2.58 x (√no. of items in Q set) to determine the value of significance. For the study, the factor loading of +/- 0.34 was considered significant. There was however too much confounding which occurred at this value. Confounding refers to when one Q sort loads significantly on more than 1 factor (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Q sorts which confound are ordinarily excluded from further analysis and thus not ideal. The programme's flagging was therefore used to effectively establish which Q sorts loaded significantly on which of the two factors. It was established that the factor loading value was raised and a value of +/- 0.52 was considered significant. Varimax rotation was then executed to produce the table below.

Table 4. Rotated factor Matrix with an X indicating Q sorts with a significant loading i.e. factor defining Q sorts

Q sort	1	2
1	0.50	0.57X
2	0.72X	0.18
3	0.52X	0.16
4	0.70X	0.48
5	0.70X	0.22
6	0.70X	0.33
7	-0.03	0.31
8	0.53X	0.43
9	0.52X	0.58
10	0.76X	0.44
11	0.59X	0.33
12	0.30	0.57X
13	0.41	0.62X
14	0.40	0.74X
15	0.56X	0.49
16	0.59	0.62
17	0.48	0.74X
18	0.39	0.07
19	0.67X	0.50
20	0.63X	0.42
% expl. Var.	**31**	**23**

The table above shows that two factors were extracted and explained 54% of the variance. Seventeen of the 20 Q sorts loaded significantly on the two factors where factor loadings of +/- 0.52 were significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. Twelve Q sorts loaded significantly on factor 1, and five Q sorts loaded significantly on factor 2. Two of the sorts (7 and 18) were not significant, which substantiates the intercorrelations table discussed earlier (Table 2). Q sort 16 was confounded and was therefore not considered. The 17 Q sorts that loaded significantly on a particular factor were then flagged with an X and are known as the factor-defining Q sorts or factor exemplars meaning that they loaded significantly because they exhibited a sorting pattern which was very similar. This suggested that these Q sorts had similar viewpoints. Once these factor exemplars were identified, analysis could then proceed to the second transition.

4.2 Second transition – from factors to factor arrays

In the second transition, factors are explained by a factor array which is when the factor exemplars merge to form a single Q sort for each factor (Watts & Stenner, 2012). PQ Method provided this output which was achieved by calculating a weighted average where higher loading exemplars were given more weight seeing as they better exemplified the factor. For the final factor estimate, the factor weight of each Q sort was applied to its own item rankings. In other words, as the study used an 11-point distribution (+5 to -5), by using a ranking of 11 to 1, a score of 11 indicated an item ranking of +5 and a score of 1 indicated an item ranking of -5.

The weighted score for each item was totalled to create the final factor estimate where a higher score meant that the item was valued higher by the factor. PQ Method produced multiple tables which displayed the weighted factor scores by factor. These tables gave an indication of which items were ranked most positively and most negatively for each factor. To make cross factor comparisons the total scores were also converted into z scores. PQ method provided an output file entitled "Factor Q sort values for each statement" and the combination of the ranking as well as the z scores provided the below factor arrays which have formed the basis for factor interpretation.

Figure 2. Factor array for factor 1

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
1	16	5	21	12	6	2	4	10	26	14
25	24	18	23	33	7	3	15	11	35	45
	37	22	38	36	8	13	28	19	39	
	43	27	40	44	9	17	34	29	41	
		57	49	48	20	31	54	32		
			51	52	30	46	55			
				53	42	47				
					50					
					56					

The items with the two highest z scores (items 14 and 45) were awarded a ranking of +5, followed by the items with the next four highest z scores (items 26, 35, 39 and 41) which were assigned a +4 ranking and so on. The same applied for items with negative scoring as their interpretation was equally important. The two items with the lowest z scores (items 1 and 25) were ranked at -5, followed by the items with the second lowest z scores (items 16, 24, 37 and 43) which were assigned a -4 ranking and so on.

Figure 3. Factor array for factor 2

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
24	6	1	20	8	4	7	17	13	3	2
25	16	5	22	27	10	11	31	14	26	9
	37	18	23	38	12	32	34	15	28	
	43	53	40	50	21	36	39	19	45	
		57	44	51	29	42	41	33		
			48	52	30	46	55			
				56	35	54				
					47					
					49					

Once again with the factor 2 array, the items with the two highest z scores (items 2 and 9) were awarded a ranking of +5, followed by the items with the next four highest z scores (items 3, 26, 28 and 45) which were assigned a +4 ranking and so on. The same applied for items with negative scoring due to their importance for interpretation. The two items with the lowest z scores (items 24 and 25) were ranked at -5, followed by the items with the second lowest z scores (items 6, 16, 37 and 43) which were assigned a -4 ranking and so on.

4.3 Third transition – from factor arrays to factor interpretations

To interpret factors once factor arrays have been compiled, Watts and Stenner (2012) stress the importance a holistic view being taken into consideration whilst inspecting the patterning of items in the arrays. Watts and Stenner (2012) discussed the use of a crib sheet system to achieve a consistent approach to realise this holistic view of each factor. They advised that the first draft of a crib sheet include four elements – firstly for each factor, the identification of the items with the highest ranking i.e. those ranked at +5; secondly, the identification of the items with the lowest ranking i.e. -5. Third, the identification of items ranked higher by one factor than by any other factor and lastly items ranked lower by one factor than any other factors. What this allows is for the identification of the most important items as well as the viewpoint of one factor relative to another factor. See Appendix E, Tables 5 and 6 for the first draft crib sheets for the factors identified in the present study.

In viewing the factors holistically, the logic of abduction was applied where each item was believed to have a purpose and therefore needed careful consideration in the interpretation process as each item ranking would infer what that very item was trying to tell or what it meant in the bigger picture. By doing this, the researcher could generate an overall story which the items were telling about both factors thus explaining complete viewpoints. A further stage in factor interpretation considered the demographic information of participants as well. The demographics added a layer to the interpretation therefore assisting to answer the research questions set out in Chapter one.

A final step to factor interpretation was necessary, and involved the creation of a second draft of the crib sheet. The aim of this exercise was to identify any other items which might be useful for interpretation which would warrant addition to the crib sheet. Each item which was omitted in the first drafts was considered for any relevance it might have to the overall viewpoint to compile a second draft (See Appendix F, Tables 7 and 8).

As mentioned previously, Q methodology combines both quantitative and qualitative forms of research. The table below shows the ranking which was assigned to each of the 57 statements in the respective factor exemplifying Q sorts. The table reveals the characteristics of each factor and the comparative rankings between the two factors. For instance, factor 1 ranked statement 1 at -5 (i.e. the participants in this factor wanted more for their lives after university beyond getting married). Factor 2 was ranked at +5 which reveals that participants in this factor were in very strong agreement that the top level of their companies lacked diversity in terms of race.

Table 9. Factor values for each statement

No.	Statement	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	After university I saw myself working, then getting married and not really working anymore	-5	-3
2	The top level of my company is not diverse in terms of race.	1	5
3	Black women must often use different techniques than men in a male dominated company.	1	4
4	My company is a tough place to work in for Black women.	2	0
5	My company puts up with men who are intolerant or sexually abusive because they are successful business people.	-3	-3
6	Black women have placed self-imposed obstacles in their career pathways.	0	-4
7	I have had great mentors.	0	1
8	Many Black women experience their bosses as being disinterested in their accomplishments.	0	-1

No.	Statement	Factor 1	Factor 2
9	There is a general experience of being ignored, as a Black woman in the workplace, until you are very powerful.	0	5
10	I think the connections I made helped my career advance more rapidly.	3	0
11	I think men, especially older men, are uncomfortable with Black women in key positions.	3	1
12	I have had a woman as a boss who has acted as a mentor towards me.	-1	0
13	There is little diversity at the top in terms of gender at my company .	1	3
14	Black women are generally seen as lacking in competence because they are perceived as having been granted access through employment equity.	5	3
15	Black women are excluded from information and social networks that enhance promotion opportunities.	2	3
16	In my company there are a number of Black women in senior positions so it is a healthy mix.	-4	-4
17	Double standards exist where assertiveness in Black women is a disadvantage.	1	2
18	It is difficult for me to consider a man as a mentor because of gender differences in experiences.	-3	-3
19	Some Black women do not progress because they do not have the networks to succeed.	3	3
20	For black women to succeed, they must speak with an accent that suggests that they have a middle class and former 'model C' background.	0	-2
21	I have moved along faster in promotions than most other people have.	-2	0
22	Many Black women experience sexual harassment from male co-workers.	-3	-2
23	Black women are burdened with more extended family obligations than their White counterparts.	-2	-2

No.	Statement	Factor 1	Factor 2
24	I would not want to be in the top management of a company.	-4	-5
25	I don't think anyone really expected me to do anything. I think they thought I was going to go to school and then I would get married and that would be the end of it.	-5	-5
26	It has been meaningful for me to have found people along the way who were willing to step in and play a role in my success.	4	4
27	Many Black women prefer to work in a group where they don't have to make most decisions by themselves.	-3	-1
28	A Black woman can say the same thing as a man does and it may not be as easily accepted.	2	4
29	Black women in management fail to help other Black women in their pursuit of promotion.	3	0
30	I don't know if I would recommend my company to other Black female colleagues.	0	0
31	For a Black woman to have a successful career, it is important to have a supportive spouse .	1	2
32	I see becoming top management of a company as a possibility for myself down the road.	3	1
33	Black women sometimes feel isolated in their jobs because of lack of female peers.	-1	3
34	Black women are positioned as assistants instead of leaders	2	2
35	A person needs to have strong supporters or allies in their company to be successful.	4	0
36	Black women are conflicted because they are expected to act one way with spouse and family and another way in the office.	-1	1
37	I don't think I will ever become a member of top management of a company.	-4	-4
38	In my company women at senior levels, who have children, find it difficult to work full time.	-2	-1

No.	Statement	Factor 1	Factor 2
39	I feel that I was chosen for my position because I was the best candidate.	4	2
40	I have not been promoted as quickly as I had expected.	-2	-2
41	The problem Black women are facing in the workplace has to do with the men who are in power in the company.	4	2
42	Performance evaluation practices in the organisation discriminate against Black women who show assertiveness.	0	1
43	In acclimatising to different levels of management, Black women fail to understand the shift in job focus and functions.	-4	-4
44	Black women jeopardise their advancement if they self-promote their achievements .	-1	-2
45	Black women have to work twice as hard to prove themselves.	5	4
46	Black women have to act like men in order to be noticed and valued.	1	1
47	Black women are appointed in my company as tokens.	1	0
48	Many Black women find it hard to tolerate the pressures at work because of the pressures they face at home.	-1	-2
49	Differences in experiences make it difficult for me to think of a White person as a mentor .	-2	0
50	Falling pregnant has a negative effect on a Black woman's career.	0	-1
51	Diversity is one of my company's explicit corporate values.	-2	-1
52	It is extremely difficult to balance home life and having a successful career.	-1	-1
53	It is difficult for Black women to form co-worker relationships because most of their co-workers are men.	-1	-3
54	There is discrimination against Black women in the workplace.	2	1
55	I feel my position of leadership is recognised as legitimate by my colleagues .	2	2

56	Some Black women's careers are impeded by family obligations.	0	-1
57	I saw most of my friends wanting to be a teacher or nurse, and I knew that wasn't what I wanted.	-3	-3

The factor interpretation is provided below and combines both the quantitative and qualitative forms. Where the narrative accounts of the participants are provided, to protect their anonymity, their demographic information is summarised and provided as a name. For example, 75DYY01 refers to participant 1 who was born in 1975 ("75"), is divorced ("D"), has children ("Y"), and has dependents other than children ("Y"). A demographic summary of all the participants is provided at the end to assist with the interpretation and discussion of the results.

4.4 Factor 1: Black women are competent, hard workers and career-minded

This group felt that Black women were generally seen as lacking in competence as a result of the perception that they gained access to their jobs through employment equity as opposed to their competence (14: +5). Black women therefore felt that they had to work twice as hard in order to prove themselves (45: +5). Participant 78SYYM02 (personal communication, date, 2015) summarised this quite well by stating,

> "Black females are often not appreciated or judged according to their skills, contributions and expertise due to employment equity. Often we have to prove that we deserve to be in the roles compared to our White counterparts".

Participant 82SNNM40 echoed this opinion and explained,

"... we have to first prove that we can do our jobs as well as man, and the fact that you are a woman regardless of race puts you at disadvantage. Then secondly you have to prove that you just not a AA appointment, and that you as capable as your white colleagues...".

Regardless of the prevailing perceptions, they held their competence and hard work in high regard and felt that they were the best candidates for their positions (39: +4). They felt that their colleagues also recognised their leadership roles as legitimate (55: +2).

It was important that Black women found people who could play a role in their success (26: +4) such as supporters and/or allies (35: +4) who could assist in the advancement of their careers more rapidly (10: +3). This belief was strong enough for them to believe that Black women who did not have these connections/networks, would not be able to progress and succeed in their careers (19: +3). Participant 78SYYM02 noted that,

"I have come to realise that in corporate it's not about what you know but who you know. I've seen a lot of capable Black women who do not belong to alliances not being afforded the same opportunities as their counterparts who have managed to align themselves well... it is of critical importance to have someone to help drive or support your career. Your hard work on its own is hardly enough in climbing the corporate ladder".

This was echoed by participant 89SYNM34 who stated that,

"There's no way you can get to the top if you don't know people. Align yourself with people who have influence. People who can talk well about you. As a black woman if you work hard you can't be passive about it. You won't get anywhere".

They did not however think that these connections would be other Black women (29: +3), as they did not have female bosses who acted as mentors towards them (12: -1) and felt that Black women failed to help other Black women who were in pursuit of promotion (29: +3). They were however open to having White colleagues as well as men as mentors to assist their careers (49: -2; 18: -3) and had no troubles forming co-worker relationships with male colleagues (53: -1). Participant 82MNNM06 noted,

> "It's a huge benefit to have a mentor who is different from you because they see the world differently from you. My mentor was my exact opposite as a White male and taught me about the unspoken things and how not to act the way I'd naturally act. He'd give me pointers that no one else would have taught. There's a world you don't have access to unless you've got someone who is in that world. If you're different from me you're going to challenge my perception of things and different ways of approaching things. It's good for you and for growth to challenge yourself."

Black women are career minded and do not see themselves staying at home and not working after getting married (1: -5), neither do others in their lives expect them to do nothing beyond getting married (25: -5). Participant 82MNNM06 stated,

> "My mom was a career woman as well and its always been clear that they had high hopes for me so it was never part of my life to be anything less. Marriage was more an afterthought to be honest. My dad raised us to be independent and ambitious".

As testament to being career minded, Black women want to be in top management (24: -4; 37: -4) and see themselves occupying a position in top management as a possibility for themselves (32: +3). This was despite their view that men in power, old men in particular were not comfortable with having Black women in key positions (41: +4; 11: +3). Participant 85SNYM09 explained,

"I think that it is very difficult for black women to succeed in the financial sector. Black male and female colleagues are less likely promote you and it is often a competitive thing which is very disappointing because you would think they would be supportive of black people in general but when an opportunity comes they are the first ones to hold you back. I feel it is because I am a woman. They do not understand that everyone is in the struggle. There is a solidary missing. But I have realised that maybe they are threatened."

4.5 Factor 2: Black women are ambitious despite the obstacles they face

This group of participants believe that Black women have ambitions to become members of top management (24: -5; 37: -4) and want more for their lives beyond marriage and children (57: -3; 1: -3) and those around them also expect them to make more of their lives (25: -5). Participant 84MYYT32 emphasised,

"My family set a high bar and expectations... mediocrity is not permitted and my father made it very clear...we would not come home with a child before you bring a qualification which was different from what African societies expect of an African woman. All of us got a qualification, a car, a property... then you can speak about bringing a man home."

They were confident that they understood the differences in focus and functions at each managerial level (43: -4). In their ambitions to reach the top, Black women often found that they had to use different techniques than men in order to get noticed (3: +4) as they could say the same thing as a man however it was not as easily accepted (28: +4) thus experiencing being ignored until they became more powerful (9: +5). Participant 75DYY01 exclaimed,

"Absolutely! As a Black woman, you constantly have to make the same point before you are taken seriously".

This finding is supported in a study by Sesko and Biernat (2009) who discussed the prototypes of race and gender (which favour the White race and the male gender) which aided the gender and racial stereotypes and subsequent prejudices which are faced by Black women. The study suggested that at the intersection of being a Black female, this group of individuals found themselves non-prototypical i.e. less favourble, which resulted in their invisibility relative to other groups such as White women and Black men (Sesko and Biernat, 2009). They were thus found to go unnoticed and their voices unheard. The implications of the study by Sesko and Boernat (2009) as well as the current study reveal this invisibility as a form of discrimination. This can be further extrapolated as being a challenge or barrier to the upward mobility of Black women in the workplace. Where you go unnoticed and/or unheard, you are required to behave differently in order to gain the recognition required for you to succeed and fulfil your ambitions.

The participants appeared to recognise this quite well. This recognition extended further where they recognized that it was necessary to use different techniques because double standards existed where their display of typically male characteristics such as assertiveness (17: +2) had negative consequences for them (42: +14). Participant 75DYY01 relayed,

> "...I am viewed as a highly competent individual as the work is quite specialised, a however the difficulty is that competence is often linked with [a] certain level of over confidence which c an trigger unwarranted criticism of lack of humility amongst other things or that one must not display one's knowledge unless it is solicited.".

They did not however feel that their jeopardised their advancement in they promoted themselves and accomplishments (44: -2) however they did feel that as Black women they had to work twice as hard to prove themselves (45: +4) and that the obstacles they faced were not self-imposed (6: -4). Participant 84MYYT32 lamented,

> "I've found that we have to work twice has hard because our work gets treated with doubt as opposed to being given a view point of being good. It first must be checked and rechecked and assessed for faults. If a fault is found in one aspect, then the entire piece of work gets dismissed. With non-black counterparts if a fault is found it is viewed as an oversight and that should not detract from the piece of work.".

Black women faced obstacles such as being perceived to be lacking in competence due to the perception that they had acquired their jobs through employment equity (14: +3). Thus, there was the tendency to view Black women as assistants instead of leaders (34: +2). Participant 84MYYT32 recalled,

> "You go into the corporate world where you are the best performer hands down and beat everybody but you are given the leg work, as if you're an assistant, whereas the white males who started with you are given more attention and lead projects whereas you don't feature except when they need your black face for a government tender. But you ask yourself why you are exceeding when it comes to targets but you are not getting face time with the big guys?"

In addition, their workplaces had little to no diversity in terms of race or gender at the top and senior management levels (2: +5; 3: +3) which left Black women feeling isolated at times (33: +3). They also experienced obstacles such as being excluded from opportunities where they could make networks or connections which would gain them access to people who could play a role in their success and help them enhance their promotion opportunities (15: +3). Access to these networks is important to them because Black women who did not have networks did not succeed (19: +3). Despite being excluded from networking opportunities, Black women managed to find people who played a role in their success (26: +4).

It is clear from the results and interpretation the differences in the two factors. Factor 1 speaks to characteristics of competence, hard work and career mindedness and therefore show perceptions of the participants which were more internal or inward looking in nature. Factor 2 speaks to sustained ambition despite the challenges in the workplace – whether perceived or real. This factor therefore reveals the external or outward looking perceptions of the participants. This difference is further explained in the discussion when the demographic qualities are taken into consideration.

4.6 Demographic summary

The table below provides a demographic summary of the participants that loaded significantly on the two factors. This information assists in the holistic interpretations and discussion of the factors in the next chapter.

Table 10. Demographic summary of participants in both factors

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Number of participants loading significantly on factor	12	5
Age		
Mean	34.40	43.80
Marital status		
Single	8	2
Married	4	2
Divorced	-	1
Children	3	4
Dependents other than children	5	5
Occupational level		
Middle management	8	-
Senior management	2	3
Top management	2	2

4.7 Analysis of meta-stereotypes

Further analysis was performed on the participants who loaded significantly on both factors to determine whether there were negative meta-stereotypes acting as a psychological barrier and a possible explanation of the perceptions they held. The data was cleaned up as necessary, which included reverse coding items 2, 4 and 6. The internal consistency of the meta-stereotype scale was then analysed using SPSS where analysis of reliability was performed and yielded a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.74. This coefficient showed that the items that made up the meta-stereotypes scale were measuring the same underlying construct. Per De Villis (2003) as cited in Pallant (2007), the Cronbach alpha should ideally be above 0.70.

Due to the small sample size (N=20), non-parametric techniques were used to further analyse the data. According to Pallant (2007), it is acceptable to use non-parametric data when the sample size is small, when the data is nominal and ordinal, and when the sample data does not meet the stringent assumptions of parametric techniques.

The meta-stereotype scores were averaged; then descriptive statistics were conducted on the average meta-stereotype variable as well as the average rotated factor loadings variable (see Appendix G. Table11). Given the two distinct factors which emerged in Q analysis, a Mann-Whitney test was conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference in the ranks of the participants that fell into factor 1 versus those that were in factor 2. The test evaluated ranks because it converted the scores on the average meta variable into ranks across the two groups.

Table 12. Mann-Whitney Test Statistics

	Average_Metastereotypes
Mann-Whitney U	27.000
Z	-0.55
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0.59
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	0.63[b]

Given the table above, the Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in meta-stereotype scores of participants in factor 1 and factor 2 ($z = -0.55$, $p = 0.63$).

Another test was performed to investigate whether a relationship existed between the average meta score and the average factor loadings. From the table below, the correlations test revealed that there was no correlation or relationship between the meta-stereotypes score and factor loadings of the participants ($rs = 0.03$, $n = 20$, $p = 0.92$).

Table 13. Correlations

			Average Meta-stereotypes	Loadings
Spearman's rho	Average Meta-stereotypes	Correlation Coefficient	1.00	0.03
		Sig. (2-tailed)		0.92
		N	20	20

Given the above results, there was no relationship between the factors and the scores on the meta-stereotype scale. This meant that the perceptions of the participants were in no way influenced by the existence of negative meta-stereotypes.

To confirm this, descriptive statistics were run on the meta-stereotype items individually as opposed to the average to determine whether any of the items had a low score individually in order to reflect a particular negative meta-stereotype. As discussed in chapter 3, the meta-stereotypes scale consisted of six items which were measured as bipolar adjectives on a 6-point semantic differential scale. Given the 6-point nature of the scale, the midpoint was 3.5, therefore a low score (equal to or below 3.5) would indicate a negative meta-stereotype. When the average scores for each meta-stereotype was assessed, the following summary emerged.

Table 14. Descriptive statistics for each meta-stereotype item

	Meta_1	Meta_2	Meta_3	Meta_4	Meta_5	Meta_6
Mean	3.95	4.05	3,60	4.00	3.75	4.35
Median	4.00	4.00	3,50	4.00	4,00	5.00
Mode	4[a]	4	3	4	5	5
Std. Deviation	1.50	1.32	1,353	1.59	1.71	1.23

It becomes clear from the table above that the participants did not hold negative meta-stereotypes. Items 3, 5 and 1 had means close to 3.5 (3.60, 3.75 and 3.95 respectively) meaning they were almost negative, however they were nonetheless above the midpoint. These were items related to respect, reliability and friendliness respectively. In other words, upon meeting White colleague for the first time, the participants thought that as Black women they were perceived to be respectful, reliable and friendly. Items 4, 2 and 6 had averages comfortably above the midpoint of 3.5 (4.00, 4.05 and 4.35 respectively). These were items related to hard work, competence and positivity. In other words, upon meeting White colleague for the first time, the participants thought that as Black women they were perceived to be hardworking, competent and positive.

The next chapter discusses the findings from all the analyses performed in this chapter. The discussion is conducted in relation to previous research and theory highlighted in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The intention of the study was to research the perceptions that Black women had regarding the barriers to their upward mobility in the South African Financial industry. The study was conducted on Black women in middle, senior and top management. The research combined topics related to glass ceiling theory and through the review of literature revealed several themes. With the use of Q methodology, the study sought to discover and explore the patterns of perceptions in relation to these themes. The study also introduced meta-stereotypes as another possible barrier which was yet to be explored in glass ceiling literature. This chapter focuses on the relationship between the findings and previous literature. The hope is to provide depth and insight into the findings with differences and similarities from the literature highlighted.

5.1 Factor 1: Black women are competent, hard workers and career-minded

Factor 1 has an eigenvalue of 10.11 and explains 51% of the study variance. Twelve participants were significantly associated with this factor. The average age of the females was 34.40 years. Eight out of the 12 were in middle management, 2 in senior management and 2 in top management. Eight of the 12 were single, and the other 4 were married. Of the 4 married females, only 1 of them had children and other dependents i.e. extended family which they had obligations to. Nine out of the 12 had no children, however 3 of them had dependents who were not children. Seven out of the 12 had no dependents other than children. 3 out of the 12 had children, and 2 of these participants also had dependents other than their children.

The participants in this factor revealed viewpoints which were internal or inward looking. The focus of the participants was less on the barriers they perceived, and instead more on their competence, hard-work and career mindedness as what they would focus on to climb the corporate ladder.

5.1.1 Attitude of management regarding EE

In the current study, the participants associated with factor 1 held a similar viewpoint to a study by Booysen (2007) and strongly agreed that the challenges in the workplace were a result of the men in power. In the current study, participants specifically viewed older men as being uncomfortable with having Black women in power.

The study by Booysen (2007) found that there appeared to be a lack of commitment to the principles of EE by those in leadership in organisations. This was attributed to the possibility of White males (who sit as the majority leadership) fearing the loss of their jobs. This shaped an attitude which was hostile and against the principles of EE which made the workplace a difficult place for the upward mobility of Black women. In the research by Booysen (2007), the organisation which was researched had explicit corporate values regarding EE and to this end had policies and procedures documented, however those in leadership did not display an attitude consistent with these values which embraced EE.

In the current study, participants in factor 1 disagreed that their organisations had explicit corporate values related to diversity. Although their organisations did in fact have corporate values in place, the participants felt that they were just on paper and not embedded within the organisation, therefore they did not recognise them as explicit corporate values because they were not being lived by those in leadership.

By implication this means that diversity is not embraced in their organisations. As a result of the attitude held towards EE and diversity, participants in factor 1 were of the perception that Black women were seen as lacking in competence because they were viewed as being granted access into the workplace only because of EE.

5.1.2 Tokenism

When organisations do not fully embrace EE and diversity, research has shown that the appointment of women into more senior positions, is often presumed and perceived to be not based on their competence and experience but rather because of their gender (Oakley, 2000). To this end, women risk becoming "tokens" which leads to pressure not to fulfil negative stereotypes about their ability as women (Haslam et al, 2010). In the present study, an attempt to fight this perception of a lack of competence resulted in the participants in factor 1 feeling that they had to work twice as hard to prove themselves.

This is in support of a study by Ragins et al (1998) which found that when women were placed in positions typically dominated by men, they reported feeling the need to work harder to prove themselves and their credibility as managers, due to the feeling that their appointment was that of a "token woman". Participants in factor 1 agreed that in their organisations, Black women were appointed as tokens.

5.1.3 Legitimacy of leadership

According to Ragins et al (1998), women worked twice as hard to prove themselves in order to dispel the perception that they were not competent enough to be appointed purely on merit, but also in order for them to gain credibility or legitimacy as leaders. Research by Eagly and Carli (2007) argued that women leaders were sometimes seen as lacking legitimacy because they were not recognized as being the best candidate chosen for a leadership position. This finding was similar in the current study where the participants in factor 1 had very strong convictions that they were the best candidates for their positions, however although they were in agreement, their convictions were not as strong that their positions of leadership were recognised as legitimate by their colleagues.

5.1.4 Networking and Mentoring

Due to their convictions of being the best candidates for their positions, the participants in factor 1 thought it was important to find people who could play a role in their success in order to advance their careers more rapidly. The participants made meaningful connections and found people who were willing to be their supporters or allies in their companies. The participants believed that these connections/supporters/allies had helped their careers advance more rapidly. The participants recognised the importance of networking and agreed that Black women who did not have the networks to succeed, did not progress in the workplace.

It was however unfortunate that the participants in factor 1, held the perception that Black women failed to help other Black women who were in pursuit of promotion. For the participants in factor 1 who were mostly women in middle management, what they were experiencing or perceiving could be explained by the "Queen Bee" syndrome. This term refers to successful women who do not support the liberation of other women and has particularly come to signify women in senior management who fail to help other women who are attempting to climb the ladder (Mavin, 2006).

Beyond their perception that Black women did not help other Black women, participants in factor 1 also reported to not having a Black woman as a boss who could act as a mentor. Where the relationship between female participants and female mentors could be questioned, it was quite clear that the participants did not find it difficult to form co-worker relationships with men and were not averse to having a White person or a male as a mentor.Mentoring has been widely acknowledged as an important factor for a successful career, and Klenke (1996) found that not enough women were being mentored or serving as mentors to other women. As mentioned in chapter 2, there is an evident paradox due to there being a lack of women in more senior roles that can serve as role models and mentors. Although the participants are open to being mentored by men, one could argue that mentoring by a more senior female could be more valuable as that would provide access to someone with experiences most like them who had succeeded in navigating the corporate ladder, and thus provide meaningful insight into leadership styles and other skills which were employed and could therefore assist those with ambitions to climb the ladder as well. This is not to say that women are not able to have male mentors, Collins and Singh (2006) believed that male mentors could not teach women how to negotiate the gender based stereotypes that they would encounter in the workplace.

5.2 Factor 2: Black women are ambitious despite the obstacles they face

Factor 2 has an eigenvalue of 0.73 and explains 4% of the study variance. 5 participants were significantly associated with this factor. The average age of the females was 43.80 years. 3 out of the 5 were in senior management and the other 2 in top management. Two of the 5 were single, 2 were married and 1 was divorced. Four out of the 5 women had children and all 5 of them had dependents other than children i.e. extended family which they had obligations to.

The participants in this factor revealed viewpoints which were focussed externally or outward looking. For these participants, the focus of the participants was on the barriers they perceived and the nature of these barriers, and how despite these barriers that they perceived, they remained ambitious and could climb the corporate ladder.

5.2.1 Ambition

The participants in factor 2 proved to be ambitious women. Despite all the challenges and obstacles that they perceived to exist, they remained ambitious. This is evidenced by their ability to climb the corporate ladder to senior and top management positions and their firm beliefs that this what they wanted to do and where they belonged. The participants in factor 2 had ambitions to become members of top management, wanted more for their lives, and those around them had these expectations and beliefs as well. The finding of the current study was the opposite of research by Fels (2004) who found that as time went by, women abandoned their ambition due to societal expectations of their role as women. Unlike the women in the study by Fels (2004) who would shy away from recognition, the women in the current study were proud of their accomplishments and wanted to be recognised for them.

The participants held strong convictions about their abilities and that they understood the differences in functions at the different managerial levels. This finding was contrary to previous literature Liff & Ward (2001) which made the assertion that women lacked job clarity and had limited information on formal tasks and functions which served as barriers for them because whilst occupying top positions, they were still performing less strategic and lower paying tasks. Liff & Ward (2001) proceeded to argue that women were oblivious to the difference between the short and medium term goal oriented functions of middle management functions compared to senior and top management functions which required them to hold a wider strategic perspective. The participants in factor 2 disagreed with this argument quite strongly and even found it offensive. Further to this, the participants disagreed strongly with the notion that they placed self-imposed obstacles in their career pathways.

5.2.2 Discrimination and double standards

The participants believed there was discrimination in their organisations, and because of this discrimination, their organisations were a tough place to work in for Black women. As discussed in chapter 2, a study by Oakley (2000) found that women perceived gender bias as one of their biggest challenges. Another study by Ragins et al., 1998 revealed that female executives perceived White men to fear reverse discrimination which is why they put barriers in place to exclude women and minorities.

Participants in factor 2 reported that they had to use different techniques to get noticed in the workplace, because it had become evident to them that they could say the same thing as a man however it would not be accepted as easily. This left them feeling ignored, however this changed when they became more powerful. Participants reported discrimination where they felt that they had to act like men to be noticed. The problem with this however is that they perceived double standards to exist where if they acted like men and displayed a trait such as assertiveness, it worked to disadvantage them in their workplaces. Participants in factor 2 felt that the disadvantage in displaying their assertiveness even had an impact on their performance evaluation. Previous literature has reported that double standards existed where characteristics synonymous with men such as aggressiveness, assertiveness, objective thinking, dominance, competition and decisiveness were valued in men however received negative evaluations when displayed by women (HBR, 2008; Klenke, 1996).

This is also described in role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders where incongruity is found between their gender role as well as their leadership role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The resulting prejudice means that women are perceived less favourably that men in leadership roles, and the behaviours which are considered those of a leader are seen to be less favourable when displayed by a women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This is supported by previous research which revealed that where highteded perceptions of incongruity are found, it becomes more difficult for women to become leaders and to succeed in their leadership roles (Eagy & Karau, 2002). It is likely the recognition of this incongruity which made participants in factor 2 feel that they had to work twice as hard to prove themselves.

Previous literature reported another form of discrimination being the tendency to view women as followers rather than leaders (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). This has been attributed to the lack of strong role models for women, which has made it difficult to develop a mental model of women as leaders. This was further argued where women were said to prefer to work in groups so that they did not have to make decisions on their own – further displaying their lack of leadership. In the present study, participants in factor 2 agreed that Black women were positioned as assistants instead of leaders. The participants however disagreed that they preferred to work in a group so that they did not have to make decisions by themselves. The participants were instead eager to stand out as leaders and show their abilities.

Contrary to previous literature, participants in factor 2 did not think that they jeopardised their advancement if they promoted themselves and their achievements. A previous study revealed that in the workplace, it was less acceptable for women to speak of their achievements and take credit for them. If they did, they ran the risk of criticism from their colleagues due to the perception that they were "unfeminine, pushy, domineering and aggressive" (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2008, p. S71).

5.2.3 Diversity

Sadly, due to discrimination and double standards, the battle for diversity persists. Participants in factor 2 were in strong disagreement that their organisations had a healthy gender and racial mix in senior and top management. Thus, the participants reported feeling isolated in their jobs due to the absence of female peers. This makes sense given the demographic composition of the participants in this factor i.e. senior and top management. The shortage of Black women in their levels of occupation provide an explanation as to why they would feel isolation.

5.2.4 Old boys club, networking and promotions

In addition to the participants in factor 2 experiencing feelings of isolation due to a lack of female peers, they also experienced feelings of exclusion and agreed that Black women were excluded from information and social networks that enhance promotion opportunities. This finding was also made by Fassinger (2008) who found that women were indirectly denied promotion opportunities by being excluded from information and social networks. Fassinger (2008) argued that by being denied entry into the 'old boys' club, women were denied access to information that they needed to create promotion opportunities for themselves.

The purpose of networks is for an individual to have access to information which they can use to their advantage to create promotion opportunities for themselves. Due to exclusion from networks, Fassinger (2008) reported that women had to find alternatives to assist their careers. The participants considered networks to be important and their perception was that Black women without these networks, would not succeed. Despite their perception of exclusion, the participants could find people who played a role in their success. This is evidenced by them having climbed the ladder to senior and top management.

5.2.5 Maternal wall

All the participants in factor 2 had dependents other than children, and all but one of the participants had children of their own as well as. According to previous literature, the prime example of a gender based stereotype and arguably the biggest barrier or challenge to the advancement of women in the workplace, is related to the decision to have a family. Studies by Crosby, Williams and Biernat (2004) as well as Williams (2004), found that women's careers were negatively affected when they took breaks in their employment to have and care for children. Participants in factor 2 had opinions which differed from these findings.

These participants were mothers (except one) and wives (except one who was divorced) and did not believe that falling pregnant had a negative effect on their careers. Beyond that, they did not find it difficult to balance home life with having a successful career and did not find that women at more senior levels (which they were) who had children found it difficult to work full time. To this end and contrary to literature, the participants disagreed that their careers were impeded by family obligations, whether nuclear or extended family. They also revealed that they did not find it difficult to tolerate the pressures they had at work as a result of obligations and pressures they had at home.

This difference in findings from previous literature can be explained with relative ease. In previous literature (Crosby, Williams & Biernat ,2004; Williams, 2004) it was found that the reason why women's careers were negatively affected was because they had spouses who were unwilling to adapt to the dynamics of their home life and take more involvement in family responsibilities. This unwillingness meant that the women were unable to continue to work to build their careers. For the participants in factor 2 they acknowledged the importance of a supportive spouse. The participants were in agreement that in order for a Black woman to have a successful career, it was important to have a supportive spouse. For the divorced participant, she had a strong network of support from her family. The reason therefore that the participants in factor 2 did not find having children and family obligations as being a challenge for their careers, is because they had supportive spouses and families.

5.2.6 Meta-stereotypes

The present study sought to determine whether the participants had negative meta-stereotypes that could serve as a psychological barrier to their upward mobility. The existence of negative meta-stereotypes could prove to be a psychological barrier due to participants holding negative perceptions of the stereotypes male colleagues of other races have of them. Being aware of these negative stereotype perceptions which are held against them as Black women, could influence the way they relate to their colleagues (intergroup contact). This could then have an impact on the way they behave in the workplace. This could range from a lowered self-esteem which affects their performance at work and therefore their opportunities to succeed, or intergroup anxiety which would lead to them self-segregating themselves at work and excluding themselves or by-passing opportunities to network and form connections. This self-segregation would be a self-imposed barrier preventing them from contact which as identified by participants in both factors, are considered crucial for upward mobility.

The first analysis which was performed looked to see whether the meta-stereotype scores differed for the participants in factor 1 versus the scores of the participants in factor 2. The results showed that there was no significant difference in meta-stereotypes scores. In other words, there was no significant difference in the meta-stereotype perceptions held by participants in factor 1 and 2.

The second test which was performed investigated whether a relationship was present between the meta-stereotype score and the factor loadings. This test also yielded no significant result meaning that there was no relationship between the meta-stereotype score and the factor loading of a participant on a factor. This meant that that one could not say that the meta-stereotypes scores had a bearing on the extent to which a participant loaded on a particular factor.

Final analysis was performed to establish the degree to which the participants held negative meta-stereotypes. Statistics showed that the participants did not hold negative meta-stereotypes. What was of particular interest is that meta-stereotypes related to respect, reliability and friendliness received a lower average than those of hard work, competence and positivity. Given that the participants in both factors believed their competence was questioned, a result showing a negative meta-stereotype viewing them as incompetent rather than competent would not have been misplaced. Although the participants perceived their colleagues to view their appointments being the result of EE as opposed to their competence, the participants did not have a negative meta-stereotype regarding incompetence. In other words, their perception was not influenced by a negative meta-stereotype. This finding was of particular interest due to it being contrary in logic as well as previous literature which revealed that Black people are frequently portrayed as lazy, irresponsible and lacking self-discipline (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). One would think that because of this frequent portrayal, the participants would have negative meta-stereotypes which considered their White colleagues to view them in an opposite light to the actual findings of the study.

The absence of a negative-stereotype speaks volumes and although no significant relationship was found between meta-stereotypes and the factors, it is possible that the participants in the study did not have a psychological barrier regarding their competence which would serve to influence their perception that their competence was questioned or doubted by some in their workplaces.

As testament to the hard work mentality of the participants, despite any challenges they perceived, they held positive meta-stereotypes that they were viewed to be hard working and positive as Black women. The same could be said for positivity which could arguably be related to the view of their ambition which translates to a positive attitude towards succeeding.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In chapter 1 of the present study, the context within which the research would occur was detailed. The chapter 2 literature review provided an analysis of previously published authors pertinent to the research topic, and concluded with a set of research questions which the study set out to answer to fulfil the objectives of the study. The third chapter detailed the research methodology and provided information pertaining to the research techniques which were employed to provide an understanding of how these techniques would answer the research questions. Chapter 4 presented the results of the research and chapter 5 discussed these findings in relation to precious research and literature.

The findings revealed two distinct factors. The first factor was related to the competence, hard work and career mindedness of the participants associated to the factor. In this factor where the majority of the participants were in middle management, the participants were more inward looking and focused on working hard to prove themselves and their competence in order to get ahead in their careers. There was not a large focus on the perception of barriers which existed. This was possibly due to their careers still being in the early stages where they have possibly not experienced enough to have stronger opinions of barriers and challenges. The absence of negative meta-stereotypes indicated that there were no psychological barriers which the participants had towards their White counterparts, and that their perceptions were not informed by their own thoughts on what they perceived White colleagues thought of them as Black women.

The second factor was related to the participants having ambition, despite all the barriers and challenges that they perceived to exist. These participants were generally older, had experienced more and had managed to reach senior and top management positions within their organisations. The participants were more outward looking where they were more conscious of the perceived challenges or barriers in their workplaces. These barriers included a number of the themes discussed in chapter 2. Despite these barriers however, the participants were fiercely ambitious and had great dreams for themselves, and these were also shared by those around them.

The participants did not have negative meta-stereotypes which could serve as a psychological barrier to the manner in which they interact with their colleagues and therefore

affect their upward mobility. This meant that their perceptions were not informed by any negative perceptions of the way they thought their colleagues viewed them based on stereotypes associated with Black women.

6.1 Limitations and assumptions of the research

It was assumed that although the participants may practice in different departments (Human Resources, Legal, Financial Planning etc.) within the Financial industry, their perceptions of the challenges within their respective organisations would be as a result of the industry as a whole instead of their particular departments within the industry. It was also assumed that participants would answer truthfully and accurately based on their personal experience, and that this would be done so honestly and to the best of their individual abilities. This is because participants were not sourced from their organisation's database but instead had the option to respond or decline to an email with the initial request following referral from a colleague/friend.

The study did not further define criteria for participants within the financial industry so as much as it was an assumption, it could be a limitation that the study did not narrow the scope to a specific department or occupation within the industry e.g. only source participants who practice as chartered accountants within the industry. The researcher's race and gender introduces the elements of researcher biases and perceptual misrepresentations which can be potential limitations in the qualitative aspect of the study.

The scope of the study initially targeted 30-40 participants however due to time constraints and difficulties in sourcing participants; the sample size was adjusted to 20 participants. This posed a limitation for the number of factors found in the data analysis and analysis could not be performed with more accurate parametric tests, but used non-parametric instead.

Geographically, the study restricted the collection area to Johannesburg based participants for ease of access. This is a limitation as this confines participant perception to a specific geographic area and workplace demographics which can influence the responses and subsequent results in terms of skewing in a particular direction.

6.2 Contributions to research and recommendations for future research

Acknowledging and making considerations of intersectionality is an important contribution which the study has made theoretically. Intersectionality is a paradigm of research in women's studies which has enjoyed robust debate, however still requires more attention, especially the discussion in terms of how it is to be studied from a methodology point of view (McCall, 2005). Through the use of Q methodology, the current research has combined three approaches in the study of intersectionality by giving a voice to Black females' whilst drawing attention to their multiple oppression (the double jeopardy of dual-subordiante identity), and assessing the social and historical systems within which institutions in the Financial industry operate. This study has thus contributed to the debate on intersectionality and shows that Black women do indeed perceive themselves to experience more negativity and challenges due to their race as well as gender. The implications of this is also shown and serves to contribute to similar findings in previous research.

The current research provided continued insight into the perceived barriers and challenges to upward mobility through the eyes of Black women in the South African financial industry. The first research question regarding what patterns of perceptions existed, was demonstrated in the research where two distinct factors emerged.

To a certain extent, the research was also able to answer the second research questions regarding whether the patterns of perceptions differed according to occupational level. The majority of the percepti ons in factor 1 were held by participants in middle management, whereas the participants in factor 2 were in senior and top management.

The third research question asked whether participants held perceptions related to negative meta-stereotypes which could serve as a psychological barrier to the upward mobility of Black women in the Financial Industry. This question was also answered where there were no negative meta-stereotypes found. There is a potentially large role that negative meta-stereotypes could play in the perceptions and subsequent behaviours of individuals of different races and gender in the workplace. Previous research has not looked at meta-stereotypes in the workplace as a possible explanation for intergroup contact and behaviour and how this could influence upward mobility. It is recommended that future research perform a detailed investigation focussing purely on meta-stereotypes held by the different groups in the

workplace, keeping intersections of race and gender in mind. Such a study could be insightful in revealing the nature of meta-stereotypes held by Black women as well as their colleagues of other races and gender, as well as the impact that these perceptions have on upward mobility.

The current research contributes to the body of literature by identifying the interplay between the themes on the glass ceiling theory where it has revealed that in the 21st century, some of the themes are perceived to still exist. There do appear to be meaningful strides taken in other aspects of the glass ceiling which is evidence that it is possible to surpass the barriers and challenges that exist. Where there were differences in findings from previous literature, the participant interviews could provide depth and insight into their viewpoints to explain why this differences occurred.

The current research therefore contributes to an understanding of the challenges Black women perceive in their workplaces in the 21st century and how these perceptions have remained the same or changed over time in a topic that has received attention for almost 3 decades. Research on this topic should not stop, but instead look at the topic in a different light, which could be in the investigation of meta-stereotypes. There is still however a lot of work to be done in the South African workplace, for the representation of Black women to occur. In the words of a participant,

> "The workplace is not going to change overnight just because we voted in a black government. You go to work and the same people who viewed you as inferior pre-1994 are still in power. Behaviours in the workplace are just like habits. They are a lifelong indoctrination and it will not change overnight with democracy in 20 years. There has been a systematic exclusion and the economy and corporate continue to be in the hands of the people who were in power before democracy...".

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Appendices

Appendix A. Q set, demographic questionnaire and meta-stereotypes

Q Set

1. After university I saw myself working, then getting married and not really working anymore.
2. The top level of my company is not diverse in terms of race.
3. Black women must often use different techniques than men in a male dominated company.
4. My company is a tough place to work in for Black women.
5. My company puts up with men who are intolerant or sexually abusive because they are successful business people.
6. Black women have placed self-imposed obstacles in their career pathways.
7. I have had great mentors.
8. Many Black women experience their bosses as being disinterested in their accomplishments.
9. There is a general experience of being ignored, as a Black woman in the workplace, until you are very powerful.
10. I think the connections I made helped my career advance more rapidly.
11. I think men, especially older men, are uncomfortable with Black women in key positions.
12. I have had a woman as a boss who has acted as a mentor towards me.
13. There is little diversity at the top in terms of gender at my company.
14. Black women are generally seen as lacking in competence because they are perceived as having been granted access through employment equity.
15. Black women are excluded from information and social networks that enhance promotion opportunities.
16. In my company there are a number of Black women in senior positions so it is a healthy mix.
17. Double standards exist where assertiveness in Black women is a disadvantage.
18. It is difficult for me to consider a man as a mentor because of gender differences in experiences.

19. Some Black women do not progress because they do not have the networks to succeed.
20. For black women to succeed, they must speak with an accent that suggests that they have a middle class and former 'model C' background.
21. I have moved along faster in promotions than most other people have.
22. Many Black women experience sexual harassment from male co-workers.
23. Black women are burdened with more extended family obligations than their White counterparts.
24. I would not want to be in the top management of a company.
25. I don't think anyone really expected me to do anything. I think they thought I was going to go to school and then I would get married and that would be the end of it.
26. It has been meaningful for me to have found people along the way who were willing to step in and play a role in my success.
27. Many Black women prefer to work in a group where they don't have to make most decisions by themselves.
28. A Black woman can say the same thing as a man does and it may not be as easily accepted.
29. Black women in management fail to help other Black women in their pursuit of promotion.
30. I don't know if I would recommend my company to other Black female colleagues.
31. For a Black woman to have a successful career, it is important to have a supportive spouse.
32. I see becoming top management of a company as a possibility for myself down the road.
33. Black women sometimes feel isolated in their jobs because of lack of female peers.
34. Black women are positioned as assistants instead of leaders.
35. A person needs to have strong supporters or allies in their company to be successful.
36. Black women are conflicted because they are expected to act one way with spouse and family and another way in the office.
37. I don't think I will ever become a member of top management of a company.
38. In my company women at senior levels, who have children, find it difficult to work full time.
39. I feel that I was chosen for my position because I was the best candidate.

40. I have not been promoted as quickly as I had expected.
41. The problem Black women are facing in the workplace has to do with the men who are in power in the company.
42. Performance evaluation practices in the organisation discriminate against Black women who show assertiveness.
43. In acclimatising to different levels of management, Black women fail to understand the shift in job focus and functions.
44. Black women jeopardise their advancement if they self-promote their achievements.
45. Black women have to work twice as hard to prove themselves.
46. Black women have to act like men in order to be noticed and valued.
47. Black women are appointed in my company as tokens.
48. Many Black women find it hard to tolerate the pressures at work because of the pressures they face at home.
49. Differences in experiences make it difficult for me to think of a White person as a mentor.
50. Falling pregnant has a negative effect on a Black woman's career.
51. Diversity is one of my company's explicit corporate values.
52. It is extremely difficult to balance home life and having a successful career.
53. It is difficult for Black women to form co-worker relationships because most of their co-workers are men.
54. There is discrimination against Black women in the workplace.
55. I feel my position of leadership is recognised as legitimate by my colleagues.
56. Some Black women's careers are impeded by family obligations.
57. I saw most of my friends wanting to be a teacher or nurse, and I knew that wasn't what I wanted.

Demographic Questionnaire

1. Age (years) _____

2. Marital status

Single	Married	Divorced

3. Do you have children?

Yes	No

4. Do you have dependents other than children?

Yes	No

5. Qualification(s)

_____

6. How many years of experience do you have?

_____

7. What is your designation?

_____

8. What level is your position considered to be within the organisation?

Middle management	Senior management	Top management

Metastereotypes

Please read the following statement and select the response that best shows your feelings.

I anticipate White male colleagues to feel the following towards me as a Black female

a)

Hostile							Friendly
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

b)

Competent							Incompetent
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

c)

Disdainful							Respectful
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

d)

Hard working							Lazy
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

e)

Unreliable							Reliable
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

f)

Positive							Negative
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

Appendix B. Ethics Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MORG/15/009 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Challenges to Upward Mobility: Perceptions of Black Women in the South African Financial Industry.
INVESTIGATORS	Ngwenya Nelisiwe
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	13/07/15
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 30 June 2015

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor P. Bowman)

cc Supervisor:

Prof. Gillian Finchilescu
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2017

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix C. Participant Information Sheet/ Invitation to participate/ Cover letter

Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050

Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559

Dear Madam,

My name is Nasia Nelisiwe Ngwenya and I am currently a Master's student in Organisational Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. In order to fulfil my course requirements to obtain my degree, I am required to conduct a research project. I have therefore undertaken to research the perceptions of Black females with regard to the challenges they face in their upward mobility within the Financial Industry.

I hereby wish to invite you to participate in my study. Participation would involve completing a demographic questionnaire as well as an online task requiring you to arrange a set of statements on the topic according to your level of agreement or disagreement thereon. Your responses will be valuable in contributing towards a broader understanding of the challenges to upward mobility of Black females in the Financial Services sector.

Your participation is voluntary and you will not be disadvantaged in any manner for choosing to participate. Although your identity will be known to me, any personal information will not

be disclosed. Your anonymity and everything you say during the course of the study will be kept confidential. Where I may quote you directly, a pseudonym will be used, for example, Participant A or Respondent B.

The interview will be recorded and only I and my supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and transcripts of the interview will be kept at the university in a locked cupboard for up to five years, after which they will be destroyed. You have the right to refrain from responding to any question should you wish, and you may also withdraw from the study at any time.

A feedback sheet in the form of a one to two-page summary of the study and its findings will be provided to you should you request so. I have provided both my and my supervisor's contact details should you wish to make contact. Feedback will be available approximately six months after the collection of the data.

Thank you for considering taking part in the research. Should you choose to participate, please sign the two consent forms – one is consent to be interviewed, the other is consent to be recorded. Please keep this cover letter for any future reference.

Regards

Ms. N. N. Ngwenya
Nasia.ngwenya@gmail.com
0838267586

Prof. G. Finchilescu
Gillian.finchilescu@wits.ac.za
0117174534

Appendix D. Consent form (Participation and Recording of any discussion emerging from the task)

I, _____ hereby provide my consent to participate in a study by Nasia Nelisiwe Ngwenya on Black women's perceptions of the challenges to their upward mobility in the Financial Services industry. I understand that:

- Participation is voluntary
- I may refrain from answering any questions
- I may withdraw my participation and/or responses from the study at any time
- There are no risks associated with this study
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report thus all information provided will remain confidential, and should I be quoted in the research, I will be referred to by a pseudonym, thus maintaining anonymity
- I am aware that the results of the study will be reported in the form of a research report
- The research may also be presented at a national/international conference and published in a journal and/or a book chapter.

Signed: _____

I further give consent for conversation on the topic to be audio recorded. I understand that:

- The tapes and transcripts will not be seen or heard by anyone other than the researcher and her supervisor
- The tapes and transcripts will be kept in a safe place for up to five years and will be destroyed thereafter

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix E. Table 5. Factor Interpretation Crib Sheet for factor 1 (Draft 1)

Items ranked at +5

14 Black women are generally seen as lacking in competence because they are perceived as having been granted access through employment equity.

45 Black women have to work twice as hard to prove themselves.

Items ranked higher in Factor 1 Array than in Factor 2 Array

4 My company is a tough place to work in for Black women. +2

6 Black women have placed self-imposed obstacles in their career pathways. 0

8 Many Black women experience their bosses as being disinterested in their accomplishments. 0

10 I think the connections I made helped my career advance more rapidly. +3

11 I think men, especially older men, are uncomfortable with Black women in key positions. +3

19 Some Black women do not progress because they do not have the networks to succeed. +3

20 For black women to succeed, they must speak with an accent that suggests that they have a middle class and former 'model C' background. 0

26 It has been meaningful for me to have found people along the way who were willing to step in and play a role in my success. +4

29 Black women in management fail to help other Black women in their pursuit of promotion. +3

30 I don't know if I would recommend my company to other Black female colleagues. 0

32 I see becoming top management of a company as a possibility for myself down the road. +3

34 Black women are positioned as assistants instead of leaders .+2

35 A person needs to have strong supporters or allies in their company to be successful.+4

39 I feel that I was chosen for my position because I was the best candidate.+4

41 The problem Black women are facing in the workplace has to do with the men who are in power in the company.+4

46 Black women have to act like men in order to be noticed and valued.+1

47 Black women are appointed in my company as tokens.+1

50 Falling pregnant has a negative effect on a Black woman's career. 0

54 There is discrimination against Black women in the workplace.+2

55 I feel my position of leadership is recognised as legitimate by my colleagues .+2

56 Some Black women's careers are impeded by family obligations.0

Items ranked lower in Factor 1 Array than in Factor 2 Array

5 My company puts up with men who are intolerant or sexually abusive because they are successful business people. -3

7 I have had great mentors. 0

9 There is a general experience of being ignored, as a Black woman in the workplace, until you are very powerful. 0

12 I have had a woman as a boss who has acted as a mentor towards me. -1

16 In my company there are a number of Black women in senior positions so it is a healthy mix. -4

18 It is difficult for me to consider a man as a mentor because of gender differences in experiences. -3

21 I have moved along faster in promotions than most other people have. -2

22 Many Black women experience sexual harassment from male co-workers.-3

23 Black women are burdened with more extended family obligations than their White counterparts. -2

27 Many Black women prefer to work in a group where they don't have to make most decisions by themselves. -3

33 Black women sometimes feel isolated in their jobs because of lack of female peers. -1

36 Black women are conflicted because they are expected to act one way with spouse and family and another way in the office. -1

37 I don't think I will ever become a member of top management of a company. -4

38 In my company women at senior levels, who have children, find it difficult to work full time. -2

40 I have not been promoted as quickly as I had expected. -2

42 Performance evaluation practices in the organisation discriminate against Black women who show assertiveness. 0

43 In acclimatising to different levels of management, Black women fail to understand the shift in job focus and functions. -4

49 Differences in experiences make it difficult for me to think of a White person as a mentor. -2

51 Diversity is one of my company's explicit corporate values. -2

52 It is extremely difficult to balance home life and having a successful career. -1

Items ranked at -5

1 After university I saw myself working, then getting married and not really working anymore

25 I don't think anyone really expected me to do anything. I think they thought I was going to go to school and then I would get married and that would be the end of it.

Table 6. Factor Interpretation Crib Sheet for factor 2 (Draft 1)

Items ranked at +5	
2	The top level of my company is not diverse in terms of race
9	There is a general experience of being ignored, as a Black woman in the workplace, until you are very powerful.
Items ranked higher in Factor 2 Array than in Factor 1 Array	
3	Black women must often use different techniques than men in a male dominated company. +4
7	I have had great mentors. +1
12	I have had a woman as a boss who has acted as a mentor towards me. 0
13	There is little diversity at the top in terms of gender at my company. +3
15	Black women are excluded from information and social networks that enhance promotion opportunities. +3
17	Double standards exist where assertiveness in Black women is a disadvantage. +2
19	Some Black women do not progress because they do not have the networks to succeed. +3
21	I have moved along faster in promotions than most other people have. 0
26	It has been meaningful for me to have found people along the way who were willing to step in and play a role in my success. +4
28	A Black woman can say the same thing as a man does and it may not be as easily accepted. +4
30	I don't know if I would recommend my company to other Black female colleagues. 0
31	For a Black woman to have a successful career, it is important to have a supportive spouse. +2
33	Black women sometimes feel isolated in their jobs because of lack of female peers. +3
34	Black women are positioned as assistants instead of leaders. +2
36	Black women are conflicted because they are expected to act one way with spouse and family and another way in the office. +1
42	Performance evaluation practices in the organisation discriminate against Black women who show assertiveness. +1

46 Black women have to act like men in order to be noticed and valued. +1

49 Differences in experiences make it difficult for me to think of a White person as a mentor. 0

55 I feel my position of leadership is recognised as legitimate by my colleagues. +2

Items ranked lower in Factor 2 Array than in Factor 1 Array

4 My company is a tough place to work in for Black women. 0

5 My company puts up with men who are intolerant or sexually abusive because they are successful business people. -3

6 Black women have placed self-imposed obstacles in their career pathways. -4

10 I think the connections I made helped my career advance more rapidly. 0

16 In my company there are a number of Black women in senior positions so it is a healthy mix. -4

18 It is difficult for me to consider a man as a mentor because of gender differences in experiences. -3

23 Black women are burdened with more extended family obligations than their White counterparts. -2

29 Black women in management fail to help other Black women in their pursuit of promotion. 0

35 A person needs to have strong supporters or allies in their company to be successful. 0

37 I don't think I will ever become a member of top management of a company. -4

40 I have not been promoted as quickly as I had expected. -2

43 In acclimatising to different levels of management, Black women fail to understand the shift in job focus and functions. -4

44 Black women jeopardise their advancement if they self-promote their achievements. -2

47 Black women are appointed in my company as tokens. 0

48 Many Black women find it hard to tolerate the pressures at work because of the pressures they face at home. -2

50 Falling pregnant has a negative effect on a Black woman's career. -1

52 It is extremely difficult to balance home life and having a successful career. -1

53 It is difficult for Black women to form co-worker relationships because most of their co-workers are men. -3

56 Some Black women's careers are impeded by family obligations. -1

57 I saw most of my friends wanting to be a teacher or nurse, and I knew that wasn't what I wanted. -3

Items ranked at -5

24 I would not want to be in the top management of a company.

25 I don't think anyone really expected me to do anything. I think they thought I was going to go to school and then I would get married and that would be the end of it.

Appendix F. Table 7. Additional items to be included in Factor 1 crib sheet (Draft 2)

24	I would not want to be in the top management of a company. -4
44	Black women jeopardise their advancement if they self-promote their achievements. -1
48	Many Black women find it hard to tolerate the pressures at work because of the pressures they face at home. -1
53	It is difficult for Black women to form co-worker relationships because most of their co-workers are men.-1
2	The top level of my company is not diverse in terms of race. +1
3	Black women must often use different techniques than men in a male dominated company. +1
13	There is little diversity at the top in terms of gender at my company .+1
15	Black women are excluded from information and social networks that enhance promotion opportunities. +2
17	Double standards exist where assertiveness in Black women is a disadvantage. +1
28	A Black woman can say the same thing as a man does and it may not be as easily accepted. +2

Table 8. Additional items to be included in Factor 2 crib sheet (Draft 2)

1	After university I saw myself working, then getting married and not really working anymore -3
22	Many Black women experience sexual harassment from male co-workers. -2
27	Many Black women prefer to work in a group where they don't have to make most decisions by themselves. -1
38	In my company women at senior levels, who have children, find it difficult to work full time. -1
51	Diversity is one of my company's explicit corporate values. -1
11	I think men, especially older men, are uncomfortable with Black women in key positions. +1
14	Black women are generally seen as lacking in competence because they are perceived as having been granted access through employment equity. +3
32	I see becoming top management of a company as a possibility for myself down the road. +1
39	I feel that I was chosen for my position because I was the best candidate. +2
41	The problem Black women are facing in the workplace has to do with the men who are in power in the company. +2
45	Black women have to work twice as hard to prove themselves. +4
54	There is discrimination against Black women in the workplace. +1

Appendix G. Table 11. Descriptive statistics on Average Meta and Average Loadings

			Statistic	Std. Error
Average Meta-stereotype	Mean		3.86	0.23
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	3.38	
		Upper Bound	4.35	
	5% Trimmed Mean		3.97	
	Median		4.08	
	Variance		0.95	
	Std. Deviation		0,98	
	Minimum		1	
	Maximum		5	
	Range		4	
	Interquartile Range		1	
	Skewness		-1.71	0.54
	Kurtosis		3.44	1.04
Loadings	Mean		0.60	0.04
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	0.51	
		Upper Bound	0.69	
	5% Trimmed Mean		0.63	
	Median		0.63	
	Variance		0.03	
	Std. Deviation		0.18	
	Minimum		-0.03	
	Maximum		0.76	
	Range		0.79	
	Interquartile Range		0.15	
	Skewness		-2.83	0.54
	Kurtosis		10.02	1.04