

CHAPTER 4

GENDER

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on the differences between the male and female genders and their socialisation in growing up and developing that allows the sexes' mental thought processes to shape their careers.

The chapter will also look at stereotypes commonly associated with males and females. The differences between males and females will be set out. Interesting viewpoints on dilemmas associated with being female, and five myths that hold women back will be presented.

A number of studies done on women will be presented in the body of the chapter and, lastly, perspectives on women will be given relative to other countries' norms. The literature review will then be related to the study at hand in chapter 7.

4.2 ORIGINS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES

"As interesting as the fact of difference is, the question of their origins is more compelling: are males and females different from the start, or do we learn to behave differently? Most research and speculation on the origins of gender differences has focussed on the issue of 'nature versus nurture', or whether biological influences (nature) outweigh those of learning and culture (nurture). Modern research is less simplistic, and considers several different, mutually influential processes: biology; childhood socialisation; social roles; social situations; and distinctions between gender and sex" (Weber, 1992, p. 104).

4.2.1 Biology

Males and females are different, generally as a result of biological differences. Men and women differ in height, weight and muscle mass. Sex hormones also play a significant role. Sex hormones may influence prenatal development just as they affect physical changes during adolescent and adult life. The result of correlation

studies show evidence, for example, that the role of the male hormone testosterone leads to aggressive behaviour.

The biological differences have led to males and females assuming different roles in society. Males have traditionally been warriors, mainly due to their upper body strength, which is useful in throwing spears and engaging in combat. In modern warfare, men no longer need such physical strength since in some cases simply pushing a button is all that is involved, something women could as easily do (Weber, 1992, p. 104).

4.2.2 Childhood socialisation

From birth children are treated differently and part of the growing-up process involves gender socialisation. Gender socialisation involves the transfer of lessons about social behaviour through "operant conditioning like reinforcement and punishment" (Weber, 1992, p. 105).

Children learn socially adaptable behaviour from societal role models such as mothers, fathers, teachers and family members. Girls are encouraged to display female behaviour such as modeling mother's make-up and jewellery, whereas a son would be berated for doing so (Weber, 1992, p. 105).

4.2.3 Intellectual differences

Freedman, Sears and Carlsmith (1981, p. 503) point out that "research indicates quite convincingly that men and women do not differ in overall intellectual ability. They score approximately the same on all intelligence tests, on aptitude tests such as the SAT's, and on various measures of ability. Moreover there is no evidence for any sex differences in creativity, originality, or problem-solving ability."

4.2.3.1 Verbal ability

At an early age girls display an aptitude for verbal ability, and are better at verbal skills than boys. This is apparent as early as 17 months (Clarke-Stewart, 1973). Girls also do better on various verbal tests during childhood, and on tests of reading ability (McCarthy & Kirk, 1963). Moreover, this superiority of females over males continues

at least through adolescence and may even increase (Backman, 1972; Svensson, 1971).

4.2.3.2 *Quantitative and spatial ability*

By contrast males outperform females on quantitative and spatial ability. These differences appear only around puberty and become firmly established in adolescence. They show up on tests of spatial judgement (Saarni, 1973), and in the embedded figures test, in which a person has to pick out a design from a more complex pattern (Nash, 1973). The difference also occurs on tests of quantitative skills such as algebra, geometry and mathematical reasoning (Droege, 1967).

These differences are not attributable solely to innate differences, but rather to cultural and environmental factors. In the White culture, boys are encouraged to be good at maths, and girls very often are not as good at maths. By contrast, girls are often encouraged to be literary or display an interest in arts. Boys who show natural ability for the latter are considered effeminate (Freedman et al., 1981, p. 503). "In other words, the performance differences may be caused by social forces, not innate differences between the sexes" (Freedman et al., 1981, p. 504).

4.3 GENDER SOCIALIZATION — teaching and learning lessons about the behaviours that are considered socially appropriate and desirable for either gender, can enhance or modify biological influences as well as foster gender differences by itself. Interestingly, socialisation can be as influenced by fiction as by fact" (Weber, 1992, p. 106).

4.3.1 **Gender stereotypes**

"A stereotype is a generalisation that distinguishes one category of people from another. A gender stereotype is a generalisation that sets one gender apart from the other. Gender stereotypes may be accurate reflections of general behaviour, but as generalisations they may also simplify to an inaccurate degree" (Weber, 1992, p. 106).

"Gender-role stereotypes reflect beliefs about inherent gender differences in men's and women's nature and in their commitments to the worlds of work and family" (Barnett, 1996, p. 27). Gender stereotypes apply a certain mind set to gender roles

that must be played out in society. The implication of this paradigm is that "psychologically healthy women" must be more affected by family aspects and roles than "psychologically healthy men", who must be more affected by working and business roles (Barnett, 1996, p. 27). This stereotype is very difficult to apply and live out in today's modern "dual earner" world (Barnett, 1996, p. 27), roles. If both males and females do not live according to the stereotype, "to be otherwise is to be deviant-unfeminine, wimpish" (Barnett, 1996, pp. 27-28). One can thus infer that society predetermines roles for males and females, and if individuals do not comply with these stereotypes, there are consequences for them such as being labeled non-conformist.

These predetermined roles influence our thinking about men and women. According to the predetermined gender based assumptions, men are better at goal-directed roles and men thus assume the working roles in society. Women naturally bear children and because primary relationships are closer to the realm of women's nature than men's, it can be argued that "marital and parenting roles are inherently more critical to women's than to men's psychological state" (Barnett, 1996, p. 28).

Most of the gender stereotyping ideas arose in the fifties, and in many cases these conclusions were not thoroughly tested. These conclusions had a significant impact on the thinking about gender, the type of research conducted in psychology, the world of work and employment, and also on benefit programmes (Barnett, 1996, p. 28).

A classic study of sex role stereotypes by Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosencrantz (1972) showed the existence of strong stereotypes about different characteristics about men and women. The study yielded results that show that attributes ascribed to men were positively valued more often than those ascribed to women. The positively viewed traits for men appear to form a cluster of related behaviours that entail competence, rationality and assertiveness; the positively valued feminine traits form another cluster reflecting warmth and expressiveness. Since more feminine traits are negatively viewed than the masculine traits, women tend to have more negative self-concepts than men and show a tendency for self-denigration. Later research by Powel and Butterfield (1979) attributes masculine traits to a good manager.

Gender-related roles are applied in the workplace. Gutek and Cohen (1987) believe that the "sex role spillover" can affect male and females in "nontraditional jobs", but that the effect is greatest for females.

Bhatnagar (1988, p. 349) is of the opinion that the carryover effect of the traditional perception of women as caregivers and nurturers is that women, even competent women, are very often absorbed into unchallenging jobs and into service environments. These women are bypassed by men of similar potential but with a proven track record.

Studies done in the 1960s and 1970s collaborate the perception of women described above and its consequences for them. "In a study done in America, in *Americans View their Mental Health*, a classic study of mental health in the United States published in 1960, the researchers questioned male respondents about their work lives and female respondents about their home lives. This strategy was justified on the grounds that work was emotionally relevant only to men" (Barnett, 1996, p. 28).

Pearlin (1975, p. 202) cites another study in which most of the women were not employed in jobs similar to those of men. This influential study concluded that the workplace and events in society are more shaped to address the fate of men than of females. "This conclusion fit exactly into the dominant sex-segregated view of the time and helped shape the research paradigm in health psychology" (Pearlin, 1975, p. 202). It formed the foundation that has affected the psychological fate of women in society. It was assumed that these behavioural and psychological differences would persist even as women's lives became more similar to men's. Based on these beliefs, women's contribution in the working world compared with that of men is considered "less robust" (Pearlin, 1975, p. 202), that they are distracted by family commitment, and thus their contribution in the working world was and is considered to be less meaningful than that of men. "In other words, the boundary between home and work is more permeable for women than for men." (Pearlin, 1975, p. 202).

Barnett (1996, pp. 28-29) goes on to explain the implications for men and women. Males are seen to be able to cope with the world of work and the expectation of achievement. The world of work is also surrounded by strong boundaries which naturally isolate family issues. Men are thus regarded as valued members of the organisation. This polarised notion underpins many corporate policies and procedures, and is perpetuated by the belief that family issues are still the

responsibility of women and would naturally be more disruptive to women and not to men. These assumptions have rarely been challenged, but today we have the opportunity to test these assumptions, to see if they hold water or not.

4.3.2 Gender typing

"The earliest stage in developing gender stereotypes is gender typing. Gender typing involves categorising things and people as masculine or feminine; it happens somewhat automatically (with a little conscious thought or attention)" (Weber, 1992, p. 106). Children learn gender typing from an early age; girls associate pink with feminine and boys associate blue with being an appropriate colour for boys. Toys can also be gender-typed (guns and cars are masculine, dolls and kitchen tools are feminine), so can jobs (police officers and firefighters are judged masculine, while teachers and nurses are considered feminine) (Weber, 1992, p. 106).

This has a natural effect for education and career choices. Men are discouraged from becoming nurses or teachers. Females are not encouraged to become astronauts, or high court judges (Weber, 1992, p. 106). "Both men and women deprive themselves of the emotional and financial satisfactions of work when their choices are limited by illogical stereotypes" (Weber, 1992, p. 107). This process is perpetuated in every aspect of society. Society rarely understands women's choices of non-traditional careers, or their choice not to marry and have a family.

4.3.3 Gender schemata

"At the subtler level of individual social cognition, each of us has ideas and feelings about the qualities and behaviours that 'fit' one gender or the other. Feminine gender schemata — clusters of ideas about feminine roles and qualities that go together — may include such diverse types as beauty queens, career women, tomboys, and spinsters. Masculine gender schemata may include jocks, hardhats, white collar executives, and sissies. While each schema comprises its own stereotype, it may cross rigid lines of more socially accepted stereotypes. For example, the gender schema of 'beauty queen' includes masculine traits like ambition and competitiveness as well as feminine ones like emotionality and appearance-consciousness" (Weber, 1992, pp. 106-107).

Schemata are a perception of the understanding of a concept in the mind of the individual. Weber (1992, p. 107) talks about "social stereotypes". Gender schemata are a necessary but insufficient step in prejudiced behaviour like sexism. "This is very applicable in the world of work. For example a Managing Director, interviewing for a Managerial position, could possibly not consider interviewing females with children, because his schema for the working mother would be that her family responsibility would interfere with the responsibilities at work" (Weber, 1992, p. 107). "In this manner sexist behaviour (denying fair consideration to an applicant on the basis of gender or gender-related expectations) can be based on schemata" (Weber, 1992, p. 107).

4.3.4 Media stereotypes

The media also play a role in the projection of stereotypes. The media reinforce male and female roles within society. The agents are television, radio, newspapers, magazines and film. Women are often portrayed as being concerned with their own appearance. Men are portrayed as being strong and masculine, and are very often in the background offering support to the helpless woman (Weber, 1992, p, 108).

4.3.5 Effects of gender stereotypes

"While one's gender is clearly inborn, one's gender role is not. Gender involves being male or female, and all the biological and psychological implications that entails. In contrast, one's gender role involves behaving in ways that are considered feminine or masculine. Human social behaviour is never so simple as to be a matter of inborn forces or instincts. At least some experience, learning, and cultural shaping is required. Evidence indicates that gender roles are significantly a function of social learning, whatever biological predispositions might once have existed" (Weber, 1992, p. 108).

4.3.6 Theory of socialisation

For the purpose of this study, the paradigm of social learning theory will be adopted as a key theme in the process of gender socialisation. Many psychologists, when explaining human behaviour, prefer to base their explanations on the paradigm of social learning theories than on the paradigm of psychoanalysis (Weber, 1992, p. 109).

Social learning applies basic processes of learning within a societal context. Learning takes place by way of operant conditioning, observational learning, through reinforcement and punishment. Thus children learn gender roles from role models such as parents, media, and adults in society (Weber, 1992, p. 109).

4.3.7 Common sexual stereotypes

The table below depicts common sexual stereotypes for females and males.

Table 4.1 Common sexual stereotypes

COMMON SEXUAL STEREOTYPES	
FEMALES	MALES
Soft	Hard
Sensitive	Insensitive
Warm	Cold
Expressive	Rigid
Passive	Active
Dependent	Independent
Submissive	Aggressive
Modest	Ambitious
Weak	Strong

Source: Freedman et al. (1981, p. 500)

4.3.8 Desirable traits for males, females and both sexes

Table 4.2 displays traits typical of both male and female roles. Even though the stereotypes are far apart, the presentation of the ideal man and women are close. Almost all traits that are desirable for one sex are also thought to be desirable for the other. There are differences that focus on specific traits only applicable to males and those only applicable to females (Freedman et al., 1981, p. 502).

Table 4.2 Traits of males and females

TRAITS TYPICAL OF MALE, BUT DESIRABLE FOR BOTH SEXES	TRAITS TYPICAL OF FEMALES, BUT DESI- RABLE FOR BOTH SEXES	TRAITS DESIR- ABLE FOR ONLY ONE SEX	
		MALES	FEMALES
INDEPENDENT	CONSIDERATE	AGGRESSIVE	HOME- ORIENTED
ACTIVE	KIND	DOMINANT	NEEDS SECURITY
OUTGOING	WARM	MECHANICAL APTITUDE	RELIGIOUS
AMBITIOUS	NEAT	LIKES MATHS AND SCIENCE	FEELINGS EASILY HURT
SELF-CONFIDENT	TACTFUL		CRIES EASILY
GOOD AT BUSINESS	CREATIVE		
INTELLECTUAL	LIKES CHILDREN		
ACTS AS LEADER	UNDERSTANDING		
ADVENTUROUS	EMOTIONALLY EXPRESSIVE		

Source: Freedman et al. (1981, p. 502)

4.3.9 Summary

Children are taught from birth that boys and girls are different and that these differences will affect career choices.

Stereotypical views affect the way that the world views the behaviour of men and women. Gender stereotypes imply that psychologically healthy women should be more strongly affected by their family experiences than men, and that males should be more strongly affected by their job experiences. Males are conscientised to believe that they are good at quantitative tasks and have spatial ability over girls. Boys are encouraged to apply their minds to technical processes more than females. Furthermore, because females bear children, it is accepted that the nurturing of the family becomes a female responsibility.

In an early study by Broverman et al. (1972), reported that attributes ascribed to men were more positively valued than those ascribed to women. Gutek and Cohen (1987) also found that the carryover effect of nurturance and passivity for women continued in the working environment, leading to lesser challenging roles and lower profile jobs.

Certain stereotypical behaviours are applied to behaviors of males and females; these are indicated in tables 4.1 and 4.2.

In a study discussed by Pearlin (1975), it was found that men are naturally more comfortable with the achievement-oriented world of work, and that they do not let family influences interfere in the world of work. Hence men are reliable and highly valued workers.

Men and women are associated with specific profiles, and associations are made according to each gender. An example of this is that girls play with dolls and boys play with cars. Mindsets form relative to the gender stereotypical roles, for example men do wrestling and women enter beauty competitions. These processes are spurred on by socialisation, in some cases via the powerful media. Through the process of social learning, gender roles are enforced and acted out. Gender role modeling is shaped by live models such as parents, teachers and role models.

4.4 HOW WOMEN FEEL ABOUT BEING IN THE WORKING WORLD

In a study done by Hale (1999, p. 410), she points out that there have been numerous studies that have shown that women encounter glass ceilings as they try to climb the corporate ladder. Women feel lonely, isolated and removed from power within organisations.

Hale's (1999, p. 411) study looked at how professional men and women in public-sector workplaces perceive the relationship between gender and their 'lived' work experiences. The study, conducted in 1995, was built on a focus-group design with in-depth, follow-up telephone interviews. The participants included 23 men and women aged 36-56. The 12 participants in the first group were public administration faculty from public universities in six states; the 11 participants in the second group were midlevel practitioners and top-level administrators from public-sector organisations and government agencies in eight states. The study revealed nine key issues which are identified and described below:

Table 4.3 Nine key issues identified by Hale (1999) in the relationship between gender and work experiences

1. Internalization and identity	Self-judgements based on incorporated stereotypes, perceptions, assumptions; concerns of diversity and multicultural issues related to race, class, and age. Women were thought to be 'emotional', and they saw men as remote, controlling, inconsiderate, annoying, not trusted and sometimes irate.
2. Emotionality	Comments from women revealed anger about male colleagues who ignored or refused to work with women. There was intensity of feelings about the subject, men's anger.
3. White male anger	Competitiveness, losing out, unfairness, about being overlooked for promotion in favour of a woman.
4. Power	Power, powerlessness. Discussions about power included women's sense of being devalued or disempowered. Women also felt that it is difficult for some men to accept women who are perceived as both powerless and powerful, and they interpret this double-blind as men not wanting to treat women as equals in the workplace.
5. Sexuality	Sexuality, sexual ideation and expression.
6. Discrimination	Lack of objectivity in organisations. Women need to have more credentials to be hired.
7. Shared Experience	Women's shared experience, sense of invisibility and isolation.
8. Trust	Lack of trust between men and women; risk aversion, fear of talking, taboos of the topic. Men's discussions about trust included concerns of confidence, the intertwining of trust and power, and the enforcement of their distrust of women by creating unwritten rules.
9. Communication	Importance of listening, need to understand and be sensitive to men's and women's different perspectives. Many women recounted their frustrations with men interrupting when they (women) speak.

Source: Hale (1999, pp.410-424)

4.5 PROBLEMS THAT WOMEN EXPERIENCE IN THE WORKING WORLD: NEW PARADIGMS FOR RESEARCH

4.5.1 Background

Bhatnagar (1988, p. 343) states that the problems that "professional women face, are dealt with by means of an advocacy approach that look at problems of women in isolation from the rest of the organisation".

"Women experience Discrimination, Sex Role Stereotypes, Social Isolation, Nonavailability of mentors and Tokenism" in their working environment (Bhatnagar, 1988, p. 343-350). Bhatnagar (1988, p. 343) suggests a systems perspective to address these problems within an organisation. This ties in with the systems paradigm as presented in chapter 3, section 3.8.3. It is not easy for organisations to level the playing fields for women. Bhatnagar (1988, p. 343) advocates a "complementary approach", which would aim to implement change strategies to integrate females into the organisation, together with a "strategy for reducing organisational resistance to change". "Future developments need to shift focus from sex static variables and adopt a contingency approach to studying sex-related phenomenon as an organisational process that is influenced by the characteristics of the actors — both male and female — the organisation, and the social situation" (Bhatnagar, 1988, p, 353).

4.5.2 Social problems in the workplace

4.5.2.1 Social isolation

Social isolation in the workplace leaves successful women feeling very isolated. They also find it difficult to be incorporated into a "peer group". The informal network is of invaluable support if women want to advance within the organisation. Bhatnagar (1988, p. 346).

4.5.2.2 *Nonavailability of mentors*

"A mentor is an organisational godfather who plays a central role in helping a newcomer break easily into the organisation and in the subsequent career development of the individual" (Bhatnagar, 1988, p. 346). Mentors provide a smooth transition period for their protégé by being concerned about their progress and counseling, so as to enable the assimilation into the organisation. Very often there are so few senior women within the organisation, that it is difficult to "provide sponsorship to all the aspiring females" (Nelson & Quick, 1985). Nieva and Gutek (1981) state that men are not that eager to play a mentorship role to aspiring females.

4.5.2.3 *Tokenism*

"Women, because they comprise a small proportion of the entire work group in an organisation, are viewed not as individuals but as tokens representing their entire category" (Kanter, 1977). Tokenism leads to three negative outcomes, namely visibility, contrast and assimilation. Visibility results from the differences between the minority grouping and the dominant group. It creates tremendous performance pressures due to the awareness that the minority grouping is under constant scrutiny. Women, believing that they are holding token status, are very aware that they always need to perform at optimal level. Their mistakes are generally magnified and they are constantly aware that if they fail, they will let the whole group as women down, which would affect future advancements for woman aspirants (Bhatnagar, 1988, p. 347). This is commonplace in today's working environment. Aspirant women feel alone in their journey to success, and many feel that they have to be super performers to be successful and to be promoted up the career ladder.

4.6 PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN ORGAINSATIONS: A SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE

Table 4.4 Comparative analysis of Traditional, Complementary and Organisational Approach

<p>Traditional approach (problems faced by professional women in the workplace)</p> <p>=====</p> <p>1. Social problems</p> <p>a. Social isolation</p> <p>Loneliness</p> <p>Lack of contact with influential others</p> <p>Nonavailability of soft information</p> <p>Lowered effectiveness</p> <p>b. Nonavailability of mentors</p> <p> Difficulty during the settling-in period</p> <p> Nonavailability of career counselling and support</p> <p> Depressed career progression</p> <p>c. Tokenism</p> <p>Stress due to visibility</p> <p>Contrast</p> <p>Role encapsulation</p> <p>2. Sex role stereotypes</p> <p>Conflicting expectations from professional women</p> <p>Underutilisation of professional women</p> <p>3. Discrimination against professional women</p>	<p>Complementary approach (corresponding researchable issues in other Organisational subsystem)</p> <p>=====</p> <p>Social impact of the presence of women on male groups</p> <p>Reasons for isolation</p> <p>Organisational consequences of the social isolation of professional women</p> <p>Reasons for reluctance among male mentors to accept female protégé</p> <p>Organisational consequence of nonavailability of mentors to professional women</p> <p>Stresses and reactions generated in the dominant male group</p> <p>Dynamics of polarization at the workplace</p> <p>Group processes resulting in role encapsulation</p> <p>Organisational consequences of tokenism</p> <p>Sex role stereotypes for men</p> <p>Rationalistic bias</p> <p>Organisational consequences of sex role stereotypes; underutilisation of professional women</p> <p>Short-and long-term consequences of discrimination for the organization</p>	<p>Organisational outcome (based upon an integrated understanding of the traditional and complementary approaches)</p> <p>=====</p> <p>Organisational strategies for better integration of women at the workplace</p> <p>Systemic interventions to enhance availability of mentors to professional women</p> <p>Strategy to weaken tokenism</p> <p>Strategy to weaken sex role stereotypes</p> <p>Strategy to weaken discrimination</p>
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Source: Bhatnagar (1988, p. 345).

4.6.1 Analysis of table 4.4

From the research done by Bhatnagar (1988), it is evident that women have a lonely existence in the workplace. They are socially isolated, lack of mentors and experience tokenism.

Table, 4.4 presents a systems perspective that shows how social isolation, non-availability of mentors, tokenism, sex role stereotypes and discrimination against professional women are dealt with in a complementary approach and one that is outcome based. The complementary approach deals with causes of the problems, analysing the reasons behind dysfunctional approaches. The outcomes based process seeks to align organisational strategies with the new interventions, so as to improve the processes within the organisation for women.

4.6.2 Male-culture behaviours

It has been found that organisations have their own persona/personality. When an organisation has more men than women (or vice versa) in influential positions, the culture of the organisation tends to adopt attributes applicable to the dominant gender. This can result in the presence of male-culture behaviours that make women feel left out and unwelcome. These behaviours include the following:

- remarks that devalue women;
- bullying;
- sexist jokes;
- locker-room-caliber conversation;
- a focus on male-oriented activities and display and usage of metaphors applicable to these activities;
- display of images in the working environment depicting women as sexual objects, thus devaluing their image (Isaacs, 1995, p. 58).

4.7 SEX SEGREGATION

"One of the strongest and most consistent findings across countries is that work is sex segregated" (Guttek, 1988, p. 106). Furthermore, sex segregation reproduces itself (Meyer & Maes, 1983), and has been implicated in a variety of problems faced by working women (e.g. low pay, sexual harassment). In the United States, for example, Coser (1980) reported that "one-half of all female workers in America are found in 21 occupations" and Laws (1979) "reported that 69% of men or women would have to change jobs in order to eliminate sex segregation in the U.S.". In California, Bielby and Baron (1984) found in a study conducted in over 400 companies that 59% of the companies were sex segregated; all men were in one set of jobs and all women in another. In another study, Baron, Davis-Blake and Bielby (1986) found in a study of 100 firms that there were 1071 different jobs that had two or more workers per job. Of the 1071 jobs, only 73 had both male and female incumbents. The other 998 had either all male job holders or all female job holders. Rosenbaum (1985) did a study in a large organisation in 1965, and found that out of 100 non-management jobs with five or more people only six contained both men and women. In 1975, the same organisation had introduced a bold affirmative action programme. The findings were as follows: one-third of the non-managerial jobs were held by both sexes, the remaining two-thirds of the positions were completely sex segregated. Guttek (1985) did a study in Los Angeles on a representative survey of economically active respondents and found that 72% of men and 60% of women worked in jobs where most of the jobs were sex segregated. Specific jobs may be even more sex segregated than specific occupations.

"Sex segregation of work is important because it creates women's jobs and men's jobs which differ on many characteristics. For example, irrespective of the nation, women's jobs are lower-paid than men's jobs, even when they require comparable effort and training" (Hesse, 1984). "Overall, the average woman's pay relative to the average man's is between 60% and 80%, but has been improving in developed countries" (Guttek, 1988, p. 107). "Some recent data from the U.S. show that women's average wage relative to men is 63%, up from 59% in 1978" (Blau & Ferber, 1985). Trieman and Hartmann (1981) did an extensive survey of pay differentials in the United States and concluded that discrimination definitely leads to women earning less than men.

The effects of sex segregation are many. The following effects are cited by many authors:

- Potential advancement ladders are shorter and less frequently allow promotion to executive or administrative levels (Baron et al., 1986; Moussourou & Spiliotopoulos, 1984, Scriven, 1984).
- The social standing of positions held mainly by women is lower than that given to predominantly male positions (Strober, 1984). These positions are often designed for temporary workers, requiring less training or commitment and being easy to enter on a part-time basis (Atwood & Mc Andrew, 1984).
- All of these characteristics are consistent with the concept of women in women's jobs as casual workers, primarily intent on earning additional money in a job that does not conflict with family responsibilities (Atwood & McAndrew, 1984).
- Sex segregation leads to jobs being designated for women only, which is subject to societal stereotypes of women (Gutek, 1988, p. 108).
- Bielby and Baron (1984, p. 759) found a very high percentage of job segregation by sex in all firms. They found more sex segregation in large organisations with highly differentiated jobs and bureaucratised personnel procedures, such as banking, than in smaller, less differentiated establishments.
- Bielby and Baron's (1994) findings of pervasive intraoccupational sex segregation leave them pessimistic about the outcome of reform efforts.
- Kanter (1977), many years prior to Bielby and Baron, was more optimistic. The underlying premise is that organisations can be fundamentally changed through internal change processes, apart from the effects of the market environment. Inequities and conflicts within the organisation can be overcome solely by the efforts of individual initiatives, either on the part of professional and managerial women or by enlightened consultants working in the interests of organisational development and progress.

- Kanter (1977) also believes that initiating organisational change must be propelled from the top echelons of the organisation, through job redesign or rotational plans or through equalising the proportions of women and men within jobs. This will "empower" all members of the corporation and diminish gender inequity.

4.7.1 Summary of sex segregation

The effect of sex segregation is very profound in the job market. The concept greatly ties in with the socialisation process when raising boys or girls. As evident in the research by Baron et al. (1986), firms often appoint only males or females within a job category.

This principle can be aligned with the current organisation being studied, in that all technicians were previously male. An immense effort has been put into place to change the previous mindset and stereotypical profile. As indicated by the research done by Baron et al. (1986) and Moussourou and Spiliotopoulos (1984), sex segregation has serious consequences for advancement for women. This has been the case in the current organisation, in that female technicians are often started on a lower salary scale than that of their male counterparts, and have to wait longer for promotion.