Women Managers in Britain and Hong Kong: the importance of culture for career paths and the experience of work

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

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December 1997

UMI Number: U105773

Dissertation Publishing

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Abstract

This thesis examines the lives and careers of women managers in Britain and Hong Kong in order to establish the role that culture plays in shaping the particular configurations that emerge. Through both quantitative and qualitative research career path patterns are observed that reflect different orientations and experiences of the career between women in Britain and women in Hong Kong. The particular organisation and perception of the family, and women's role within it, has fundamental implications for the manner in which women engage in the labour market. In addition the cultural organisation of relationships between men and women, and their perceived role in relation to each other, play a key role in explaining the different interpretations of experiences which at times are on the surface similar. As a result of the different careers, work orientations, perception of family and perception of gender relations it is argued that assertions about women's position, discrimination and gender (in)equality can make sense of the cultural setting from which they were generated but cannot necessarily be applied universally.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Thesis

Introduction

This thesis explores the lives and careers of women managers in Hong Kong and Britain. In doing so it seeks to examine why the particular patterns of career path that exist have emerged and how the women themselves understand and account for their careers. The intention is that such research should shed light on the role played by culture, as compared to other factors, in influencing patterns of working life. It is argued that whilst culture plays a crucial role in making sense of social reality it's role can only be understood through the different networks of social relationships that it encourages. Culture, it will be argued, is not the only cause of such relationships but rather is one of a number of processes generating specific sets of circumstances which predispose individuals to relate to each other in particular ways. Of special significance to the lives of women managers are the varying sets of relationships that characterise and give shape to the construct of 'family' in the two societies and the variation in the nature of the social relationships between men and women in Britain and Hong Kong.

The remainder of this chapter outlines the specific research aims, provides definitions of central concepts and explains the organisation of the thesis.

Aims

The aims of the following research are:

(1) To provide greater understanding of the nature and emergence of culture

Firstly the research aims to provide an analysis of culture and its dimensions in order to understand what these really mean for members of the two cultures examined. Existing research has identified dimensions along which cultural difference can be measured (Hofstede 1980). Although influential, by concentrating on the macro level comparisons, that research has focused less on what those dimensions mean to the individuals involved. Consequently misunderstandings still occur. For example, although collectivism is discussed in the literature as a feature of some societies, I suggest that a western interpretation of what collectivism means is very different from that of the Hong Kong Chinese. As this is the case it seems probable that the Hong Kong Chinese collectivist orientation is rather different from the collectivist orientation identified in many African societies (Hofstede, 1980. Trompenaars, 1993). By examining just two

societies in-depth the intention is to achieve a detailed understanding of the nature of culture's role in the lives of the members of those societies.

(2) To examine the processes through which culture impacts on social life rather than just what constitutes the culture of a society

Secondly, this research attempts to gain an understanding of the mechanisms of culture's operation. A study that simply describes what is seen to be the culture of a particular society or group neglects to explain the mechanisms through which the culture comes to be manifested in behaviour and how it emerged in the first place. In consequence such a study is inevitably a snapshot picture of the current situation which cannot explain changes over time and therefore becomes rapidly out dated. This study seeks to understand how culture operates and the processes which influence its operation. In addition it attempts not just to identify the attitudes and values of groups of individuals but to locate those values in the context where individuals act. Consequently, rather than simply trying to describe the careers of women in Hong Kong and Britain, this study attempts to explain the role that culture plays in structuring the careers and to examine how the significant cultural characteristics have emerged over time. The result, it is hoped, is an analysis of culture's operation on the experiences of women managers that does not adopt a deterministic stance. To achieve this goal the thesis examines how the processes of industrialisation, patriarchy and globalisation combine with culture to produce particular sets of circumstances that are interpreted in certain ways and predispose individuals towards particular types of behaviours. A criticism of much past research on culture has been that it confuses culture with nation (Redding 1994). This thesis avoids such a conflation through exploration of a range of processes, distinguishing between their impact and that of culture, and by discussing the manner in which they interact together.

(3) To examine features of culture which influence women managers and their careers

Thirdly, this study seeks to discover how individuals interpreted the situations which they faced, what the situation meant to them and what led them to make the particular choices that they did. In this way the study seeks to establish what are the important and influencing features of culture for the women studied. By starting from the premise of what was important to these individuals it is possible to avoid the pitfall of imposing western cultural biases on cross cultural research. The women in the sample have been able to identify what has been important to them throughout their lives and thus their voices can be heard through this research. Cross cultural research that is reinterpreted into abstract notions and models can become so far removed from the experiences of the people it identifies

that it can no longer be said to be explanation of their lives. This reinterpretation in cross cultural research is particularly dangerous because the interpretative process involves the researcher's own mental programming becoming enmeshed in the developing model. To avoid this I have tried to remain as close as possible to the explanations of their lives provided by the women involved in the study as a means of constructing an understanding of choices before moving on to draw conclusions on the work presented. Consequently, the findings are discussed in the respondent's own words more than they are in mine. As an additional safeguard against cultural bias, during the final stages of the research I discussed the findings with Hong Kong Chinese and British women to confirm whether my understanding was an accurate reflection of their realities.

Hofstede, perhaps the most influential researcher in the field, uses a hugely male dominated sample (Hofstede 1980). Other research has taken place using groups of international businessmen and again women are often scarce in these samples. This study seeks to rectify the balance and examine how culture has affected a particular group of women and the role it has played in influencing the choices they have made regarding their careers and families.

(4) To examine why people behave and act as they do rather than simply identifying the frequency with which they act in particular ways.

By combining the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods this research seeks to examine the underpinning attitudes which explain behaviour and help us understand the reasoning behind it. Many existing studies provide, sometimes vast, databases of responses to attitudinal and behavioural questions. However, without an additional qualitative stage these studies have been unable to understand what answering in a particular way actually means to the individuals and collectivities involved. Thus the meaning contained within an answer, which is precisely where understanding of cultural variation emerges, is lacking in such research. This research aims specifically to understand what the behaviour means to the individuals involved and therefore seeks that rational (and cultural basis) for behaviour.

Contribution

The contribution of this research is that it adds to the understanding of the precise role that culture plays, in relation to other processes, without taking a deterministic stance by classifying culture as either the cause or product of social circumstances as the convergence versus divergence debate implies. Thus it is possible to show how culture and social processes are interrelated, influencing both each other, and orientations to work and the subsequent experiences of work and career.

In addition the thesis portrays the lives of women as they experience them rather than through the perspective of any single theory of subordination. In doing so it is possible to demonstrate that notions of female subordination, of the relationships between men and women and what they achieve in life stem from quite different orientations to work, to family life and to social life more generally. Consequently, the thesis illustrates that it is not possible to use theories developed solely in the context of the west to understand the lives and careers of women in all societies throughout the world. If we are to understand the experiences of women we cannot dislocate them from the circumstances in which that experience and their behaviour is embedded. One of the key contributions of this research is its attempts to retain the context of behaviour in order to understand it better.

Background definitions

What is culture?

The problem any discussion of culture faces is that there is no agreement as to what the concept actually entails. In different fields culture is different things, and even within similar discussions various authors mean different things by it. Just as the content of 'culture' varies over time and space so do its definitions. For these reasons I wish to begin this section with a brief overview of the evolution of the concept of culture in the social sciences.

For many years culture has been the area of interest for anthropologists. However, for a long time this was where it remained and it was rarely discussed within the other social science disciplines. Within this usage culture was the description of what characterised particular societies or tribes. Within sociology the major theoretical dilemma has been, and still is, that of structure versus agency. Culture has often become subsumed within this debate rather than figuring as a major area in its own right. In fact very often culture has been used as synonymous with structure and consequently has been frequently neglected within sociology

(Archer, 1988). However, culture is not simply synonymous with structure and nor is it just an epiphenomenon of structure. That is culture is not simply produced by structure, it is not a by-product generated entirely by structure with no ability itself to influence. So what is it?

There is a vast amount of literature dated from the mid nineteenth century through to the mid twentieth century that investigates what culture is and introduces culture as a concept explaining a society's way of life.

> "Culture or civilisation, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"

(Tylor, 1913; p1.).

This view remains influential today. Much of this early work on culture was an attempt to understand the mechanisms through which societies were held together as identifiable units. For instance religion forms a part of this cohesive mechanism and consequently figured strongly in these analyses (Durkheim 1984, Malinowski 1944).

Outside anthropology culture only really became of significant interest after Japan's rapid rise to economic success. The 'Japanese miracle' demanded explanation: how had this country, destroyed by war, risen to such heights so rapidly? One explanation put forward was its unique culture which produced a nation of apparently obedient, loyal, committed and hardworking workers (Morishima 1984). This argument has also been vigorously refuted (Koike and Inoki 1990).

More recently still, with the rise of multinational companies, business people are increasingly coming into contact with business communities of other cultures. Consequently awareness of, and sensitivity to, cultural difference is essential and this is reflected in the rapid rise of cultural awareness training and related schemes which businesses are taking more and more seriously.

In many ways this relatively recent change has meant the demise of culture as a theoretical discussion. The academic and theoretical dimension of culture is being overlooked as culture becomes a more popular concept of practical necessity in business. Look for instance at the now highly influential work of people in this field; Hofstede (1980, 1984, 1988, 1991, 1994), Harris-Bond (1986, 1991), Trompenaars (1994) and others. These authors have produced influential academic texts but they have also had commercial and popular success in the forms of business books and as consultants.

Thus perhaps we are losing sight of, or maybe never really came to terms with, culture as an academic concept in a modern sense. Rather we seem to be transposing culture to the more lucrative but less academically rigorous domain of business and consultancy. The definitions too have become more popularised.

> "...the essence of culture is not what is visible on the surface. It is the shared ways groups of people understand and interpret the world. So the fact that we can all listen to Walkmans and eat hamburgers tells us that there are some novel products that can be sold on a universal message, but it does not tell us what eating hamburgers or listening to Walkmans means in different cultures"

(Trompenaars 1993: 3)

The diversity of definitions has encouraged the vagary of their use. How culture is viewed in different circumstances is inextricably tied to why it is examined. For example, within business there is what might be considered a functionalist view of culture. Culture is seen as part of the operation of a business and at the macro level as an environment for business and organisation. In this sense interest in culture is concerned with how to bring particular phenomenon about, how to make things work *despite* culture, how to get round cultural barriers. Another concern is with changing cultures and how one can change a culture to make an organisation more successful? (e.g. Drennan 1992).

Perhaps in this context it is easy to forget that culture is also a mechanism of power and control. Culture reflects and reproduces power differentials as different groups have different degrees of influence on the form any particular society's or group's culture actually takes. Thus culture is not just about harmony and how we live and work together, but it is also about manipulation and control in the interests of some groups over others. For instance, culture is concerned with the exercise of power and may be said to operate against the interests of groups such as women or the working class. Consequently culture cannot simply be seen as a neutral, unbiased source of cohesion and harmony. Some have the opportunity to influence culture more than others. One example of this power influence can be seen through assertion that culture played a significant part, though probably not all, in explaining Japan's unprecedented economic growth. The ruling elite and the Japanese government were able to emphasise certain elements of their culture such as loyalty and manipulate others such as filial piety to a form suited to their interests. Consequently the filial piety was transposed to the organisation and the enforced loyalty that this brought could thus be utilised (Morishima, 1984). In this way there has been a controlled metamorphosis of a cultural attitude. Cultural engineering is therefore a possibility and some groups are more able than others to manage that engineering. Cultural engineering is constantly referred to indirectly

in business. An organisation's leadership wants to change that organisation's culture and says so. This surprisingly rarely raises outrage in itself, though the actual process it entails may do. In fact this admission of a desire for cultural change is a confession that attempts will be made to change attitudes and behaviour en mass. This is a confession of cultural engineering.

These notions of cultural change imply that culture can be generated and directed. This may not be possible to the degree that some might wish. Culture is by definition evolutionary in nature. What culture is today reflects what has been going on in, and around, that society or group in the past. Culture is inherently a historical construct and thus cannot be changed overnight. History cannot be simply forgotten, nor will it just go away. However, over time more powerful groups are able to determine, to some degree, what the cultural values of the future will be. Culture is made up of the people who exist within it. Some of those people have a greater chance of getting their interests reflected in it more strongly than others though this does not make everyone else passive empty vessels to be socialised into the ruling group's culture unwittingly.

So far then it is argued that culture is, at least in part, about power and control. The meaning of the term 'culture' varies as its usage spans different discursive arenas. It was also suggested that currently there is a tendency for the dialogue surrounding culture to be moving away from academic and theoretical discourse towards a more popular, applied concept within the domain of business. Finally, whilst there is nothing wrong with this move, it serves to give the impression of a vague concept of harmonious values which ignores many academic areas of debate and exploration.

Still we have not got to the crux of the matter of what culture is. Definitions have ranged from the erroneously narrow to the meaninglessly broad. Tyler above, for instance, seems to include everything within his definition of culture. A popular statement (see for example Ajiferuke and Boddewyn 1970) is that there are as many different definitions of culture as there are authors on it. Many definitions of culture separate it into a series of different layers (e.g. Sathe 1985, Hofstede 1980). Sathe (1985) suggests that there are three layers of culture. At the most overt level there is manifest culture which is evident in behaviour and language such as dress, gestures, mannerisms, body language, verbal language and patterns of behaviour. The next level is expressed values which refers to how the people of a culture rationalise and explain their behaviour. Finally, at the deepest and least easily observed level, culture also includes the basic assumptions about the world that people hold on the basis of which they act. This research aims to examine all

three of these levels so as to obtain every possible indication of the manner of behaviour and the reasoning and assumptions behind that action.

Although it is true that there are a vast range of definitions of culture the majority of these can be classified as one of two types. The first of these is the area of attitudes and values. In effect this refers to the personality of a group, be it a society or the local tennis club. It is, therefore, the shared attitudes and values which make one group what it is and which distinguish it from other groups. The second area often subsumed within the use of the term 'culture' has become known as 'artefacts'. It is this notion of culture which might lead us to describe someone as 'cultured'. Artefacts are the products of cultural values; paintings, literature, film etc. However, more than this other artefacts, or cultural products, are the organisations and institutions of society. Triandis (1972) terms this 'objective culture'. Objective culture is the tangible products of culture that are manifestations or evidence of the subjective culture which are the perceptions held by the members of the group.

Although artefacts may be cultural in the sense that they are the outward manifestations of culture, they reflect culture, they reinforce it, they support and maintain it but ultimately they are not culture. Therefore art and social institutions are *cultural* but not *culture* and are a useful means of discovering the distinguishing attitudes and values of a society or group which are otherwise difficult to discern. So we will also be discussing the cultural as the outward manifestations of the values, attitudes and norms of the two cultures to the extent that they add to our understanding of the operation of culture on women managers' lives.

What is Management?

Generally 'management' is deemed to be the art of getting things done without actually doing the task oneself (Eyre 1993). A manager controls and organises those who are actually doing the physical work and thus management is an intellectual occupation, reliant on paperwork (or at least communicated ideas) rather than physical work.

Management in some organisations does literally refer to positions in which the task is to manage other people. However management in other organisations may imply nothing more than that it is a position above a certain point in the organisation's hierarchy (Ashburner 1994). In order to incorporate cultural variations as to what constitutes a manager I take a fairly broad definition to include those who get tasks done though the supervision of others and who are defined by their organisations as managers.

What is a career?

During the 1960s in the phase of initial sociological interest in 'careers' the term was deemed to refer only to that which was pre-planned and actively sought in an attempt to reach a long term goal. A career was classified as a series of sequential occupations each of which represented upward mobility towards a goal (see for example Wilensky 1961, Slocum 1966). The origins of such an analysis are very much within the confines of the male dominated sociology of the 1960s. Careers were defined in terms of the male experience of an occupation or profession and the patterns of his employment they encapsulated. As a consequence of this women are disadvantaged in the sense that if the patterns of their employment differ from those of men they are considered imperfect. Thus a wide range of more recent literature on women and career discusses the need to redefine the concept totally (e.g. Evetts 1994a).

From what we now know of the characteristics of women's working lives in Britain it is readily apparent that the conventional definition of career does not lend itself to the analysis of women's working lives. This definition would exclude the vast majority of working women as they frequently suffer downward mobility and periods out of the labour market because of their role in the family of child-rearer and home maker (Dex 1987).

For our interests this definition is clearly far too narrow. The definition used here follows more closely the usage of Spilerman (1977) and Haveman and Cohen (1994) who consider the career within the broader context throughout the life cycle. In such a definition factors outside paid employment are brought into the picture thus shedding further light on why patterns emerge as they do. In some economic contexts current trends are towards fewer people being employed in the traditional manner and more people experiencing unemployment and non standard forms of employment. Under these circumstances the traditional concept of 'career' may not be appropriate for men either and is relegated to explaining a working life of the past. For the purposes of this thesis it is not necessary to enter into vast detail on what constitutes a 'career' and to redefine our notions of it. Rather the focus of this thesis is to understand the women managers' involvement in paid employment, the routes that they have taken to be in their current (atypical) position in the male dominated world of work, and how they experience and perceive their own working lives and 'careers' in relation to the rest of social life. Thus we are able to examine work histories that are not necessarily orderly and progressive patterns of employment. To understand women's involvement in paid employment it may be necessary to look at what Evetts (1994a) terms 'career contingencies'. Family and personal life, while not being a part of a career in paid

employment, may well have a significant impact on the choices and decisions made about that path and consequently require examination if we are to understand why women encounter the experiences at work that they do. The choices women make regarding their employment cannot be fully understood if we do not understand the circumstances in which the decisions were made. If those circumstances take place outside the environment of paid work we need to know their significance. Consequently the only way to understand women's working lives is to look at their paths through life that have brought them to where they are today. This definition and premise forms the basis for the following research.

Why study Hong Kong and Britain?

It is the element of cross cultural comparison in this study which is particularly significant. As the old Chinese proverb suggests "The eye cannot see its own lashes" (Harris Bond 1991:1). By looking outside one's own culture as well as understanding another culture better, the prospect of gaining greater objectivity when looking back at one's own culture arises. It is only through comparison that distinctive characteristics can emerge. Greater discussion of the detail of the cross cultural methods involved will be examined in the methodology section.

Why then these two particular societies? Clearly practical reasons must play some part in this choice but the reasoning behind it was more than just this. Much research on culture identifies the main division of cultural difference existing between east and west. Although clearly there are differences within the east or within the west the very distinction implies that the differences are greatest across this divide. By choosing one society from both east and from west we can expect that if culture has any impact on women's careers in management then it will be apparent in this comparison. Hong Kong as a society where 98% of the population are Chinese is very much a Chinese society (Hong Kong Year Book 1996). Despite Hong Kong having been, until very recently, a British colony there was (certainly initially) little mix of British and Chinese culture as the two communities remained segregated (Leung 1995). Consequently, many of the values brought by the migrants from China were retained. However, Hong Kong's history as a British colony does mean that in business many speak extremely good English and as such are accessible to a non Chinese speaker (though some Chinese only speakers are found in the quantitative research in this thesis).

The development of Hong Kong

One of the most salient features of Hong Kong's development is the manner in which its fate has been, and still is, closely tied to events in China. These links are readily evident in the brief historical narrative that follows.

Hong Kong covers an area of 1074 square Kilometres or 416 square miles (Whitaker, 1990). It has a population of 6.2 million (The World Bank 1997). Before the British arrived in Hong Kong in 1841 the only residents were a small number of fishing families. Hong Kong island was formally ceded to Great Britain in the treaty of Nanking, following the "unequal treaties" after the first of the "opium wars", in 1842. Hong Kong was ideally situated to aid British attempts to further trade with China and had the added benefit of a superb deep natural harbour. The British already had large opium warehouses nearby at Canton, where they stored the drug shipped from India. British persistence in bringing opium to China resulted in continued opium wars, which further disabled China against the British. In 1860, through the Peking Convention, the British received a further three and three quarter square miles, now known as the Kowloon peninsular, as a war indemnity. On June 9, 1898 the final unequal treaty forced China to lease 365 and three quarters square miles to the British for 99 years[1]. This land became known as the New Territories.

Many mainland Chinese were attracted to Hong Kong by the prospects associated with the west and the perceived concomitant chance of making their fortunes. Hong Kong was an entrepot port, importing and exporting goods to be sold elsewhere in the world and in its vast hinterland, China, and thus provided a link between these two external entities. Hong Kong's population rapidly expanded, largely as a result of sudden influxes of populations. During the Sino-Japanese war at the end of the nineteenth century Szczepanik (1960) suggests that there was an influx of something between 600,000 and 700,000 people, many of whom returned to China after 1940. The 1931 census pronounced a population of 840,000. Further population increases occurred after the communist victory in China so that by 1951 the population of Hong Kong had grown to over 2 million and to approximately 3 million by 1961 (Leung, 1995). Szczepanik (1960) suggests that these migrant populations are one of the key factors explaining Hong Kong's success as new arrivals were prepared to work hard making a living in Hong Kong in order to avoid having to return to China. Hong Kong's economy benefited from the influx of these populations, particularly from the technical

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[1]The lease expired in 1997 and the whole of Hong Kong has been returned to Chinese sovereignty since 1 July 1997.

knowledge, capital, entrepreneurship and often accompanying skilled work forces brought by the refugees arriving from Shanghai. Despite the high rate of immigration, as the source of the influx was almost entirely from China, Hong Kong remained relatively racially homogenous[2].

From the end of the Pacific war in 1941 to August 1945 the Japanese occupied Hong Kong. During this time large proportions of the population fled and the infrastructure and economy declined rapidly (England 1989). Initially the second world war had stimulated economic growth as Hong Kong carried out British war orders, but once the Japanese gained control the benefits of this abruptly ended.

At the end of the war many former residents returned and new ones arrived so that the population quadrupled over the next four decades (Geiger and Geiger 1975). During this period of rapid population growth there was also rapid economic growth. There was, for instance, a huge increase in the numbers of recorded factories (Szczepanik 1960). Accompanying this was an increasingly diverse range of manufacturing lines.

Hong Kong's rapidly expanding population and the United Nations' insistence that the refugees were Hong Kong's problem provided a stimulus for expansion. Agriculture could not expand, owing to Hong Kong's limited size and hilly terrain, so fisheries were hopefully turned to. The consequent expansion and increased efficiency of the fishing industry led to it shortly being held up as an example to other nations of Asia. Other industries were unable to meet domestic demands[3] and Hong Kong had to import to survive. In order to import Hong Kong had to export and this became the stimulus for Hong Kong to turn to export oriented manufacturing and export oriented growth (Szczepanik 1960).

In 1950 the Korean war broke out. In 1951 the United Nations imposed an embargo on trade with China which the Hong Kong colonial government rigidly stuck to. This could have proved disastrous for Hong Kong which gained a large proportion of its revenue from selling goods produced in China to other countries in South and South East Asia. In order to maintain its foreign markets, and the revenue from them, Hong Kong was under pressure to develop its own manufacturing industries so as to continue selling the same types of goods overseas but ones which were now made in Hong Kong rather than in China. The development of manufacturing created many new jobs for the unemployed who had lost jobs as a result of decreased trade with China. By 1960 Hong Kong had

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[2]This does not mean it was linguistically homogenous because of the different Chinese dialects, though most were southern Chinese and therefore Cantonese speakers.

[3]For instance the forestry industry could not keep up with the increasing demands for paper that resulted from cultural processes such as the rise and expansion of newspapers and books (Szczepanik, 1960).

Introduction

attained a state of full employment and the Hong Kong dollar had become one of the strongest and most stable currencies in the world.

Hong Kong is often portrayed as the epitome of Laissez Faire capitalism. However, one must recognise that although the government plays a relatively small role in some respects in others it is very significant and this role has been increasing. How this will change since the return to China will have to be seen. However certainly the threat of 1997 provided a new stimulus for change in Hong Kong and thus a further threat of that phenomena, anathema to the Hong Kong Chinese, instability.

Despite a century of British colonial rule Hong Kong has remained inherently Chinese and Chinese tradition and values dominate. This complex mass of interacting structures, traditions and attitudes are examined in this thesis to gain an idea of the distinctive and yet inherently Chinese culture of Hong Kong and as such provides an excellent ground for an east to west comparison.

The development of Britain

Britain was among the first groups of countries in Northern Europe to industrialise. Gradually, through the development of feudalism, a landed class emerged distinct from those without land who became a class of waged labour. Kemp (1989) described the process of industrialisation as entailing a number of features, or stages, commencing with a gradual move from agrarian production to manufacturing. Production of surplus crops was a necessary prerequisite for a body of labour to develop to be involved in non-subsistence production. Through more productive and effective agricultural techniques a surplus was achieved. Accompanying these processes was a move from rural to urban life as individuals moved into towns to find paid employment. Urban populations demanded services and hence the impetus for a service sector industry. Accompanying all of this was the increasing consumerism of non food products so that manufacturing (initially largely of textiles) became an important and expanding industry.

Profit was ploughed back into organisations in the form of developing and applying technology, facilitating increasing levels of productivity. Although the British industrial model was the most advanced in the nineteenth century it soon became outdated. It operated on a relatively inflexible, individualistic, family oriented model in the sense that production initially took place in the home without the state financial support that emerging giant enterprises in developing countries were offered. Countries industrialising after Britain, such as Germany and the United States, were able to start with the more advanced technology Britain had developed by trial and error and were able to learn from the examples

of the model which had preceded them. Britain's early development and dominant world position was both its advantage and its weakness. The controlled industrialisation, and deliberate planning of industrialisation and capitalism in Hong Kong were not present in British industrialisation.

Hong Kong's industrialisation was heavily influenced by its relationship with the rest of the world at the time. Britain's industrialisation has also been shaped by its relationship to the rest of the world but that relationship was vastly different from that of Hong Kong and the characteristics which emerged were also different. Similar broad features may exist but the manner in which they have been, and are, organised is substantially different. Such different forms of organising now exist that it may no longer be sensible to talk about capitalism but rather we should think and speak in terms of capitalisms.

Why women and why management?

Management is a structure within an organisation. To investigate culture's affect on it is to learn more about the operation of culture as it relates to organisations as well as about management specifically. In the west Equal Opportunities policies are readily evident and we increasingly hear of the progress made towards more equal opportunities for men and women. We hear of increasing numbers of women managers and we hear of Britain's relative achievement in this respect. On this basis we might anticipate that British women would have different attitudes to their careers than Hong Kong women, as there the issue of equal opportunities is only just beginning to gain a voice (Ng 1997). In such a context we might expect that differences in experience would be readily apparent and thus it would be possible to assess the degree to which different elements of that experience could be attributed to culture.

As the thesis progresses it will become clear the perception that Britain is somehow more 'advanced' than Hong Kong in terms of its views of women is a part of the occidental view of the oriental. The west, specifically Britain and the USA, are seen as a long way ahead on a single line of development with the East somehow playing catch-up. The argument put forward in this thesis is that the perception of a single line of development and the perceived location of different countries along that line are the products of culture. Therefore these perceptions are subjective and, whilst they become the reality of those who hold them, cannot be seen in any systematic way as a reflection of a global reality.

Thesis outline

Following this introduction, in chapter 2 the issues raised in existing literature on women managers are explored. Most of the existing literature revolves around a relatively limited range of areas. These broad areas are explored and the gaps and limitations in existing research identified.

Chapter 3 moves on to explore the literature on culture; specifically that on cultural difference between east and west .

Chapter 4 presents details of the methodology used in this research to investigate women's careers in Hong Kong and Britain, identifying both the strengths and the limitations of this and any potential biases.

The findings of the research are presented and discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The qualitative research findings are presented as much as possible in the women's own words in order to present their own portrayals of their realities.

In Chapter 8 the conclusions of the research are presented. The argument presented is that culture is just one of many strands that together form a model that explains women's experiences of management. Failure to consider the other factors in the emergence of experience has resulted in deterministic stances towards culture or industrialism. However, it is argued here that it is the way that culture and process interact that results in the specific combination of circumstances within which experience and choices are embedded.

Chapter 2 Women's Careers in Management

Introduction

The main concern of most studies of women managers has been to compare them both numerically and more qualitatively in terms of experience with their male counterparts. There has been less attempt to examine how universal these experiences are, a topic which could also further our understanding of why women are in the positions they are. If there are variations in experience then universal male dominance and patriarchy cannot provide the entire answer to our questions. Consequently, a comparison between women in different cultures, as well as comparison between men and women, can also assist us in understanding the explanations behind, and the solutions for, women's subordinate positions and the continued lack of women in positions of highest status in society.

We begin this chapter with a discussion and review of the general literature available regarding women's careers and particularly their careers in management. Most of the literature in this area stems from western European and American origins with a tendency to assume that these pictures portray the lives of women in all industrialised societies throughout the world. It may be that these pictures do portray women's careers in many *advanced* industrial societies[4]. However, there is a significant lack of understanding of the applicability of these patterns in the newly industrialising countries. Some studies do specify that they are using Britain, America or Europe as their focus whilst others do not even mention that research on the basis of a few western societies might not apply to the whole industrial world. The western focus of the general discussion in this chapter is evidence of the problems with existing literature. This omission in our knowledge could be for a number of reasons; oversight and ethnocentrism might result in the assumption that western experience is the experience of all industrialised societies world-wide. Alternatively it may suggest that women's careers are not currently an issue in countries outside western European and American societies. The question of the validity of existing research for understanding an eastern society is explored throughout this thesis.

Whatever the cause the literature has a definite western focus. Therefore, in order to understand the specifics of the societies of concern to this thesis, after reviewing the general literature there is an examination of what is known about women managers in the two specific societies. The preceding discussion should make it unsurprising that whilst there is a wealth of literature on women managers

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[4] Such as western Europe or America.

in Britain there is a relative dearth of such literature regarding women managers in Hong Kong.

The literature on women in management focuses on a number of key areas in which differences between men's and women's experiences of management and access to management positions is examined. These areas are; the career path and career path models, financial rewards, women's work and socialisation, work goals and career orientation, women's access to and exclusion from senior management and the impact of gender on management styles. It is under these headings that the general literature is discussed.

Women in Management : a review of the issues

The career path and career path models

The nature of women managers' career paths seem different from those that typify men's careers. This tends to be understood as resulting from the social norms governing women's roles in the family as compared to those of men. Shirley Dex (1987) has shown that women in the UK rarely have professional occupations throughout their working lives. Periods of stagnation, occupational downward mobility and absence from the labour force are characteristic of women's career paths. This is seen as fundamentally tied up with the life cycle of the family and how the events of marriage, childbirth and child care affect the way that women are involved in the labour market. Though the periods women spend out of the labour market are gradually reducing, women do still tend to take some time out around the times of having children (Dex 1984, Martin and Roberts 1984, Joshi and Hinde 1993, McRae 1991). Employment between births is becoming a characteristic of the career path which was not evident in previous generations (Macran, Joshi and Dex 1996). In addition continuous employment amongst mothers is slowly becoming more common though it still does not reflect more than a minority of women's careers (Macran, Joshi and Dex, 1996).

The reduction in the gap between employment around times of childbirth accounts for most of the increase in female labour force participation rates in Britain. Hence there has been a significant increase in the labour force participation rate of mothers since the late 1980s (Hakim 1993, Harrop and Moss 1995). This increase was largely within the realms of part time work though some increase occurred in the proportion of women employed full time (Harrop and Moss, 1995). Amongst the most highly educated women and those who have had children late[5] (i.e. late twenties to early thirties) the reduction in the gap between childbirth and

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[5] These two variables (level of education and age gave birth to first child were shown by Macran, Joshi and Dex to be highly correlated 1996).

Women's Careers in Management

subsequent employment has been greatest (Macran, Joshi, Dex 1996, Harrop and Moss 1995). These women are most likely to be in more senior positions and consequently better able to take advantage of employer provision of child care and be able to afford to pay for child care. Despite these increases most employed mothers remain in part time employment (Harrop and Moss, 1995).

Evidence from the literature presented above demonstrates that the organisation of the family is fundamental to the ways in which women work and the opportunities that women managers have. There is a direct relationship between women's careers and their role in the family in terms of them leaving it to have children and bring them up or altering a job to one which fits in better with the family's various requirements and particularly the women's perceived role in this. Consequently, the organisation of the family and working life are such that women find it extremely difficult to dedicate sufficient time for a continuous professional or managerial career. This pattern of career path is more common in the UK than in many other western societies (Ward and Silverstone 1980). The United Kingdom is unusual in Europe in terms of the relatively high proportions of women who return to the labour market after periods of childbirth and child rearing. Women in the UK are the most likely amongst all women in the western world to return to paid employment after having had children (Ward and Silverstone 1980)

These patterns of working life for women are difficult to understand in terms of dominant notions of careers that are modelled on typical male careers. Many authors who examine women's working lives (e.g. Bastress 1993) have expressed concern at the use of traditional career models (a career defined as consecutive, progressive jobs on a clear upward path) to discuss women's careers. The concern emanates from the fact that when these male career models are applied women invariably appear as inadequate and failures as a result of the periods spent outside of the labour market and the points when occupational downward mobility and lateral job changes occur. Most authors in the area demand a new model of career that can better reflect women's priorities and the context in which choices about working lives and home lives are made (Dex 1987, Gallos 1989, Marshall 1989). The study of whole life work histories has been presented as a better means of understanding the 'careers' of women (Dex 1987, Haveman and Cohen 1994, Spilerman 1977) and this is what is attempted in this research.

Financial rewards

Working women are on average paid significantly less than their male counterparts. In 1991 the EOC found that in Britain women earn on average 3 quarters (77%) of the average male salary (Metcalf 1994). Despite legislation in some countries there is evidence to suggest that men's and women's earnings

differ considerably for similar kinds of work requiring similar levels of skills. This discrepancy exists in management as much as it does elsewhere. In fact there is evidence to suggest that in Britain the pay differentials between men and women in management are even wider than for professional occupations as a whole. Amongst general administrators and managers women earn 42% less than their male counterparts (Bolger 1997). In Hong Kong the position is similar with women on average earning just 70 cents for every dollar that men earn (Ng 1997). Differences in pay might be put down to discrimination when women are not being paid the same as the equivalent male. Alternatively part of the explanation may be that women are not actually undertaking the same work as men. Particular types of work may be seen as less valued and consequently paid less. Generally these areas of work are the ones in which greatest numbers of women can be found (Oakley 1985, Wajcman 1996). Whether these jobs are inherently less valuable and women just happen to choose to do them or whether they are seen as less valuable because they are seen as 'women's work' is also the subject of some debate.

Women's work and Socialisation

The areas in which women tend to be concentrated are also the subject of some interest in the literature. The stereotypes governing what is women's work determines the main areas where women managers are located. Women, for instance, tend to be employed in support functions rather than general management (Wajcman 1990). In addition women can be found in larger numbers in occupations which are seen to have a caring function and as such an extension of their roles in the family, such as the health service, social services, personnel etc. (Oakley 1985, Dex 1987, Shipley 1990, Davidson and Cooper 1993). Very often these functions are also those which are less well paid relating to the above point about women managers' salaries. The question is why women are located in low pay, low status organisations and occupations stereotypically perceived as 'women's work'? Explanations are numerous; socialisation may result in preferences for particular kinds of work. Similarly socialisation may lead to expectations for particular kinds of work on the part of the woman seeking employment but also on the part of those considering employing her (Metcalf and West; 1995). A woman may not be seen as appropriate for particular jobs. Even where discrimination is not overt it may be that potential employers see them as 'not quite fitting in' or 'not committed' because of family responsibilities. Thus stereotypes depict what is 'women's work' and through various pressures this is reflected in the gendered patterns of employment. Consequently the organisation of the labour market is gendered and male dominated.

Numerous factors have been suggested to militate against women embarking on management careers. These forces commence operation in the first years of a child's life and continue throughout it. Socialisation processes transmit stereotyped gender roles which breed the perception that management is a more suitable occupation for males because the nature of the job and the characteristics of the male personality are perceived to be relatively compatible (Basil 1972, Braverman 1975, Schein 1976). These views come to be held by the vast majority of society, male and female (Bernadin 1982).

Individuals are socialised into the societal norms. Members of organisations, including those responsible for recruitment, are also likely to hold the generally accepted attitude that masculine and feminine 'natures' make men and women suitable for different types of jobs. As a result there is a high chance that even once a woman capable of fulfilling the demands of a management job rebels against these stereotypes and decides to pursue such a career she may not have equal chances as a similarly qualified male, to get the job, because of the prejudices of those recruiting.

Socialisation processes are argued to encourage and reinforce particular self concepts and orientations through their portrayal of what is 'right' 'natural' and 'acceptable' (Metcalf 1984). In particular a self perception that is frequently researched is women's lack of self confidence relative to men (Loftus 1980, Horner 1972, Metcalf and West, 1991). Interestingly Alban-Metcalf and West found that women tended to see themselves as more intellectual than men, as less confident than men and as less relaxed than men (1991). There are many such examples which together suggest that men and women, both generally and as managers, tend to have significantly different self concepts (Metcalf and West 1991). As a consequence of facing different societal, colleagual and self expectations, men and women once in management seem to have diverse experiences of it.

Management, except in a few specific, 'feminine' fields, is male dominated usually both numerically and behaviourally (Coe 1992). A woman making it 'to the top' does not escape from male domination. In such positions the lack of females means the vast majority of her colleagues, subordinates and most significantly, bosses will be male (Alban-Metcalf and West 1991:161).

Management is portrayed as an arena in which women have to fight to be 'taken seriously'. Women have to force their way into informal networks and meetings as well as formal meetings if they are to avoid exclusion from the decision making processes (Alban-Metcalf and West 1991, Coe 1992). Two types of situations tend to emerge. On the one hand the woman is a token to show that the

management of a particular organisation does not discriminate on the grounds of sex, or on the other hand gender segregation results in all or most of the women employed working in the same field in close proximity. Consequently, although it is most likely that the female manager will be working with male colleagues it is also more likely that a woman manager be working with other women than it is for a male manager to be working with a woman. This suggests that either women are employed to manage women or that women managers are more likely than men to recruit other women. The effect is that the few women in management positions tend to be concentrated in the same fields. (White, Cox & Cooper 1992, Alban-Metcalf & West 1991).

Various reasons are provided as to why women do not have the same opportunities as men. Commitments to spouse and family may mean that women are unwilling to accept promotion which involves relocation. In the Institute of Management report Coe found that one of the key effects of caring responsibilities that had an adverse affect on the career was the need to work locally. Forty five percent of the women managers in the study identified this as having had an impact on their career (Coe 1992). In addition relocation, necessitated by the male spouse changing jobs has been found to cause a significant disruption to women's careers (Dex 1987). Frequently women may be expected to give up their jobs to move with their relocated spouse. This is often justified by the fact that the man's job brings in a larger proportion of the household income and so is more 'important' than that of the woman. This importance is artificially created by the cyclic argument that the man's job is more the important 'bread-winning wage' and so necessarily is paid more highly than is the female 'less necessary' income. However, the consequence of this, in combination with other factors, is that women are less upwardly mobile than men but change their employers more often than do their male counterparts. (Alban Metcalf and Nicholson 1984.) Also shown to be detrimental to the women managers' careers are the perceptions of promotion panels who may assume that a married woman would not wish to relocate and thus do not offer them such chances (Alban Metcalf and Nicholson 1984.). Although many women may not wish to relocate, others are willing to do so and the perception is not always a reality but rather another mechanism through which women are hindered.

Conflicts between the demands of home and work are frequently expressed by women managers to be one of the major sources of stress and tension. In Alban Metcalf and West's sample, women often mentioned problems stemming from the combination of work and home responsibilities. Of the men in their sample none mentioned any such problems. Sadly, but perhaps unsurprisingly, of Alban-

Metcalf and West's sample most of the problems and dissatisfaction with work that women managers expressed were gender related.

Work goals and career orientations

There is evidence to suggest that different things are important to men and women at work and that they want different things from their work. Herzberg et al (1957) summarised nine different US studies on sex differences in work goals and identified clear sex differences in the goal preferences.

Table 2.1 Herzberg's summary of research on sex difference in work goals

More important for men	_More important for women_
Advancement	Ample leisure time
Earnings	Social aspects of the job/ Co-workers
Freedom/ autonomy	Working conditions and hours
Supervising others	Ease of work
Responsibility	Convenient travel to work
Working on things central to the organisation	Supervision/Clearly defined responsibility
Creativeness	Relationship with superior
	Variety

Source: adapted from Hofstede 1984:184

These goals could be seen as informing the different choices men and women make about work and identifies the determining factors in whether they take an occupation or not. Once in an occupation different elements of a career and work are seen as important to men and women. The research above does have to be seen in terms of its dated nature and the fact that it is based on the United States. Despite this the types of items listed are typical of the differences that are perceived between the orientations to work of men as compared to women. These studies compare differences between men and women but few are available that compare differences between women in different societies. Therefore we are left to assume that women who work throughout the world conform to this picture. Whether or not this is the case should become evident from this research.

One of the few studies that examines work goal differences cross culturally is Hofstede's (1980). Whilst work orientations by gender was not the focus of the research, interesting information can be drawn from it. The information does require cautious examination because of the various methodological problems which are explored in more detail in the next chapter. Suffice it to say at this stage the comparisons were all within the same organisation known for its strong corporate culture and this may have implications for the types of orientations that

emerged. In addition the work goal comparison data were heavily dominated by European countries.

Hofstede compared men and women in the same occupation in different countries. He also found that there were significant sex differences in what was important at work for men and women. As can be seen from Table 2.2 below these findings correspond quite closely to those presented above from Herzberg's work (Table 2.1).

Table 2.2 Hofstede's cross country analysis of sex differences in work goals

More important for men	*More important for women*
Advancement	Friendly atmosphere
Earnings	Position security
Training	Physical conditions
Up-to-dateness	Manager
	Co-operation

Source: Hofstede 1984:186

Hofstede found no significant sex differences in terms of job content goals such as challenge and use of skills, and none for private life goals such as personal time and desirable areas. However, the correlation between gender and goals was not straight forward as additional influence was education level. In 'higher educated occupations' Hofstede found the women relatively more job content oriented than men whilst the opposite was the case for lower educated occupations. For our purposes then Hofstede's work would lead us to expect women managers to be more job oriented than their male colleagues regardless of where in the world that was. Hofstede also suggested that women executives rated self actualisation goals more highly than men and social goals less highly than men. He argues that this suggests that ...

> "the selection mechanism is for those women to be promoted who are more masculine in their goals than the average male executive; those who beat the men at their own game."

(Hofstede 1984: 186)

This is very typical of many of the current views expressed in the literature; that to be successful in organisations women have to become like men, perhaps even better versions of them.

In summary of the research findings women are suggested to be oriented to the softer aspects of the work environment and much more concerned about how that role fits in to other aspects of their lives. Men on the other hand are implied to be oriented to the harder aspects of employment, the rewards, responsibility and

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recognition that it brings. The information that we currently have on these issues is based very largely on western experience. Once again the emphasis of existing research seems to be on the differences between men and women rather than whether the resulting portrayals of women (and men) are applicable throughout the industrialised world.

Women's access to, and exclusion from, senior management

Throughout the industrial world women are now moving into managerial positions in increasing numbers. However, vertical segregation has meant they still tend to be in junior or middle management but rarely reach the higher echelons of management and director levels. Women can obtain a certain level in organisations but suddenly seem to reach a point where further progression is extremely difficult. This phenomenon has become known as the 'glass ceiling' where an invisible but, none the less, solid barrier inhibits access to senior management positions (Wajcman 1996). As a consequence of the barrier there are few women in the most senior management positions and at director or executive level.

Gender and management style

Another issue concerns styles of management and whether or not men and women manage differently, lead differently and bring different skills and qualities to the work place (Bass and Avolio 1994). This issue brings us to the central feminist debate as to whether women are different but with equal value and so have gender based skills or, on the other hand, whether women are basically the same with the same kinds of personalities and abilities as men. Clearly either side of this debate has implications for the way that women will be viewed as managers or leaders. Perception of ability by those around the individuals also appears to be gender based. Women are less likely to be perceived as successful than men and less likely to be perceived as good leaders, though they are more likely to be seen as possessing good interpersonal skills (Ng 1993, 1995. Hardesty and Betz 1980, Yost and Herbert 1985). However, other literature argues that despite differences there are actually more similarities between men and women and that there is a greater variation between different women (and between different men) than there is between men and women (Barrett 1987) In view of this it is important not to overlook the fact that women's experiences are not homogenous simply by virtue of their being women.

Women's employment in Britain

British women's experience of work is not a homogenous one. There is great diversity of experience but within that diversity it can be seen that women's lives are affected by a number of factors. One substantial factor is their role in the family. In terms of work, women with different family circumstances tend to have different work experiences. Although motherhood rarely means permanently moving out of the labour market (Sharpe 1984) it does tend to result in a working life characterised by periods of less or no involvement in the labour market, changing career paths and downward mobility (Dex 1987).

The mother's career is therefore tied up with her children's development. Franzetti (1991) suggests that the child's age can have a significant impact on the mother's labour force participation rate. Thirty seven percent of mothers with children under the age of 5 participate in the labour market as compared to 63% of mothers whose children are between the age of 5 and 9 (Newell 1993).

Clearly cultural perceptions of appropriate child rearing combined with accompanying motivations provided by employment practices and legislation reinforce these patterns. These cultural perceptions have been documented in many studies of women's employment choices.

> *"..women who gave up work at childbirth did not see their actions as constituting decisions at all. They simply took it for granted that this was the normal and acceptable thing to do."*

(Brannen 1987:169)

Changes in patterns reflect and reinforce changes in other areas and vice versa. The relationship between cultural perception on the one hand and employment practices and legislation on the other is not a deterministic one. Rather I would suggest that both influence each other with neither being the prime determinant. Having said that, it is unlikely that there will be incompatibility or incongruence between cultural perception, employment practices and legislation, because without a relatively stable equilibrium between them, change will occur. All will tend to reflect similar attitudes and values and thus cultural attitudes, employment practices and legislation all reinforce and maintain each other and adapt in conjunction with each other. In order to examine this further let us look to the example of maternity rights and the organisation of child care in Britain.

Maternity rights and the organisation of child care

The existence and extent of maternity legislation will inevitably affect what choices are economically possible at the time of childbirth and during subsequent years of child rearing. In Britain legislation stipulated that as long as a woman has worked for the same employer for a minimum period of 2 years up to the date of expected confinement, and has complied with the requirements in terms of giving notice, she is entitled to take maternity leave. In addition she is entitled to return to work at any time within a maximum of 29 weeks on terms at least as favourable as if she had never been absent (Shrubsall 1994).

In Britain child care is predominantly the mother's responsibility. (Newell 1993, Warde and Hetherington 1993). From the birth of the child the differences between paternity and maternity rights in Britain combined with the fact that the majority of men see no need for equivalent length of paternity leave (Warde and Hetherington 1993) mean that the main burden of child care falls to women. In Britain there is little state funded child care for children under three nor is there extensive after school care for children of school age (Cohen 1988). Mothers have to set up the preconditions for their involvement in the labour market (Warde and Hetherington 1993) and this is deemed almost solely their responsibility (Dex 1987). Joshi (1987) found that women spend up to 30% of their pay on child care. Women in Britain may now be beginning to use a combination of child care facilities. Ward, Dale and Joshi (1994) studying data from the National Child Development Study found that women tended to use some formal paid child care but supplemented this with unpaid care provided by family and friends. Men and women appear to make clear assumptions as to whose responsibility the financial aspects of child-rearing.

> "Half of my money gets paid out on child care and the cleaner. [Interviewer: Why?] I think it's to do with the fact that I work that their cost is down to me. Because we've got a joint account, in theory it doesn't matter. But I class it as coming out of my money. [Interviewer: What about your husband?] Yes I suppose he does. Because he talks about ' As long as we're not spending more than half your salary it's probably worth it'."

(Brannen 1987:75)

Dex (1987) has shown that downward mobility is a frequent experience for women as a result of career breaks for child rearing purposes. However, for all employed women even the perception that they might leave to have children or

that their caring for children will mean they are not committed to work impacts negatively on their opportunities for career progress (Newell 1993).

> *"Men want, and indeed expect, their wives/partners to carry the domestic burden. Yet when it comes to work, the fact that their female colleague is leaving work at five p.m. to pick up children is her choice and because she is letting her domestic life affect her work it is her fault that she is hitting the glass ceiling (Kelly 1991). She is simply seen as not being prepared to make sacrifices for her career."*

(Newell 1993: 287)

Women in management in Britain

This introduction to the situation of women managers in Britain is an attempt to produce a profile of the women concerned and the problems, dissatisfactions, joys and stresses that they tend to face. The following statistics provide a national profile of the situation of women managers in Britain that can be compared with the following section of similarly constructed information concerning women in Hong Kong.

Statistical background

In May 1994 an Institute of Management press release stated that the small proportion of women in section leader or director posts was actually decreasing. In 1993 10.2% of such positions were occupied by women as compared to 9.8% in 1994. (For both years the proportion of directors who were women was a minuscule 2.8% (Marshall 1995). Figures of women in management generally show signs of increasing. However, those women that do make it into management tend to be concentrated in the lower levels of management whilst the proportion in senior management remain negligible around 1 to 2% (Hirsh and Jackson 1990, Alimo-Metcalf and Wedderburn-Tate 1993). In 1996 women made up 33% of administrative and managerial positions in Britain and of these the majority were in less well paid and more junior posts. (Labour Force Survey 1996)

Age

The female manager tends to be significantly younger than her male counterpart (Coe 1992, Alban Metcalf 1991). Alban-Metcalf and West (1991) found that the average age of the women managers in their sample was 37 as compared to the average age of males being 48 years. Earlier studies such as that by Davidson and Cooper (1984) had found that women managers tended to be slightly older than their male counterparts suggesting both that change is occurring but also that

samples of women managers used for many of the British study are not entirely representative of women managers as a whole.

Education

Women managers are generally more highly educated than men at similar levels. Metcalf and West found the difference in educational level attained by men and women was especially noticeable in the private sector where 61% of the female managers had first degrees as compared to 44% of the male managers (1991). In a survey of Managers in the Institute of Management (then British Institute of Management) 44% of the women managers had post graduate or equivalent qualifications as compared to 28% of men. (Coe 1992). Rather than progressing, the majority of women managers remain at relatively low levels of management or drop out. Only a tiny minority, a token few, ever make it to the upper echelons of senior management (Marshall 1995).

The highly qualified nature of the women manager is also interesting as it militates against an argument that a central reason for women's under representation in the ranks of senior management is that they are inadequately qualified.

Marital status

The female manager is more likely to be single or divorced than her male counterpart. In Alban-Metcalf and West's sample 29% of women were single and a further 10% were divorced, corresponding figures for the male sample was 3% for each category. Managers in the Institute of Management survey were slightly more senior than the management population in Britain generally. In their sample 68% of the women were married as compared to 92% of the men. 12% of the women in the sample were divorced as compared to 5%. (Coe 1992) This suggests that married life and high status management occupations may not be compatible for women though the same does not seem to be the case for men. In fact it appears that marriage is of benefit and support to the male manager. In Alban - Metcalf and West's sample only 25% of the male managers had partners who worked full time. For the majority of men their partner was available to take on the burdens and responsibilities of the house and family as compared to the female managers, 90% of whose partners worked full time. The same level and kind of support that is available to the male manager from his partner is clearly not as readily available to the female manager.

Children and child-rearing

Associated with gender differences in marital status men and women managers tend to have different size families. Fifty percent of the women in Alban-Metcalf's and West's sample were childless for one reason or another, as compared to only 10% of men (1991). Part of the difference might be due to the comparatively younger age of the women in the sample. However, it is unlikely that this accounts for the entire difference.

Women's employment in Hong Kong

There is less information available about women managers in eastern societies. This section collates the limited information that is available about women in Hong Kong to present, by necessity, a rather sketchy picture of the lives, characteristics and experiences of women managers there. Traditionally throughout their lives women's identity in Hong Kong, and amongst the Chinese generally, has been understood through some form of family context and as such women always appear as subordinate to, and therefore dependent on, the men in that family. Initially this is the father, then on marriage her husband and eventually the eldest son (Lee 1991). Women working outside the family for a salary threaten this arrangement, therefore hostility to it might be expected. Perhaps this explains in part why women make up just 37% of Hong Kong's work force (De Leon and Ho, 1994). Lee (1991) suggests that this dependence on men throughout life portrays women to be the weaker sex. Weakness, lack of ability and vulnerability are traditional feminine virtues. In contrast to this, a working, financially independent woman is not seen as traditionally feminine. Financial independence and traditional femininity are not compatible. Traditional perceptions of femininity pervade working life and gender segregation within it.

> *"Women in general have been paid much less than men and have not been expected to become long term employees or develop complex skills. The generally subservient status of women in these societies and the common expectation that they will leave employment upon marriage have enabled employers to develop different policies for male skilled workers and short term female workers. They are therefore able to use women for low-paid, low-skilled tasks without committing firms to long-term employment and so have increased their flexibility."*

(Whitley 1992: 223)

In such a context, high levels of education and high status jobs are not appropriate or necessary to enable women to perform their social roles. However, femininity

and ability may not be incompatible. In Hong Kong, in a Chinese culture where education is valued and where women do go into education, it is interesting how these two apparently incompatible cultural attitudes are brought together. Women do go into education and they do attain higher level qualifications (see table 2.3 below). Women currently account for 48% of those obtaining degrees (Hong Kong Census of Population 1991). In addition, unlike in many other societies such as Singapore, where women tend to marry men of higher educational status than themselves, (Pearson 1990) recent studies show women in Hong Kong tend to marry men of educational status equal to their own (de Leon and Ho 1994, Pearson 1990).

Table 2.3 Population of Hong Kong aged 15 and over by Educational Attainment and Gender, 1976-1991

Educational Attainment	Sex	% 1976	% 1981	% 1986	% 1991
No schooling/	Male	4.7	4.2	3.6	3.6
Kindergarten	Female	15.5	12.2	10.5	9.1
Primary	Male	22.0	19.1	15.9	13.1
	Female	17.7	15.0	13.4	12.0
Lower secondary	Male	9.5	11.2	11.2	11.6
	Female	6.1	7.0	7.0	7.6
Upper secondary	Male	10.1	11.6	12.6	13.2
	Female	7.5	9.6	12.0	13.6
Matriculation	Male	1.3	2.1	2.5	2.5
	Female	0.8	1.5	2.2	2.4
Tertiary					
Non-degree courses	Male	1.0	1.9	2.5	2.9
	Female	0.6	1.4	2.2	2.5
Degree courses	Male	2.3	2.1	2.9	3.7
	Female	0.9	1.0	1.5	2.2
Total	Male	50.9	52.3	51.2	50.6
	Female	49.1	47.7	48.8	49.4
		100%	100%	100%	100%

Source : adapted from Westwood, Mehrain and Chueng 1995:26

Although women have been discussed in the context of their familial relationships there is evidence to suggest that women consistently occupy roles beyond the confines of the familial identity. Ng (1991) interviewed 22 Hong Kong women over the age of 50 who had therefore been through the post-war industrialisation period and so might be most aware of changes in women's position in society. Ng found that social class was a fundamental explanation for the employment experience women had. All of the women she spoke to had some employment experience. Two of them had given up paid employment after childbirth but both of them were from better off backgrounds. 14 of the 22 had never interrupted their full time employment. The two who had given up paid employment had experienced substantial pressure from their husbands or parents in law to do so. Consequently, Ng concluded that, although in Chinese society to be a full time

housewife might be the ideal role for women, in fact the reality was rather different.[6] Another important feature identified in Ng's study was that the official statistics could portray an extremely misleading picture. Much of the paid employment of the 22 women studied took the form of informal work which would not appear in official statistics. For women managers this is less likely to be the case, though as a manager within one's own family business some women's employment may not be visible. Later in subsequent sections when we look at the official statistics' portrayal of women we must bear this factor in mind.

As in Britain, some women in Hong Kong clearly do leave the labour market on marriage and for child birth. 1991 statistics suggest that women's labour force participation rate (LFPR) in Hong Kong is greatest between the ages of 20 to 29. After this point the LFPR suddenly drops dramatically.

Table 2.4 Hong Kong Labour Force Participation rates by age and sex

Age	Male	Female
15-19	35.2%	28.6%
20-24	84.8%	82.9%
25-29	96.0%	77.4%
30-34	96.9%	59.5%
35-39	97.0%	56.1%
40-44	96.8%	58.1%
45-49	96.8%	58.1%
45-49	95.2%	55.5%
50-54	90.7%	43.0%
54-59	78.3%	29.3%
60-64	56.3%	19.2%
65 & over	22.6%	7.5%
Overall	78.7%	49.5%

Hong Kong 1991 Population Census. Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department: 106-107

Table 2.5 Hong Kong Labour Force Participation Rates over the last decade by Sex

	1985	1988	1990	1992	1994
Male	80.4%	80.1%	79.1%	78.0%	77.6%
Female	48.5%	48.4%	46.8%	46.2%	47.1%

Source: Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics . Hong Kong Census and statistics department. 1995 edition, p13[7]

Intragenerational longitudinal data on labour force participation is not readily available for Hong Kong. The difficulty with drawing conclusions from the

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[6] Today in Hong Kong the cost of living is extremely high and this combined with the uncertain future may explain part of the motivation towards dual career families. Together these factors may serve to make the role of full time housewife and mother an untenable one except for those right at the very top.

[7] It is interesting that the statistics from the two tables seem somewhat contradictory in that 1991 presents female participation rate of 49.5% which would be a large leap from the 1990 and 1992 figures. This demonstrates some of the difficulty in obtaining coherent information in Hong Kong. Part of the discrepancy may be due to adjustments.

Women's Careers in Management

statistics presented in tables 2.4 and 2.5 above rather than longitudinal data is that the different age groups represent different generations and may not actually be experiencing the same thing. Change has been so rapid that each generation may have relatively little in common with the next. Consequently, although the 30 - 39 age group participated less we cannot be sure that those now aged 20 will react in the same way between the ages of 30 and 39 as the previous generation did. Other information that can be drawn from the census is that family reasons are the main cause of women leaving the labour market. People of 20-39 are most likely to be in employment whether male or female. Those from the 20-29 age group are also most likely to be unemployed and women have been shown to suffer at this stage from unemployment more than their male counterparts. (Wong 1991)

There is a clear relationship between female labour force participation and being married. Ninety percent of women in the age group 20 -38 who have never been married are in paid employment as compared to 50% of women in the same age group who have been, or are, married (Wong 1991). Evidently marital status partly explains women's LFPR. As the primary reason for women leaving the labour force is for family reasons including child birth and rearing then both clearly have a dramatic impact. For this reason it is interesting to explore the legislation available around the area of childbirth.

Legislation; maternity rights and sex discrimination

In 1970 the Hong Kong government legislated for a period of unpaid maternity leave. In 1981 new legislation meant that it was possible to get paid maternity leave in some circumstances but this was not common (England and Rear 1981).

Maternity law in Hong Kong now states that women with a minimum of 26 weeks of continuous contract are entitled to maternity leave of :

i) 4 weeks prior to expected birth date.

ii) and any further period between expected and actual date of birth.

iii) Women are also entitled to 6 weeks maternity leave following the birth.

iv) In addition there is the possibility of a maximum further 4 weeks on the grounds of illness or disability arising from the pregnancy or birth.

None of this maternity leave includes pay unless this is stipulated in the contract of employment or if the woman meets a number of other conditions. These other conditions are that she must have:

i) a minimum of 40 weeks continuous service immediately prior to the intended period.

ii) She must have given notice of her intention to take maternity leave and if the employer demands it she must produce a medical certificate which indicates when the baby is due.

iii) Finally at the time of giving notice the woman must have no more than 2 surviving children.

Having satisfied all of these conditions the woman is entitled to pay (at a rate of two thirds of the monthly salary excluding overtime) during the 4 weeks prior to delivery or up to the delivery date if that is longer than expected. She is also entitled to the same rate of pay for 6 weeks immediately after delivery.

The Employment Ordinance also protects the individual from dismissal as soon as she has given notice of the pregnancy. However, until 1987, legislation stipulated that notice could only be given in the last 12 weeks of the pregnancy. This resulted in a situation where employers could dismiss the woman just before those 12 weeks commenced. Williams (1990) suggests that there was evidence that this practice did occur until it was prevented when the 1987 legislation allowed the women to give notice at any point during the pregnancy.

In Britain, as discussed earlier in this chapter, maternity leave is longer and allows relatively more flexibility and rights for the woman concerned (McRae and Daniel 1991). In Hong Kong there is greater incentive to return within six weeks to the same post and the same official hours as prior to the birth. This may be a decision made in part as one of the only effective means of ensuring a continued job at the level obtained, and continued career progression and may be reflective of the long term perspective persistent in Chinese culture

Evidence demonstrates that there is significant discrimination against women at the recruitment stage and in terms of pay and fringe benefits once in employment. In 1985 women earn on average two thirds of men's salaries (de Leon and Ho 1994). Other estimates place women's pay in Hong Kong at about 70% of that of men (Ng 1997). Until recently there was no legislation making gender discrimination illegal. However, the Sex Discrimination Ordinance was enacted in July 1995 making discrimination in employment, education and the provision of goods and services on the grounds of sex, marital status and pregnancy unlawful.

Hong Kong's economic development has been extremely rapid and consequent changes in occupational structures have also been rapid when compared to the two centuries over which such changes took place in Britain. Concomitant with

structural changes have been changes in social and traditional values (Wong 1991). One purpose of this thesis it is to investigate the extent of these shifts in values and how deep rooted the old traditional values are. Have they given way to new values entirely or are there just degrees of superficial shift with the fundamental values still remaining? Part of this comes down to the influence of economic development on values and perhaps also the inverse of this, the influence of those traditional values on economic development. This relationship is one to which we return during the course of this thesis.

Women in management in Hong Kong

As we have seen previously women's perceived primary role in Hong Kong Chinese society is their location at the centre of the family. Perhaps the fact that less than 1% of senior managers in South east Asia are women is, in part, testament to this (Singson 1985). As a result of traditional widespread stereotypes of women as the 'fairer sex' who lack the traits necessary for management and leadership such as aggression, confidence and assertiveness, women are popularly believed to be unsuitable for professional and managerial careers (Young 1991). Despite persisting gender stereotypes the proportion of the managerial population that is female is increasing. In 1976, 9% of the total managerial population was female representing just 0.6% of the total population of working women. In 1986 this had risen to 17% of the managerial population representing 1.6% of all working women (Young and So 1991). By the time of the most recent Census in 1991 women made up 20.2% of all managers and administrators (Hong Kong Census of Population 1991).

For the remainder of this section we examine the characteristics of the small proportion of women in Hong Kong who do become managers. We investigate the available statistics informing us who these women are. For ease of comparison the information is organised under similar headings to those used to explore the position in Britain

Marital status

Marriage is a significant factor that has been shown to have an important impact on women's labour force participation rate in general. Married women are less likely to be in paid employment than single women and also are less likely to achieve management positions. Twenty eight percent of women managers in Hong Kong have never been married as compared to only 13% of their male counterparts (De Leon and Ho 1994).

Age

The 1989 General Household Survey indicates that women managers in Hong Kong are on average younger than their male counterparts 47% female managers are aged between 20 and 34 years old as compared to only 27% of male managers. This could be attributed to a number of causes. Firstly, that women get to management quickly. Secondly, that women's entrance to management in significant numbers has been relatively recent and therefore there are few older women managers. Another explanation is provided by Wong's (1991) observation that after the age of 30 women tend to leave the labour force in fairly large numbers. The reality may be a combination of all of these.

Discrimination, prejudice and stereotypes

Discrimination at recruitment stage is consistently identified. De Leon and Ho suggest that recruitment discrimination is 4:1 in favour of men (1994). Part of this can be explained by the perception of female traits as unsuitable for leadership (De Leon and Ho 1994) but additionally they may be viewed as less competitive and less of an investment (Whitley 1992). The Women and Young Persons (Industry) Act, amended in 1988, prevents women from working more than 10 hours per day or more than 96 hours in a fortnight and prevents them from working after 11 p.m. Additionally the Act places restrictions on the number of overtime hours that can be worked each year. There are no similar restrictions for men (De Leon and Ho 1994). Part of this act may reflect the perception of women as vulnerable, lacking independence and less able to manage the stresses of tough working conditions and less able to protect themselves (Ng 1997). This fits in neatly with the traditional view of feminine virtues, as dependent, vulnerable and weak.

Education

University education seems to be critical for the progression of women in managerial careers (Keown et al 1986). Although there are slightly more males than females currently entering degree programmes women are increasingly entering fields of study that are relevant to future managerial careers. Women made up 5% of those studying business administration at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1979. By 1989 they made up almost 11% of the students. (Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1991).

Women managers' educational profile is similar to that of male managers. Approximately 45% have completed secondary education and about 20% hold a university degree. (Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1991)

Summary: Women managers in Hong Kong and Britain

The following table brings together the statistical information detailed above to provide a profile of the patterns of women's employment generally, and their involvement in management specifically, in Hong Kong as compared to Britain. Of course it is important to bear in mind that the exact definitions used may vary from survey to survey and between Hong Kong and Britain. Consequently, these statistics should be viewed as a guide to the situation rather than a precise detailing of it.

Table 2.6 Women in Management in Britain and Hong Kong

	Britain	Hong Kong
Participation in Employment		
Labour Force Participation Rates (LFPR)	Women make up 43.8% of the Labour Force (1) Male LFPR = 72.3% (a) female LFPR = 53.8 (a)	Women make up 36.9% of the Labour Force Male LFPR = 78.7% Female LFPR = 49.5%
Participation In Management	Women make up 33% of all Managers and Administrators(b)	1991 Women made up 20.2% of all Managers and Administrators
Personal Characteristics		
Age	Women managers on average younger than male managers	Women managers on average younger than male managers
Educational Background	Women Managers on average more highly qualified than male managers	Women managers have a similar educational profile to male managers
Marital Status	Female managers more likely to be divorced than males and less likely to be married than male managers	Female managers more likely to be unmarried and to have never been married than male managers
Children	Female managers have on average smaller families than male managers and are more likely to be childless	Female managers have on average smaller families than male managers and are more likely to be childless

1. The table summarises the information in the preceding chapter. Any additional data are referenced by letter symbols
(a) Labour Force Survey. (1996) Historical supplement
(b) Labour Force Survey . Spring 1996

Explanations for the patterns of women's employment

In a recent study of 41 countries it was found that although there were differing degrees of women's subordination to men there was no country that treated its women as well as, or valued its women as highly as, or more than, its men. (Davidson and Burke 1994) The persistence of women's subordination seems to be a universal feature of social life. This raises the question of the extent of patriarchy's influence. Different cultures have found their own ways of organising

around different societal problems. Yet despite this, a number of patterns appear revolving around the universal fact of male and female difference.

In the remainder of this chapter we examine the feminist explanations of these patterns of female subordination and subsequently their under representation in senior management. It is not my intention to provide an all encompassing detailed discussion of feminism. That there are differences within groups of feminists is clear. Rather what is intended here is to identify some of the distinguishing features of different feminist schools and the general principles which underlie the arguments propounded. A general outline of patriarchy is provided before moving on to an examination of Radical Feminism, Marxist and Socialist Feminism and Liberal Feminism in terms of how they explain women's subordination and what they see as the cause of the patterns outlined above. We examine the solutions offered by feminism as to how equality might be obtained, whether that is equality in the family, at work (through equal representation of men and women in management and senior management, for example) or equality in any other area of social life.

Patriarchy has a number of definitions which vary from author to author depending on their theoretical stand point. Without going into detailed discussion of patriarchy, basically it is a concept which has been used to try and understand and explain the totality of women's oppression (Goodwin 1993). Patriarchy is a characteristic of most societies of the world.

> "...most scholars would agree that in the statistical sense, patriarchy or male dominance of some sort characterises the bulk of human societies today."

(Miller 1993: 9)

One of the effects of patriarchy in industrial nations is that particular roles and tasks are deemed to be the responsibility of women whilst others are deemed the responsibility of men (Miller 1993). The degree to which these roles are distinct from each other and what these roles entail varies from one culture and society to another. For our purposes the tasks which are seen as belonging to women are of central importance because this may create conflict for working women if one role is not compatible with other roles they play.

As we have seen earlier in the chapter, one of the most significant factors, in terms of effects on career paths, is the presence of children and the subsequent requirement for child care. Another significant role, usually defined as the female domain, which affects participation in paid employment, is the responsibility for the home and the household in terms of keeping it clean, providing food and

caring for household members. In most countries of the world, certainly industrial ones, these responsibilities are seen in varying degrees as women's work. (e.g. Miller 1993, Newell 1993) What varies from country to country is the way that these tasks are managed.

The different explanations of how female subordination emerged are inevitably linked with the different suggested routes to gender equality. Radical Feminism suggests that patriarchy is the over-arching concept that structures women's oppression (Walby 1990). The central argument propounded by Radical Feminism is that patriarchy is not the product of anything else but is simply the domination of women by men through violence, and through the social structures that men have created to serve their own interests. It is in male interest that women should be subordinated to serve men's interests. As men's domination of women is the fundamental cause of women's oppression, the way to overcome this is for women to become independent from men. In the extreme this means to live separate lives away from men and away from the structures that men have created. Science and social science also are created by men and therefore reflect sexism, masculinity and male agendas. Consequently, Radical Feminism demands a social scientific methodology that tries to understand women's lives in their own words rather than through masculine methods such as the more quantitative methods of social enquiry.

Marxist and Socialist Feminism, whilst containing differences, are similar to each other in the sense that they see patriarchy as a by product of capitalism and the nature through which the means of production are organised. According to these arguments social class is, therefore, a fundamental feature of the system of gender inequality. Women's subordination came about with the separation of public and private spheres (Engels 1962). The means of production are organised such that in order to exploit men fully as workers the capitalist system requires a gendered division of labour through which women in the home can service men to cope with the exploitative conditions of employment. Thus women's subordination in the home can be see as a morale boost for the men they service.

According to Marxist Feminism, gender equality could be regained through the abolition of private ownership. A criticism of Marxist Feminism is that it is too simplistic a view that the emergence of capitalism and female subordination to men occurred simultaneously and therefore that one could be deemed the product of the other. Gender inequalities existed prior to the development of capitalism and this is a fundamental flaw in this argument.

Liberal Feminism does not attribute female subordination and their exploitation to any single over-arching factor. Rather a series of circumstances act against

women's interests to structure the opportunities open to them. For instance discriminatory practices by employers in the work force combine to segregate women both horizontally in terms of the types of occupations they enter and vertically in terms of their over representation in the lower levels of organisations and their severe under-representation in the more senior levels of organisations. Society is organised in such a way that women are channelled into particular economic circumstances through their own educational choices and those suggested to them by others of influence around them.

Equal rights and equal opportunities provided through legislation and social change are seen by liberal feminists as means of reducing inequality. By gradually changing attitudes and eliminating discriminatory attitudes and practices, gender equality could be obtained. However, Liberal Feminism cannot explain the deep rooted nature of women's position in society. Whilst identifying that discrimination does exist Liberal Feminism makes little attempt to explain why, and how, those particular attitudes depicting femininity and masculinity emerge.

Limitations of Feminism

Feminists seem to be attempting to explain a particular set of conditions as if they were universal. The explanations provided by the feminist schools of thought outlined above are generally based on the experience of western, white women. Western feminisms are put forward in attempt to explain the experience of women throughout the world based on cultural assumptions that a woman's primary role is to be a wife and mother and that women are primarily responsible for the domestic sphere. More recently work has been done on black women but even this tends to be in the context of British or American society.

> "The neglect of ethnic difference and inequality in many white feminist and non-feminist writings has come under intense scrutiny and critique...Firstly the labour market experience of women of colour is different from that of white women because of racist structures which disadvantage such women in paid work"

(Walby 1990:13-14)

This quote illustrates Walby's recognition of ethnic difference and the effect it might have on women's experience of the labour market. She argues that we should not generalise from white women's experience to all women's experience but nor should we generalise from British experience to world experience. Despite her statement Walby is focusing on the issue from the perspective of a society where the majority is white. She is not discussing an African society or an Asian society or a Chinese society (where those ethnic groups are the majority of the

population) and women's experiences of subordination within them. Despite the insights that can be gleaned ethnocentrism seems to epitomise much feminist research, which concentrates on looking at western and white women in western societies or at how women in different ethnic groups experience work, usually within British, European or American labour markets. Increasingly attempts towards an international perspective are made but they tend to retain a western focus by concentrating largely on the exploitation of women's cheap labour in the third world by the west rather than looking at women's situation in these countries per se.

Although many of the authors mentioned above may be specifically referring to the experience of the UK, or Europe, or the USA, they rarely state explicitly that they are not attempting to explain women's experience elsewhere in the world. As a result an assumption emerges that by looking at women in one society we can automatically learn about all women's experience. Whether what is experienced and what is written about that experience applies to women outside that context is not questioned. The very concepts used within much traditional feminism, some Marxist or black feminists have argued, suffer from essentialism because of the underlying assumption that concepts such as 'patriarchy' have some coherence and are stable over time and amongst cultures (Segal 1987). Some post-modernists argue that even the concept 'woman' suffers from the same problem and in reality there is no unity in the concept over time and culture (Alcoff 1988, Barret 1980, 1987, Fraser and Nicolson 1988, Eisenstein and Jardine 1980).

Walby does point out that gender inequality is not unitary across regions and time. However, much of the discussion of international dimensions that feminist theories do provide seems to be used only to add to our understanding of women's exploitation in Britain and the west. If we are to understand women's experiences as a whole, we need to gain an understanding of women's experiences throughout the world rather than attempt to explain women's experience in general on the basis of studies of one country or region.

Much existing feminist literature is, to some degree, based on the assumption that all women are exploited and that in later stages of social development they will become aware of their exploitation and, within marxist and socialist feminism, through that awareness unite and work together to overcome it. All feminisms, however, view inequality between men and women as a 'problem'. Again these are based on western perceptions of a 'problem'. Female subordination may not be viewed universally as a 'problem'. Even across all the locations where female subordination is perceived to be a problem it is unlikely that the most desirable solution will remain constant or that there will be agreement as to what constitutes

the most desirable solution. The aim of this thesis is to attempt in a small way to see if these feminist understandings of female subordination really are relevant outside of the western context in which they originated.

Chapter 3 The Influence of Culture

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the current thinking in terms of the dimensions along which cultural difference can be examined. In this section we review the work of key authors in the field and compile a profile of the various dimensions that emerge. Having established the means of classifying and understanding cultural difference we then move on to relate these dimensions to the specific cultural contexts of Hong Kong and Britain. Cultures cannot be fully understood outside of the institutional context in which they exist. Culture manifests itself in the institutions of a society and in the manner in which individuals interact with, and within, those institutions. Consequently, in order to understand the cultures of Hong Kong and Britain, we also examine the nature of the societies in which those cultures are located. In the final part of this chapter the various debates on the significance of culture for societies and the organisations within them are explored. We discuss the extent to which culture informs the nature of organisations and the nature of management practices within them.

The dimensions of culture

Ever since interest in culture has been expressed, researchers have established different elements of cultures, different clusters of attitudes or different dimensions. Here we briefly explore the key dimensions that have been proposed in existing research. Parsons and Shils (1951) provided one of the earlier studies of culture through an examination of attitudinal and normative changes during the transition from pre-industrial to industrial society. The dimensions introduced were i) universalism versus particularism ii) affective versus neutral iii) achieved versus ascribed iv) self orientation versus collectivity orientation and v) specificity versus diffuseness. Inkeles and Levinson (1969) examined the literature available in the 1960s and derived 3 dimensions: i) relations to authority ii) self conceptions and as a part of this, conceptions of gender identity and iii)ways of dealing with primary dilemmas and conflict. Of course this work is now extremely dated but they are important origins and interestingly remain readily evident in the work of more recent authors (e.g. Hofstede 1980, Trompenaars 1993). This implies that whilst gradually circumstances and cultures change, the dimensions along which differences and similarities can be compared remain remarkably similar over time thus testifying to the persistence of culture and also to the accuracy of the classifications. What perhaps we understand less is

how these dimensions interact in different societies to produce the particular sets of circumstances that can be found there.

One of the most influential, slightly more recent pieces of work, in the field of cultural dimensions is the work of Hofstede[8]. Whilst not without its limitations, Hofstede's work provides an extensive foundation of data regarding cultural difference and as a result has formed the basis of much of the work produced since.

Hofstede defines culture as "The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (1984: 21). Through a study of one American multi-national company in 54 countries world wide Hofstede was able to compile a database of approximately 117,000 questionnaire responses (1984: 39). Systematic comparative data was initially collected in 40 countries. Cross country comparisons were made between data obtained from the service and marketing functions, as these were the functions occurring in most countries of IBM's operation and hence were considered directly comparable. Using factor analysis Hofstede analysed the data and concluded that cross cultural differences could be categorised along four dimensions[9]. These he called; 'Power Distance Index' (PDI), 'Uncertainty Avoidance Index' (UAI), 'Individualism Index' (IND) and 'Masculinity Index' (MAS).

Power distance

The Power Distance Index was derived from the scores from three questions in the HERMES survey[10]. Power Distance refers to the degree of inequality between individuals that is accepted and expected as the norm for the society. Levels of Power Distance are reflected in organisations through the degree of interpersonal power or influence existing between a boss and a subordinate (Hofstede 1984). Hofstede suggests that the degree of Power Distance accepted by both the boss and the subordinate is largely determined by the culture in which they are immersed.

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[8] Though more recent than Parson's work Hofstede's main research is still dated. The research was carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s since when massive economic and social change has taken place in many of the countries studied.

[9] These were established through the database of questionnaire responses and an extensive literature survey to identify similar attitudes in past research.

[10] HERMES, the Greek God of commerce, was the name Hofstede gave to the large multinational he studied. Later identified as IBM.

Uncertainty avoidance

Life is full of uncertainty. Different countries and the organisations within them adopt different methods of reducing the anxiety caused by uncertainty. In organisations internal uncertainty and ambiguity may be reduced through strict orientation to rules, through performing rituals and through other means of attempting to make events and behaviour as predictable as possible (Hofstede 1980a. Kets de Vries and Miller 1986). The degree to which this is deemed necessary is related to how threatening the uncertainty is perceived to be. Hofstede argues that the UAI measures the level of threat which uncertainty and ambiguity carry for the culture members. The UAI was derived from questions designed to measure rule orientation, employment stability/mobility and stress levels of employees.

Individualism versus collectivism

Hofstede's third dimension is the degree of individualism which is the societal norm. The prevailing relationship between the individual and the collectivity inevitably affects the relationship between the individual and the organisation of which she or he is a member. Hofstede suggests that employees from countries with high collectivism scores would have greater moral involvement with the organisation and in return the organisation would look after them. Thus the organisation is more involved in non working life than would be the norm in more individualistic countries. As well as being a national characteristic there may be variation in these attitudes within a country. For example, Hofstede suggests that the smaller the organisation the greater the moral involvement of the employee and the larger the organisation, the more calculating the relationship would be.

Masculinity versus femininity

Hofstede's final dimension is the masculinity index. This represents the degree to which so called 'masculine' values are the dominant societal norm. Hofstede links this dimension directly to the gendered division of labour in organisations and to the values that organisational members of each gender hold.

> *"countries with higher MAS values also show greater differences in values between men and women in the same jobs."*

(Hofstede 1984:176)

Hofstede relates the function of the organisation to career possibilities for men and women (1984:176) and argues that when the organisation's function is

consistent with the male role (the example Hofstede uses is the achievement goal of a business) then there will be men at the top and a bias against women getting there. In organisations in which the goal is seen to coincide with the female role women may have a better chance of reaching the top, Hofstede uses the example of hospitals because of their caring goal. This example is not necessarily a good one. Women rarely reach the most senior positions even in hospitals. Doctors are largely male. Women generally only seem to reach the top of particular fields of hospital life. Although these may be positions of some influence they tend not to be those with the final say in the decision making process (Allen 1990). Nevertheless it appears that the organisation's function does influence its culture in this respect.

Hofstede argues that managing in a male oriented business organisation is a masculine task and consequently there is a bias against female managers. This male domination and subsequent bias against females has been explored and expressed elsewhere.

> "The model of the successful manager in our culture [American] is a masculine one. The good manager is aggressive, competitive, firm, just. He is not feminine; he is not soft or yielding or dependent or intuitive in the womanly sense. The very expression of emotion is widely viewed as a feminine weakness that would interfere with effective business processes."

(McGregor 1967: 23).

The degree of masculinity or femininity in a society's dominant values affected the sex role differentiation in HERMES. This suggests that the degree to which the dominant values are 'masculine' will also affect the position of women in society at large.

> "Thus in the more feminine countries more working women are in the more qualified jobs and in higher education the same courses tend to be taken by men and women."

(Hofstede 1984: 204)

A further consequence of different MAS scores is the form that women's movements take in the different countries. Hofstede argues that in the countries where masculine values predominate, feminist movements tend to be aggressive, demanding that women can be equal to (or better than) men. In the countries with lower MAS scores the feminist movements tend to be characterised by the idea of reforming the country along feminist lines rather than women attempting to become 'like men'. Japan, as the highest scoring country on the Masculinity index,

would therefore be expected to have an aggressive women's liberation movement. In reality women's liberation has gained little hold in Japan (Steinhoff and Tanaka 1996). A difficulty with Hofstede's analysis is that as a consequence of its attempts to be broad it has obtained little depth and thus has been unable to incorporate the complex reality in which characteristics interact. Masculinity as an index does not exist in isolation and may be significantly affected by collectivism or individualism, or by orientation to consensus or conflict, or influenced by the nature and role of government. This relates to a key debate within feminism; whether equality means women becoming like men, being treated like men and taking the same roles as men, on the one hand, or on the other, the argument that women's difference from men should be recognised and their feminine qualities valued in such a way that the qualities of women are seen as equally important as the qualities that men have (Crompton and Harris 1996, Sarvasy 1992). Perhaps one of the reasons why this debate cannot reach a conclusion is that feminists have failed to realise that neither position is fundamentally 'right' but rather that what equality means to different people is a cultural phenomenon. This issue becomes a central theme in the following research.

In different countries it seems plausible that women's liberation movements[11] take on different forms; consequently, movements may not be perceived as such. Alternatively such movements may not be recognised for what they are and their aims or concerns may not be clear. In this manner perception may be culture bound. Equally whether a social phenomenon is viewed as a 'problem' or not is likely to be culture bound. Hsu (1970) for example suggests that the tendency in the west is to look actively for problems and make every attempt to resolve or address them whilst in Chinese culture the tendency would be more towards accepting or tolerating the current position. Hsu relates this back to religious beliefs suggesting that the Taoist and Buddhist religious roots in Chinese culture encourage a belief that "nature will take its course". In addition the diffuse orientation and high context Chinese cultures encourage a perception of any one problem existing within the context of a complex web of relationships rather than as a single isolated issue as might be viewed in the west (Steers 1989. Kirkbride and Westwood 1993).[12]

Other reasons for the apparent lack of women's movements have been provided by authors such as Wilkinson (1988). Wilkinson suggests that the all pervasive control mechanisms used by the Singaporean government frighten into submission any social group which threatens to challenge the status quo. Wilkinson

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[11] The very word itself conjures up notions of fighting and conflict. It is not a neutral word and consequently may not be appropriate in all cultural environments.

[12] The notion of high and low contexted cultures is elaborated later in the chapter.

specifically mentions journalists, academics and rebellious elements of Singapore's youth. However, it seems plausible that a government which seeks such a degree of conformity (and which advocates the traditional family structure as one mechanism for attaining and maintaining it) might extend its control to prevent the consolidation of a potentially disrupting movement demanding greater equality between men and women. This may be part of the explanation why a women's liberation movement has not visibly taken off in Singapore.

Perhaps more importantly in Chinese societies with greater freedom, such as Hong Kong, the open confrontation that such a movement demands may not be compatible with cultural notions of consensus as opposed to conflict, hostility and confrontation. Therefore to classify goals or notions of equality in such openly western terms as 'Women's Liberation Movements' is both ethnocentric and misleading. There may not be one single form of female response to patriarchy in part because different cultures will see different aspects as problems, if that culture identifies any problems at all.[13]

Further reasons for differences in women's movements and their emergence may be that, in historical terms, if precedents for such action are common then more group movements are likely to emerge as society members may be more predisposed towards such group action. Tsang (1995) suggests that, unlike in Britain where historically there has been a strong labour movement, Hong Kong does not have this tradition of an organised basis of social resistance and the predisposition towards collective action is not prevalent amongst the societies of the overseas Chinese in the Asia Pacific region. Tsang suggests that this history may, in part, explain the relatively modest achievements of women's movements in Hong Kong[14]. In this light it might be more surprising if these kinds of actions did emerge, rather than the fact that they have not. Consequently, the terms Hofstede uses and the manner in which all societies of the study are measured against western goal posts is a serious flaw in his work.

Further criticisms of Hofstede's work can be identified. The only empirical data drawn on by Hofstede is from IBM's employees, yet assertions are made about the nature of society on the basis of this. Hofstede suggests how social structures would be organised and how behaviour will be affected by the cultural attitudes.

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[13]It is interesting to note for example that no tertiary institution in Hong Kong offers a gender studies or women's studies degree programme (Pearson and Leung, 1995). This suggests that women's issues are not really securely on the agenda in Hong Kong and may be indicative of these issues rarely being identified as problems.

[14] Tsang suggests that whether Hong Kong actually has a women's movement to speak of is a matter of definition. In order to include all activities that might constitute such action she adopts a very general definition as "the activities of groups, made up largely of women, which are concerned with the disadvantaged position of women in society, and who wish to bring about a significant improvement in the situation of women." (1995: 276)

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However, none of these links or relationships are empirically explored or confirmed.

Hofstede's attempts to hold everything constant by studying just one organisation represents one of the strengths of the work as other factors may be kept out of the explanation. However, in conjunction with this advantage are consequent methodological difficulties. IBM is an organisation known for its strong corporate culture. As no distinction is made between the corporate and national culture, it is difficult to be sure that Hofstede's study really reflects national cultures. Hofstede's argument is that as the corporate culture is strong, and it is just one organisation, any differences that emerge in attitudes must be a result of the national culture. This seems a plausible argument, but it would have been strengthened by some investigation of the national cultures outside of the organisation, to confirm whether what was found in the IBM study was reflective of the wider national culture. The problem posed is the question of exactly what relationship exists between national and organisational culture. To what extent are national cultural values influenced by the cultures of the organisation individuals work in? When examining employees of an organisation, how much of what is observed is a result of national culture, how much is a result of corporate culture and how much results from the interaction between the two? Unfortunately, detracting further from a balanced representation of the whole country, the samples were highly male dominated so that judgements of a national culture were based on very non representative samples. This is particularly significant when there is some evidence to suggest that there might be significant attitudinal variance between men and women (Usunier 1996).

Holding the organisation constant and making this the focus of the empirical research had methodological justification but resulted in Hofstede failing to examine the particular institutional, political, economic and legal environment in which these divisions of IBM existed. As a result, Hofstede does not explore the potentially enormous impact of the structure of the different societies on the attitudes and practices that emerge. For example, to explore labour mobility and portray it as a part of the UAI without examining the national economic circumstances in which this took place must inevitably limit the validity of the assertions made. Consequently, the very strengths through which Hofstede tried to isolate national culture meant that in fact he was unable to successfully isolate cultural effects for exploration but confuses them with structural influences on behaviour.

Other problems stem from the inherent biases of the instrument and the samples used. Whilst attempts were made to achieve cross cultural involvement in the instrument design the variety of different nations that the researchers originated

from were all western ones[15]. In addition although the questionnaire was translated into 20 different languages, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Taiwan surveys (for example) were conducted in English (Hofstede 1984). Hofstede's justification of this was that the lingua franca of this large international organisation was English. However, the fact that language is seen as the main stem of culture (Sapir 1929, Terpstra 1978, Trompenaars 1994) combined with the fact that English ability is not always of the highest and most fluent standard in these countries does call into question the validity of this choice. In 1973 when the studies were conducted these issues would have been even more prevalent than they are today

Trompenaars has more recently identified 7 cultural dimensions (1993). Most of these can be broadly associated with Hofstede's work but provide an additional perspective from which this can be examined. Trompenaars identified three kinds of categories of dimension; those concerned with relationships with others, those stemming out of change over time and those related to the environment. Within the relationships with other people classification are five dimensions according to Trompenaars. These are: universalism versus particularism (whether or not there is one answer that can be applied universally or whether circumstances dictate different responses); individualism versus collectivism (which has been explained in the context of Hofstede's work), neutral or emotional (the way people interact in either an emotional or detached manner), specific versus diffuse (this category is concerned with perception of society as interrelated or compartmentalised segments of social life and is suggested by Trompenaars to be related to the way in which people are involved in business which determines how they conduct a business relationship); achievement versus ascription (concerned with how an individual is judged either on the basis of merit or status attributed because of who you are, who you know and who you are related to).

The next area of cultural difference in Trompenaars' argument are the attitudes that different cultures have towards time. Different cultures may view time in different ways either as passing in a single line or moving in a circle. In addition some cultures see time as precious and talk of 'wasting time'. Others have a very different perception of time and this has implications for the way in which business is conducted and the pace and nature of meetings or other business encounters. This can be seen as a perception of time as a tangible commodity. Research suggests that perceptions of time also vary across cultures in other ways. Differences have been suggested in terms of whether time is perceived to be linear or cyclic and where in time (past, present or future) orientations lie (e.g. Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961). A further aspect of perceptual differences in

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[15] Subsequently resulting in the much smaller scale Chinese Values Survey (Bond, 1991) designed to address this imbalance.

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time is how it is combined with tasks to produce either monochronic or polychronic use of time (e.g. Hall 1983).

The final area that Trompenaars suggests varies by culture is attitudes to the environment. Does the environment control the individual or the individual the environment? Does power and virtue come from the individual or from the environment? In much the same way the notion of fatalism as opposed to self determination of events is also seen as an area which varies across cultures (Harris-Bond 1991). This debate has been termed the 'locus of control' debate. Religious influence can be seen to permeate this debate as some religions encourage a 'this world' orientation and the belief of humans' mastery over nature whilst others present a picture of humankind controlled by natural, spiritual forces around them. We come back to this issue when we examine the specific cultures of Hong Kong and Britain. These same religious roots, that as polar extremes portray human kind as either a part of a harmonious whole or as man against nature, also help us to understand a further categorisation of culture as either consensus oriented or conflict oriented. Trompenaars work has served to bring together existing thoughts in cultural dimensions but it does little in terms of furthering our understanding. Trompenaars work draws on the dimensions identified by others (e.g. Parsons 1951, Hall 1976, Hofstede 1980) to produce an overall picture.

Further classifications of cultures have been made in terms of their being low contexted or high contexted. These concepts originate from the work of Edward Hall. As with many cultural theorists, Hall was an anthropologist. In Hall's work context is concerned with the way that the context makes sense of action, behaviour and language. Hall contrasts what he terms high contexted and low contexted forms of communication. High contexted communication is when the understanding of the message is heavily reliant on the context or environment as compared to low contexted where messages are explicit with most of the information necessary to understand them being contained within the actual transmission (Hall 1976). Culture provides the assumptions, stereotypes, prejudices and beliefs which form a part of that context. Of course, none of these dimensions exist in isolation and there are links between them. Usunier (1996) suggests that the division of specific versus diffuse, mentioned above, relates closely to that of high and low contexted cultures. Usunier suggests that in low contexted cultures people communicate in a very focused and specific manner, address their counterpart in a specific role and focus on specific issues. By comparison in a high contexted culture individuals are suggested to converse at a broader level and to shift within communication in terms of their perception of the

role of the person they are communicating with. For example, the counterpart might be friend, whilst also being a professional, business contact.

This examination of cultural dimensions is not exhaustive but it outlines key differences identified in existing literature. The following sections of this chapter examine what we know of the cultures of Hong Kong and Britain. Key features of the cultures of the two societies, as identified by the literature are summarised, in an inevitably slightly crude manner, in the table below in order to illustrate where similarities and differences might be expected to emerge.

Table 3.1 The cultures of Britain and Hong Kong

DIMENSION	BRITAIN	HONG KONG
Individualism versus collectivism (Hofstede, Parsons, Trompenaars)	*Individualistic* *More orientation to self*	*Collectivist* *Greater orientation to the group*
Power Distance (PDI) (Hofstede)	*Low PDI* *Relate to seniors and see them as one of us*	*High PDI* *us and them avoid criticism of seniors*
Masculinity versus Femininity (Hofstede, Inkeles & Levinson)	*Mid to high score* *Masculine values predominate*	*Mid score* *Masculine values predominate but only very narrowly. Relative to Britain higher influence of feminine values*
Uncertainty Avoidance (Hofstede)	*Low UAI* *lack of concern over ambiguity, don't stick rigidly to rules, less concern about risk and uncertainty*	*Very Low UAI* *Lack of concern over ambiguity, don't stick rigidly to rules, less concern about risk and uncertainty*
Specific Versus Diffuse (Trompenaars)	*More specific orientation - sees life in terms of a series of separate spheres of life*	*Diffuse orientation. All areas of social life are much more closely related and at times overlapping*
Affective versus Neutral (Trompenaars, Parsons)	*General literature would suggest Britain to be more affective than Hong Kong. However, Trompenaars' work places Britain as more neutral. Would expect not to show emotions at work - belief in the "stiff upper lip"*	*Although in the middle on Trompenaars chart relative to Britain would expect more show of emotion*
Confucian Dynamism (Hofstede, Harris-Bond)	*Low*	*High*
High Contexted versus low contexted (Hall)	*Higher contexted. More explicit messages*	*Lower contexted. Meaning of behaviour and communication more influenced by environmental/ contextual factors*
Achieved versus Ascribed Status (Parsons, Trompenaars)	*Achievement oriented. Belief in merit and individual ability*	*More ascribed roles on the basis of position in family, company etc.*

DIMENSION	BRITAIN	HONG KONG
Internal Locus of control versus external locus of control (Trompenaars, Sheh)	*Would expect a belief that nature is controllable and therefore life is within the individuals control. It is up to them if they do well and their fault if they do badly.*	*Would expect a belief that nature will take its course, belief in fate and luck. Belief in the supernatural.*
Universalism versus particularism (Parsons. Trompenaars)	*Universalism. Laws apply regardless, theories apply world wide*	*More Particularist could break the law to protect a friend or family member*
Conflict versus Consensus	*A perception of significant levels of social conflict. Social life is characterised by struggles between groups. One group's interests are quite likely to be met at the expense of another.*	*Consensus, harmony and agreement is the ideal state. Should aim not to rock the boat and to maintain harmony.*
The concept of time (Kluckhohn, Trompenaars)	*Sequential*	*Synchronous*

The culture and society of Hong Kong

Many portrayals of Chinese culture place the family at its apex (e.g. Redding 1990, Lau 1988). In this section I explore in some detail what that position and role actually is. The family and work are very much related and so to avoid too much overlap the family as a working unit and the Chinese family business (CFB), will be discussed in the next section. Here the purpose will be to explore the family outside the world of work.

The family and bounded trust

Hong Kong is classified as a collectivist society along Hofstede's dimensions. As such the individual feels much closer affiliation with other members of society. In Hong Kong this is particularly true to the extent that those other people can be considered 'family' or adopted family members and hence can be considered trustworthy.

Trust figures strongly as a factor upon which culture has a dramatic affect (Tayeb 1988, Lau 1988). In Hong Kong trust is oriented around the family (Redding 1990)[16] . This limited, bounded trust can be understood when related to the Hong Kong Chinese's underlying beliefs regarding the nature of humans. According to a 1985/6 survey carried out in Hong Kong, 62% of the population either agreed or strongly agreed that human nature is evil, though they conceded that this may be brought about by the environment rather than being inherent (Lau 1988). Such a belief would encourage those who adhere to it to be extremely careful about

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[16] Redding (1990) found this was generally the case in populations of overseas Chinese

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whom they trust. The historical roots explaining the development of this attitude are further explored later in the chapter.

The family is the life support system of the individual in society. It is the family which is the preferred source of support and resources in Hong Kong (Lau 1988). The network of kin provides financial, emotional and material support for its members.

Hong Kong tends to be viewed as a fairly apolitical society and mass mobilisation and collective action are uncommon within the territory (Lui 1995, Tsang 1995)[17]. Part of the reasoning behind this is that apolitical behaviour maintains distance from government (Lau 1988). Politicisation is reduced by the consuming involvement in the family unit as the source of support and the means of survival rather than by any state run support system. The view that government is aloof also can be traced to historical roots in Chinese pre-industrial society (Redding 1990, Whitley 1992).

The tendency to put family interests above the interests of all other groups in society is a key characteristic of the Hong Kong Chinese society (Lau 1982). In fact it

> "...can be considered the dominant cultural code in the Chinese society of Hong Kong".

(Lau 1982: 72)

Knowledge of the importance of family to every other Chinese member of society may be part of the explanation of the limited bounds to trust. Each individual knows that others will be acting in the interests of their respective families as much as they themselves are.

> "The key feature would appear to be that you trust your family absolutely, your friends to the degree that mutual dependence has been established and face invested in them. With everybody else you make no assumption about their goodwill. You have the right to expect their politeness and their following of social proprieties, but beyond that you must anticipate that, just as you are, they are looking primarily to their own, i.e. their family's best interests."

(Redding 1990: 66)

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[17] Though in recent years political interest and collective action is increasing somewhat (Lui, 1995) this may be changing as the political situation surrounding the return of Hong Kong to China stimulates greater interest and involvement from a people anxious to maintain what they have achieved.

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This raises the question whether identification with the society as a whole (e.g. the notion of Hong Kong) means something different from identification with the individuals who make up that society (e.g. the individual people of Hong Kong). It is possible that there are two separate attitudes which researchers, such as Hofstede, have erroneously collapsed into one. If individualism versus collectivism is concerned with the manner in which the individual relates to the collectivity (being all people in society) then Hong Kong may not be collective in the sense that individuals see themselves as part of the group who constitute Hong Kong society. Rather, Hong Kong may be collective in the sense that a group is more important than the individual. What may be underplayed by Hofstede's concept of collectivism is that it is a very specific group to which individuals associate, and that in order to further the group's interests, its members will work against the interests of other such groups. The degree to which the individual identifies with the territory or society of which they are a part which is a rather different issue[18]. In the case of Hong Kong research now suggests that the concept of family has become more important than that of society (Lau 1984).

Ralston, Gustafson, Terpstra and Holt (1995) appear to have conflated these two aspects. Ralston et al suggest that there is a distinct 'Chinese style individualism' emerging in modern China - post Tiannamen Square - which is using social power etc. for individual or family (or reference group) interest. However, it may be misleading to use the term individualism when actually referring to a group. In fact fighting for one's family interests dates back to pre-industrial Chinese society. Individualism must mean the interest of the individual. To classify looking out for the interest of a specific group as individualism seems contradictory, almost as though one were trying to understand something rather different by imposing definitions, concepts and interpretations developed as a means of classifying behaviour in the west.

Other authors (e.g. Redding 1990, Whitley 1992) have identified the apparently 'selfish' (in the sense of family interest) attitudes of the Chinese indicating that what Ralston et al call 'Chinese Style individualism' is not something new that they have identified, or a total contrast to the past, but is actually the same attitude as that termed collectivism by other authors examining Chinese societies. Attitudes and their manifestations may have altered whilst underlying principles of those attitudes remain. This suggests that what Ralston et al have identified as a changing, increasingly westernised, culture in China, may be a reflection of a western interpretation of a long standing set of attitudes, albeit in changing

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[18] Interestingly, and perhaps significantly, there is no original Chinese term that means loyalty to society generally (Redding, 1990).

circumstances, and the conflation of a number of different elements within the dimension collectivism.

The family is governed by a set of rules many of which can be traced back to Confucian origins. The central relationship or rule of society is the importance of the Confucian virtue, filial piety thereby locating the family (and a particular relationship between children and parents) at the heart of social order in Hong Kong (Lau 1988; 59)[19]. There are four other important social relationships. One is that between husband and wife (Harris-Bond 1991). The wife serves the husband and the husband's family. Owing to the importance of this relationship, women's lives can be quite different from men's. A female child does not provide parents with the comfort of knowing they will be looked after in their old age[20] because on marriage women leave their family of origin. Additionally, because of their perceived future role, if there are not enough funds for all children to attend school, it will be the females who remain behind. Eighty percent of those children not at school are female (Harris-Bond 1991). Although women are now reaching higher levels of education, gender differentials in education have implications for women's employment prospects generally, and therefore explain some of the female labour force participation patterns in the past which are the cultural heritage today.

> *"The importance of the family as the basic unit of social identity and loyalty is a crucial feature of these three societies [China, Japan and Korea] which not only differentiates them from western societies in which the individual has become the basic social unit, but also from most South East Asian societies where extended kinship links are not so significant (O'Malley 1988). All these 'post-Confucian' cultures share the common theme that 'individuals achieved their identity solely through family membership which carried with it not only the obligation of deferring to the collectivity in critical decision making but of acknowledging that the mortal life of the individual was less important than the immortality of the ancestral family line' (Pye, 1985: 62). While the significance of family membership and kinship organisation is particularly marked in the case of the Chinese Family Business, it is much greater in all three societies than in western ones and has limited the spread of individualism (cf. Brandt, 1987; Vogel, 1987; Winckler, 1987)"*

(Whitley 1992: 219-220)

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[19] 87.6% of Lau's survey agreed or strongly agreed that the basic social virtue in Hong Kong was filial piety (Lau 1988b; 59).

[20] Care in one's old age is a great concern in a society with no state provision or financial benefits. Around Hong Kong the people begging on the streets are not the young, unemployed as might be the case in Britain. The vast majority are old people who for one reason or another have been cut off from their family and now have no family to support them.

The remaining social relationships emphasised within Confucianism are that between brothers and sisters, sovereign and subject and between friends. In the resulting vertical hierarchy of Chinese society there was an emphasis on family and on filial piety. The father at the apex of the family structure had the right to veto decisions and to control all aspects of the lives of those beneath him in that structure. These structures can be seen to have become transposed into the business structures explored in the next section.

The religious basis to social life amongst the overseas Chinese

The earlier discussion suggests that Confucianism provides a basis for many of the attitudes prevalent in modern day Hong Kong. Whilst individuals might not identify themselves as Confucianist, the principles of Confucianism can be seen to pervade almost every aspect of day to day social life. Part of the reason for the lack of identification is the fact that Confucianism really is a social code rather than a religion. The beliefs that are held are influenced by Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism (Sheh 1995). Sheh argues that the principles of Confucianism supported and encouraged the emergence of many of the factors necessary for economic success. The key principles emphasising the importance of education, 'Ren' the principle of humanity (the practice of humanity through courtesy, magnanimity, good faith, diligence and kindness) and 'Zhong Yong' the principle of moderation (avoiding the practice of extremes and taking the middle way in thought and action), together encouraged the development of a highly skilled, hard working labour force, high capital formation and accumulation and an entrepreneurial spirit.

These beliefs were supported by the principles of Taoism, the central tenets of which emphasise the ideas of being contented and happy with what you have, to let things behave in their natural way and to move towards a central harmony.[21] Buddhism also emphasises the importance of good moral attitudes, careful reasoning and logical thinking. The three belief systems together are mutually reinforcing and have huge implications for individual behaviour specifically and for social life in general. (Sheh 1995)

Chinese family businesses - the institutional legacy from China

Pre-industrial Chinese society was highly centralised, and in order to retain control the Emperor and ruling elite had to find a means of reinforcing loyalty across a vast geographical area. One means of achieving this was to create and maintain dependence on central power by preventing the accumulation of

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[21]Again all these social values militate against the development of confrontational aggressive social movements in which individuals seek to change the status quo.

concentrated land and wealth by individuals in the countryside. Uncertainty in terms of wealth and therefore survival could only be reduced through entry into the civil service. The means into officialdom was through entry into education, rather than land ownership, and state officials could be moved geographically so as to avoid the formation of strong local loyalties and the accumulation of land.

In Chinese law inheritance was distributed equally amongst the male heirs rather than through primogeniture. Consequently, land accumulation by individuals was constantly broken down. This inheritance arrangement continues to operate in the Chinese family business (CFBs) and partly explains why they remain small. (Lever-Tracy 1992)

To further reinforce central control over such a wide area, it was necessary to instil some mechanism of social control. Confucianism, socialised through the family, provided that self imposed mechanism in the form of a set of rules of relationships and accompanying roles combined with an emphasis on obedience to those roles. Brutal punishment for disobedience was not frowned upon by the state (Redding 1990). Within the family great indulgence was shown to children until the age of 5 or 6, during which time an emotional dependence on the family becomes established, after which self discipline and awareness of one's place, roles and duties was expected (Redding 1990, Bond 1991)

In pre-industrial Chinese village life there was little feeling of community in the sense of families working together, pooling labour, co-operating in terms of land ownership and farming. Migrant workers and surplus labour could be hired when required during critical times such as sowing seeds or harvesting crops. The state and landowners aimed to get as much rent from their tenants as possible, often resulting in competition between families for small plots of land, particularly where productive land was scarce. These arrangements conspired to set families in competition with each other as each looked out for themselves, mistrusting those families around them who threatened the already scarce resources available (Redding 1990, Whitley 1992)[22].

The institutional arrangements of the State, its control over villages and the organisation of village life, can be seen reflected within the structure and nature of the CFBs in Hong Kong. In the CFB ownership tends to mean management. Management is strongly paternal and based on a system of family relationships. Outside family networks others are rarely trusted except on the basis of personal mutual obligatory relationships and in terms of networks between businesses.

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[22]This is another illustration that concern for family interests rather than individual interests is deep rooted in Chinese history and therefore it would be problematic to suggest this represents a new development of 'Chinese style' Individualism as proposed by Ralston et al (1995).

When networks do exist between firms it still tends to be a personal relationship between the owners rather than between the collective entities of the organisations.

> "...the lack of strong institutional trust mechanisms in Hong Kong and Taiwan inhibits the development of impersonal authority and trust relations within firms and limits the size of Chinese family businesses as well as leading to extensive reliance on personal networks between enterprises".

(Whitley 1992: 23)

The lack of trust outside the family and the family ownership result in highly centralised decision making, power and control and often frustration for middle management. Personnel activities such as recruitment, reward, promotion and wages are all at the owners' discretion and tend to be based on personal loyalty as much as technical ability (Whitley 1992).

In modern Hong Kong small businesses, many of them CFBs, are the dominant organisational form. In 1983, 98.45% of manufacturing establishments employed less than 200 people and contributed 63% of value added (Redding 1990).

Table 3.2 Hong Kong manufacturing industry - number of establishments by size and contribution to value added 1983

No. of Persons engaged	No. of establishments	% of total	Nat. accounts Value added HK$ 000's	% of total
1 - 9	25,650		2,764,283	
10 - 19	6,190		2,335,481	
20 - 49	5,063		4,299,846	
50 - 99	2,138		4,396,663	
100-199	989	40,030 (98%)	4,042,128	17,838,401 (63%)
200-499	466		4,622,940	
500-999	117		2,960,616	
1000+	45		2,908,951	
	40,660		28,330,888	

Source: Census and Statistics Department Hong Kong Government
Adapted from S. G. Redding (1990: 146)

The CFB does not follow the textbook processes of development and change, which are usually based on western experience, but operates in quite a different manner and context which we now examine. Perhaps the key word in the CFB is personalism as a means of structuring relationships. Not only does personalism figure heavily in the organisation itself, but additionally in the links which tie organisations together into networks. In a study of stock market control Wong (1989) found 10 families controlled 54% of the stock market, 7 of these were

Chinese, 1 joint British/Jewish and 2 British. Thus groups of organisations could be tied together providing useful allies and co-operation.[23]

In order to provide a framework within which to try and understand the CFB we can refer back to the Aston Studies and the five dimensions along which organisations vary; Centralisation, Specialisation, Standardisation, Formalisation and Configuration. (Pugh and Hickson 1976) The CFB tends to be highly centralised and does not tend to develop decentralised decision making strategies. Management often remains indistinguishable. Power is derived from ownership. Ownership and decision making lie in the family's hands. The flow of information is limited. As the 'line' employees are not involved in decision making, there is little need for information to pass to them. As a consequence Chinese leadership tends to be extremely didactic (Silin 1976, Sheh 1995). Power is retained by rationing information and by assuming that the leader, teacher or father figure is automatically superior and unquestionable.

When ownership is the key to power and family the key to ownership, then family relationships and family hierarchy are of importance in understanding power in the organisation. As mentioned previously, one of the five central relationships of Confucianism is the subordination of wife to husband. In Chinese society, inheritance passes through the male line to the sons. Consequently, women are unlikely to move into a position of direct ownership unless they actually set up the situation themselves (Sheh 1995). However, if this is the case, it could only then last one generation as on succession the inheritance would pass to a son. Women are therefore unlikely to own a CFB in their own right, though they may be part of the ownership through a relationship with the husband. As ownership is the main determinant of power, once in such a position women would be expected to hold considerable power, though it would ultimately be subordinate to that of their husband. Therefore, we would expect it to be extremely difficult for women to get

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[23] These top 10 families in ascending order are; 1. **K.S. Li group** (containing Cheung Kong Holdings Ltd, Hutchinson Whampoa Ltd, Hong Kong Electric Holdings Ltd, Cavendish International Holdings Ltd, Green Island Cement Holdings Ltd). 2. **Swire group** (Swire Pacific ltd A, Swire Pacific Ltd B, Hong Kong Aircraft Engineering Co. ltd, Cathay Pacific Airways). 3. **Kewick Group** (Jardine Matheson Holdings ltd, Hong Kong land Co. ltd, Hong Kong Land Co. ltd - preferred Ordin, Jardine Strategic Holdings Ltd, Jardine Strategic Holdings Ltd. Preferred, Dairy Farm International Holdings Ltd, Mandarin Oriental International Ltd, Zung Fu Co. ltd). 4. **Kadoorie Group** (China Light and Power Cp. ltd, Hong Kong and Shanghai Hotels ltd, Hong Kong Carpet Holdings ltd.) 5. **Y.K. Pao Group** (World international Holdings ltd, Wharf Holdings Ltd, Harbour Centre Development. Hong Kong realty and trust Co. ltd A, Hong Kong realty and trust Co. ltd B. Realty Development Corporation Ltd A, Realty Development Corporation Ltd B, Harriman Holdings Ltd, Allied properties Hong Kong Ltd, Lane Crawford Holdings Ltd A, Lane Crawford Holdings ltd B). 6. **T.S. Kwok Group.** (Sun Hung Kai Properties ltd, New town (N.T.) Properties ltd, Kowloon Motor Bus Co. (1933) ltd, Manor House Holdings Ltd.) 7. **S.K.Lee Group** (Henderson Land Development Co. Ltd, Wing Tai Development Co. Ltd, Hong Kong and Yaumati Ferry Co. Ltd, Hong Kong and China Gas Co. ltd.). 8. **Y.T. Cheng** Group New World Development Co. Ltd, New World Hotels Holdings Ltd.). 9. **T.H. Chan Group** (Hang Lung Development Co. Ltd, Amoy Properties Ltd). 10. **T.V.B. Group** (Bond Corporation International Ltd, HK -TVB Ltd) (Wong 1989).

positions of ultimate power in a Chinese Family Business. However, for those that do obtain a senior position there should be the opportunity for involvement in decision making as a result of being a member of the family.

Specialisation refers to the extent to which the organisation has defined what it is that different people do. British organisations are generally more highly specialised, whereas the roles individuals fulfil tend to be more fluid in the Chinese Family Business (Redding 1990, Whitley 1991, 1992). Standardisation refers to the written rules and standards that control individuals and what they do within the organisation. In this respect the CFB is less standardised than are organisations generally in the UK (as might be expected in a less specialised environment). Formalisation refers to the way in which processes are formalised through paper work. Both societies have similar levels of formalisation (Redding 1990) but for rather different reasons, and the manner in which it is achieved may be quite different. Finally, configuration (which refers to the relationships between line and staff) measures the proportion of the organisation's employees who are not directly responsible for output, in other words the management rather than the workers. In the UK this percentage is 30% according to Pugh and Hickson's (1976) study as compared to only 13.5% in Hong Kong (Redding 1990).

The concept of 'face' is one that is often introduced in relation to the Chinese as a factor which governs a range of behaviours in social and working life (Redding 1990, Harris-Bond 1991, Sheh 1995). Face demonstrates social standing, prestige and value. Gaining, giving and maintaining face are central parts of interpersonal interaction and exert strong influence on the way social situations are approached. One of the effects of 'face' in the organisation is managers' desire not to be associated with the workers. Rather than all working together, managers might expect, and be expected, to remain aloof[24]. This may relate back to the familial nature of the organisations in which management tends to be the family and workers are outside this. Thus the distinction is reinforced by the feelings of trust of one's family as opposed to those outside it. This is a potential area for dysfunction when checks on behaviour and activities may be lost (Redding 1990). Those who are under the misapprehension that the East is a homogenous group with very similar cultures should be able to see that this culture and the organisation of the CFB is dramatically different from the organisational and work related attitudes identified as being characteristic of Japan (Dore 1973, Morishima 1984). Face is also important in Japan but it is maintained through

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[24] This can also be seen as reflecting another Confucian relationship between ruler and ruled. Usually this is phrased in the form of Emperor and subject but the relationship between employer and worker is much the same. That relationship between Emperor and subject in Chinese history was characterised by distance and aloofness (Redding 1990).

different processes. Part of the Japanese economic success has been attributed to the particular organisation of production. In contrast to the CFB, within Japanese enterprises it is notable that often boss and subordinate work together and eat in the same canteens specifically in order avoid this aloofness that can be seen in the CFB. The flow of information, decision making techniques and organisational relationships are other features of Japanese organisation that are quite dissimilar to the CFB.

Of course there is heterogeneity in organisational form even within Hong Kong. Even within the CFBs of Hong Kong there are variations in the intensity of each of these factors along the lines of size, technology, and in terms of market sector (Redding 1990). However, in general the Chinese Family Businesses do not fit the stereotype of successful business in the west that have become the basis for textbook studies of the organisations until relatively recently.

The growth of CFBs may not be straight forward or easy[25]. Those Chinese Family Businesses that have expanded seem to have experienced a number of specific circumstances that have encouraged that expansion. The most common of these are that either the organisation concentrates on one area which the chief executive knows a vast amount about and consequently that knowledge gives the organisation an advantage, or alternatively the organisation has a monopoly so it can be looser, as there is little competition. Other than in these instances CFBs have rarely expanded (Redding 1990). This organisational structure is not without its difficulties. For example because of their structure, CFBs tend to limit organisational talent as there is relatively little opportunity for those at the bottom or middle of the organisation to utilise their talents (Sheh 1995). The organisations which do survive tend to be those which either remain small or concentrate on relatively narrow areas. The small numbers of successful CFBs which have grown tend to continue to behave as if they were small (Redding 1990).

The Chinese Family Business forms a distinct organisational and economic environment which is oriented around the central social unit of the family. Recognition of this is fundamental to understanding working life in Hong Kong. In such a paternalistic, traditional and autocratic setting to what extent can women gain positions of dominance? Opportunities seem limited. The truth of this will be explored.

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[25] Which is significant as Redding suggests CFBs may be at a particular stage of development and therefore may come under many of the stresses which encourage small businesses to expand. Can such a structure adapt for expansion?

The culture and society of Britain

When exploring the culture of Britain we are actually exploring the coming together (often not harmoniously) of a number of different cultures (English, Scottish and Welsh). This makes analysis difficult but also is perhaps one of the features of British society.

As with Hong Kong, much of the origin of British culture lies in its historical and industrial development. Unlike Hong Kong, however, Britain was the first industrialising nation rather than a later one which had to break into an existing world market. Britain had its own empire (of which Hong Kong was till recently a part). For a large part of it's history Britain has maintained a dominance throughout the world which may have made it difficult to adjust to the notion that any other nations, particularly past colonies, can pose a serious economic threat. Being the first country to industrialise has had fundamental implications for the attitudes and society which have developed as well as for the manner in which British society has been examined.

For many writing about Britain, the transition to an industrialised society has been seen as fundamental in bringing about social and cultural change (e.g. Polanyi 1957). During the change from pre-industrial to industrial it is suggested that a whole series of concomitant social changes also occurred. There is a suggestion of a change from communitarism to individualism, a gradual break down of the community and a move to smaller nuclear families. It is also implied that there was a move from a largely agrarian, subsistence society in which most people were extremely poor, living hand to mouth and often on the verge of starvation gradually to a capitalist, industrial economy with high wealth per head relative to other nations.

Many writers have looked at "peasant societies" as a whole and have assumed that what has been found in one such society helps understand others. As such it was thought that peasant societies (including British society) can all be seen within the context of developments throughout peasant societies of Europe. As a peasant society what was meant was

> "...a system of small scale produces with a simple technology and equipment often relying primarily for their subsistence on what they themselves produce. The primary means of livelihood of the peasant is the cultivation of the soil."

(Dalton 1972;386).

The central feature of peasant society was that ownership was not individualised but that productive resources were actually household property. In addition rights were also not individualised but were based on a person's or a social unit's position in the

overall social structure (Nash 1966). Ownership passed through the family so that over time it was the family who were the owners not isolated individuals. The individual was the temporary manager but heirs were as important in influencing how the property was utilised. The individual held no ownership rights. What they owned was only temporary in fact it was more as if they were the holder or manager of that property with highly constrained rights as to what they could do with it. So the group dominated the individual. (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918).

The aim of the family group was to keep the family name on the land. Land itself was laden with symbolic value. (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918). Attachment to the land was a central ideal within peasant societies. Land had a social value which even outweighed its economic value. Land, and the symbolic value attached to it, became embedded within social ideology and values. A combination of limited geographical mobility and attachment to the land meant that family groups would enlarge and grow up around the same area. If migration occurred it was largely small numbers moving from the land to the towns or women moving on marriage.

It is easy to identify similarities between this portrayal of a peasant society and pre-industrial Chinese society explored earlier. However, Macfarlane argues that in fact whilst this picture may explain the nature of social organisation, society and culture in much of pre-industrial Europe, it has been a mistake to combine England with this picture. The exploration of Europe as a whole by historians, has according to Macfarlane resulted in a failure to recognise the uniqueness of Britain's development and of it's ideology and culture. (Macfarlane 1978).

Macfarlane argues that in fact the evidence of "community" is not this clear cut and that when looking at typical villages there is little evidence of community even as far back as the 17th Century. Macfarlane argues that in fact the manner in which British society developed was unique and very different from the development of all other societies including other European countries of the time. Macfarlane argues that in fact Britain was a wealthy, individualistic society which cannot be termed a peasant society in the same way as the rest of Europe and which separated from other European patterns somewhere around the thirteenth century.

Macfarlane argues that England from the 13th century onwards was different in almost every aspect of culture and society not just from Asia and Eastern Europe but also from the surrounding nations of Northern Europe. This difference revolved around a highly developed and individualistic market society, unusually high affluence distributed widely and considerable social mobility based on wealth rather than blood. The strong sense of individualism eventually became embedded within laws regarding the concept of individual rights, independence and liberty of thought and religion. The British travelling abroad and others who travelled to Britain noted

that Britain was ideologically, economically and socially very different from those around it developed (Macfarlane 1978). At some point therefore Britain had taken a separate path from the rest of Europe. It may be this historically rooted notion of difference that has in part informed the modern British identity. This difference has been attributed to the relative absence of social barriers and free mobility.

Despite the relative absence of social barriers and the involvement of different social classes in commercial activity social class has become a prominent source of culture in Britain and over a long period of time the distinctions that developed between classes have crystallised so that they became highly visible (Usunier 1996). These class distinctions originate from the differences in land ownership and individuals' relation to the land but have culminated in a society where social class is still seen to play an important role in individuals' lives. For example, destinations within initial education and later in terms of occupational destination are outcomes of social class background (Furlong 1992). In addition there appears to be a dominant view in British society of class conflict, and that society is characterised by social conflict (Hill 1990). In fact the view that there is a 'class struggle' in Britain is actually increasing (Abercrombie and Warde et al. 1988). Britain has a history of strong labour and civil rights movements which have provided the basis for organised social action and encouraged the development of various social movements including feminism in Britain (Tsang 1995). These perceptions further illustrate a culture where conflict and antagonism is seen as inevitable in social life and in which disagreement and opposition subsequently become facts of life (Hofstede 1980, Trompenaars 1993). By contrast we have seen that in Chinese culture there is an emphasis on harmony and of forming plans of action on the basis of a consensus style of decision making (Redding 1990).

What has been argued so far is firstly that there is in fact an extremely long history of individualism dating back to the 13th century and that in more recent research Britain has still been classified as an highly individualistic society (Hofstede 1980, Trompenaars 1993). However, it is also interesting to note that this history of organised action has meant that at various points in time Britain has also been characterised as society with an highly collective orientation. In particular there has been class mobilisation as a form of collective action and this has been seen to differentiate Britain from some of the later developing societies such as Hong Kong by providing the British with a collective basis from which to fight for their rights as individuals (Tsang 1995). Therefore interestingly what we see here are the origins of individualism where individual rights, liberty and independence of individuals have been fought for on a collective basis.

On Hofstede's Power Distance scale Britain emerges as having a very low Power Distance score similar to that of many other Northern European nations and

somewhat lower that the USA and Canada. This can be seen to have links to the particular individualistic, liberty and independence as valued by the culture that Macfarlane outlines. In addition this aspect of culture can be seen to have links with the conflictual (rather than consensus) perception of social relationships. Triandis (1972) suggests that the respect of the individual and individual rights and the perception of equality are the basis or antecedents of the concept of freedom within a low power distance society. For equal rights, opportunity and liberty to be realised all people must have the opportunity to reach powerful positions. Consequently in a low power distance society, Triandis suggests that a powerful position would be achieved through demonstration of leadership and knowledge rather than violent struggle between competing forces or a position obtained on the basis of ascribed characteristics. Together these perceptions reflect an ideal in which those with the knowledge and skills reach the top so that whilst seniority is respected it is not infallible. If that individual does not maintain that leadership or the knowledge that put them there then they can be criticised and replaced by someone who better deserves the position by virtue of their own leadership and knowledge. Therefore regardless of position no one is above criticism or rebuke if they no longer maintain the characteristics which elevated them to that position.

Throughout the history of Britain Macfarlane identifies a highly patriarchal society with men in positions of dominance and positions of ownership (Macfarlane 1978). Unlike in China where inheritance was divided amongst all sons the British system was based on primogeniture making the male line of great importance and providing men with the basis of power within society. However, just as collective action had enable the fight for class based rights so too did it provide a precedent for the eventual fight for rights for women. Despite women having gained political rights, Britain still emerges as a relatively Masculine oriented society on Hofstede's scale (Hofstede 1980). Rather than implying that men are valued more than women this indicates that in Britain masculine values predominate. Masculine values we have seen as defined by Hofstede are the more assertive and competitive values as compared to more nurturing values usually associated with women. The very fact that Masculine values are dominant Hofstede associates with the nature of women's liberation movements as explained earlier. Therefore the masculine oriented background of British society can be seen to have encouraged organised collective action to obtain equal rights for women.

From table 3.2 it is also evident that Britain is classified as achievement oriented (Parsons 1951, Trompenaars 1993) with a belief in meritocracy rather than status being ascribed on the basis of birth or inherited position as has been suggested to be the case amongst the Hong Kong Chinese. The belief that position should be obtained on merit is hardly surprising given the context outlined by Macfarlane of a society in

which the central tenets of ideology were the importance of individual rights, independence and freedom.

From the earlier general examination of the various dimensions of culture identified through broad level research of a whole range of cultures we would expect British culture, in terms of the manner and nature of communication, the importance of context and the manner in which the world is understood, explained and analysed to appear to be in direct contrast to the position of Hong Kong. Whether this is in fact the case are explored through this research. Whilst broad cultural research, such as that of Hofstede or Trompenaars, appear to make it easy to classify cultures as being in very definite positions along a measurable set of cultural dimensions, there appear to be paradoxes in Britain's culture. Individualism figures strongly in explanations of British culture but it has often been fought for on a collective basis. The particular nature of Britain's development as the first nation to industrialise, the establishment of an unusually wealthy economic system, and the emergence of empire has meant that Britain followed an entirely different path in terms of economic, social, religious and cultural development than did Hong Kong when it later embarked on the path of industrialisation. Those two paths have resulted in, and resulted from, very different sets of circumstances and distinctly different cultures and identities which we will go on to examine through this research in terms of their impact on the orientations and experiences of work in modern day Hong Kong and Britain

The significance of culture for working life

We have briefly examined the debates surrounding the influence of culture at the broadest levels through the earlier discussion of the convergence versus divergence debate. To understand culture's influence within organisations there are another range of debates. At one level Hofstede's work provides the breadth of analysis in terms of how work related values, and the practices based on them, vary cross culturally. At another level, there is a vast range of literature which explores the nature of organisations, and their practices, and how applicable practices in one culture are as compared to another. At this level the implications are that there are different cultures which characterise different business systems (Whitley 1992). Within business systems organisational strategies may be influenced by culture in terms of structures, recruitment strategies, selection criteria, the nature and definition of work roles and relationships within organisations amongst other things. The nature of management, what it entails and how it is carried out and practised can vary between cultures (Laurant 1983). As a consequence of these cultural differences the question emerges as to the applicability of different techniques in different cross cultural settings (Kirkbride, Tang and Chaw 1989). The question at this level is the extent to which culture prevents or inhibits the transfer of practices, strategies and methods across

cultures. For those at the convergence end of the wider debate the argument would be that culture would not be of significance in such a transfer consideration. For those propounding divergence culture may be a factor determining the success of the implementation of new techniques and programmes.

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter it is worth highlighting the main points that have been put forward for consideration. Firstly, the suggestion from the literature is that there are broadly two positions in terms of culture's significance. Either it is all determining or it is all determined. In fact of course this is an oversimplification of the discussion as many recognise elements where convergence may occur but where difference also remains.

We have also examined the dimensions of culture that have been identified in the literature. Whilst many of these dimensions have been given different names, in fact there are a great many similarities between them. Table 3.2 indicates the key dimensions and the relative positions of Britain and Hong Kong along these. These positions have been inferred from the literature as to what we would expect to be the case. In fact very often the literature refers to the UK as a whole and to Chinese societies as a group. Therefore what has been drawn up here can only be taken as an indication of what we might expect to typify the cultures of Hong Kong and Britain. We now move on to examine through this research the extent to which these are an accurate understanding of the two cultures and we explore the manner in which these cultures impact on women managers' involvement in the workplace and their experiences and orientations to careers.

The Influence of Culture

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

A whole range of factors require analysis in order to gain a clearer understanding of the mechanisms through which culture operates and the experiences emerging from that operation in different cultural contexts. In order to be able to analyse culture broadly, including the attitudes and values entailed in that culture and individual respondents' interpretations of their own experiences, it was necessary to employ the use of a number of methodologies. Thus the advantages provided by both quantitative and qualitative approaches could be utilised.

There are two distinct stages of primary research in this thesis. 1) An exploration through questionnaire of the careers, attitudes and backgrounds of a sample of men and women managers to provide a picture of broader scale patterns of experience and attitudinal differences. This was carried out by postal questionnaire in Britain. In Hong Kong it was carried out in Chinese by telephone questionnaire. This decision was made on the advice of local researchers who suggested that, without financial incentive, most of the sample population would not complete the questionnaire. However, the researchers suggested that individuals would be more inclined to respond over the phone as that required less time and commitment. 2) The second stage was qualitative interviews with a small sub sample of women managers drawn from the questionnaires in order to examine their understandings, explanations and interpretations of their own careers and career choices.

This chapter begins with an explanation of the research process and the decisions entailed within that, before moving on to discuss the analysis of data gathered and the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the presentation of the results of these methods in subsequent chapters.

The Research Process

Questionnaire Design and Distribution

The questionnaire was divided into different sections. The first three sections consisted of attitude statements. The statements were concerned with attitudes, firstly about society generally, secondly about women in work and finally questions regarding women in the respondents' own working environment. In the analysis these three sections are termed General Attitudes (GA), General Work Attitudes (GW) and At Work Attitudes (AW).

The reasoning behind these divisions was primarily a theoretical one. Tayeb (1988) had argued that one of the main problems with past research into organisations in different cultures was their failure to disentangle the organisations' culture from the national culture, resulting in a confused analysis of a mixture of the two. To avoid this conflation, the general attitude section and those concerned specifically with the respondent's organisation were separated. However, it seems plausible that organisational culture is not constrained to the organisation alone. This may sound like a contradictory statement but it is not so. There is no reason to assume that organisational culture does not actually seep out of the organisational context to permeate organisation members' perception of the outside world. Similarly organisational culture is inevitably shaped by attitudes and values brought in from outside by the individuals who come to it. Thus, the distinction which Tayeb demands, is somewhat blurred. However, in order to address this issue, the cultures of Hong Kong and Britain were examined briefly in terms of what we can glean from existing literature. This section can be found in chapter 3. In addition by asking questions about general social attitudes the distinction can be made between what individuals believe about society more generally, before identifying what actually goes on in their work place. As a result, unlike the broader approaches of Hofstede or Trompenaars which make such detail difficult, in this study it is possible to gain a detailed understanding of the structures, history and values of each society to provide the context for the subsequent primary research. Such a distinction should make it possible to locate individuals' actions in the context of their surroundings rather than exploring them in isolation. This issue of confusion between levels of culture raised by Tayeb is an important one which this research can go some way to address. Certainly it is crucial for the development of our understanding of the operation of business systems to investigate the mechanisms which link, and separate, organisational and national cultures.

The attitude statements in the questionnaire were designed in part to establish the relevance of the dimensions of cultural difference put forward by Hofstede (1980). In addition the questionnaire aimed to examine experiences and career choices beyond Hofstede's work. Copies of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A. All the attitude statements were piloted on 100 men and women from Hong Kong and Britain. Following the pilot stage the attitude statements were translated into Chinese for the Hong Kong questionnaire and then back into English to ensure the accuracy and lack of ambiguity of the translation[26].

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[26] This was done by two separate Chinese individuals and subsequently translated back by a third.

The fourth section of the British questionnaire consisted of a work history diary to gauge the entire career of both the women and the men contacted. This diary showed how long an individual had been in any one occupation and the reasons for any changes in the career. Unfortunately it was not possible to include the work history diary in the Hong Kong questionnaire, as following pilot tests of the telephone interviews it became clear that the work history section was too lengthy to be easily utilised over the phone. In addition, it required reflection on the part of the respondent that was not possible within the limited confines of the telephone interview. Consequently a more limited career history was implemented in the Hong Kong questionnaire to gain information on first job and the length of time spent in key posts in managers' careers.

The final section of the questionnaire sought demographic information about the respondent including age, sex, ethnicity, place of birth, educational background, social class background etc. This section also sought more detailed information about the current workplace of the individual in terms of sector, size and the proportions and distribution of men and women within their own organisation. The information provided the possibility of comparison between Hong Kong and Britain where this might be appropriate.

A database of managers was obtained from the Management Development Centre of Hong Kong at the Vocational Training Council in Hong Kong. The extremely high labour turnover rates in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics 1996) meant it was difficult to maintain an up to date database of managers. To reduce time spent searching for individuals who had already moved, combined with the MDC's interest in discovering how up to date their databases were (they updated them fortnightly), a research assistant went through their entire database telephoning the organisation concerned, to inquire whether the individual still worked there. As soon as this information was obtained the name was forwarded to the Social Research Unit at Hong Kong University who had been commissioned to conduct the interviews.

The British questionnaires were sent out during late 1992 and early 1993 as a postal questionnaire via the Institute of Industrial Managers' (IIM) regular contact with their members[27]. Through their formal contact, a random sample of male and female managers were selected. 1500 managers were contacted by questionnaire and 288 responded, a response rate of 19.2%. Descriptive characteristics detailing the background of these respondents can be found in Appendix B. All nationalities other than English, Scottish and Welsh were excluded from the sample to ensure it

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[27] The Institute of Industrial Managers has now merged with the British Institute of Managers (BIM) to become the Institute of Management (IM)

reflected an entirely British sample. A second stage of selection excluded all of those who were not born in Britain so as to avoid bringing into the sample individuals who may have spent their formative years, or considerable periods of their lives, outside Britain. Following this process 237 usable responses remained thus bringing the response rate to 15.8%.

The procedure followed for the selection of the final Hong Kong sample was similar. Individuals were selected for the analysis only if they had been born in Hong Kong and were Hong Kong Chinese. Thus it was possible to exclude expatriate managers working in Hong Kong. 251 Individuals were contacted by phone of whom 164 agreed to the interview. A total of 142 of whom met the criteria mentioned above. This represents a response rate of 65% The two response rates cannot be compared meaningfully as a result of the different methods of data collection.

In-depth qualitative interviews

A sub-sample of female questionnaire respondents were selected for interview. Whilst it would have proved interesting to include both males and females in this stage of the research, as they had been included previously, there were practical reasons why this was not done. For the purposes of this thesis the crucial comparison was that between women in different cultures. So as to make most effective use of the time and resources available at this stage the focus was on women only. Those selected for interview were all those women who expressed a willingness to be interviewed and who were available during May 1993 (for the British sample) and August 1993 (for the Hong Kong sample). This lack of specification of the sample was deliberate in order that the selection process did not contain cultural bias as to the categories that I felt would be important. In qualitative cultural research it is important to allow the data to speak for itself so rather than imposing my own categories the intention remained simply to examine the range and nature of the experiences of female managers in similar circumstances in the two societies. The methodology was designed to allow the concepts and categories to emerge from the data rather than to try to impose culturally bound assumptions on them. The result was that 22 in depth interviews were conducted in Britain and 23 in Hong Kong. The interviews lasted from between one and two and a half hours. In Hong Kong the option of conducting the interviews in Chinese was made possible through the kind assistance of a Chinese research assistant from the Management Development Centre. However, it did not prove necessary to conduct any of the interviews in Chinese as all participants (when asked by the Chinese researcher during the telephone questionnaires) stated that they would be happy being interviewed in English.

The interview schedule (which can be found in Appendix D) was designed to probe how the respondent felt about and explained their career; what they saw as the sources of influence and hindrance, the particular events and experiences encountered and the reasoning behind the choices they had made. The in-depth interviews provided an opportunity to obtain extremely rich and detailed information without setting the agenda myself, without my defining what was important. Any cultural bias that occurred could only be as a reaction to myself rather that as a result of the questions. Therefore the research itself was significantly less culture bound than it would have been without the interviews. The presence of this second stage of research provided a mechanism through which the implications of the questionnaire results could be explored more qualitatively. The lack of a similar stage in Hofstede's work has meant that, whilst he provided information on what individuals do and how they behave in many countries of the world, we are little further forward in understanding how the people involved understand their behaviour.

Each of the 45 interviews was tape recorded with the permission of the interviewee. Tape recording provided the opportunity to listen closely to what was being said and follow up with appropriate probing questions (SCPR 1992). In addition recording the interviews in note form would have required an immediate judgement as to what was interesting and relevant or not. Until all the interviews had been conducted such judgements could not have been made in an informed manner. Furthermore in qualitative research, and particularly cross cultural qualitative research, remaining as close to the words of the interviewee enables a more accurate presentation of their reality. It is for this reason that there remain substantial passages of direct quotation within the presentation of findings that follow. On completion of all the interviews each tape was fully transcribed. All the tape recordings were retained to be referred to for further analysis particularly in terms of reminding the interviewer of nuance and tone.

Analysis

Statistical analysis of the questionnaire

Both the Hong Kong and British questionnaire were analysed using SPSS. The attitude statements were analysed using simple descriptive statistics in relation to the themes that emerged from the questionnaires. The questionnaire results are detailed in the following findings chapters. A full list of results of all questions can be found in Appendix C.

From the British questionnaires it was possible to plot the career path of each individual respondent. 192 respondents provided complete career diaries showing

their progression from leaving full-time education to the date of completion of the questionnaire. It is on the basis of the information from these 192 respondents that any attempts to plot full careers are derived. Details of the career paths are explored in the following discussion of the results.

Analysis of the qualitative research

The scepticism which qualitative researchers have often faced has resulted from the tendency to shroud the analysis process in mystery and a failure to disclose sufficient detail about the process (SCPR 1992). If the value of qualitative research is to be recognised it is important to overcome this mystery and be open and honest about analysis. The situation is beginning to improve as more and more qualitative researchers explain their analysis methods clearly (Bryman and Burgess 1994).

To ensure that the process entered into here is not guilty of this mysticism significant detail on the analysis process is entered into in this section of the chapter. The initial starting point for the analysis was to use a similar method to that employed by Social and Community Planning Research's (SCPR) 'Framework' technique for the analysis of their qualitative research (Ritchie 1994). This commences with the development of an index and applying this to each transcript. The index is developed by systematically reading through each transcript and identifying issues that arise, relationships between issues and any issues that the respondents identify as important. Subsections to each of the main issues gradually emerge during this process, such as within the issue of family more subtle aspects developed such as the influence of parents and of siblings on educational choices etc.

Once the index has been produced it was applied to each line, paragraph or section of every transcript by inserting the relevant index number in the margin. In this way all information about particular subjects was collected together. Similarly it is possible to see when two (or more) separate index subjects consistently emerge together thus suggesting relationships between the issues.

At the stage of indexing the aim is to break down the data into component elements. From then on the process is to rebuild the information into a series of concepts and in turn into models through which we can understand the career paths of women managers and the role that culture plays in the navigation of those paths.

In order to bring the information together visually two different types of charts were derived from the transcribed interviews. Firstly a 'central' chart was created

containing demographic information and other key information about the interviewees. In this case I included information such as the first job, the current job, sector of employment, age and marital status amongst other aspects. I decided to have two separate charts for Hong Kong and Britain so that patterns emerging would be visibly comparable.

The second type of chart SCPR (1992) termed the 'subject' chart. Using the same sequence of interviewees, to facilitate cross referencing, charts could be built up on which all the information about a particular subject or theme could be brought together. Thus the detail of the theme and the links between them became visible.

The thematic index used to access the information in the transcripts can be found in Appendix E.

Methodological issues: strengths and weaknesses and their implications for the research[28]

This section begins with an illustration of the weaknesses in the methodology before moving on to look at the strengths. Of course all research is inevitably limited by the practical constraints imposed by circumstance and resources available. Here we examine the implications of those limitations for the outcomes of the research and the contribution that the methodologies can make.

Sampling weaknesses

The British response rate of just under 16% seems a very low figure but it is not substantially below that expected. The questionnaire was lengthy requiring a high level of commitment in answering it, but this was anticipated at the design stage and considered worthwhile (despite the potential of a smaller number of responses) owing to the depth of data that would be provided. Other reasons for the low response may be the nature of the sample. Peculiar to this sample is the possibility of 'questionnaire fatigue' having only shortly prior to the distribution of this questionnaire received one from the British Institute of Management also asking about attitudes to women in management. More generally, managers as a group are likely to be busy people and therefore low response rates may be expected. Additionally the method of distribution meant there was not access to the sample population's names or addresses and consequently it was impossible to either make them personalised by addressing them to individuals nor make an effective follow up reminder as a means of increasing the response rate. However, this low response rate might imply that the questionnaire picked up particular

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[28] In the concluding chapter of this thesis the methodological significance of this research in terms of its implications for future social research is discussed. At this stage the intention is simply to outline some of the technical problems with the methodology.

Methodology

types of respondents whilst excluding others. This would be a particular problem in research which claimed to be representative. However, this research makes no such claims for the sample as it is aiming to compare similar positions in the two cultures rather than two representative samples. In addition, through comparison with national studies of women managers in Britain, the sample actually reflect very similar career paths to those found in more representative studies. Therefore the low response rate should not be considered as invalidating the results gained though caution must be exercised in their interpretation.

The need to control strictly those in the sample meant that a significant number of responses were deemed unusable. As there are still more than 100 men and 100 women then percentages remain a useful way of examining the information. The difficulty arrives in comparing smaller groups, for example on the basis of age or marital status in which the initial sample size makes such a break down less reliable. Consequently, caution is exercised in such comparisons. The intention is to get a general idea of these patterns. To examine reliably the influence of organisation size, or the type of organisation or the sector and other variables would require further research.

In the Hong Kong sample the numbers are somewhat smaller. Consequently although indication is given of responses by sex these must be interpreted with caution. Of more value are the Hong Kong answers as a total group so as to examine the general differences between the way people in Hong Kong answer questions to the people in Britain answering the same. Consequently it is the comparison of the total group of British respondents with the total sample of Hong Kong respondents that forms the bulk of the analysis. Whilst the numbers are relatively small for representing a whole territory or country, the key is not to attempt to have a statistically representative sample but rather to be able to compare individuals in similar positions where the differences are the culture and environment. This was also Hofstede's reasoning behind examining what were clearly groups of individuals non representative of the country as a whole (IBM employees) but comparing the same groups in different countries. Not using a representative sample means that conclusive statements as to the attitudes of Hong Kong managers cannot be made. Rather the intention is to examine individuals in similar circumstances in different societies so that we can identify where patterns exist and examine how these can be explained.

With regard to the interviews, the very nature of qualitative research means that the aim is not so much to be representative so as to predict the chances of a member of any particular group, subject to specified background variables, to behave a particular way. Rather the intention is to look at the range of

experiences, interpretations and attitudes that are held; to try to understand the interviewees' own views of the world, their explanations of the circumstances in which they find themselves and the reasoning behind the choices that they have made regarding their careers. For this reason the samples are not, and make no claim to be, representative of all Hong Kong or all Britain. For the reasons outlined above this should not be seen as a weakness but rather the use of a methodology for the purposes for which it is appropriate.

Comparison difficulties

The attitude statements and background information are directly comparable between the Hong Kong and British samples. As we go on to see, those comparisons can be better understood through examination of them in conjunction with the interviews, because the interviews serve as explanation of the results that emerge from the questionnaire. As explained previously it was not possible to achieve as much depth on the Hong Kong questionnaire, particularly with regard to specific changes of career path, as was obtained from the British sample. As a consequence, rather than exploring the directions of the career path through the questionnaire, this is done more effectively through the examination of existing (regrettably limited) research in the area and through available national statistics. The key function of the questionnaire is that it makes it possible to compare attitudes on a fairly broad basis, whilst the aim of the interviews is to gain greater depth of understanding of those attitudes and events.

Strengths

From reading this section it should be clear that most of the methodological problems stem from the questionnaire. In part this is due to the problems of conducting questionnaires in different languages and more specifically different cultures and the problems of interpretation that this raises. In fact I suggest that questionnaire surveys of cross cultural attitudes will always be flawed if there is not a stage in the research process when the meaning of the responses to the individual respondents are explored in some depth. The presence of both these stages in this research is one of its strengths and one that much existing research, particularly on women managers in Hong Kong, omits (e.g. Hofstede 1980, Yeung et al. 1995). A survey may be able to illustrate that similar proportions of people in different countries would answer any question in the same way (or in a different way). However, crucially, in isolation such a survey cannot show what a respondent means by answering as they did. For example, a survey would not easily recognise that an answer may have been a result of different cultural attitudes and consequently the important thing to identify is why they feel like that and not just that they do. One of the major strengths of this methodology is that

not only does it collect broad information cross culturally, but it uses qualitative research to make sense and add reality to what is otherwise a set of unexplained statistics. In explaining one of the strengths of this research the partiality and weakness of survey methods in cross cultural research becomes evident and this calls into question much of the existing research on culture. Work such as that of Hofstede or Trompenaars is very much based on this kind of survey information that does not, and cannot, explain why people answer as they do and it cannot uncover the subtleties of what people actually mean by a particular answer. It is precisely this, the meaning contained within an answer, that depicts cultural variation. In this research, by juxtaposing the results of both methodologies, it is evident that the attitude questions in the questionnaire, whilst providing often interesting results, do not delve beneath superficial statistics to show the deeper cultural attitudes that led to particular statistical results. Although a percentage agreeing with one statement may be the same in Britain and in Hong Kong through the interviews it is possible to see that although the similarity occurred rather different things are meant by it.

The organisation of findings

The following analysis presents the findings of this research by themes identified by the women themselves as important influences on, and explanations for, their experiences. Perhaps one thing to mention at the outset is that the themes are inevitably a simplified, and therefore artificial, presentation of the complexities of social life. The themes are used as an aid to analysis, expressing a simplified model of reality in order that we can understand it better. The reason for this is that the charts separate what are in reality overlapping, interacting and entwined themes. Attempts are made throughout the discussion to represent these links.

It will be noticeable that much of the following sections are written in the respondent's own words so that the voices and words of the interviewees can be heard clearly throughout the following pages. This was a deliberate choice to reduce cultural bias as far as possible. By avoiding attempts to synthesise or paraphrase what was said some of the problems of cross cultural interpretation are avoided.

Chapter 5 Findings : The careers and families of women managers

Introduction

We begin this chapter by outlining the career path models depicting women's career progression into, and within, management structures in Hong Kong and Britain. Following this we go on to examine the role the family plays in shaping the career path itself and women's experiences of that career.

It is argued that there is a pattern of career for women managers in Hong Kong which differs significantly from that of women managers in Britain. This is not to suggest that all women managers, or even all married women managers with children, follow these career paths. Within this basic model there are variations resulting from the age of the women, their socio-economic background, when applicable - husband's social class, educational background and other factors. However, despite some diversity patterns do emerge which require explanation.

The key difference is that the women managers' career path in Britain tends to be fragmented as compared to a more continuous, smoother progression by women managers in Hong Kong.

The career paths of women managers in Britain

Many researchers including Joshi (1993) Crompton (1996) Dex (1987, 1995) and Brannen (1987) have demonstrated that career breaks, transfers between careers, not holding professional occupations throughout the career, occupational downward mobility and loss of income typify the careers of women managers in Britain and the UK. Additional evidence from the British questionnaires and interviews further supports this. The low response rate explained in chapter 4 might be seen to have captured a specific group as respondents. However, the fact that the career path findings closely resemble those found in other studies suggests that at least in this respect these women have experienced career paths quite typical of women managers in general. This shows that although the sample does not make claims to representativeness it does contain within it significant proportions of the most highly represented groups amongst British women managers generally.

Table 5.1 Questionnaire results - The career paths of managers in Britain

CAREER PATH TYPE	Males n=92	Females n=100
Career characterised only by full-time occupations †	76%	45%
Disjointed* career path - Total	10%	41%
(- including spending a period in the home as full-time parent or housewife/husband)	(1%)	(29%)
(- including period spent in part time work whilst looking after children/ home part time)	(3%)	(31%)
(- Disjointed career but never been full-time housewife/husband or full-time parent)	(9%)	(12%)
Single break from full-time career -Total	14%	14%
(- To be full-time parent or housewife /husband)	(0%)	(3%)
(- As a result of unemployment)	(3%)	(2%)
(- To return to full-time education)	(8%)	(2%)
(- To work part-time/job share with less hours)	(3%)	(7%)
TOTAL	100%	100%

† These are careers without any disruptions, breaks or preiods of unemployment or part time work. This figure includes managers of all ages some of whom are in the early stages of career and so will not have had children yet. Consequently we can expect that over their later careers the proportion of women whose careers have been entirely in full time occupations will decrease further.
* For the purposes of this table 'disjointed' means two or more breaks from full-time employment. the percentage is expressed as those in that career group who have experienced that activity as a percentage of the whole male (or whole female) sample.

In Britain the experiences of the women in the sample reflected a career frequently disjointed and jagged in the sense that there are a relatively large number of changes of direction and pace, at times including complete halts. It is at the stage of having children that particularly dramatic effects emerge. Options chosen at this stage may be a substantial career break, in order to take on full time child care responsibilities, or part time work. Often part time work will be chosen on the basis of its 'fitting in' with family and child care responsibilities in terms of hours and locations. For many women this means a complete change in career,

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frequently a significant drop in occupational position and status and usually a drop in income.

> " ...I got a part time temporary contract here at the local primary school just doing two or three mornings a week... it fitted in very well with the local play school ..."

(Meryl - Britain)

Others had similar experiences...

> "I worked what was the North West of the country and had a large area to cover. That was a super job. I enjoyed it very much, I travelled a lot. We did exhibitions. We did all sorts of things and that had a lot of variety in it. I left them when I was expecting my daughter and grudgingly committed myself at that particular point to being a full-time mother."

(Clara - Britain)

Table 5.2 illustrates the kinds of events and experiences encountered by the British sample. As we might expect from the previous discussion it is clear that British men and women's level of involvement in part time work and child care is significantly different and results in different effects on the career path.

Table 5.2 Questionnaire results - Percentages of British sample experiencing specific disruptive events within their career paths

Career Disruptions	Male n=92	Female n=100
Percentage of entire sample experiencing career disruptions	24%	55%
Unemployment	10%	10%
Engaged (at some point) in part-time work	6%	38%
Engaged (at some point) in full-time home and child-care outside the labour market	1%	32%
Return to full-time education - total	16%	20%
(previously *in full-time employment)	(12%)	(14%)
(previously * in part time employment)	(1%)	(2%)
(previously unemployed)	(3%)	(0%)
(previously in full-time home and child care)	(0%)	(4%)
Percentage of entire sample experiencing no career disruptions	76%	45%
Total	100%	100%

*'previously 'denotes immediately prior to specified activity

This supports the findings of Shirley Dex who, using the Women in Employment Survey of 1980, found that women professionals in the UK were rarely professionals throughout their career[29]. Rather than having a succession of professional jobs, women tended either to start their careers in professional occupations, to leave and then perhaps much later return to a professional level, or they tended to take a long time to reach professional jobs in the first place. Women rarely had a career of only professional occupations. Of the few who did have a career in which most occupations were professional these tended to be single women or married women without children. (Dex 1987).

Dex also found that, like the women in this sample, for many women...

> "In their early years of working, occupational preferences have priority whereas during the family formation period women often trade off their preferred occupation in order to obtain a job with fewer hours. Much downward mobility resulted from women taking part time jobs after childbirth."

(Dex 1987: 122)

Downward occupational mobility resulting from women taking breaks from paid employment for child birth and child rearing and then returning to work was documented earlier by Martin and Roberts (1984). Martin and Roberts estimate that over the course of a woman's lifetime there is a 40% chance of downward occupational mobility and loss of earnings largely as a result of leaving to have children and returning to part time work. Britain has unusually high rates of part time employment amongst women to the extent that if a mother of young children is in paid employment it is twice as likely that this will be part time as it is that it will be full time (Stockman et al. 1995). These patterns can be seen to vary amongst different occupational groups as those with higher occupational status tend to be more likely to continue full time. For example, between 1989 and 1991 34 percent of women in professional, employer or managerial occupations in Britain who had children under the age of 5 were in full time work compared to 13 percent of all such mothers (Stockman et al. 1995). The evidence therefore suggests that despite variation it remains the case that it is more unusual for women to work full time whilst bringing up young children than for them to work part time or have a period entirely out of the labour market.

Once the children reach a certain age then women may return to full or part-time paid employment. However, this may be a return to a totally different career for a

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[29] For further details of this research refer back to chapter 2.

number of reasons; for some the time away from the work place makes women less employable in the eyes of many employers, who often perceive then to have lost skills rather than gained new ones or developed others (Allen 1988).

Many of the reasons expressed by the women revolve around their role in the family and the need to reconcile this with any work place considerations. For example Meryl, quoted above, was originally trained as a primary school teacher. When she had her first child she left paid employment to become a housewife and mother. A couple of years later, fairly shortly after the birth of her second child, she felt she needed something to do outside the home and was looking for a job. The type of job was not as important as simply having some job outside the home. This can also be seen in the quote from Clara below.

> *"So when I was pregnant with my first child that was it, good-bye. At that time it wasn't an issue, you know, you got pregnant and you left work and that was the way it was. I was very quickly pregnant with my second child, there's only a year between them so I had a fairly intensive time at home and then I wanted to do something other than just being at home and although we had a small holding and there was plenty to do I just wanted outside work."*

(Meryl - Britain)

During this stage Meryl worked as a supply teacher which was directly related to her previous work experience, however, she also worked as a youth worker, a sales assistant and as an unqualified social worker. Some of these jobs took place consecutively, others simultaneously, depending on the convenience of the hours, such as during play school hours and in the evenings when her husband was at home and could look after the children. On return to full time work she went into social work as an Assistant Social Worker, she was sponsored to do a Certificate Qualification in Social Work and received her first management role at the age of 44 (when the social services were restructured) 9 years after entering social work.

Clara had a similar career pattern at this stage in the family life cycle...

> *"...I don't think I took very easily to motherhood because I hated being at home. So whilst my daughter was small I went back to college just to ... I did an Institute of Personnel Management part 1 certificate just to keep my brain active, I think. I did all sorts of ... I sold houses for a time, just part-time which I quite enjoyed. I was in the show house and I showed people round and I negotiated plans and colour schemes and all the rest of it. But that was very much part time at the*

weekends... so there were a variety of part-time jobs just to try to keep my hand in."

(Clara - Britain)

Table 5.3 indicates broad agreement in both Hong Kong and Britain that career breaks are detrimental to the career and yet the pattern that emerged in Britain is one where career breaks are common. The Hong Kong sample also agreed that the career break was detrimental to career progress but in contrast to the British model the Hong Kong career path model tended not to involve these breaks. We explore this further in the next section and then move on to seek to explain why there is this difference.

"Table 5.3 Questionnaire results: "Career breaks probably result in loss of status and hinder later promotion"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	**Male** n=116	**Female** n=121	**Total** n=142	**Male** n=60	**Female** n=82
Agree	65.8%	61.2%	71.2%	83.8%	85.0%	82.9%
Disagree	16.0%	18.9%	13.3%	15.5%	15.0%	15.8%

Where attitude statement results are presented where totals do not equal 100% remainder answered Don't know/no opinion.

We have seen that the career path for the British woman manager is fragmented and significantly affected by the life cycle of both the woman herself and the life cycle of her family of destination[30]. This effect comes largely from having children because this takes place within the context of a society or culture which deems child care to be the responsibility of the female (Maret and Finley 1984, Hochschild 1989, Brannen and Moss 1991). Fragmentation also results from the impact of changes in the husband's career on her own career. Consequently, these women have reached management positions at a later point in their career than have childless or single women managers in Britain and women managers generally in Hong Kong whose career paths are examined below.

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[30] The family in which an individual ends up i.e. their spouse and their own children as opposed to the family of origin into which they are born. This distinction is explored later in the analysis through the examination of the influence of the family.

The career paths of women managers in Hong Kong

Despite the very traditional attitudes that we have seen in chapter 3, in a study of 17 different countries (including Britain) Hong Kong was rated as the most women friendly business environment in terms of women's perceptions of the environment in which they work (Abdoolcarim 1993). Here we examine some of the reasons which may explain this apparent paradox.

There is less documented evidence depicting women's career paths in Hong Kong generally and specifically their careers in management. Much of the evidence that exists comes from the Census of Population and the General Household Survey (GHS) rather than from detailed studies that look specifically at women or women managers. Consequently the data that is available tends to be general, making it difficult to examine in detail women manager's careers. For instance, the 1991 Census of population and GHS indicate that the main reasons why women leave the labour force is to take care of children/elderly/handicapped (20%) and because of an increase in the volume of housework (17%). Other reasons were deteriorating health (9%), childbirth (8%), retirement (7%), did not want to work (6%), pursued studies (4%) and to migrate to other countries (4%). Twenty five per cent fell into 'other' categories. Information on the extent to which women managers leave the labour force, and why, is not readily accessible. However, on the basis of research suggesting that the higher the education level and occupational status the more likely individuals are to remain at work after childbirth[31], we might expect that leaving rates would be lower amongst women managers than amongst women in the labour market generally.

It is evident from national data, the limited number of recent studies and the information collected in this research that in Hong Kong the model of the career paths of women managers is different from that previously described for Britain. The limited studies that are available suggest that Hong Kong women attain management positions earlier in their careers than the women in Britain (De Leon and Ho 1994). A recent study undertaken by the City University of Hong Kong in association with the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (Yeung et al. 1995) found that women managers in Hong Kong rarely took breaks in their careers. 76.6% of their representative sample of women managers had never taken a break from their career. Table 5.4 shows that, of the small proportion who had taken a break in their career, the most significant reason was to pursue further education

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[31] e.g. see Brannen 1989, Martin and Roberts 1984

to enhance their careers. Consequently, whilst taking a break in a management career was not common, when it did occur the main reason for doing so was to enhance career opportunities through educational advancement.

Table 5.4 Results of 1995 study of women managers in Hong Kong who had taken a break at some point in their careers

% of total sample who had taken a break in their career (total n =235)	n=55 (33.4% of total sample)
Reasons for taking a break in career	% of those who took breaks
Further study	30.9% (n = 17) 7.2% total sample
Looking after child	27.2% (n = 15) 6.4%
Emigration	12.7% (n = 7) 3.0%
Long tour	10.9% (n = 6) 2.6%
Recovery	5.4% (n = 3) 1.3%
Others	12.8% (n = 7) 3.0%
Total	100% (n = 55) 33.4%

Source: Yeung (1995) **The Effects of Social Change on Women in Management in the Industrial and Commercial Sectors in Hong Kong** Chinese Chamber of Commerce table 2.5 page 17.

From Table 5.4 we can see that just 15 individuals out of a representative sample of 235 women managers in Hong Kong were found to take career breaks to look after children. This represents just 6.4% of the women managers. The limited research available appears to support the suggestion of a career in Hong Kong with few breaks and disruptions

The questionnaires and interviews suggest that although a number of complete career changes may occur in Hong Kong these tend to be either fairly early on or as a strategy to enhance career progression. Career moves tend to be progressive rather than lateral or downward as occurs regularly in Britain. The Hong Kong interviewees' main reasons for a career move were promotion and opportunity rather than the constraining factors of family and male oriented labour markets as was cited in Britain.

At times what appeared to be fairly similar reasons were given to explain career changes in both Hong Kong and Britain such as that the job entailed too long hours. However, the following quotations show that in fact the meaning behind these reasons may be rather different. For example, concern with too many hours in Hong Kong was expressed when expected to work from 9 am to 11 pm 7 days

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per week. In Britain a similar concern was expressed when expected to stay till 7 or 8 pm some week days.

"One of the reasons I resigned is really the hours that I spent in that workplace. I worked seven days a week about 9 am to 11 pm every day because of the hectic environment of the pre-opening environment. And my boss she's a workaholic too and her family is not in Hong Kong because she's from the Philippines originally so she has nowhere else to go after work any way. So she stays on and I kind of feel that I have to help her out in a lot of ways so I stay on about 10 or 11 o'clock every night with her...My mother was saying 'well there's only so much you can do in your work and it's never ending work anyway and as long as you have done your best and you control your own time it doesn't make sense if you have to stay on seven days a week and then like 14 hours a day. Its really posing a lot of pressure for the family' and I figure well come to think about it, it doesn't mean anything because there are other values in life and at that time it started to make me feel that there are a lot of other things I have to consider... I don't mind working until even 8 o'clock every night depending on the project's priority. If there are projects on hand, very critical, I don't even mind working seven days a week but to me it doesn't make sense if I have to do that for a whole year. If it's a project that comes on hand and requires special attention I don't mind doing it for two or three months straight seven days but it really depends if there is a need I will do it. Also in Hong Kong I think the work environment or atmosphere is different from the States or UK where I think may be personal values plays a very important role. Over here people think a little bit different. I think that's why Hong Kong is so prosperous, because everybody is so hard working. I think to me its like different people have a different pace of working and as long as I get things done and I'm not dragging other people's timetable I think it should be fine. That's how I feel right now with my work... I still have to keep a balance with my family life, with my life outside my workplace, with my friends and with my family..... Like I said I don't have babies right now but if I have babies and if I don't think I can get someone who I can trust to take care of my baby I don't know what I would do at that time but my current thinking is that either I will find a work that will not require a lot of my time after hours. I still have to take care of my babies and to take care of my husband. Right now in Hong Kong it's easy because you can easily get a maid to take care of things for you. But if we are not here we may not be this lucky. So it really depends on where we will be and what my husband's work is going to look like and what my work is going to look like. If both of us is going to spend 14 hours everyday I don't think it would work."

(Karen - Hong Kong)

Karen had not considered the possibility of giving up work if they were to have children but simply did not want to have to work so late each night. Others who were currently single did not imagine that their careers would stop when they got married or had children but they did believe that these events would have some impact.

K.H. "If you got married how would that affect your working life?

"..especially if I decide to have children, that will affect my career...Like I said, I always put family first; If I had a sick kid that has to be taken care of, maybe I would have to call in and say I can't come in today, my kid is sick. So it does affect my career. Or if I travel overseas I would have to call home often to make sure that my kid or husband are doing ok."

(Lilly - Hong Kong)

"For women there has to be a balance. Unless I'm not married and unless my husband is extremely understanding, which I think it would be unfair, I think there has to be a balance between being a working wife and a career woman. The more I think about it the less aggressive I want to be because of the time I have to sacrifice with my family. There's still a lot of things that I have to think of outside work in terms of family, commitments to my parents and my in-laws and to my husband"

(Karen - Hong Kong)

These quotations provide a direct contrast to the single women in Britain when they were considering their work situation should they have children in the future.

"I mean we're in the throes of adoption at the moment so I don't know what I'm going to do. That was one of the reasons that I came back to this firm. In my heart of hearts I wanted to have children ...If I had ever had a baby I would have had to have given up that job because I would rather be closer."

(Avril - Britain)

As in Britain, marriage and having children tend to affect Hong Kong women managers' careers. However, this takes a rather different form. In part the effect is psychological and consequently an internal adaptation, in the form of a change of attitude, rather than a structural change in the career. For example, some of the interviewees suggested that they were no longer so aggressively ambitious and wished for greater stability than might have been considered acceptable before

marriage and children. Additionally there seems to be a determined effort not to work quite as many overtime hours.

> *"I have fixed working hours. For a working mother it's quite important that I have fixed working hours because then I can be sure that I have time to see my daughter every night and I can make better arrangements for the family"*

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

> *"I have two children, one is four years old and the other is only seven months old. They have some influence on me as my job can go on late... till 8 or 9 o'clock and then I come back to my home. But now because my baby is too young I must stop my job around 7.30 and then I go back home. Also because my sons are asleep around 10 o'clock so I must take time to play with them."*

(Amanda - Hong Kong)

Some of the Hong Kong women managers did take breaks in their careers, not as an automatic choice but either as a result of a lack of alternatives or because opportunity allowed it. However, these breaks tended to be brief.

> *I have four [children]...I like to work, however, part of me really like to stay with the children or like to see how they grow up. I like to have some input... I only have time off with my first son. Before he was born and then maybe about 9 months after that. Then with the others we were doing the business so I don't really get time off per se. You know, when a baby comes the baby comes. So I worked to the day...the day before, or the night before I had the baby. I think family and working its like both things are important but if I have to really come to a choice, you know a very hard choice I think I will choose family. But sometimes it's hard when you're working you also feel the responsibility to the company or place you work that you cannot just say "I quit"."*

(Caroline - Hong Kong)

This psychological centrality of the family may have a physical base in that it is the social roles women are expected to perform that may encourage them to adapt their own attitudes in order to cope with conflicting roles[32]. Nevertheless it has a psychological effect on the women themselves. This has knock on effects on the

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[32] The interviews and the questionnaires suggest that in Hong Kong women are still perceived to be responsible for most of the family and household tasks. There is much documented evidence of this pattern in Britain as indicated in the text. However, this has not been documented to the same degree in terms of the household responsibilities of women managers in Hong Kong though the suggestion is present in the work of those writing in the area (De Leon and Ho 1994)

career, such as what jobs the women go on to do and the speed at which they change occupations or position.[33]

In Britain the family is also significant. The difference between Britain and Hong Kong, in this respect, is that in Hong Kong the family is of psychological influence in the sense that it brings about changes in attitude towards the career rather than structural changes (though the attitudinal change may lead to structural effects). However, the family in Hong Kong does not have the same direct, structural influence on the actual occupation undertaken as it does in Britain where it can be seen that the family of destination plays a significant role in determining what types of job are performed and the choices made concerning them. These ideas are illustrated in Figure 5a and are explored further in the remainder of this chapter.

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[33] Because the questionnaire and interviews were directed at women still in management the model developed out of the results cannot allow for any women who give up paid employment entirely and did not return to the labour force and therefore would not have been captured in the sample. However, because the women in the Hong Kong sample all worked full time and had generally done so throughout their career the model does show that part time and more flexible working hours are rarely chosen by women managers in Hong Kong for whatever reason.

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Figure 5a The structural or attitudinal impact of the family

Britain

influence of family
circumstances

⟶   INDIVIDUAL   ⟶

changing to a different job that
fits better with those
circumstances

Hong Kong

influence of family
circumstances

⟶   INDIVIDUAL   ⟶

changing attitude to the same job
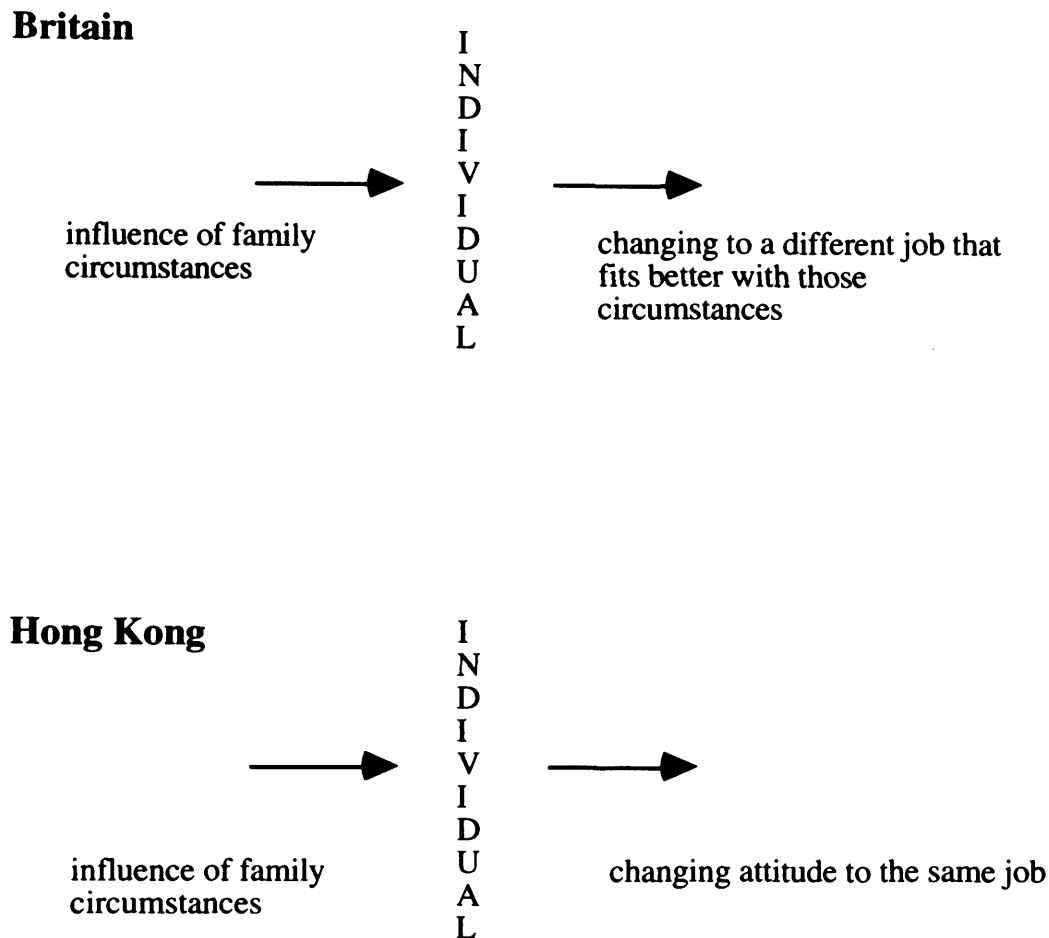
The influence of the family

Originally it had seemed sensible to make the distinction between 'family of origin' and 'family of destination' as a natural divide between two different but linked groups of people. The distinction does serve this purpose in the sense that it enables us to pin point accurately the individuals within the whole family network to whom we refer. However, the research demonstrates that this perception of two separate sides (or perhaps ends) of the family is very much a cultural one which is not directly applicable in the same way in Hong Kong, or within Chinese culture generally, as it is in western societies. The very use of the terms reflects a particular perception of what 'family' means. The reason that it is not appropriate in Hong Kong is that there is not the same degree of separation between the two parts (origin and destination). Both ends are a part of what constitutes a family in

Hong Kong whilst in Britain each new married couple tended to set up on their own and bring up their own children until they in turn left to raise their own families.(Stockman et al. 1995). Consequently, this distinction was discarded and the material is discussed using the more specific foci of Parents, Siblings, Husband, Household and child-rearing, Economic circumstances and Family's direct influence on the careers of the women managers

Parents

Parents' influence on educational choices

Social class, or rather family wealth, is important in both societies. This is not surprising but is important in the sense that the different standards of living result in different effects. This can be related to the value attached to education. Education is only valuable when there is enough income to support it. In Britain when parents did not have education they seemed to want their children to do better and to get more education than they did.

In Hong Kong education is less valued for women. This is particularly interesting in a culture in which Confucianism attributes high value to education. Changes in attitudes towards education are symptomatic of huge differences in attitudes between generations. These women's fathers do not see the relevance of education for women yet the women themselves take it very seriously often from a young age[34]. Therefore these are values that they have learnt, but not from their parents.

This may imply that many of our notions of socialisation are western ones in that they explain the western experience. Socialisation occurs within many social structures but in the west there has been an implicit suggestion that it is within the family environment that the most fundamental ideas and attitudes are internalised. In a society such as Hong Kong where the differences in the experience between generations is vast this implicit suggestion is problematic. Many attitudes and values cannot be taught by parents because they have no experience of that which they relate to. Clearly the family remains an important mechanism of socialisation particularly regarding general attitudes and values or personal philosophies such as the importance of hard work and discipline. Nevertheless in rapidly changing circumstances the specifics which detail how those general attitudes are utilised must inevitably be less influenced by family socialisation. The environment outside the family must, in a rapidly developing society such as Hong Kong, be

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[34] We explore the father's view individually and the influence he holds later in the chapter.

relatively more significant than it might be in a society in which change has been more gradual.

In Hong Kong the father tends to make the decisions for the child when young. Related to education key decisions are concerned with the type of school attended and the point at which education should stop. Although these decisions are largely non negotiable there is relatively little pressure placed on subject choice because the parents themselves (often immigrants from China[35]) may have very little education and subsequently limited knowledge regarding subject areas. As a result of the lack of knowledge parents seem less inclined to become involved in decisions regarding subject choice[36].

> *"My parents did not set out with the intention of bringing up a very outstanding child. What they demand of us is a diligent student, an obedient child...[My parents influenced me] ...in a very traditional Chinese way. You have to respect the elders and you have to do your duty while you are playing your student roles by just having good studies and good results at school. My parents were not that educated. The older generation in Hong Kong are normally not that educated in general. So they did not have any impact on my studies in a way that they do not have that knowledge to give me advice. So during school and university all the subjects that I am going to study was my decision."*

(Stella - Hong Kong)

For a number of reasons; the nature of Hong Kong society, its rapid change from a comparatively poor economy to a highly industrialised one and the fact that many of its early population were immigrants, the respondents' parents were of a generation who tended to be fairly poor. In a poor family children may be expected to help out financially, leading to pressure to leave education as early as

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[35]This historical, demographic and geographic relationship with China illustrates the importance of the relationships between a society and those surrounding it and the various international or global relationships within and between regions. These relationships develop as a central strand throughout this research and are something to which we return. In the case of Hong Kong there are three sets of particularly important international relationships. These relationships are: i) between Hong Kong and China. Fluctuations in the political situation in China have had significant effects in Hong Kong throughout its history and Hong Kong remains inextricably tied to events and change in China. ii) The ties between Britain and Hong Kong as a British colony also explain some of the particular cultural attitudes and structures that have developed in Hong Kong. iii) Less specifically the situation in Hong Kong has also been influenced by its relationship with the immediate region surrounding it. Hong Kong's wealth relative to other countries in the region has set it aside from them and resulted in it acting as a magnet for individuals and groups seeking higher wages and political freedom. All these issues are explored further in the following chapter.

[36] For the next generation where the parents are themselves well educated this situation may change. As parents have the knowledge to participate in subject related decisions as well as more general educational decisions, children will have even less involvement in decisions regarding their education.

possible and they may work in the family business from a young age (including whilst they are still at school). Some children are more likely to face this situation than others. For instance females (as their education is seen as less important) and especially the eldest daughter or eldest child (who can then support younger siblings' education) seem particularly vulnerable to these pressures. When the eldest child is a son there is greater pressure to find a stable and secure occupation with a good income rather than the pressure to leave education which eldest daughters seem to encounter.

> "I never stopped attending this kind of course [evening classes] from administration, accounting to public relations." [K.H.: "Why was that?"] "Because I still find that I have not got enough knowledge compared with my brothers and sisters...Because I am the eldest, at first I complained why I should not have the opportunity to go to study abroad but my brothers and sisters can go to Canada...I would say we are a normal family. My father, because I wanted to be a secretary first and at that time my family's finances would not be sufficient for me to study abroad. After a few years I worked full time and then I can earn some money and support the family and then my father and mother said although you cannot go abroad but we can give the chance to your brothers and sisters.... So I think well they had their opportunities to study abroad of course they can learn much knowledge about basics or theoretical things...but I think experience is more important. So in most of the evenings...I attend the Hong Kong University and Chinese University extra mural course...management studies, secretarial...as I work in the personnel department so I go for the personnel certificate course as well as advanced personnel management. So I attended more than 50 certificate course and recently last year I got a Masters of Business Administration degree."

(Junia - Hong Kong)

Parents in Hong Kong, certainly at the time the respondents were children, worked hard to support big families. Consequently, as well as enlisting children's help financially, in the parents' absence the children become a support for each other in a range of ways.

> "My parents are quite normal because my mother is a housewife only and my father is a worker. I have two elder brothers and one elder sister so they are very young and go out to work and the whole family job is taken on by myself. For example ...cooking and also teach my three younger brothers.. I have studied a degree at school but not in the daytime but in the evening. Daytime we have a retail shop...and I took care [of it] by myself and my older sister. So I just study

in the evening. Maybe the main thing for me is I like reading so I pass free time reading. My parents stop my education, their common sense is women don't need to study so much. "

(Amanda - Hong Kong)

The picture that is emerging here can be explained and understood in the context of Redding's depiction of the family (1990) and Hofstede's dimension of collectivity (1991). Redding suggests that outside of the family in Chinese society the individual is nothing, is meaningless. Therefore what might seem a sacrifice to a different culture, for example be viewed as a sacrifice in the west, is actually self preservation. Self preservation and success are inextricable linked with the survival and success of the family. For instance, if the eldest child left school in order to help the family financially they could still provide help with younger siblings' studies and help finance them going overseas for their education if necessary. This may seem like a sacrifice of the elder child but the family as a whole, including that individual, is substantially better off for it and as a whole gains greater social status and prestige.

"During the Advanced level examination I studied Chinese and English literature, history and English. I loved all the subjects particularly English and Chinese literature. So I decided that if I got in to University that either subject would do, but translation would be a different area and you would find a job more easily...I am the eldest in the family so I had to secure a job because I have one younger sister and two brothers. My father was a business man but during my final year he had health problems and had to retire at that time so I was quite eager to get a quite secure and stable job to support the family at least partly. That is one of the reasons I took translation. There is quite a queer phenomena, in my translation class there were 28 students (only 2 boys) and more than half of them, about two thirds, were the eldest in the family. "

(Betsy - Hong Kong)

Different positions in the Hong Kong family carry different obligations and responsibilities which affect the family members' outlook and aims. For instance as the eldest (or as an individual who needs to be financially secure because the family depends on them) the decision to change jobs or take risks seems more difficult. Whilst explaining the requirement for them to hold a good, well paid and stable job some of the women spoke about how their younger siblings had totally different ideas. If they were not happy at work or were not given the requested

time off for a holiday then it was easy simply to "quit"; this seemed to occur whether there was another job available or not.

Culture, family and any other social phenomena do not exist in isolation and the example above is particularly interesting because it demonstrates these links and shows how culture and family situation are both linked with the economy. In an environment where jobs are scarce 'quitting' jobs would carry greater risk. The actual behaviour that we are seeing is not simply a result of culture but rather a result of the interaction of culture and the economy.

The obligations of family members derived from their particular gender, position and status in the family helps explain the perception that there is less need for women to receive high levels of education. By supporting their brothers through a good education female children are helping to secure their family's success, survival, social status and prestige.

Relationships between parents and children

Recognition of the role of collectivism in Hong Kong appears to be crucial in understanding the way in which the family considers itself and consequently perceives its members. In Hong Kong the career, its path and the decisions it entails are not mentioned in terms of the individuals but rather in terms of its impact on, and importance for, the whole family group. Individual abilities and qualities are not things which parents take "pride" in as they do in Britain. Rather in Hong Kong the concerns are what a particular job, or career or career choice, can contribute, and mean, to the family and what that career or job will mean in terms of society and the concomitant social status.

Financial security emerges as an issue in both Hong Kong and Britain. In Hong Kong what is being referred to is financial security for the whole family. In Britain, whilst the respondents would support their families in times of struggle and through particular crises, the extended family as a unit is not usually the immediate concern.

> "In Chinese tradition we always put the family first. I think it plays a major role in my life. In a way I want to get away from them. I am still single, I am not staying with my family. At the same time I want to be close enough to know what is going on, especially my parents, when they are in their old age I can take care of them but at the same time I do not want to be too close. They will still treat you as a girl no matter how old you are, you have that kind of conflict but I always put my family first. According to Chinese tradition the sons are supposed to look

after the parents. In my family everybody looks after them. Each month we give them money, ten of us (or eight of us because two are overseas). We give them money because they are not working, to make sure they are okay, they are taken care of."

(Lilly - Hong Kong)

The roles of mother and father and their specific influence.

Figure 5b illustrates that respondents perceived a greater difference between their mothers' and their fathers' role in Hong Kong than in Britain though the nature of the roles themselves remained broadly equivalent. The similarities existed in terms of what was considered the mother's role and what was considered the fathers role. However, in Britain it was evident that whilst the content remained broadly similar to the equivalent role in Hong Kong, in Britain there was much more likelihood of overlap between the roles. Sometimes one partner would carry out tasks traditionally part of their partners role. However, in Hong Kong the traditional roles remained distinctive and occurrences of overlap were extremely rare.

Fig 5b Comparison of The role of Mother and Father in Hong Kong and Britain

Dividing line separating mother's and father's role

UK

Mother ◄► Father

Hong Kong
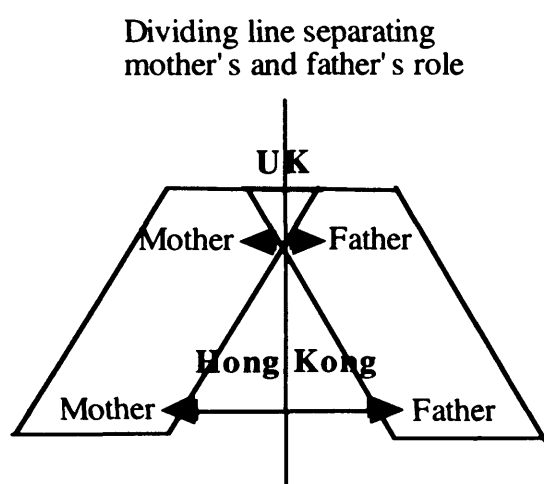
Mother ◄—— ——► Father

The similarities in the way in which the roles of mother and father are viewed in Hong Kong and Britain are striking. Whilst similarities exist, in Hong Kong each

of those roles are more strongly defined and so the mother's and the father's roles are more distinct than they are Britain[37].

As we have seen with regard to educational choices, the father in Hong Kong is the decision maker. It is the father who offers the possibility of prestigious overseas education and it is the father who applies pressure to leave education. Consequently, it is the father who may have to be battled with by determined individuals who wish to receive higher education, against the 'family's' wishes.

> *"I did well for all my primary and secondary schools. I had scholarships for every academic term. Because I came from a poor family if I didn't get the scholarship I doubt that I could complete my secondary school. In fact my father has always been asking his daughters to go to work in those factories...he said "it will be a good way out for girls because anyway you get married soon and you will become a member of another family". In older traditional Chinese men there's always regret not to have a boy to carry on the family name and in the 1960s and early 1970s...in Hong Kong when the manufacturing industry was booming girls are supposed to work in factories after they have completed their primary education at age about 13,14 because they did make a lot of money by the standard then....At the age of 12 or 13 I have to face my first challenge of life and that's to insist to go to school, to secondary instead of, you know, going to work in a factory. I cry, I yell because I just want more education. I can see it then, you know, its no hope to work in those factories. And it is the first challenge I have to think about...A girl, just a teenager girl to oppose or raise opposition to your parents..."*

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

It tends to be the father who influences the route that is taken and determines what is a suitable career or educational route.

> *"My Godmother was a nurse and she was a very pleasant nurse, a very pleasant person to be with...I guess every little girl has a dream sometimes you know 'what do I want to be?' and I wanted to be a nurse just like my godmother. But my father thinks its very dangerous because you get...Well who comes to see you? Besides seeing the Doctor you see the patients. The patients are always sick and you will always come into contact with all those things. And I thought well what's*

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[37] It is important to note that in this discussion we are focusing on the **parents** of the women managers and therefore the women managers' beliefs and perceptions about the roles of **their** parents. This is a separate issue from the respondents' own parenting and the roles of mothers and fathers today. We pick up this second aspect later in the chapter when discussing the respondent's own role as a parent.

the next best thing I can do? Well not necessarily the next best thing but what are the alternatives that I can be? Instead of handling the patients, physically handling them so that's why I picked on pharmacy and went to pharmacy school."

(Caroline - Hong Kong)

In Hong Kong it is the father rather than the mother who tends to have the most *positive* influence in the sense that respondents said they have learnt from him or took on his attitudes and values. The mother's influence on the other hand tends to be a more *negative* one. Interviewees said that they are not like their mothers or do not want to take on her "passive, caring role".

"Maybe it is the Chinese way or the discipline I carry from my father. We are always very strict and I pass this on to my staff... He [father] is very strict to his daughter, to his children...most Chinese carry this from their fathers. My mother used to be very passive and take care of household things, love the children and that is all"

(Teresa - Hong Kong)

Only when the mother moved away from the passive role did it seem that she became admired by the respondents and displayed characteristics that they might wish to emulate.

"I think in the Chinese family ...the older generation still thinks that they have to groom the boys and it is always the daughter who must make the sacrifice...It is mainly because of the traditional way of thinking; the man has to support the family later on and the daughter always stay at home. Once they get married they are the husband's problem. Normally if both of them can get to university it is the boy who will get the chance to go. If they have a house it is always the boy who will get it. I have got 2 brothers and a sister but in my family we are treated fairly. I don't think it's a general phenomenon but in some ways true. My mother is quite active and open that is the main reason. My father even though he is a business man is quite reserved and conservative. He still has the traditional thinking that boys have to go out and that woman should marry as soon as they are mature, and it is better for them to have a home of their own and to stay at home. It is always my mother who influences me, she is quite an active open minded person. She always encourages us to do voluntary work and to go out and see the outside world. We have our own free will to choose what we want to do...She took care of us and she worked in my father's factory. He opened a manufacturing factory and she helped him. I am sure that if she got the chance to

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study she would complete a university degree. If she got the chance to work she would be a very good career woman but the last generation couldn't afford to do that."

(Betsy - Hong Kong)

"My father has played a very important role in my life. He had to make a living. To take care of 10 children wasn't easy. He worked very hard, he own[ed] a small company and worked very hard days and nights. That's one thing I learned, about working hard. He is always nice to people, he will always go extra miles to help people, a very gentle guy. To be responsible, it's not easy, responsibility...[He has] affected the way I do things. I would like to feel responsible, to get along with people well and try to be a good person."

(Lilly - Hong Kong)

One of the things that stands out in these accounts is the notion of working and having an underlying ethic of hard work and discipline. This is not something that seems to underpin British working life and attitudes to work but is something that is readily evident in many of the Hong Kong narratives that are presented in these chapters. In addition these accounts portray some interesting similarities in individuals' perceptions of their parents' influence of them in Britain.

"My father is a bit of a travelaholic as well and he's been a tremendous influence on my life...I mean he's one of these people who has done what he wanted to do in his life without being tied by social constraints. He worked his guts out from the age 20 to 45 and then he retired at 45 and has been living and sailing on boats ever since. This was his dream and he achieved it. So he's quite a high achiever in that respect. He's always encouraged us to do what we want to do and never knocked us. Even when I went to the United States and came back penniless. Yes he's been quite a big influence in my life...[K.H. "What about your mother?"] "Much less so. because my mother wanted me to settle down. In fact I've probably done things because it's the opposite of what my mother wanted...not so much done things but perhaps avoided doing things because it was what she wanted."

(Sarah - Britain)

In Britain perceptions of the mothers' and fathers' roles are very similar to those in Hong Kong, however, there appears to be greater variation in what the roles entail. Although many of the mothers of the British sample did work outside of the home at some point whilst the children lived there, in general the mother's

influence was that they *did not* want to be like them. Fathers seemed to have the strict, disciplinarian role but both parents tended to play a role in the choices made about the children's upbringing.

The positive influence of the father and negative influence of the mother is interesting in the light of research in Britain that has suggested that a high proportion of successful business women were particularly close to their fathers and influenced by their fathers' occupational choices and preferences rather than by their mothers' (Devine 1994). In many ways this is as we might expect as some degree of rejection of the stereotypical female role is necessary in order to dedicate a substantial portion of life to something outside the context of the family. In Hong Kong, however, working is a source of financial stability and a means of combating the uncertainties of the future for the family. Consequently working may be seen as representative of that dedication to family rather than an indication of neglecting the family as it has been seen in Britain.

The women in the Hong Kong sample are united by the fact that they have rejected traditional attitudes of what constitutes a female role as held by their fathers. However, in rejecting his advice regarding goals in life they have not rejected the general characteristics of their father's role. They have been influenced by what he is, for example a strict disciplinarian who believes in hard work and no one gets something for nothing. The Hong Kong women managers in the sample want to become like their fathers but in order to do so they must reject their fathers' traditional expectations for them as females. Consequently, whilst rejecting advice that would constrain them, they accept and take on board many of the general principles and underlying philosophies that they see their father as holding. These therefore are not traditional female traits or necessarily traits that the father would believe were important for their daughters to hold. Nevertheless they are attitudes that the daughter has learnt from her father.

Sibling relationships

Sibling relationships, in the form of obligation and support between siblings, does not appear as an issue in Britain whilst it is frequently cited, by siblings in different positions in the family, as an issue in Hong Kong. These relationships are a substantial influence on the way people behave, their attitudes to life, to work and to other people.

The family operates on the basis of a series of relationships between the different members which provides the skeleton of the family's structure so broadly determining the form it takes. It is these relationships, and how they are

interpreted, that makes families in different cultures rather different from each other.

In Britain the predominant (almost exclusive) relationship is that of parents to children either individually or to the children collectively. Even when the family is a close and supportive one relationships between siblings do not emerge as significant in determining family form. In Hong Kong, on the other hand, a relationship between siblings is central to the individual's understanding of the family. There are obligatory relationships between parent and child and vice versa but additionally there are obligatory relationships between the various siblings the nature of which is dependent on that individual's position in the family (i.e. eldest, youngest or in the middle) and dependent on their sex. The relationships that structure the Hong Kong Chinese family make it a single unit by tying together the various parts, and structures within it, in a way that did not emerge in Britain.

The rather different relationships with differing degrees of importance are recognisable when talking about the concept of the family and what it actually means to individuals. In Britain responses tended to be along the lines of "Oh I've always assumed I'd have children" or "I simply do not want to have children", implying a concept of family composed of parents and children even if that is often not the way that most families actually live in Britain today[38].

Asking about the family in Hong Kong provokes quite a different response. In Hong Kong having children is only part of what it is to have a family. Responses to questions about the importance of family resulted in far broader responses, such as

"well although I'm unusual in living on my own I do try to see my parents and sisters at least twice a week and I try to respect them".

(Teresa - Hong Kong)

In Hong Kong there are two main stages of the sibling relationship; firstly as children and secondly in adulthood. The British counterpart is not described because, as explained above, this does not arise as a significant issue.

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[38] Britain is said to have evolved from a time when extended families were the norm to the prevalence of nuclear families today. As a consequence of such an argument it might be suggested that Hong Kong's form of family is simply reflective of the particular stage of development that it is currently at and that over time it too will evolve towards an increase in nuclear families. Admittedly the declining birth rate in Hong Kong is likely to mean that families will be smaller, however this alone is not enough to imply that they take on a form recognisably similar to our own. It seems probable that the relationships that underpin the nature of the family and interaction between family members, which are evidently very different from that found in Britain, would prevent significant, or total, convergence.

Sibling relationships in childhood

The eldest child, or older children, in the Hong Kong Chinese family will often be the support to the others in a number of ways. Firstly, by seeing themselves as the leader and therefore obliged to set a good example to the younger family members. For instance eldest children may feel under pressure (imposed by themselves) to do well in their studies as a means of encouraging their younger brothers and sisters to do the same.

> *"I'm the eldest... the pressure comes from myself that I have to be a good example for my brothers and sisters...Somewhere along the line I made up my mind that I would try to be good. That's about age 13. And before that I'm kind of vague in my directions. I don't know where I'm going. I'm just told to study...I'm just...I don't make up my mind on anything, my parents do that. You know where to go, what to wear and all that. But as I enter secondary school suddenly I find that I can think on my own and I decided to do my best. There's a direction... you know...not very clear but I want to try my best. Especially you know, I think I'm old enough to appreciate my younger brothers and sisters and I want to set a good example for them because I love them and I don't want them to go astray."*

(Caroline - Hong Kong)

This educational success can be useful as more than simply setting an example as gaining access to a school increases the chances of younger siblings having a high quality education. By gaining a place at a 'good' 'famous' school, the elder child is increasing the chances of her younger sisters also having the opportunity for a high standard of education.

> *"I come from a very big family with 7 sisters and brothers and I am the eldest. I don't come from a very wealthy family so even when I was in primary school I helped the family economically because my family operates a grocery stores in the district where we live and so I helped in the store when I was in primary school and I helped there when I was still in university...because I am the eldest in the family so very often I regard myself as the leader. Because there are 7 small brothers and sisters who really look upon me as the leader to help them, to guide them and so on... I have to help them with homework with studies and also ...in the case of Hong Kong we pay much attention to choosing a so called 'good' school a 'famous' school. So because I have gone to a pretty famous girls school in Hong Kong, so all my sisters go into the same school. At least that was a very strong influence on that...I knew that if I can get into a good school then my*

sisters will be able to go into the good school."

(Christine - Hong Kong)

The birth rate in Hong Kong is declining (Hong Kong Census of Population, 1991). And Christine went on to express concern about the prospects for her son as he was an only child. How would he be supported through life and how could they ensure he got a good education were issues that worried her. As the family is such a central social unit changes in it may have dramatic importance for social life generally.

"...So I knew if I can go into a good school then my sisters will be able to go into the good school...It's still the same now in Hong Kong. So I have difficulties because I only have one son and he will have no reference and so on..."

(Christine - Hong Kong)

Thus the eldest may perceive themselves, and be perceived by their siblings, as the leader but this may not necessarily mean that the eldest is in a good position to continue with education after compulsory schooling ends. The eldest child is capable of earning an income first so another way that they might support the family is by leaving full time education either to help in a family business full time[39] or to earn in order to support financially the parents and the younger children with their studies. This will not always mean the end to education as determined individuals begin at this time with evening studies because of their interest in education. The elder children will also be in part responsible for the domestic chores as well as supporting the family business and helping younger siblings with their studies. So there is a complex role for the different members of the family which whilst not necessarily benefiting individual family members directly does benefit, support and finance the family as a unit and thus the livelihood of the individual within the family.

It is possible that middle children do not have such extensive obligations to family members as these tend to be met by the elder and the younger children. Consequently perhaps individual independence amongst middle children is attained earlier.

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[39] They will probably have been helping in a family business on a part time basis for a considerable time already.

Sibling relationships in later life.

In later life siblings may look after the children of brothers and sisters so enabling them to enter paid employment. 'Weekend parenting' becomes a possibility. Weekend parenting is not unusual, it is not the exception and nor is it in any way frowned upon as it might be in Britain[40]. The reason for this is that the family brings up its children and if it is an aunt rather than the biological mother that is insignificant. What is significant is that the family brings up that child. So just as the family is organised in such a manner that it is financially supported so too does it organise itself in such a way that the children are well cared for and brought up within its safe environment. In fact it might be considered strange should this not be the case. Why would a task become a single individual's or pair of individuals' responsibility in the collective environment of the family unit in Hong Kong?

> *"When my first son was born I didn't have a domestic helper, I just took him to my eldest sister to take care of him and then at the weekend we took him back home"*

(Amanda - Hong Kong)

A significant portion of child care is carried out on a daily basis by Filipino maids[41] which seems contrary to what is said above about child care being carried out by the family. However, this care still occurs within the context and environment of the family often with other members of the family present (increasingly this is grandparents). The first two or three years of the child's life tended not to be in the care of 'foreign' maids as the child was considered to be too young to be looked after outside of the family. Once the decision had been made that the child was old enough to be looked after by a maid it still was not easy to do. Despite the normalcy of employing foreign domestic maids, for those women in the sample who did so, the decision was usually a wrenching one. Considerable time and effort went into getting the 'right' person. For some of the women there was a great deal of anxiety, concern, anguish and guilt involved.

> *"I have a nightmare with my first Filipino maid. It was so bad that it even affected my relationship with my husband... It's such a painful experience it was*

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[40] Recent media reports in Hong Kong have begun to express concern regarding what happens to children when both parents work but as yet this does not seem to have reached a high pitch (Asiaweek 1992)

[41]This is examined further throughout this chapter and the following chapters.

some four years ago now...Now in a traditional Chinese family a man never cares anything about the family. My husband only knows where to find his mug in the kitchen. Other than that he knows nothing about where his shirts are, where I store shoes or where the sewing box is stored. ..I got a Filipino maid to look after my two year old daughter...an auntie looks after my daughter from birth until two year[s] old because I don't want a foreign maid to take care of such a small baby...So when she's stronger I think at the age of two I take her home. I was just a weekend parent for the first two years. I took her home and hired a live in maid... and I'm living together with my father in law, traditional family right, and so this first Filipino maid was a very tricky person, a villain. She was typically taking advantage of the free air tickets to ...buy goods to and from the Philippines and Hong Kong and is doing some trading. And so after three months of satisfactory performance then she turned all these tricks on me...like giving cold drinks in winter to my daughter. Never give her enough warm clothes, let her run around in bare feet and making a bad dinner and disobeying all the instructions I have given. For example, I needed some suits to be ironed and pressed and I never found them being handled correctly...Later I found out she wants to get back home but she didn't want to resign otherwise it would affect her record with the immigration department.. So she's forcing me to kick her out because under our current Labour Ordinance as an employer we have to provide her with a free ticket to send her back to the Philippines...Our relationship turned so sour that eventually I had to call the police to get her out. She was yelling, shouting like a tigress and demanding that we give her money instead of an air ticket. Of course we couldn't do this because we have a feeling that she may just disappear in Hong Kong taking the money and we will be responsible for her whereabouts. So we almost have to get the police to escort her to the airport. ...during the three months where she and I are giving each other difficulty my husband never stands on my side... I don't mean that he is not on my side but he just didn't care. Every time I complained he said..."I don't want to talk to that woman, you must find a way to solve the problem" and makes me feel very cross about why I have to do all this...I feel guilty for being a working mother because I don't have time to spend with my daughter and more guilty because I couldn't find a proper nanny for her."

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

Interestingly it was not the same feeling of guilt sometimes expressed in Britain that women felt guilty going to work and leaving their child as has been shown by Brannen for example (1987) and further demonstrated in this study.

"The guilt complex is tremendous, I'm sure this is true of most women who work full time and have family responsibilities. The guilt complex in terms of what perhaps you're neglecting, all the things that...are you being fair to your children? I mean in this job we quite often work evenings as well as all day , I mean you're supposed to get a day off but you never do. You come into the office first thing in the morning and I normally , I try and get home for that 4 to 6 period as the children come home from school because quite often I'm back here [at work] by 6.30 so I don't see an awful lot of them but that period is actually quite important and you feel very guilty. An I neglecting my children? Mine are now at the age where they'll actually tell me and sometimes they'll get very frustrated and they say "you're always at work" and I have to say "I'm sorry, my job is very important to me and you have to accept it is important to me" I say that "if I stayed at home I would be so miserable and " don't want to sit at home waiting for you two to come home". I want something else and when you talk to them rationally they can accept it and that's fine but it doesn't stop the guilt."

(Clara - Britain)

By comparison in Hong Kong the guilt revolved more around issues such as that mentioned by Virginia above, that the maid they had chosen might not be the 'right' one or that they were not really competent.

In Britain as children become adults, the relationship between parent and child changes, breaking down slightly so that once an individual marries the 'new' family is their family and the 'old' family is less a part of everyday life. Family is always there (both parents and siblings) in times of emergency or in unusual or difficult circumstances but it is not a part of the "new family". There is a clear distinction. It is under these conditions that the western developed concepts of 'family of origin' and 'family of destination' make most sense.

One of the implications of this (perhaps a crucial one for our interests) is how these familial relationships are reflected in society and the implications of this for the woman manager and her career. In Britain, as can be seen in chapter two, it has been argued that it is women's role in the family which militates against high status, highly rewarded occupations in the labour market. This is a western based perception which is not applicable in Chinese culture or certainly Chinese culture within Hong Kong. The notion that women's role as child-rearer is the prime factor affecting their progression in the labour market is evidence of western ethnocentrism. In cultures, such as Hong Kong, child rearing is taken on by "the family" and not the "individual". In practice, of course, there is role differentiation

between members of the family and child rearing responsibilities will fall more to some members than to others[42]. Nevertheless what is considered to be the greatest barrier for women striving for management careers in Britain does not appear to have the same impact in Hong Kong.

The influence of the husband/partner and his career

Although there are significant proportions of single women in the samples married and partnered women do make up the greater proportion[43]. For this reason an examination of the husband/wife relationship and its impact on the career is still crucial. In addition for the single and childless women, although the dual role of wife/mother and manager may not yet be a part of their career path for some, though not all, it is likely to be so in the future.

In Hong Kong and Britain the manner and degree in which the husband's work impacts on the wife's career is dramatically different. In Hong Kong the husband's career has relatively little impact. Husband and wife can work in relative isolation, or independence, from each other. A change in either career need not necessarily have any impact on the other. In part this relates to the geography of Hong Kong. At only 416 square miles (Whitaker's Almanac 1991) it is within commuting distance from most residential locations in Hong Kong to the main business districts. Thus if one partner changes their job this need not require the family's relocation. Even in situations where moving home did occur it would be unusual that such a move would prevent commuting to the original job. Hofstede's illustration of the pressures of cultural change includes geography as a influencing factor.

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[42] However this is, perhaps surprisingly, not just the female members of the family. Recent newspaper reports suggest that grandparents (both grandparents) are getting increasingly involved in their grandchildren's upbringing and both grandmothers and grandfathers can be seen outside nursery schools and kindergartens waiting to collect their grandchildren. (Asiaweek 1992)

[43] See Appendix B and Appendix C for detailed breakdown of marital status for the whole questionnaire sample.

Figure 5c The Stabilising of Culture Patterns

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES Forces of nature Forces of man: trade,conquest Scientific discovery		
ORIGINS Ecological Factors: Geographic Economic Demographic Genetic/hygenic Historical Technological Urbanization	**SOCIETAL NORMS** Value systems of major groups of population	**CONSEQUENCES** Structure & functioning of institutions: Family patterns Role differentiation Social stratification Socialisation emphases Education Religion Political Structure Legislation Architecture Theory Development

Reinforcement

Source: Hofstede 1984:22

Geography is illustrated by Hofstede as one of the pressures for cultural change and this can clearly be seen in the case of Hong Kong. Hong Kong is an example of a geographically small society and this affects much of everyday life. Geography thus interacts with everyday behaviour in the production of culture and cultural norms.

In Hong Kong the impact of the husband's/partner's career tends to be psychological and indirect rather than physical or direct. The psychological effect results from the feeling of incompatibility between roles of wife and career woman and the feeling that a working man needs to be 'taken care of' by his wife. It is in this way that the impact of social norms governing the roles expected of a wife and mother can be seen.

In Britain the situation is rather different. The geographical size is significantly greater; 87,799 square miles (Whitaker's Almanac 1991). If the husband's career is deemed most important then changes in it which require location change are

mirrored by changes in the wife's career[44]. Consequently changes to the woman's career tend to be significantly less beneficial to that career as choice is constrained by what is most suitable for the male 'primary wage earner'.

Apart from the inevitable consequence of disjointing the wife's career in line with the husband's the result is that all the factors impacting on her career have an exaggerated effect. For example, economic circumstances are important in determining how easy it is to get a job. Economic circumstances are significantly more important if one is restricted to having to find a job around the location of a partner's employment. Subsequently it is not surprising that women seem likely to change careers totally and do a type of job either entirely new to them or one that they simply have not been trained for. They are looking for a job, preferably to advance their career but for most women there is not the financial buffer to wait for exactly the right job. Rather the need for a job takes priority over the more detailed features of that job. This in part explains the fragmented and disjointed effect depicted in the British career path model.

> "Well I came up to Manchester because I got married to someone who was working up here and he was a teacher and I just came up and looked for a job, any job I could get. I got one from a temp agency as I had done a bit of temping. I did an administrative job for a fashion company which was basically in sales administration which I stuck at for a year. It wasn't really what I wanted to do but it was getting work experience."

(Casey - Britain)

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[44]Evidence suggests that in Britain even when the woman earns as much or more than her partner his career tends to be perceived to be of greater importance in the household (Brannen, 1987)

Astin's model developed to include the "structure of opportunity" can usefully explain the changes in the British women's careers.

Figure 5d Astin's Need-Based Sociopsychological Model of Career Choice and Work Behaviour.

A. Work Motivations   B. Sex-Role Socialisation   C. Structure of Opportunity

3. Basic Drives	Play	Distribution of Jobs
Survival	Family	Sex typing of Jobs
Pleasure	School	Discrimination
Contribution	Work	Job Requirements
		Economy
		Family Structure
		Reproductive Technology

Expectations

Career Choice and Work Behaviour
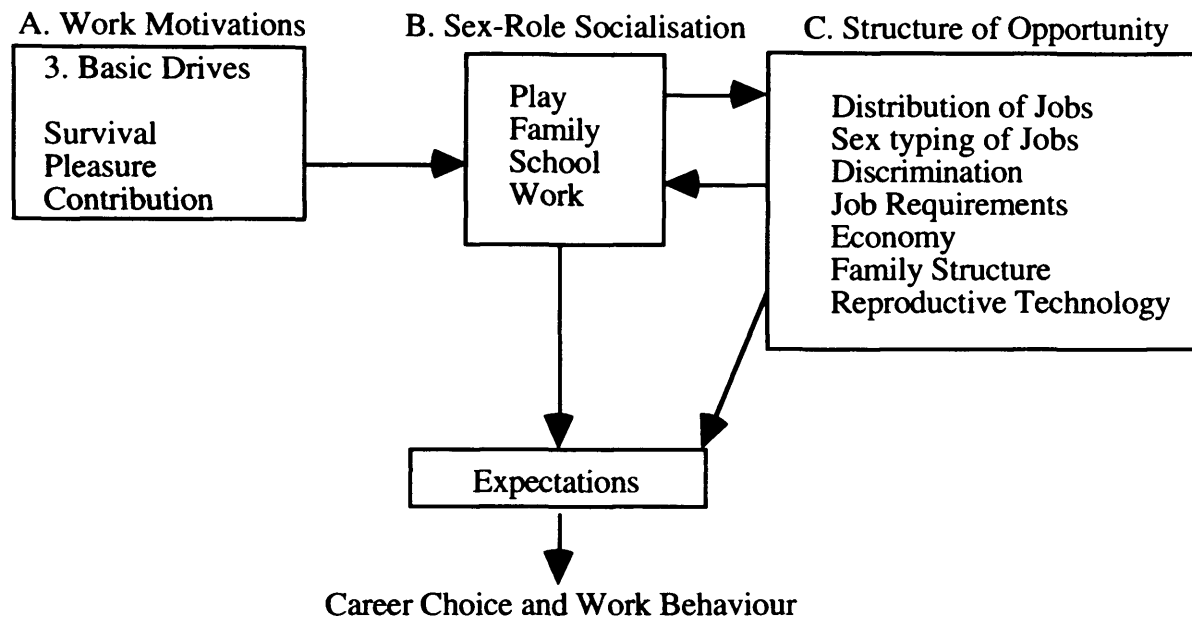
Source: Astin 1984:121

In this context where the woman's career might be affected by that of her husband career planning is less easy to envisage realistically because of the problems of predicting a whole new, and unclear, set of circumstances. Thus career planning is sensibly a little vague. However, that is not to say that it is non existent. We return to this later in the analysis.

From this preceding picture it is possible to see how particular relationships structure the interaction with, and influence of, various other structures and institutions of society. In this instance how the husband and wife relationship operates has implications far beyond the context which it refers to. This relationship partly determines how women are affected by the economy and it affects how, when and where women move into and out of the labour market. It is for these reasons that Astin's single model cannot explain the careers of both genders as it intends because it is too general to recognise that what goes on in one partner's career can influence the way factors impinge on the career of the other. Although the interrelationship of men and women's careers could be explained within the context of the 'structure of opportunity' this is too general to make this fundamental relationship explicit. It is important that any model does

recognise this power relationship if it is to be able to explain women's careers in Britain.

The family network and the significance of personal recommendations

In chapter 3 we discussed how a culture of insiders versus outsiders became established in mainland China. The result was the perception that each family was looking out for its own interests and therefore families were in competition. From the interviews it became evident that this issue of trust is transposed to work organizations. This is reflected in the predominance of small family businesses in Hong Kong. It is also evident in the importance of family connections and personal recommendations for gaining entry to an organisation (Sheh 1995). If the organisation does not know you then how can they trust you? But if they know a relation of yours and trust them then that trust extends to you. Consequently, it is extremely important in Hong Kong who you know and who you are related to. The old boy's network in Britain is also of significance in a similar manner but this is not openly accepted as the way things are done but rather something that is kept out of sight (Coe 1992). In Hong Kong the influence of the family network and the importance of 'contacts' is openly acknowledged.

> *"My parents are not educated that much they are just primary school leavers. So they have no advice for me I'm completely on my own in hunting for any job...I think it was three months after my graduation that I finally got a job with ____ Bank after written tests and interviews...and also with a bit of a relationship. I got a referee a good reference, an uncle who has some sort of business relationship with ____ Bank."*

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

The household division of labour and the organisation of child-care

We have explored the nature of the parenting that the respondents experienced as children. In this section we go on to explore the manner in which child care and domestic life is organised within their own parenting. The questionnaire results suggest that women managers are more likely to have either no children or fewer children than their male counterparts in both Hong Kong and Britain and that women managers in Hong Kong are even more likely than women in Britain not to have children (68% as compared to 50%). In part this may be due to the slightly younger age of the Hong Kong sample which reflects the same characteristic of Hong Kong's women managers generally. Of course over time a greater proportion of that sample will have children or have more children.

In this section we examine the manner in which having children and child rearing practices impact upon women managers' careers. Of interest here is the particular interaction between patriarchy, the current global economic situation, and the manner in which these interact with the economic situations, of first Hong Kong and secondly Britain, to influence particular patterns of family behaviour. Hong Kong is prosperous and advanced relative to much of the region of which it is a part. Consequently it attracts people from those poorer countries around it who are seeking employment. Especially significant to this case is Hong Kong's attraction for the Philippines. Many women enter Hong Kong from the Philippines to serve as domestic maids at low wages relative to salaries of permanent residents in Hong Kong. In 1990 more than 60,000 households (accounting for 4% of all households) employed domestic helpers. By 1991 the demand for domestic helpers had increased by 20% from the previous year. Ninety percent of these domestic helpers were non Chinese women from the Philippines (De Leon and Ho 1994).

Figure 5e The role of the husband and wife in Hong Kong today

BREADWINNER   DOMESTIC DUTIES & CHILD
                               REARING

Financial Provider

Male Role   Female Role

This area has been taken over by the
family members and the Filipino
maid thus enabling women to move
further (than has occured in Britain)
into the area of financial provider
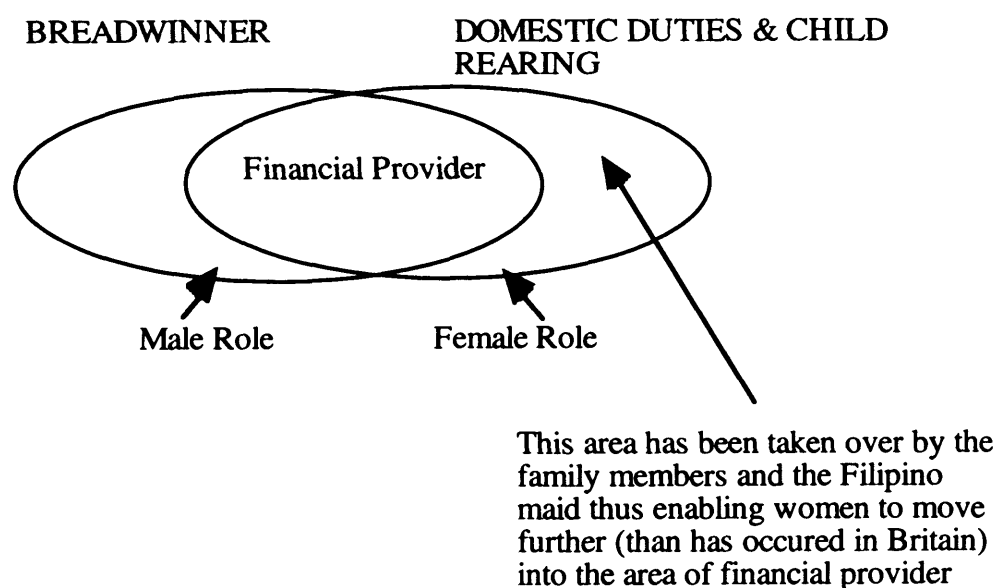
As we have discussed, the cheap labour of the Filipino maids provides a mechanism through which many Hong Kong women can delegate much of the time consuming, labour intensive domestic work and child care traditionally portrayed as their responsibility.

"...I live with my parents-in-law and also we have a Filipino maid at home so I don't have to worry about family. I mean detailed things about cooking and things like that. I don't have to get back home on time in order to cook so its not a

problem, to me. For some of my staff it may be but not in my case."

(Christine - Hong Kong)

"The domestic helper, a reliable one is very important for the working woman. I think we are lucky in Hong Kong because basically the domestic helpers are 24 hours a day. They need to attend to the small kids even in the middle of the night so that help me quite a lot... I think that women have to consider the impact on the family. Even in this position I still have to choose priorities. I am lucky because my 2 kids are quite healthy and they already attended primary school and I trained them to do their homework and to have their own responsibilities. So it is quite easy for me even if sometimes I am home late..."

[K.H. "How old are they now?"]

"Nine and seven years".

(Anita - Hong Kong)

In chapter 3 we saw that from the age of about 5 or 6 children are expected to be more disciplined and take on household duties and responsibilities. (Redding 1990). Anita's quote above illustrates the responsibilities that fairly young children might have. This high level of children's independence facilitates the mothers' greater freedom in terms of opportunities for involvement in outside work as a result of many of the responsibilities that the British mother carries being taken on by other sources. In Hong Kong the wife or mother does not have the responsibility entirely removed from her shoulders. The interviews illustrate that it is still the responsibility of women that the home is clean, the family fed and clothed and the children and husband cared for. However, the actual execution of the tasks becomes the maid's role though the children and other family members also take on some duties. The wife can take on the less time and energy consuming role of ensuring that the tasks are performed satisfactorily and overseeing the work of the maid. This is not to suggest that all this is not in itself a stressful job, but it is not as time consuming as doing the tasks oneself. Thus time is made for the wife to undertake the additional role of a paid employee[45]. As

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[45]Other cultural and economic factors may further motivate Chinese women in Hong Kong to obtain paid employment outside the home and family. For instance some women suggested that amongst the highly educated Chinese in Hong Kong it is something of a status symbol for men to have professional wives. A second motivator may result from the long term view taken by the Chinese (Hofstede 1980, Redding 1990, M. Harris Bond 1991). The uncertainty of the 1997 return to China issue exacerbates this view. People are concerned for their future, encouraged to save for it in a culture with an already high propensity to save. Thus again the culture interacts with the economic situation and with international relations. A third motivator to take on outside work (which is also related to the long term

some of the tasks that, in Britain, are seen as the wife's responsibility are covered by other sources in Hong Kong the wife can move more into employment and financial provider position. This was indicated in figure 5e and is further illustrated in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Questionnaire results: The roles of men and women in the family and child-care

Questionnaire Variable	Britain 100%=237		Hong Kong 100% = 142	
GW[46]26 It is better for the child if the mother does not work full time outside the home during early years	agree:	55%	:	55%
	disagree:	33%	:	37%
GW2 Women's expected role in the family is completely compatible with a full time career	agree:	23%	:	42%
	disagree:	67%	:	53%
GW4 Men's role in the family is compatible with a full time career	agree:	73%	:	70%
	disagree:	17%	:	26%
GA[47]8 A married man's main duty is to provide financial support for his family	agree:	38%	:	71%
	disagree:	53%	:	25%
GA 13 A married woman's main duty is to provide financial support for her family	agree:	8%	:	30%
	disagree:	80%	:	63%

There seems to be agreement in both Hong Kong and Britain that ideally it is better if the mother does not work outside the family whilst the child is very young. However, this is an ideal and many do work during this period and a significant proportion of both samples (one third or more) see working in these years as having little detrimental impact on the child.

> *"I have always worked. I was working when I got married and I continued to work. At one point in time I was thinking of stopping working when I had my first baby, but financially I could not afford it. When my children were much younger*

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perspective) is that there is always the first step in a career. From interviews it was suggested that some women feel that it is worth going out to work and paying a maid to look after the children in order to make this possible even when the salary is not substantially larger than that paid to the maid. A reason given was that although it may be a low salary now but that one day as the women progressed they would get better and better jobs. This would be a fairly lowly start to a long term career.

[46] 'GW' indicates that the attitude statement comes from the General Work attitudes section of the questionnaire.

[47]'GA' indicates that the attitude statement comes from the General Attitudes section of the questionnaire.

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I needed to arrange for baby sitters. I don't have an in-house maid. It does not occur to me that I have made special arrangements , but yes I do need to make certain arrangements. I am the major breadwinner. It is different for a man. My sister she has a good arrangement with her husband. She takes care of her family and he takes care of the money. But with a woman you can't really do that. Even if you go out to work and you are the major breadwinner you still take care of the kids. I suppose the children tend to be a bit closer to the mother but then again, maybe I tend to be the mother hen type of mother. My children are very spoilt in a sense that they are very well taken care of. They are used to that. Even now even if their father is at home they still wait till I come home. Come to me with problems. It's been difficult splitting up the time really because the children can't take care of themselves. Now it is better because they have grown. My daughter is 16 and my son is 13. Even now I make a point to try and leave the office about 6-6.30 pm, prepare dinner. If dinner is late they go to bed late and it is not good. they have to get up for school..."

"Maybe I am a perfectionist. He [husband] does not live up to my requirements. For example if I go off for two days when the children were younger. I would have the food prepared so they could heat it up. Now that they are older I think about it and then my sister tells me just let them take care of themselves. So I do that and then find that they eat late, fast food. I am not too happy with that. So its different. The feeling of involvement is different."

(Phylis - Hong Kong)

General Attitude 13 is indicative of the financial aspect mentioned by Phylis in the previous quote. The role she performed and the choices she and her husband made were related to what was financially appropriate rather than what might be seen as ideal choices. In Hong Kong it appears that women are seen to have a greater financial role in the family than women in Britain[48].

"Generally I do think people in Hong Kong are quite traditional and they do like their wives to stay at home . But because of their financial needs;... you have to make money to support the houses here, the accommodation here and the Filipino maid's salary so they have to go out to work. But I think that lots of Chinese men still hope that their wives will stay at home to take care of the babies.... I think that attitude is changing but compared with people in foreign countries, Westerners, there is still a gap. Because in England for example, one

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[48] Reference to Figure 5e at the beginning of this section illustrates how the presence of Filipino maids in Hong Kong has enabled this.

of my class mates married an English man and she is working very hard. After he was laid off he stayed at home and it felt very easy. When you take money off the government he felt so at ease to let the wife go to work. But for our culture I don't think we quite accept that because we still think of men as the breadwinners and the wife is doing some supporting role. Lots of women think that too but there are still lots of career women in Central district and some of them make a very good career and don't want to lose it"

(Betsy - Hong Kong)

Although women in Hong Kong are able to play a greater financial role in the family in general attitudes concerned with the relationship between men and women tend to be rather more traditional. Perhaps surprisingly, in view of the rather more traditional views of men and women, in Hong Kong women's role in the family is seen as more compatible with a full time career than it is in Britain, a purportedly more progressive society. Again this anomaly has been facilitated by the presence of the Filipino maid which in turn is the result of a series of processes and factors that we have touched on already but explore further in the next chapter. Thus the difference between Figure 5b illustrating how the respondent's viewed the roles of their mother's and fathers as compared to Figure 5e depicting their own roles as parents demonstrates significant change between generations. Rather than roles being totally distinct in Hong Kong there is an area of overlap which is becoming more and more acceptable for both men or women to perform. Hong Kong is located fairly centrally on Hofstede's (1980) MAS index. Though still just on the masculine side of the scale Hong Kong is less extreme in this respect than is Britain. These positions, Hofstede suggests, indicate greater interchangability of male and female roles in Hong Kong than in Britain (1980). I would suggest that in fact we might expect less interchangability of roles between men and women in Hong Kong as a result of the very traditional perceptions of masculinity and femininity. The fact that there seems to be this interchangability in terms of women becoming financial providers relates back to the combination of the presence of the Filipino maid, the high cost of living and the financial uncertainties of the future rather than a predisposition towards interchangeable gender roles.

Interestingly, when broken into male and female responses in Britain there is great discrepancy in the views of men as compared to women with regard to the mother's involvement in child care. Such discrepancy must cause considerable

tension and conflict in the relationship. In Hong Kong there is much greater consensus between men and women in this respect.[49]

Table 5.6 Questionnaire results: the roles of men and women in the family and child-care by sex

	Britain		Hong Kong	
Questionnaire Variable	**n = 116** **Male**	**n =121** **Female**	**n = 60** **Male**	**n = 82** **Female**
GW 26 It is better for the child if the mother does not work full time outside the home during early years	a : 72% d : 13%	a : 38% d : 52%	a : 58% d : 37%	a : 52% d : 38%
GW2 Women's expected role in the family is completely compatible with a full time career	a : 21% d : 66%	a : 26% d : 67%	a : 38% d : 57%	a : 45% d : 50%
GW4 Men's role in the family is compatible with a full time career	a : 77% d : 15%	a : 70% d : 20%	a : 68% d : 27%	a : 72% d : 26%
GA 8 A married man's main duty is to provide financial support for his family	a : 59% d : 34%	a : 19% d : 71%	a : 82% d : 17%	a : 63% d : 30%
GA 13 A married woman's main duty is to provide financial support for her family	a : 10% d : 75%	a : 7% d : 85%	a : 20% d : 73%	a : 38% d : 56%

a = agree, d = disagree.

When broken down into the responses from each sex there are fewer cases of vastly differing male and female views in Hong Kong than there are in Britain. This is explored when we look further at the relationship between men and women. One of the aspects mentioned is the antagonistic, conflictual nature of women's liberation and women's rights movements in the West. In Chinese cultures the relationship between men and women is such that this kind of hostility and conflict does not materialise to the same extent. If the family were to leave Hong Kong these conditions would, of course, change somewhat. This is a prospect that families have increasingly faced during the build up to the 1997 return to Chinese sovereignty and will be an important issue for Hong Kong women.

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[49] It is important to bear in mind the numbers in the Hong Kong sample when broken down by sex so that each figure is less than 100 individuals. Consequently the responses can give us some indication of views rather than conclusive evidence.

In Britain as in Hong Kong similar family tasks are considered the wife's responsibility. Even though there is some suggestion of greater equality between men and women there is still evidence to suggest that husband and wife, or male and female partners, have very different roles in the home. (Pahl 1993) (Bradley 1989). The same sort of problems as those faced by women managers in Hong Kong arise for the women managers in Britain; if they are to spend the time required to succeed and progress in a demanding job then they have to find some way of lessening the time spent on traditional activities. Perhaps those activities could be shared with a spouse? Despite popular claims to the contrary (Chapman and Rutherford 1988) women are still performing the vast bulk of domestic duties (Segal 1990) and consequently this option is not usually available and, for some of the women in the interview sample, it became a bone of contention.

"I actually get to the stage where I sometimes have to say to him "are you going to help me?". You know because his mind set is totally different from mine. On a Saturday he'll sort of say things like "Oh and what shall I do today and he'll think purely of pleasure. He'll think "Oh I'll go out for a ride in the car" or "Oh I'll go over to see my friend about this". Now I get up on a Saturday and I think "Now shall I go to Tescos first or shall I do some vacuuming and the car really needs cleaning but should I do the weeding, what's most important?" I don't get up and say "What am I going to do today for me?" One day I swear that for an entire week I'm going to do exactly what I want. He's going to come home and find me reading a book, or listening to some music and I bet you a large amount of money that he'd look at me as if I'd flipped! Because the number of times I get home and he's just sitting there and sometimes I don't even take my coat off ...One day I promise myself he's going to come home and I'm just going to be sitting there reading the newspaper and I bet you he'll sit down and he'll open the post and he'll watch television, then he'll read the newspaper then after about half an hour he'd sort of start looking at me as if to say 'Well what are we having for dinner?" and eventually he would get up and cook it but only because he'd know that if I'd got to that stage I was in such a foul mood that I'd retaliate if he said something like "What are we having for dinner?". So we are definitely not equals in the home and yet we both work. "

(Janet - Britain)

"My husband would automatically go to work in the morning whether one of the children was ill or not. Now we could argue that it's because I work locally or we could argue that it's because he travels quite a lot. We could argue all sorts of things but even if he worked in X and worked as close as I did he would

automatically go to work in the morning and never ever would be the suggestion that I'm the one whose going. I'll go in and then I can get back home and I'll take some work home with me and then I'll nip back because I've got to dump my post and dump my mail and I mean that in itself causes a lot of...in a way yes, resentment when it becomes so very difficult. So it's very difficult. If I work late in the evening, my husband does have a very taxing job and he does travel a lot so I just make... I used to, I used to make the mistake of asking him "will you be home this evening if I have to work" and he'd say "well yes I should be home" "well what time will you be home?" "well I'll be home about half past seven" and we'd get to half past seven and I'd be due back at work and he'd phone and say "I'm going to be late" and I'd say "but I've got to work." 'Well I'm sorry I'm going to be late". So now I just organise everything assuming that he's not there and I find that an awful lot better because then I'm not nagging him about you know "are you going to be in?" in away it abdicates some of the responsibility but it makes life, organising life an awful lot easier. If he turns up that's fine, if I'd got a baby-sitter the baby-sitter can go home but I always make arrangements on the basis of the fact that my husband won't be there. But it's always me that would make the arrangements"

(Clara - Britain)

In Britain the solution of hiring maids is often not a valid option for the majority of working women for a number of reasons. Firstly, in geographic terms Britain's neighbouring countries are at a generally similar level of economic development and Britain is suffering from recent recession. As a result wages are not significantly different and rarely enough to attract people from neighbouring countries for employment. Today Britain is not amongst the higher wage paying countries in Europe (Eurosat 1996) and consequently there is a chance of labour being attracted out of Britain rather than into it. Although there are au pairs in Britain, because of the wealth of their country of origin and as a result of legislation, individuals involved can rarely be employed at the similarly low levels as they might be in Hong Kong.

Summary : The role of the family in career orientation

In Hong Kong there seems to be an extremely pragmatic view of the career. It is a means to an end and though it might also be extremely enjoyable in itself money is one of, if not the, primary objective of the career. Aims are to move on constantly, to increase financial rewards and gain ever more social prestige which is directly associated with the level of financial reward. However, this is a rather

utilitarian picture which hides the complexities of reality. The reason for the need for money are those that we have discussed before; the need for family security, the need to cover the high cost of living and future insecurities the family may face.

In Britain challenge, interest, progress (but not at the expense of life outside work) are the key factors or preferences. Once a certain level of financial security is achieved family tends to have a negative influence in terms of career progression in that it leads to choices *not* to aim for the very top, *no longer* to be as ambitious, to *give up* work and put the family first "perhaps just for while". In Hong Kong the family is put first by working very hard rather than by reducing the input to outside paid employment. Consequently, for this reason, but also for others, the need for financial security in Hong Kong, now and for the future, actually encourages hard work and constant progress and thus has a *positive* influence on the career path.[50]

Working life is clearly very different in Britain for mothers as opposed to women who do not have children. There is some difference between the goals and careers of mothers and non mothers in Hong Kong. However, the difference between them is not so stark largely because of the absence of a clear distinction between family of origin and family of destination and the network of support that this supplies.

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[50] Positive and negative influence was introduced in the context of parental influence. Here it is used to explain the nature of the family's influence. This distinction is used throughout this thesis.

Table 5.7 presents the findings of Judi Marshall's (1995) study of women managers in the UK showing why they left or considered leaving their managerial careers.

Table 5.7 The reasons women gave for moving on - adapted from J. Marshall, 1995; p293.

Reason for Leaving	Number (raw figures)
Did not leave employment	2
Did not leave that job	1
Forced or encouraged to leave	5
Others	8
Organisational cultures	
Dynamics of Male dominated cultures	10
Repressive organisational situation	1
Hostile organisational culture	1
Job became untenable or lacked opportunities	
Change agent roles became untenable	4
Narrowed organisational opportunities	2
Job had become unrewarding	2
having achieved what they could in that role	1
Organisational conflicts and lack of recognition	
Difficult relationship with boss/senior colleagues	4
Forced out by new CE or chairman	2
Feeling unappreciated	2
Blocked promotion prospects	2
Stress and Tiredness	
Stress	6
Difficulty maintaining viable sense of self	5
Wanting to stop/have space	5
Wanting a different life style	5
Illness contributed to decision making	4
Excessive tiredness	3
Unbalanced/overloaded life	1
Ageing and losing vitality for work	1
Identity development factors	
Incongruity of inner and outer images	3
Not liking what they had become	2
Wanting to explore other aspects of identity	2
Major Life change	1
Fostering relationships	
Wanting more time with husband and family	2
Move suited husband's career as well	1
Time running out to have children	1

Marshall identifies stress, lack of opportunities, jobs no longer being rewarding, illness and male dominated cultures as reasons for leaving, or considering leaving, a job. The factors behind the decision to leave are very similar to those explaining

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the career choices of the British women in this sample. Most of those choices and reasons are related to perceptions of oneself and very immediate surroundings and pressures. This is not to say these women are selfish but rather that their motivations are driven from a relatively individualistic stance and a focus on the present. As we have seen in Hong Kong it is the collective nature of the culture that formulates a different attitude to their work which reflects the collective orientation and the belief of the family as the crucial social unit. In addition to the collective orientation is a longer term perception of the future; not so much in terms of knowing what it may hold but rather preparing oneself for any eventuality.

The family network's provision of support in Hong Kong might suggest that it is easier for women to become managers there, however, this should be viewed with some caution. The issues mentioned above might lead one to be optimistic about women's opportunities for the future in Hong Kong but for a number of reasons I feel that this optimism may not materialise into more equal treatment with men. Firstly, the prejudicial attitudes against women are strong and deeply imbedded in tradition and culture. The fact that the prejudice is so overt may make tackling it somewhat easier than in the western context of more subtle prejudice and discrimination[51]. However, the optimism for the future relies on the family retaining its current structure and recent trends and current changes make the likelihood of this remote. Events are occurring globally that will put pressure on the Chinese family to change and those changes may have a dramatic impact on women's careers. One example is Hong Kong's relationship with China, and the 1997 hand over, which has resulted in many families or parts of families leaving Hong Kong to settle elsewhere. The possible result of this is a move towards more nuclear type families or certainly some disintegration of the close knit extended family depicted today. Additionally as living standards, the cost of living and educational levels go up it is reasonable to assume that the current declining birth-rate will continue (United Nations 1995). The result of such changes would be that a structure was no longer in place that could, as a unit, raise children and consequently greater individual responsibility might be placed with the parents.

The trend towards ever increasing global communication may also have the effect of 'diluting' culture or influencing it. Combined, these gradual trends may make survival of the Chinese family in Hong Kong, in its current form, extremely precarious. The economic and social consequences of this whilst being only

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[51] However whether discrimination is an issue that requires tackling is discussed later. It is argued that what constitutes discrimination and whether or not it is considered to be an 'issue' or a 'problem' is cultural also.

gradual may eventually be enormous. So to conclude this section it is worth simply stating that this is an interesting and crucial stage and these factors will have to be monitored carefully if we are to understand their significance fully.

Chapter 6 : The Perception of Social Life: The relevance of social structures for the careers of women managers

Introduction

We have seen from the previous chapter that the characteristics of the career paths of female managers in Hong Kong and Britain are quite different. In part this was explained by rather different natures, perceptions and orientations of the family which had implications for the way that tasks were carried out, and consequently for how family members were involved in paid employment.

In this chapter it is suggested that the perceptions, orientations and experiences of that career also vary greatly between Hong Kong and Britain. The career in Britain is seen as the opportunity for self development and the key to a particular kind of life style. In Hong Kong the career is more concerned with social status and financial reward. Individual development has little to do with the career except in so far as it can contribute to, or reflect achievement of, either status or financial remuneration, which as mentioned previously is seen on a family rather than an individual basis.

The experience of the career seems to have been a more positive and enjoyable one for the Hong Kong women as compared to the British women (perhaps partly because they were aiming for different things). The Hong Kong women generally feel that they have been treated well, that there have been few problems associated with being a woman and that they are respected and valued by their organisations and their colleagues. Simultaneously they believe that women have to be better than their male counterparts to progress and that when all things are equal it will be the male who is promoted[52]. Yet this has not been identified as a problem; nor has it impacted on their positive perceptions of their career.

In Britain by contrast there is much greater discontent with a 'woman's lot' in the work place. Women managers express unhappiness at the way working life is organised, the way it is perceived to favour men, and anger at the discrimination and hurdles they feel are placed in front of them. Whilst similar behaviours and hurdles may be faced in Hong Kong and Britain, the way that these are perceived and the impact that they have are quite different. In the west there is extensive concern over the effects of patriarchy and the detrimental impact of discrimination on women. It is mistaken to assume that the relative lack of these concerns in

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[52]There is considerable evidence that the belief accurately reflects reality (see Chow 1993 for example).

Hong Kong is indicative of backwardness or naiveté. This is where the fundamental problems of feminism lie. Just because these issues are seen as important to western women does not mean that they are issues throughout the world. Nor should it be the case that one set of values may be the better or more advanced one.

In Britain social life seems to be seen as being comprised of a number of distinct areas, of which working life is just one. Life is a unilinear process with connections between the areas of social life, but not significant overlap. Whilst active in one area roles in other areas are set aside and thus the areas are separated through time. In Hong Kong, by contrast we have seen that social life is perceived as a complex mass of interwoven areas so that work, family, economy, education and religion cannot be seen as separate from each other or as separate areas of thought or activity.

As a consequence of these different perceptions of the nature of social life and the different understandings of social structures, the significance and relevance of these areas in explaining the careers of women managers is quite different between Hong Kong and Britain.

We explored the area of family life in the previous chapter. In this chapter we move on to explore how the economy, education, religion, social class and legislation and the perceptions of social life figure in the explanation of the different career path patterns and the women's experiences of them.

The influence of the economy

It is clear from the last chapter that strong links exist between the economy and the family because the family situation is affected by the economic prosperity of the whole society. The importance of the economy for women managers' careers can best be understood in terms of three levels; the global, regional and local. In the following discussion we explore these levels in turn and examine their significance for female managers.

The international economic context

Often economic links and relationships are also political ones. Many of Hong Kong's relationships can be seen in this light. Hong Kong is inextricably tied to events in China. The politics between Hong Kong and China and between Hong Kong and Britain are prominent in the thoughts of the Hong Kong people and play at least some part in the decisions made by individuals in Hong Kong today.

"I haven't thought of that [long term career plans] because in such a changing environment in Hong Kong I also have to take into consideration politics, future of Hong Kong, future of my family. Besides career development I have to think about where I am going to settle some day. In a foreign country? Or what? I have to think about whether I should secure a second passport. To a certain extent the 1997 issue has great implications and impacts on everyone...."

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

The global nature of the processes and issues faced by Hong Kong is striking. Perhaps this is in part explains Hong Kong people's close interest in what is going on in the rest of the world because Hong Kong could so easily be subsumed within it. Hong Kong's later industrialisation might also explain the greater sensitivity to global issues. Late industrialisation requires recognition of the activities, strengths and weaknesses of other countries so as to understand where there is a place to compete in the world economy. Hong Kong is fundamentally linked to other countries and world events.

Relative to Hong Kong the British interviewees did not appear to believe that international issues were important in defining, or relevant in explaining, their careers or work experiences. International issues and global processes simply were not mentioned. This omission suggests that Britain seems more inward looking and isolated; not so much unaffected by global processes but oblivious to them or slightly apart from them in perception if not in reality. The British may be able to hold attitudes like this within the protected context of their historical world dominance, and currently as a result of being a part of Europe. However, at both the European and national level there are international pressures. The nature, and perception, of the relationships between Hong Kong and other countries of the world as compared to Britain and other countries illustrate the point that there is much greater movement, a metaphoric osmosis, between the layers in Hong Kong (as it deals with China and Britain particularly) than there is in Britain.

The nature of international economic relationships seem closely tied to issues surrounding the time of industrialisation. For late developing economies success logically means they must be competitive in order to break into the existing global economy. As we go on to discuss later, a culture that encourages economic success as a social goal above all others (as table 6.1 suggests Hong Kong does) is perhaps more likely to achieve it.

Table 6.1 Questionnaire results: The importance of economic prosperity

Questionnaire Variable	Britain 100% = 237	Hong Kong 100% = 142
GA 6 Economic prosperity is the most important social goal	agree: 24% disagree: 62%	: 66% : 30%

The regional economic context

Economic issues also arise at the level of the regional economy in which a country participates. A number of illustrations from Hong Kong demonstrate the significance of this level. Firstly, as one of the economies with the highest growth in the region there is ready supply of individuals eager to come to Hong Kong for money thus providing a source of cheap labour. The presence of 3563 Filipinos working in Hong Kong, half of whom are in community social and personal services and the majority of these are domestic maids is testament to this (Hong Kong Census 1991). We have seen that migrant populations are of dramatic importance for women's paid employment. The opportunity to work combined with the extremely high cost of living in Hong Kong (resulting in two salaries being required to afford the home and luxuries that are evidently available) further encourages both partners to enter paid employment.

The financial need for both members of the couple to work is further encouraged by the political uncertainty of the situation with China (another regional economic issue). Many are coping with the uncertainty by saving so as to be prepared for every eventuality after 1997. In chapter 5 we saw that in Hong Kong women's role as a financial provider is now being seen by a significant proportion, in particular by the women themselves, as compatible with - if not a part of - women's role in the family. Women's salaries may well be a financial necessity in the expensive environs of Hong Kong; whether or not this is considered ideal or a good thing is rather different; however, for many families women's salaries are a necessity.

The local economy - organisations and careers: the structure of opportunity

The regional and global uncertainty that Hong Kong faces feeds back into the local economy and the career by encouraging a need to work in stable jobs in order to bring in a high, regular salary. This is not the same kind of stability as that sought by the British sample where stability implies that the job will be in existence for a long time and the individual occupier will be able to retain it for as long as they want to (i.e. Storper and Scott's (1990) 'job security' as opposed to 'occupational' or 'labour market security'). The type of stability and security that is

The Perception of Social Life

sought in Hong Kong is achieved through occupational mobility. Frequent job hopping, always being on the look out for the next step up either within the current organisation or outside it, if it is not readily available where you are, and making yourself visible in the small business community of Hong Kong, so that the possibilities of being "head hunted" are also open to you, are all ways of ensuring financial stability and labour market security in Hong Kong.

In addition to the motivation to earn simply to participate in a society, in Hong Kong there is little in the way of state welfare. Consequently, provision of financial security to support the entire family on a daily basis and during old age or illness is also the responsibility of those earning. Thus through a combination of on the one hand cultural attitudes conveying the importance of the family and emphasising a long term perspective, and on the other hand a system in which family members are unprotected and therefore vulnerable, an emphasis on economic prosperity as the main social goal can be understood.

This demonstrates how a combination of culture (leading to particular orientations to work) and economic conditions affect the type of stability, financial rewards and career goals expected. The smooth, continuous career path in Hong Kong can be understood as a result not solely of culture, nor solely of the economy, but as a combination of these resulting from the career orientation that has developed. In Britain uncertainty about the economy (leading to a search for job or occupational security rather than labour market security) combined with perceptions of the family (and how it relates to other areas of social life) and a shorter term outlook have encouraged these staggered, broken and disjointed career paths.

Having established an explanatory background it is interesting to consider possible implications. Perceptions of career and the types of mobility necessary to achieve the goals one seeks presumably affect the skills and training sought as a means of obtaining them. If an individual's main concern is retaining their job, then valuable skills will be those that are seen as enhancing the ability to do that job. If the goal is to change jobs in order to proceed generally, then the individual is likely to aim to achieve more transferable skills and think about acquiring the skills that will be required not just for the next step but for the career in totality to progress. Thus it would be interesting to explore through further research how the type of security sought impacts upon motivations to obtain skills and training, as this too may be a product of these different contexts and orientations. Understanding the motivations to gain skills and the types of skills gained is a part of understanding national skill formation systems which extend beyond simply formal education but which, it is argued here, are cultural.

Hong Kong has experienced a wider variety of economic circumstances in relatively recent years than has Britain. Within the Hong Kong respondents' lifetimes there has been a dramatic change in the nature of the economy and the level of economic development. Poverty was experienced by most of the respondents as children and it had a significant impact on their upbringing, their educational opportunities and their outlook on life and the family. In Hong Kong as the economy has grown the respondents themselves are making a great deal of money relative to that which they knew as children. Thus the economy affects the family's economic situation and through that in turn influences the education and career choices made and the structure of opportunities available.

Currently in Hong Kong and in the other newly industrialised countries of the Asia Pacific region, graduates are in demand and are able to place demands on employers for promotions and increased financial rewards within a matter of months of commencing a job. Unemployment is extremely low amongst both men and women (United Nations 1995). However, there have been times when economic growth was not so great. At these points in the past there may have been the same problem, as that encountered in Britain, of finding the first job of the kind desired. What is different is that this was not hampered by the restrictions of geographical location that accompanied being married in Britain. There is rising concern about unemployment in Hong Kong which is now 3.6% (Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics Feb. 1996). The response to this has been to restrict immigration into Hong Kong. The importance of this for women may be great as it is precisely this immigration that has assisted them to move into, or remain in, the labour force. Women see for themselves that the buoyancy of the economy has opened up employment opportunities for them and have few doubts that should the economic situation change for the worse then so too will their situation.

> "Comparatively speaking in these past few years I think Asia is a very prosperous area, that labour shortage is a problem and that in order to solve that one the employer intentionally have to bring in women in order to solve the problem... As I mentioned before that most, if not all, of the personnel managers and training managers in Hong Kong are women because comparatively speaking training and personnel are regarded as support function. Not really regarded as aggressive as marketing and sales are. So most of the men would go to that area and leave opportunity for women in these areas. If it is not for the economic prosperity then possibly there would not be that many jobs for men. Then even personnel and the training field will be occupied by men may be."

(Christine - Hong Kong)

In Britain economic influences largely stem from the impact of recession which for many of the women managers had made finding a first job difficult and created anxiety about the continued existence of a particular job[53]. Returning for more vocational education and training is one option that individuals might take[54]. Alternatively, or as well, individuals may change the area of work that they seek, looking for any job, perhaps unrelated to previous areas of interest or academic study, depending on what is available. Hence the emergence of a career path typified by changes of direction and level as women respond to these influences.

The impact of these factors is, as we have seen, exacerbated for women by the restriction imposed on them by marriage and partnership and subsequently throughout their married lives. Often marriage may bring relocation. It is likely that at some time the husband's or partner's job may change requiring relocation resulting in the wife seeking a job in a restricted geographical area when jobs may be scarce anyway. Single people can choose from jobs all over the country and are thus more able to choose a job which is of the level they are capable of, with the desired salary and specific job preferences. Married or partnered men can very often retain this breadth of choice. Married or partnered women, on the other hand, generally can only choose easily jobs which are in the geographical area of their husband's work.

"I was also tied because my husband was up here and I didn't have the flexibility to fly all round the country and get a post."

(Casey - Britain)

"So I went to Durham and got my teaching certificate but when I came out which was what 1976, it was just when things got really bad for jobs and I couldn't get a teaching job at all. Well I probably could if I had gone any where in the country but I limited where I wanted to be because my husband was working by then. So I couldn't get a teaching job so I actually worked for a couple of years helping to run a Day Centre for the elderly...I learnt a lot of very strange things which I'm afraid was nothing to do with what I'd planned for my career."

(Lizzie - Britain)

"...then my husband and I decided to move to the North. I actually found that very difficult because I hadn't really got enough experience behind me and I was

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[53] This is crucial to the rest of the career as research has shown that the point of entry into the labour market is a reliable predictor of the individual's destination in the labour market (Furlong 1992).

[54] The nature of the British education system leads to a concentration on initial education rather than continuing education, resulting in the option of returning to education later being chosen relatively infrequently compared to other systems such as that found in Canada for example (Ashton and Lowe,1991b).

actually unemployed for a time and I was applying for anything and everything, literally, because I basically needed the money. For some jobs I hadn't got enough experience and for others I was over qualified, so that was quite a major problem. And eventually I got a job ...as a sales representative. Again it wasn't something that I thought gosh I really want to be a sales representative, it was just by chance, the advert was there, I was applying for anything, just to get employment and they gave me the job."

(Clara - Britain)

"Oh I didn't choose it [Part time work] that's all that was available. I moved down here because my husband got a job down here and, you know, it was quite hard. There were not a lot of jobs, obviously in an area like this [North Wales] and that was all that was going"

(Catherine - Britain)

Consequently the career path, identified at the beginning of the analysis, characteristic of women managers' careers in Britain, can be explained and understood as a series of logical, though not necessarily progressive, choices within the context of Astin's (1984) 'structure of opportunity'.

More recently economic recession has affected the women's latest steps and what they anticipate for the future. Organisations have gone through periods of restructuring to make themselves leaner and more productive. The consequence has often been levels of management disappearing or merging together and jobs which once existed do so no longer. Clearly some people (both men and women) have been the victims of these situations but for others restructuring can be the catalyst for the next step up. The jobs of many of the women managers in this sample did not exist a few years ago, having been created during recent restructuring.

"Then in the summer of 1991 we moved to this location and we were closing down our London office there was a big reorganisation basically and the organisation was restructured and different posts became available. One of the posts that became available was Retail Networks Manager which was actually sales and marketing...so I actually applied.. and I was given the post...and I did that from the November to the summer last year when the Marketing Manager (she was my Manager then) she left for personal reasons to get another job and I was given the post of Marketing Manager..."

(Casey - Britain)

This is true of both the public and private sectors. In the public sector, where cuts in government funding to education to social services and to the health service have brought about massive restructuring, the consequence has been job opportunities for some. This sounds positive but is by no means necessarily the case. Of those who have survived the restructuring many have had to take on vastly more in their job without necessarily being paid in line with the increased workload and consequent stress, tiredness and often illness.

The importance of education

In this section, investigating the influence of the education received on the careers of women managers, again a clear overlap will be seen with the section on family. This will be explained and elaborated on as we proceed.

Educational background

There is substantial variation in the type and level of education received by members of the interview sample. In both Hong Kong and Britain this ranges from leaving school at the minimum school leaving age to having education up to postgraduate level. This has taken place within the context of both state and private, boarding and non boarding, co-educational and single sex schools. Many of the interviewees had additional professional qualifications or had returned to formal education at later points in their working lives.

Table 6.2 Educational background of the interview sample

Educational Level	Britain	Hong Kong
Secondary or below	Judith Hazel Kelly	Jacqueline Phylis Amanda
Tertiary	Sarah Janet Daphne Kate Gabrielle Sheila	Caroline Teresa Amily Virginia Anita Jennifer
Degree	Jenny Casey Lesley Meryl Clara Lisa Avril Hillary	Christine Eva Sheree Stella Lydia Maisy
Postgraduate	Catherine Carol Judy Jane Lizzie	Betsy Christina Carrie Karen Mary Junia Semy Lilly
Total	22	23

Table 6.3 Questionnaire Results: Education level obtained by questionnaire respondents before leaving full time education

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
Secondary or below	30%	30%	30%	16%	14%	19%
Tertiary	34%	43%	25%	30%	29%	31%
Degree	21%	17%	25%	34%	27%	38%
Post-Graduate	15%	9%	20%	20%	30%	12%
Total	100%	99%*	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Where total does not equal 100% this is due to rounding

Examination and explanation of educational choices

The main choice with regard to education in Hong Kong is when it should stop.
As we have seen this decision takes place within a familial context.

"In those days in Hong Kong being able to finish secondary school was not easy. Now we have nine years education compulsory. Finishing secondary school was really quite a good prospect so it was more or less planned out for me. My mother would count the years until I would finish form five and then in those days the best jobs were for boys to go into banks and for girls to be secretaries...So I was trained as a secretary."

(Phylis - Hong Kong)

In Britain the main consideration is the type of education and the purpose it will serve, rather than simply the age at which it should be left behind. Conventionally education is thought of as the formal structure which children and young adults take part in but, of course, it also refers to those who return to education later in their lives.

Fig 6a Britain: An individualistic/specific orientation
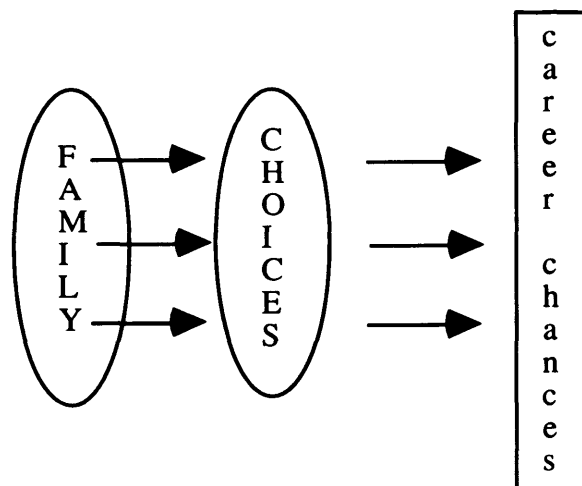
Parents put pressure on educational choices as it is seen by them as the way of achieving a particular set of desirable career goals.

As compared to the model in Hong Kong in Fig 6b below.

Fig 6b Hong Kong: A collective/diffuse orientation

Educational choices
are made (by parents
and child) because of
the career chances
they are seen as lead-
ing to

The career chances are sought
because of the potential financial
security they can bring to, and so
provide stability for, the family.
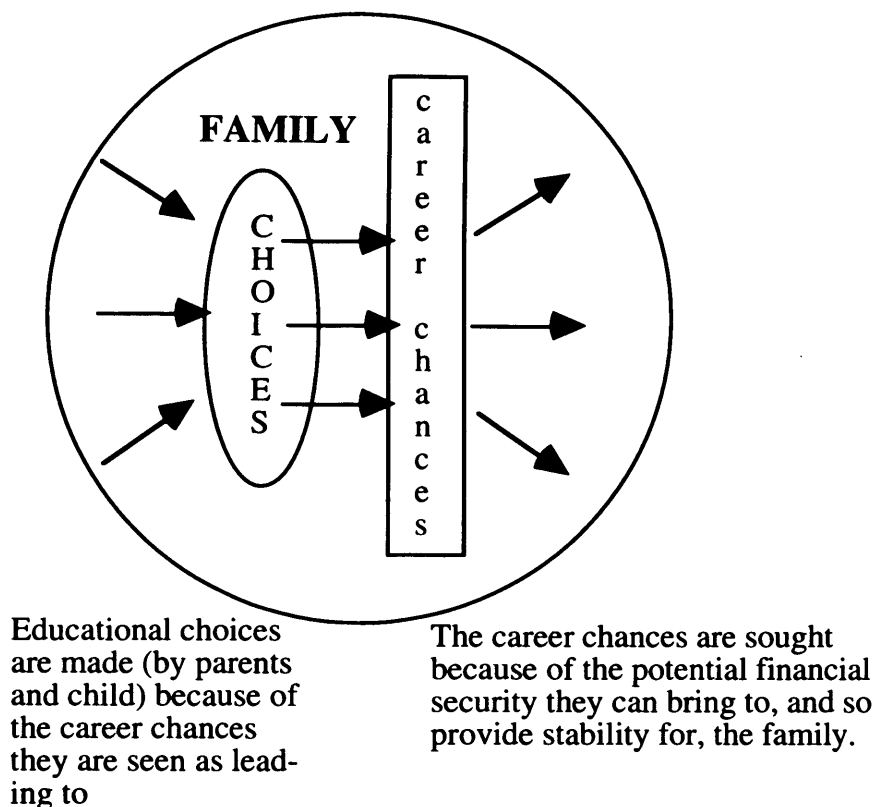
The two models indicate the different approaches taken towards education (which in turn suggest different orientations to careers). A combination of Hofstede's (1980) IND index and Trompenaars' (1993) specific versus diffuse dimension assist in understanding these different approaches[55]. Hong Kong is best explained as more diffuse with Britain being more specific.

In trying to understand the manifestations of cultural dimensions in social life it becomes clear that in fact they significantly influence each other. It seems plausible that the dimension of diffuse versus specific, which portrays one's view of the organisation of social life, might also be correlated to perceptions of how, as an individual, one relates to others in those surrounds. Thus a highly diffuse culture in which the individual sees all structures and aspects of social life as part of a whole (rather than distinct separable entities) might encourage a view of oneself as a small part of the collectivity. Whereas perhaps it is an individualistic perspective on social life that isolates structures from each other and sees them as unconnected institutions governed by themselves and not by what is around them. Thus a collective orientation and diffuse perception of social life may be mutually reinforcing and the same may be true for an individualistic orientation and specific perception of social life. In this manner the cultural dimensions can be

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[55] See Chapter 3 for further details of these dimensions.

seen to operate on choices and thus are manifested first in those choices and orientations and subsequently in the career itself.

Table 6.4 An illustration of a possible relationship between the individualism index and diffuse versus specific

Hofstede (1984)		Trompenaars (1993)	
Individualism (a)	**Collectivism (b)**	**Specific (a)**	**Diffuse (b)**
USA (5a)	Venezuela	Australia (1a)	China *
Australia (1a)	Columbia	Netherlands (2a)	Indonesia*
Great Britain (3a)	Pakistan (4b)	UK (3a)	Singapore (1b)
Canada	Peru	Switzerland	Thailand (2b)
Netherlands (2a)	Taiwan	Sweden (4a)	Japan
New Zealand	Thailand (2b)	West Germany	India
Italy	Singapore (1b)	USA (5a)	Austria
Belgium (7a)	Chile	Denmark (6a)	Hong Kong (3b)
Denmark (6a)	Hong Kong (3b)	Belgium (7a)	Pakistan (4b)
Sweden (4a)	Portugal	Ireland	Mexico

* Denotes that the country does not appear in Hofstede's studies
(a) correlates individualistic and specific cultures where the same country appears in the two studies
(b) correlates collectivist and diffuse cultures where the same country appears in the two studies
Adapted from Hofstede (1984:158) and Trompenaars (1993:80, 86)

Table 6.4 provides support for the suggestion that a close association exists between Hofstede's individualism versus collectivism index and Trompenaars' specific versus diffuse dimension. Of Hofstede's top 10 most individualistic countries 7 appear in Trompenaars' top 10 most specific cultures. The relationship between collectivism and a diffuse orientation seems slightly less strong but still evident; 4 of Hofstede's 10 most collective societies are categorised within Trompenaars' top 10 most diffuse cultures. As the countries are not identical in each study we cannot see this as definitive proof of a relationship but the table does suggest that the relationship is plausible.

Differences in how individuals perceive themselves are evident within familial relationships. For example, in Hong Kong we saw that siblings provide a supportive role, the nature of which is determined by their ascribed role in the family, through which each child supports the others and so supports the whole family.

By contrast in Britain the relationship between siblings is a competitive one. This may not necessarily be active competition against each other but rather that they are measured against each other. Competition develops amongst the siblings based

on their understanding of the parents' perceptions of each child. Consequently some individuals are seen as having an 'easier' or 'harder' time than others. Situations occur where one child might be seen as the "golden girl" another as "the pretty one" another as "the brainy one".

> *"Well in my family I was always the one they [my parents] really did want me to do well. I am one of three sisters and I was supposed to be the brainy one. They sent me to boarding school and I had to get into university, they wanted me to be a lawyer and everything like that."*

(Casey - Britain)

Some siblings in Hong Kong may also be perceived as having an easier or harder time in life. The difference between Hong Kong and Britain is that ease or difficulty in Hong Kong is a function of an ascribed role, such as being the eldest or youngest family member. It is not, as in Britain, a product of perceived personality or ability differences. This portrayal of individuals' lives can again be seen to relate back to the cultural dimensions, in this instance Trompenaars' ascribed versus achieved roles. Here we can see the mechanisms through which these dimensions operate (i.e. family and family roles) and the impact this has on personality, choices made and orientations to careers. In Hong Kong decisions regarding education are made on the basis of the parents' perception of their child's ascribed role within the family currently and the role or position they expect that child to have in the family in the future rather than on the basis of the child's perceived abilities or intellect[56]. In Britain the parents' directional pressures are based on what they perceive to be the particular strengths, abilities, personality and weakness of each child individually. Thus competition is inevitable in the sense that each child is measured against the others and roles are achieved rather than ascribed.

In order to understand the choices made regarding education we need to understand what the participants, and those influencing them, are hoping to achieve by their actions. In Hong Kong the choices made are mostly related to the family "I needed a secure job with a good salary to ensure that the family was financially stable". "For some time I had wanted to move back to Hong Kong to be with my parents". Whereas in Britain these choices are to do with individual preferences. "I did not want to be a teacher", "I wanted to do something which

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[56] One might assume that a system of ascribed roles would be to the detriment of female achievement in the labour market. However, we go on to see that in fact gender does not seem to be the main basis on which work roles are ascribed and consequently does not seem to have this potentially negative impact in Hong Kong. Rather the basis of ascribed roles tends to be more related to position in the family than solely gender. However, gender is implicit within the allocation of family roles and consequently gender does play some role in how tasks and roles are allocated.

would involve variety". Thus occupational preferences influenced the educational choices made. However, like the similarity found between mother roles and father roles in Hong Kong and Britain, what was considered to be a good job and what was not and what was seen as women's work and what was not, was remarkably similar. Additionally what was considered preferable in a job was also applicable in both societies, cleanliness, glamour, the feeling of making a difference and helping others. The contents, or characteristics, of "women's work" therefore also seem similar between the two societies. Consequently at a broad level there are similarities between the two societies, but it is how the individuals themselves understand and interpret those similar roles and how that manifests itself in behaviour that vary culturally. This supports the suggestion that there may be convergence of structures at a broad level, but when you look beneath to the understanding and interpretation of relationships and behaviour cultural divergence will be evident.

It may be that as industrial development reaches similar levels occupational attitudes and preferences become increasingly similar. Therefore culture and industrial development are inextricably linked. Attitudes and values change as the level of industrialism changes without one determining the other. This calls into question positions in the convergence versus divergence debate which take either industrial development or culture as the key determinant of social structures. In fact there is no reason for these two concepts to form either end of a continuum. The postulation that these positions are polar opposites and that the level of industrialism determines the structure of organisations through a somehow 'culture free' process is a mistake. Rather both culture and industrialism are interdependent, acting together to generate circumstances in which action occurs.

The possibility that both culture and industrialism may play equally important roles suggests that we need to question some of the theoretical notions which we have used to explain and understand the world. Many are fundamentally flawed by their western bias and the fact that they were developed at such a time that there was less diversity in the types of change and development to explain. Today the vastly more complex world in which we live has a whole series of different capitalisms, different economies and different histories which cannot be understood through outdated concepts and terms.

The impact of educational choices on the career path

Finally we conclude this section with an examination of the implications of the educational decisions and choices for the career path of the woman manager. The respondents in Hong Kong, as compared to those in Britain, tend to be looking for rather different things from their careers for a whole range of reasons; cultural,

historical, and economic. Additionally the basis from which these decisions are made are rather different. Stability, in terms of labour market security rather than job or occupational security, and financial security are the central interest of career choices made by women managers in Hong Kong. Educational choices are used as a mechanism of enhancing the opportunities of achieving this. This is true of the initial years of formal schooling but also of education returned to in later years.

In Britain a "good job" is one of the ultimate goals of education, desired because of the individual lifestyle that it can bring and because of the personal preferences for challenging and interesting work. Additionally within the context of slow economic growth and recent recession education becomes a mechanism of increasing the chances of getting and maintaining a "good job". Thus stability is sought after in the sense that one "good job" will enable security and development whilst being least at risk of losing it.

This example appears to suggest an interaction between a desire for financial security (indicative of high UAI) with collectivism in Hong Kong, and with individualism in Britain. In some ways this is rather surprising because in Hofstede's work both Britain and Hong Kong score very low on this index. In other words we would expect both societies to exhibit few signs of anxiety over the future or concern about the uncertainty of it. Yet uncertainty avoidance seems to be exhibited by both in rather different ways.

Perhaps this incongruence serves to highlight a weakness of the UAI index but also a weakness of this type of measurement. The weakness inherent in the index itself seems to be that by its nature Hofstede has collapsed an orientation to rules and a desire for financial/job security into one measure. In fact these are two distinct issues. Whilst a culture may show flexibility with regard to rules and thus have a high tolerance of ambiguity (which would lead to a low score on the UAI scale), it might also exhibit an extensive concern with financial security (which would score highly on the UAI). So whilst this is a useful indicator it contains too many, potentially contradictory, elements to present an accurate picture. As with all these indexes, time and circumstance can significantly alter their nature. Therefore time is not so much a separate dimension (as suggested by Trompenaars, 1993 for example). Rather as various factors are brought into play over time, a culture's position on these dimensions may change. The manner in which a social group reacts to particular circumstances may well be cultural but what is clear is that the reactions can change as circumstances alter even if underlying attitudes remain constant. For example economic climate must have serious implications for the UAI and this can be seen in the anxiety expressed

about job security which is understandably more intense in recession than in boom, and a subsequent decline in chosen mobility between jobs.

The influence of religion

Confucianism pervades Hong Kong society and is evident in the structuring of the family, the relationship between men and women, the desire for harmony in society and the value attributed to educational achievement and hard work. Confucianism as a social code can be seen reflected in the structures of Hong Kong society. However, identifiably Confucian attitudes and values may also be held by individuals who associate themselves with other religions. In terms of current religious affiliation the influence of religion is more psychological as an explanatory factor of individual personality. Religion is deemed to have taught responsibility, caring attitudes, not to be cruel and unkind and not to begrudge working hard and working long hours.

" I guess I have to say religion [has had an impact]. I believe in a religion that teaches us to have integrity when dealing with people in business. It gives me a sense of meaning in terms of life. Whenever I have problems, questions or doubts, I can turn to my religion. I can always find the answer...For example my religion teaches me that there is life after death. In certain religions it says that life is here, there is nothing after. If I believe in a religion that says there is life after death, I have the belief in case one day I do leave this place, I still have another life and I keep learning. Learning is not just limited in this earth, it's in the future as well. I don't have to worry about dying. I treasure life more. Some people say that I only have a few years in this world so I have to go out and fool around and enjoy myself here. But since my belief is that life is eternal I have to make sure that I always maintain the kind of life I would like to live. So I always try to do my best. Since I said learning is eternal like life, I will keep the things I do here, like trying to always do my best, this gives you some kind of accomplishment or reward and it gives you a sense of pride. When you have that kind of feeling you would like to take it with you where ever you go, even the next life. I should tell you that I am a Mormon. I joined a church when I was at high school. Up to now I still believe in God and what he has done to the earth and I believe in the teachings of my church. It really has affected my life. If I didn't have my belief I would be a different person. "

(Lilly - Hong Kong)

Christian religions clearly seem to be of influence in Hong Kong and thus we might think that there was a convergence of religious attitudes between Hong Kong and the west. However, as Christian religious attitudes mingle with other

attitudes, which emanate from other sources of thought, the understanding and interpretation of those religions are clearly very different between Hong Kong and Britain even though the individuals claim the same religious affiliation.

In Britain, however, when religion is discussed it is within the context of it not applying at work.

> *"I think that accountants are rather non religious and non political people because they have to deal with lots of different types of people".*

   (Avril - Britain)

Only 31% of the British questionnaire sample said that they were religious. However 39% identified a religion that they saw themselves as being affiliated to. The following table indicates which religions these were.

Table 6.5 Questionnaire results: British religious affiliation as classified by the respondent.

Religious affiliation (Self Reported)	%
Church of England	22.8%
Catholic	7.3%
Christian	3.4%
Methodist	1.5%
Protestant	1.5%
Presbyterian	1.0%
Congregationalist	0.5%
Evangelical	0.5%
Deist	0.5%
Not Religious	60.0%
Missing	1.0%
TOTAL	100%

Religion in Britain is something that is seen as irrelevant to, and existing outside of, working life. In fact more than that, it is necessary to maintain that separation. This distinction can, perhaps, be related back to the particular religions that are referred to. Confucianism is a religion that structures social life and relationships. Consequently a perception of religion as an embedded part of the social life it structures is likely. The pervasive nature of Confucianism as a social code (Sheh, 1995) means that this attitude towards religion may be held whatever the religion. In western religions belief is less concerned with everyday life but has a more transcendental orientation, above and beyond this world experiences. If religion is above social life it is easy to see it as separate from social life and at times even

irrelevant to it. Such a structure is identifiably distinct and separable from other structures of society and thus is a further manifestation of specific and diffuse cultural orientations.

The secularisation of society might also explain how religion has become confined to just a small area of life. As society becomes increasingly secular religion is seen as having less and less influence on more and more areas of everyday life. Religion, in such circumstances, can only be a relatively small part of social life for those who are religious as they have to interact with individuals who do not hold their religious beliefs. Through the process of secularisation religion has less and less involvement in everyday life, further encouraging the perception of religion as a separate sphere of life.

If perceptions of society itself are cultural then western sociological theories attempting to explain social structures from a particular cultural perspective may not be appropriate world wide. In fact the organisation of academia itself may be cultural as the rigid boundaries set up between academic disciplines (which is not a culture free means of viewing social life) may not be appropriate as a means of understanding Chinese societies or other societies with a diffuse orientation.

Consequently because of its declining influence generally and the perception of its isolation from working life religion's influence on the career can be concluded to be fairly minimal in Britain. In comparison in Hong Kong the direct impact of religion on the career (whether Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity or other religions in Hong Kong) seems to be to influence behaviour, individual actions towards one another and to mould personality. Consequently it is possible to conclude that in Hong Kong religion has a psychological impact on the way individuals behave and how they interpret and experience the behaviour of others. Therefore, whilst it is socially important, religion does not seem to have a direct impact on the career path itself but rather shapes some aspects of how individuals feel they should approach their careers.

The influence of social class

Social class is a greater issue in Britain where evidence of class divisions are more crystallised and therefore visible. For instance working class origins are provided as explanation for never having been encouraged to go on to university.

> *"...the sum total of my careers advice was this person turning up one day and literally spending an hour with me and one of my parents, my father in that particular instance, and it was more of a case of me saying 'well I'm interested in languages, I don't want to teach, I'd like to do something commercial' and about the only thing I really knew about was secretarial work because my sister was a*

secretary and that's how I made my career decision. It makes me want to put my head in my hands and weep but that was how I decided... A lot of people have said to me ' well why didn't you do a degree because you've got good A levels grades' and it sounds really pathetic to say well I didn't really know anybody who went to university and no-one suggested it and no-one talked it through with me ... you look at what is happening in your immediate family and my Dad left school when he was 14, you know so nobody in my immediate group had gone to university and then I made my career decision based on what I knew about the jobs and the work of the people around me and it was very much like that. It was like that for all of us."

(Janet - Britain)

"I come from a little village in Norfolk where in those days if you didn't pass the 11 plus you went to the local secondary modern school. I didn't pass the 11 plus so I went to the secondary modern....the education I would say was pretty minimal in terms of being educated. The main expectation of a child in my school was that to achieve you worked in an office job, the main expectation was that you would either end up working on the land, working in factories, some sort of domestic work or if you were lucky office work. It was about expectations really. I did very well in that school in terms of academically anyway well as the standards were and I was also Head girl so I did quite well. And when I was 15, at that stage you could take examinations to go to the local technical college for a further two years to take 'O' levels and things like them. I took that exam and passed it and the day I got my results, its quite interesting really, I was also offered an office job in a town some miles away. My parents were very poor. They weren't just poor they were very poor and they had one of my sisters in grammar school and my younger brother was just about to take his 11 plus to go. And I always remember going home and saying 'What shall I do?' 'Will I stay on at school for another two years or will I take this job?' And my mother said ' well it's really down to you'. I wasn't dim and I did know they were finding great difficulty in keeping the other three in school. In those days if you went to grammar school it was a really expensive thing because they all had to have special uniform whereas if you went to the secondary modern you just went in whatever you went in. Even purchasing uniforms, for which they got no help, was quite a major thing for them. So I took the office job. So there was no choice in it.....There was the whole feel of expectation in those days. It was like working class children didn't go to college and didn't go to university. I mean the expectation wasn't there."

(Daphne - Britain)

Daphne's situation suggests a similarity with the situation in Hong Kong where the actions of one sibling support the others. However in this instance it is typical of particular background (one that admittedly would have been the predominant form in Hong Kong - a fairly poor background) and the support was not expected or enforced by the parents but rather was an individual perception that leaving school might help out. In addition this choice took place within the environment where the expectation for that class to go to university was not there and consequently Daphne's 'choice' was to follow the typical route for individuals from her background so in effect to choose the expected route.

There is much documented evidence that educational decisions and routes are influenced by social class (Furlong 1992). However, in Hong Kong the issue is really about degrees of poverty, or wealth, rather than a set of accompanying values that distinguish one social group from another. Again the speed of social change is crucial because, rather than a series of social classes existing alongside each other, what seems to be the case in Hong Kong is that the key distinctions are between generations, rather than within them, as a result of the massive economic changes that have taken place in the last 20 to 30 years. Additionally there are distinctions of race particularly between the Chinese and British, though this is likely to be reducing now that China has resumed sovereignty and adopted various localisation policies. Gradually distinctions also seem to be emerging between the highly educated and less educated populations so that in the future it may be that education forms a distinction between groups also. These distinctions seem to be more significant in shaping experience and opportunities in Hong Kong than do the less crystallised, and consequently less relevant, distinctions of social class.

In conclusion, social class is significant in Britain providing family wealth, affecting children's upbringing, their education and the subsequent choices at the end of education. The influence of social class has been well documented and the fact that some of the managers in the sample were from working class backgrounds illustrates that the barriers imposed by social class can be overcome even if only relatively rarely. In Hong Kong social class is not a major issue for either the perceptions of the people or its impact on their life chances. Other factors are involved in shaping outcomes though as the general level of prosperity rises this may be changing for subsequent generations[57].

The influence of legislation

It might be expected that laws regarding sexual discrimination would be the most significant legislation affecting working women. From the previous discussion it

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[57] Belief in meritocracy or the existence of social barriers is further explored in Chapter 7

should be apparent that this is not the only area of influence. Here we bring together some of the other aspects of women's working lives that have been affected by legislation.

We examine the impact of various forms of legislation on women's experience of work in management and which have the potential to influence their career paths. Additionally to laws making sexual discrimination illegal those that seem most significant are immigration laws, laws protecting the rights of employees and maternity legislation. These are examined in turn throughout the remainder of the chapter.

Sexual discrimination

In Hong Kong in July 1995, amid much debate and argument, a toned down version of the proposed Sexual Discrimination Ordinance was made law. Discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status and pregnancy in the areas of employment, education or the provision of services became unlawful.

In Britain equal opportunities legislation and equal pay for equal work became law in 1975. Although the legislation had some initial impact it has become clear that it has gone little way to solve issues of unequal pay or to prevent discrimination which remains evident in recruitment, selection, promotion and day to day working life. (United Nations 1995, Davidson and Cooper 1992) In Britain there is widespread awareness of equal opportunities and the legislation introduced to support this. However, interviewee perceptions are that lip service is paid to the idea of equal opportunities rather than it being a reality and that as yet its effects have not really been felt.

"...this last year they're beginning to get to grips with the concept of Equal Ops, at least in name if not in spirit, it's beginning to filter through and they are making efforts in terms of interviewing and so on."

(Meryl - Britain)

Table 6.6 Questionnaire results: Commitment to equal opportunities[58] in organisations

Questionnaire Variable	Britain 100% = 237		Hong Kong 100% = 142	
[59]AW 2 I am not aware of any sexual discrimination in my company	agree:	57%	:	68%
	disagree:	33%	:	31%
AW 8 My company is committed to equal opportunities for men and women	agree:	64%	:	82%
	disagree:	20%	:	12%
AW 10 The senior executives are committed to equal opportunities	agree:	56%	:	80%
	disagree:	21%	:	12%
AW 11 Female managers are treated as equals to male managers	agree:	62%	:	84%
	disagree:	25%	:	10%
AW 12 Employees are on the whole committed to equal opportunities	agree:	68%	:	84%
	disagree:	14%	:	14%

Table 6.6 presents a very favourable picture of commitment to equal opportunities especially in the environment of Hong Kong, which is perhaps surprising bearing in mind that its Equal Opportunities' legislation is very new, relative to Britain's[60]. Of course it might be expected that men would be less aware of discrimination on the basis of gender and therefore that their answers skew the results towards the favourable view. In order to avoid any misinterpretation the results have been broken down by sex despite the relatively small numbers involved in the Hong Kong samples.

Table 6.7 Questionnaire results: Commitment to Equal Opportunities in Organisations: By sex

Questionnaire Variable	Britain		Hong Kong	
	n = 116 Male	n =121 Female	n = 60 Male	n = 82 Female
AW 2 I am not aware of any sexual discrimination in my company	a: 68.1%	47.1%	a: 70%	65.9%
	d: 25.0%	40.5%	d: 30%	31.7%
AW 8 My company is committed to equal opportunities for men and women	a: 71.5%	56.2%	a: 81.7%	82.9%
	d: 12.9%	27.3%	d: 11.7%	12.2%

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[58] Equal opportunities carries different connotations precisely because the terms are used in the title of the British legislation in Britain. As this will be reflected in the results Table 6.6 should be interpreted with caution.

[59] AW indicates that the attitude statement comes from the 'At Work' section of the questionnaire.

[60] The questionnaires and interviews were conducted nearly two years before that legislation was passed.

Table 6.7 (continued)

Questionnaire Variable	Britain		Hong Kong	
	n = 116 Male	n =121 Female	n = 60 Male	n = 82 Female
AW 10 The senior executives are committed to equal opportunities	a: 64.7% d: 12.1%	47.9% 29.7%	a: 78.3% d: 11.7%	81.7% 12.2%
AW 11 Female managers are treated as equals to male managers	a: 72.4% d: 14.0%	52.1% 36.4%	a: 85.0% d: 11.7%	82.9% 12.2%
AW 12 Employees are on the whole committed to equal opportunities	a: 70.7% d: 12.1%	66.2% 15.7%	a: 85.0% d: 13.4%	82.9% 15.8%

Once again the responses of the men and women in Hong Kong are remarkably similar in their perceptions of the circumstances around them. In the British sample on the other hand there is an average of 11.5% difference in response as compared to an average of 2.1% difference in male and female scores on the same questions for the Hong Kong sample. This result demonstrates not only that there is little conflict between the perceptions of men and women in Hong Kong but that, relative to Britain, women managers in Hong Kong are apparently fairly contented with the way they are treated at work and with their experience of work.

Maternity legislation

In the past in Britain lack of maternity legislation, and social values of the time, meant that women tended to give up paid employment when they were expecting children and this is reflected in the career paths of these women. Once a break has occurred the notions of the woman's work as secondary are reinforced so that subsequently it is all the more important that the male partner's work is continued undisrupted and that changes do not affect the 'primary income' and thus the notion that the male career is salient in the household is perpetuated (Brannen 1987).

In Hong Kong there is maternity leave but it is not extensive and employers do not have to pay for the whole duration of that leave. The response from the Hong Kong women managers in the sample has been to stay at work rather than to leave it as was the case amongst the British sample. The next quote depicts Jennifer's experience in Hong Kong of the way in which maternity legislation dictated the period of time surrounding the birth of her first child and the way she organised this in relation to work.

> *"Basically I just woke up and went to the office and when I went home my family slept. I took dinner and after dinner I still had to work until 12. Then I woke up*

again at about 8 o'clock. I went to the office and this went on till days later. You can imagine there used to be six or seven assistant managers helping you out but when three of them are not co-operative at all you have to take over seven peoples' work including yourself. Again I was lucky that I could take control of the department and in fact at that time I was highly thought of by the firm. And then whether you call it luckily or unluckily I was pregnant."

[K.H. "Which do you call it?"]

"I would call it lucky. After that I found that family life is more important. Before I was pregnant I spent most of my time at work, although I was married. And luckily my husband is very understanding because in fact he also started working as a professional male. He joined one of the big six professional firms but he didn't like auditing as he didn't like working long hours and doing the ticking and checking. So he quit and moved to the commission field. So he is quite understanding regarding the life of a professional. So he could bear with me for working long hours. And then after I was pregnant I still had to work until 7 at night but I was very conscious about my health. As soon as I was aware that I was tired, I could not work any more and I just stopped and went home. I had been working under this kind of pressure for such a long time, I was pregnant and every night I was asleep at the office at about 7. I thought this was okay for me because I was used to working long hours but in fact that was not true. During my seven months pregnancy I got bleeding so I had to stay at home. At first I was in a hospital. I was told to rest with comfy back rests without leaving the bed. After staying in the hospital I had back rests at home. So I took three months off before the delivery. After the delivery ...in Hong Kong according to the Employment Ordinance, I was already exceeding the salary limits for the working grade..because I exceeded the salary limit so I was not protected under the Employment Ordinance. Under the Employment Ordinance for pregnant women you can take ten weeks for maternity; four weeks before the delivery and six weeks after the delivery. So after I gave birth to my daughter I had to come back to work one month after. I used to have a maid to do the house work for me...after I was pregnant I hired a Filipino maid . My maid even she has a maid. She did not have any work experience. In fact she is a mid wife in the Philippines and at home she has a maid. So after I gave birth to my daughter I found her no use at all because she had no experience. She didn't know how to look after the baby. She could do the cleaning properly but the most important thing to me is to look after the baby. At that time I was almost collapsed. I tried to feed the baby eight times a day, every three hours. I delivered the baby by caesarean so I was tired. I was so exhausted I almost collapsed. Then my husband spotted that and he said that 'you will be off'. He prepared a timetable for me. 'In the morning you

look after the baby and at night it's the maid's job. Otherwise you cannot get back to work'. So I shared the work with the maid. I went back to work... I had to give up a one month old baby to leave it up to the maid...I did have difficulties with that but after I returned to work I was so immersed I had so much to do I didn't have time to think of my family during the daytime. But as soon as I finished after work I had to rush home. In fact my lifestyle changed a lot. Before I had kids I went out to dinner or [out] with my friend at least three nights a week. After I had the baby I more or less cut off my private life."

(Jennifer - Hong Kong)

In Hong Kong a relative lack of legislated maternity leave and subsequent protection of rights on returning to work also has significant effects. It may partly be this lack in Hong Kong which provides women with a greater incentive to return to work as quickly as possible after childbirth as the only effective means of ensuring the same level of employment. The period of paid maternity leave is brief and to remain within this time frame requires a rapid return to work. The legislation itself may be related to culture in a number of ways. For instance in a number of the Hong Kong interviews I was told that in Chinese tradition a woman is believed to be unclean for one month after the birth of her child. Various restrictions are imposed; for instance not washing one's hair during this time and remaining in relative isolation. As we go on to see the duration of maternity leave, more or less, coincides with these traditional beliefs which may have gone some way to influence that legal duration. Traditional beliefs such as this also act, for some if not all, as a legitimation of that policy.

The slightly older British sample would have been having their children in the 70s and 80s before our current maternity leave laws were passed. They too, therefore, may have suffered from a relative lack of adequate maternity legislation, though there was some maternity leave available. At the time that they were having children, returning to full time work was a less common option than it is now. There were not the opportunities available which now alleviate the domestic responsibilities of, for instance, women managers in Hong Kong today and women may consequently have been encouraged towards the part time employment and flexible hours that were available. Other evidence suggests that women's moves out of the full time labour market often were not choices as a result of the lack of flexibility but were just assumed to be the only option. They were not active choices but simply 'what one did' (Brannen 1987, 1991).

It will be interesting to see how the next generation of women managers, those now contemplating having children, are affected by the more extensive maternity leave now available in Britain.

Immigration & employees rights

This leads to another central piece of legislation which is that which concerns immigration into Hong Kong. Legislation allows people from the Philippines to enter and work in Hong Kong. Legislation protecting the rights for employees is minimal and domestic servants can be paid relatively cheap wages for their work. Protected rights for employees in Hong Kong are rare to the extent that there is no legal requirement for a written contract of employment (Wong and Birnbaum-More 1994).

By comparison strict immigration laws have made it difficult for people from overseas to come and work in Britain. However, in part this fact can be seen as illustration of the interplay we have been discussing, in this case between economy and legislation. If there were a shortage of labour and a growing economy no doubt immigration laws would be relaxed in order to fill that need for labour[61]. In the current economic situation in Britain, where there is not only little growth but also a large surplus of labour, immigration laws have been tightened.

Legislation plays a significant role but it is argued that it cannot be seen in isolation from the other structures in which it is buried. Legislation has impacted on women managers' careers but as with any structure or social institution, legislation is only part of the explanation.

Summary

In this chapter we have seen how a series of processes have become manifested in various aspects of social life. Global, economic and social processes have encouraged quite different perspectives on social life and on relationships and patterns of action in everyday life. In the following chapter we move on to explore specific sets of relationships which impact upon women's experience of their career.

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[61] As they were relaxed in the 1950s when a labour shortage led to the encouragement of an influx of immigrants from the West Indies (see e.g. Brown 1984).

Chapter 7 : The Importance of Social Relationships: people who influence careers

Introduction

This chapter examines the specific micro level relationships which impact upon the career. One of the first issues that such an examination raises is that the notion of 'locus of control' (suggesting that some groups of people are more likely to see themselves in control of their lives whilst others tend to attribute the events of their life to some outside force) may have been portrayed in a somewhat simplistic fashion for both Hong Kong and Britain. Hong Kong is suggested to emphasise fatalism and so place controlling forces outside themselves (Bond 1991). Whilst this might be true of some areas of social life the women in the Hong Kong sample were very clear that although traditional stereotypes were predominant they owed their current positions to their own beliefs, attitudes and hard work not to some influence outside of their control. They took full responsibility for their careers to date and for where they might go in the future. In Britain male dominance and discrimination were cited as hindrances to greater success. These attitudes appear to reflect a situation which is the reverse of what has been suggested regarding the locus of control in Hong Kong and Britain. The reasons for these patterns are explored in this chapter.

In Hong Kong in appears that there is a much greater social difference between being a man and being a woman than there is in Britain. Perceptions in Hong Kong are that women are more likely to have the temperament necessary to be full time housewives than men to be house husbands and that women are less likely to make as good senior managers as men[62]. So there is a perception (even amongst the managerial community) that men and women are quite different from one another in terms of personalities and abilities. The ideal of equality in Hong Kong did not mean that those differences should disappear but rather that those differences should be valued equally. Consequently in a recent study 82.1% of a sample of 142 Hong Kong women managers believed that women did not have to act like men in order to succeed (Luk, 1993).

From the British sample it is clear that the perceptions of men and women were quite different from that of Hong Kong. The perception was that as a society became more 'civilised', more 'advanced', then equality would be greater. Equality to the British sample meant, not simply of equal value but the same, no difference.

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[62]This is evident in the current research and has been documented further by other studies (e.g. Chow 1993, Siu and Chu 1993).

Apart from biological differences, men and women, in terms of temperament, personality, skills and styles, would be as likely to be similar to each other as they would to any other person of the same sex. Thus gender would have no bearing on levels and types of skill or ability.

The perception of the relationship between men and women and the differences between them is crucial to this study. If the ideal perceived by women is that they should be treated and behave exactly as men (as if they were men) and so have the same chances, opportunities, stresses, pressures etc. as men, then if they perceive men consistently recruited or promoted instead of women with better or equal abilities they feel aggrieved. In Hong Kong, however, it is accepted that the nature of society and the nature of men and women's roles within it preferential treatment for men at some stages will occur. What this means for the woman is not that she should enter into conflict with men or with those promoting them but that she must try harder. Women in Hong Kong expect to be treated differently. They expect to be treated like a 'lady'.

Confucianism suggests a specific role for women vis-a-vis men. It is expected that 'gentlemen' treat 'ladies' with respect. It is interesting that in the Hong Kong interviews general discussion started by the interviewee tended to use the term 'lady' manager rather than 'woman' manager. In the British sample the only time 'ladies' were mentioned it was derogatory.

> *"We'd had an extremely traditional, very traditional, paternalistic, autocratic, semi autocratic - thank god but anyway, Head of School. I was quite young and I didn't quite fit into the mould of the 'nice lady teacher' I wasn't a nice lady teacher. He didn't like his lady staff (I'm saying lady because this is the way he spoke and saw us) he didn't like his lady staff to wear trousers and he was rather fond of twin-sets. Secretarial, that sort of noun, secretarial ladies they were very popular because they were nice ladies who had come to their careers, well they weren't really careers they were just sort of jobs, you know, cos the kids had grown up. And he liked that but I didn't fit into the mould so I think that was a lot of why it took so long... he didn't recognise or what to recognise that I was probably a reasonably competent person."*

(Lisa - Britain)

In Hong Kong the term did not have negative connotations. This is reflected in the fact that it appears as a classification in some studies. For example 'high powered lady' is one of 4 models of female entrepreneurship Siu and Chu identified as existing in Hong Kong. (1993:151). Women managers in Hong Kong expect to be valued but they do not expect to be treated like a man and do not appear to wish to

be. In Britain different treatment is interpreted as discrimination and leads to conflict. These different perceptions of what it is to be a man or to be a woman and the relationship between them in Hong Kong as compared to Britain can account in part for the different experiences and perceptions these women had regarding their careers and the people encountered during them.

A striking finding explored later in the chapter was that 100% of the women in the Hong Kong sample felt that they were unusually self confident[63]. This compares to the British sample in which only just over a third of the sample agreed with this statement. So despite the existence of very traditional gender roles in Hong Kong the women managers felt very confident. Because they were very sure of themselves, their own ground, how they were expected to behave and how men would behave towards them and because they were in agreement to a large degree with the men around them as to what constituted 'ladylike' behaviour and what the behaviour of a 'gentleman' was, they knew where they stood and they knew their place in the social structure. Knowing one's place is a central emphasis of Confucianism. Consequently the women were not 'fighting' for contested ground which seemed to typify how the British women felt about their situation and perhaps explained their comparative lack of confidence.

In this chapter we start by examining the evidence of this relationship between men and women in Hong Kong and Britain to provide the background to the subsequent discussion of the relationships between people at work and their significance for the career. As a second stage to the introductory background we examine the locus of control debate through which it is argued that individuals either take or abdicate responsibility for their lives and the events they encounter. Following this contextual information we move to discuss specific events and experiences encountered in the workplace.

The relationship between men and women

Many of the structures that were discussed in the previous chapters reflect a particular relationship between men and women in society. The various influences derived from cultural, structural and interpersonal foundations result in a particular configuration of relationships between men and women, how they are expected to treat each other and how that occurs in different areas of social life. In this section we examine the strands of influence, the relationship itself and its implications for women's experiences of their careers and working lives.

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[63] The term 'unusal' is in some senses meaningless as we have no measure of what these women see as 'normal' or the differences between Hong Kong and Britain in this respect. Nevertheless regardless of how confident the nature of the answer implies these women are (and regardless of whether this reflects similar or different levels of confidence between women in Hong Kong and Britain) these figures do show that the women in Hong Kong see themselves as more confident than most people around them

As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, in general there is greater agreement by men and women in Hong Kong on gender roles, on social goals and on the organisation of social life than there is in Britain. The agreement reflects a greater consensus in Hong Kong as opposed to more conflictual beliefs and antagonistic expectations in Britain. From the responses to the British questionnaire a picture emerges in which it is perceived that men's interests and women's interests are in direct contradiction, that the achievement of one sex's goals is to the detriment of the other's goals. Consequently fighting, struggle and conflict are inevitable as each group (heterogeneous as they may be) set out to achieve particular goals for themselves as individuals. Literature available on work place interaction between men and women and sexual harassment uses phrases such as how men use violence to 'keep women in their place' (Walby 1988), seeing women as 'intruders' in a 'male world' (Collier 1995), using terms such as 'victims' (Collinson and Collinson 1992, 1996) or "...sexual harassment constituted an exercise of gendered power by men..." (Collinson and Collinson 1996, 50). The titles of articles and books continue this theme (see for instance Cockburn's 1991, 'In the Way of Women'). This language typifies the hostility, conflict and opposing interests that are perceived to exist between men and women in the workplace, in Britain specifically though often also seen in other European and North American writing. Research has shown that sexual discrimination and the conflict and hostility that this creates was central to a significant number of British women's experience in managerial positions (Collinson and Collinson 1996). This picture provides a stark contrast to the way the workplace environment was discussed and viewed in Hong Kong.

In Hong Kong the picture is rather different and in the following discussion I illustrate why this is the case. A whole range of factors underpin this particular set of relationships and these factors in turn have a variety of origins. The main ones which we discuss here are; Confucianism, the social legacy from China, the importance of harmony and consensus.

Confucianism has many facets but central to it are the five social relationships that Confucius identified as the means of structuring social life which we outlined in chapter 3. Knowing one's place in the hierarchy and conforming to the role defined for that position has been an integral part of Chinese culture for hundreds of years. One of those relationships is that between husband and wife, or man and woman. Another aspect of Confucianism emphasises hard work, and the Chinese work ethic has been well documented by numerous authors (Lau 1988, Shae 1995). 'Li' or harmony is a key concept within Confucianism and this also plays a role in understanding the relationship between men and women.

Through this combination Confucianism has a strong influence, in conjunction with complimentary beliefs from Buddhism and Taoism (Shae 1995). One social goal is to maintain the harmony of the five social relationships. Today this may not be expressed quite so explicitly but the agreement on roles and the non conflictual relationship between each other's interest bears testament to this. The collectivism identified in Hong Kong enhances the desire for harmony in that, unlike the situation in Britain, success is less about individual achievement and more about success for the family.

People in Hong Kong tend to believe that everyone has the chance to achieve high social status and success if they work hard. Of course in collectivist terms this may not only be through their own achievement. When individuals do not make it they are more likely to take responsibility for that lack of success themselves. The combination of these beliefs in which a particular set of social relationships are idealised, where opportunity is generally seen to be open to all and in which an important social goal is to maintain the harmony between relationships, provides a context incompatible with demanding rights and fighting for women's rights.

Although women in the Hong Kong samples have said that it is harder to get to the top for women than men, they do not seem aggrieved about this, they do not see themselves as exploited; rather it is just the way life is. The nature of the family in Hong Kong and of the relationship of individuals to that unit is such that the notion of individual rights and personal freedom are rather incongruent concepts. Slowly various women's groups are emerging but there still remain a great many of the general population who do not subscribe to the fight for equality. The historical roots of these norms and values can be seen to have existed in Chinese culture for many generations.

> *"In China the central tenet of patriarchy was that the male parent, as the head of a definite household, was the representative of the 'family', the principle organised expression of the Chinese State. His supremacy was enhanced by the necessity of continued sacrifices to the spirits of deceased ancestors. The patriarch was thus invested with a power over every member of his family, consisting of one or more wives, children, grandchildren, younger brothers, their wives and children and so forth, as well as of hired and purchased servants, every one of whom had a fixed relation to the family, guaranteed by the whole social state and all were subject to the same patria potestas. In a state thus built on patriarchy, the idea of personal liberty, of absolute rights possessed by every individual as conceived in the modern West, was entirely alien. Every member of the family or household merged his or her individual existence into the 'family', which was legally the only 'person' existing in China. In a family thus constituted,*

none could be free in the Western sense. "

(Sinn 1994:142)

Women are members of professional women's networks but they use them to gain contacts within a system, rather than to fight that system. Politicisation of women's rights is not an issue for the majority of the population. Although there is general interest in equality and improving the situation for women who face violence such as rape, Hong Kong is relatively apolitical (Pearson 1995). Redding suggested that this stemmed from pre industrial China where families maintained distance from the state. The less involved the state was with the family and vice versa the better (Redding 1990) and this must further deter the development of women's rights movements.

Personalities and abilities: perceptions and stereotypes

Perceptions and stereotypes provide the attitudinal context in which interpersonal relationships take place. Consequently we begin the discussion with an examination of these attitudes before moving on to examine the behaviours that emerge out of them.

In Hong Kong perceptions of women are relatively traditional. It is perceived that the average Chinese man would wish his wife to stay at home to look after the family though, economically this is frequently no longer possible if the family is to have a high or even reasonable standard of living. The way that women are viewed may vary according to educational background. Amongst highly educated couples it is something of a status symbol for a husband to have a professional and intelligent highly educated working wife.

> *"...for what we call the middle class in Hong Kong that really, yuppies, that are well educated and so on I think that it [support from husband for the wife's career] is common among that group. But for the general mass may not be that common because for the educated comparatively we are more westernised. That the man believe in equality between men and women and it is necessary. Or actually the kind of values that we have is that it is good for a man to have a working wife, a professional wife... for the general mass public maybe having a wife work means that he is not capable. That's why he needs a wife to work in order to support the family. But in our case the interpretation is different..Its a kind of social status..."*

(Christine - Hong Kong)

There is also the perception that for women work is a choice, a pastime whereas for men, as the pillar of the family, work is essential. If a man does not work the family will have little income. If a woman does not earn an income then she still has her husband to support her. This perception is reflected in some of the fringe benefits explained to me. In one respondent's company a man's company health insurance covers his wife and children. A woman's health insurance does not because it is assumed that they are already covered by the husband's insurance.

> *"The management is completely run locally, local Hong Kong Chinese and*
> *_____ Bank is very much like the old traditional family business where the top*
> *management is dictated by one, well maybe not single handed...You couldn't*
> *imagine it we still have women and men not paid equally until 10 years ago. And*
> *perhaps that is one of the reasons why I left _____ not just because of the pay*
> *but because of the difference in a number of fringe benefits and opportunities.*
> *For example in selecting and promoting an executive when two possible*
> *candidates are of equal basis the management would tend to select the male*
> *because in their mind a man is the pillar of the family and then working women*
> *are just taking it for a pastime. He, the management, would think that with good*
> *academic qualifications a woman will be married to a good man with good social*
> *standing. So you should provide more opportunity to a man rather than a woman*
> *because she's well taken care of already by her family".*

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

> *"...and was very very unreasonable in terms of housing loan benefits. A woman's*
> *part would offer only 50% of what her male colleague can get...because the man*
> *is of course the master of the household. He has to take care of the whole family.*
> *So his entitlement for a housing loan is 50% more. Quite unfair. And for this*
> *bank, the _____ bank, the situation is more or less the same until five or six years*
> *ago ...when all unequal elements were eliminated."*

[64](Virginia - Hong Kong)

The following table gives some idea of the kinds of stereotypes that are evident from the questionnaire and their consequences in terms of perceptions regarding where women and men might be best employed and where their strengths and weaknesses lie.

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[64] See also quote from Amanda later in this chapter.

Table 7.1 Questionnaire results: The social perceptions and stereotypes of women in work and society

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
"There are some occupations to which women are suited but men are not"						
Agree	62.9%	74.1%	52.0%	85.9%	85.0%	86.6%
Disagree	27.1%	18.1%	35.6%	11.3%	15.0%	8.5%
"Management tends to require skills that men have more often than women"						
Agree	13.9%	16.4%	11.6%	47.2%	55.0%	41.5%
Disagree	78.7%	71.5%	85.1%	47.9%	40.0%	53.7%
"Most women have the right temperament to be full time housewives"						
Agree	16.5%	25.8%	7.5%	49.3%	45.0%	52.4%
Disagree	69.2%	52.6%	85.1%	43.0%	43.4%	42.7%
"There are some occupations to which men are more suited than women"						
Agree	67.1%	80.2%	54.6%	91.5%	90.0%	92.7%
Disagree	26.1%	14.6%	37.2%	7.0%	10.0%	4.9%
"Men are more likely than women to have the temperament necessary for high powered senior management careers"						
Agree	16.5%	24.2%	9.1%	38.8%	46.6%	32.9%
Disagree	72.2%	59.5%	84.3%	54.2%	43.4%	62.2%
"For various reasons women tend not to make as good senior managers as men"						
Agree	13.1%	16.3%	9.9%	50.7%	55.0%	47.5%
Disagree	73.4%	61.2%	85.1%	43.7%	43.4%	43.9%

Although the stereotypes are apparently less traditional in Britain the suggestion is that what has occurred is that people no longer feel that it is acceptable to appear to hold those values. Rather than having totally disappeared traditional attitudes are more covert. The women believed that whilst attitudes may have changed somewhat, these traditional notions still exist.

Table 7.1 contains some fairly significant differences in responses. Firstly, it is clear that more traditional attitudes towards the roles of men and women are held in Hong Kong than in Britain. However, it is interesting to note that despite the apparently progressive attitudes held regarding women's potential in management by the British sample, and the favourable conditions that this might be expected to create, it is the British women who are most discontent (see table 6.6). Some might argue that the table demonstrates the Hong Kong women adhere to more traditional values and are not discontent because they do not recognise their exploitation by men. The same argument might also propound that women in Britain, on the other hand, recognise their oppression and the dissatisfaction reflects their unwillingness to tolerate it. It may be true to say that identification of sexism as an important issue may sensitise members of a society to instances

where they feel they have been badly treated. However, the other part of the argument, that Hong Kong women have not developed to the stage where they are able to recognise the reality of their situation, shows ethnocentrism and a complete insensitivity to culture. The nature of the relationship between men and women and the particular emphases of a culture seems a more plausible explanation of these different conditions as it takes into account what the women involved themselves believe and understand about their lives rather than trying to impose the definitions of western, white feminists.

Arguments propounding one line and direction of development are typical of western arrogance and a culture that emphasises universalism. Theory in the west is often an attempt to explain the whole world as following a unilinear path with identifiable stages along the process, and generally ourselves in the west at the most advanced of those stages. From the evidence of this thesis I argue that differences in historical circumstances and events, geography, economic conditions and culture result in a complexity that cannot be understood as a unilinear process. The differences that exist in the world for a range of reasons mean that the simplicity so often sought cannot explain reality.

The perceptions and stereotypes surrounding what it is to be male or female are reflected in the predominant beliefs regarding differences in personality and ability between men and women. Interestingly there is agreement in Hong Kong and Britain that women do have different qualities that they use at work. This impacts on the way they are believed to manage in both Hong Kong and Britain.

Table 7.2 Questionnaire results: "Men and women bring different qualities and abilities to the workplace"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
Agree	89.4%	88.8%	90.1%	90.9%	93.3%	89.1%
Disagree	6.4%	7.8%	5.0%	8.4%	6.7%	9.7%

Although there is agreement that women have different qualities and skills than men, the issue of whether they have different personalities is less clear.

The Importance of Social Relationships

Table 7.3 Questionnaire results: women and men have distinctly different personalities

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
Agree	51.1%	50.0%	52.0%	76.0%	76.6%	75.6%
Disagree	35.8%	34.5%	37.2%	19.0%	18.3%	19.5%

In Britain the larger proportion is amongst those who agree that men and women have different personalities, but as we can see this is approximately half the sample. In Hong Kong on the other hand there is greater agreement that personalities between men and women are different as are the qualities that they bring to the work place. The high level of belief in gender difference in Hong Kong is particularly interesting when viewed in conjunction with the belief that a person's gender is unlikely to affect their experience of work (see table 7.14). Logically one might expect that the more difference there is between men and women the more likely that difference is to have some impact on experience. In fact this view is very typical of British society and is reflected in the rather different attitude to equality that is expressed. In Britain equality seems to mean, to the women involved, having the opportunity to do everything that men do. Underlying this belief seems to be the idea that basically "men and women are all from one race" "we're all human". In Hong Kong on the other hand the underlying belief seems to be rather different and consequently so too is what equality means. In Hong Kong equality and difference do not seem to be incompatible. Men and women can be equally valued and respected whilst maintaining their differences. Accepting that there are some jobs that women cannot do as well as men does not make them unequal to men if unequal only means less valuable rather than not the same.

"Most, at least the supervisors, the managers, the chef are all men because of the working environment. Because working in a kitchen, in a Chinese kitchen is extremely difficult. All the year through the temperature in a Chinese kitchen is always around 40 to 50 degrees Celsius. I think for western style it's different but we like hot food so we cannot offer any air conditioning in the kitchen, in a Chinese kitchen no way. Otherwise the food gets cold very quickly. So the temperature is always at 40 to 50 degrees in the kitchen. It's... no way for a women to work there it's impossible. ..I think they [men] physically they can stand the kind of temperature, the kind of working environment. So when I went for the interview they have reservation whether I can handle that kind of staff,

comparatively rough, you know, not educated."

(Christine - Hong Kong)

Table 7.4 Questionnaire results: "The achievement of equality between men and women is desirable"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total **n=237**	**Male** **n=116**	**Female** **n=121**	**Total** **n=142**	**Male** **n=60**	**Female** **n=82**
"The achievement of equality between men and women is desirable"						
Agree	84.8%	82.7%	86.9%	72.5%	70.0%	74.4%
Disagree	7.6%	9.5%	5.8%	21.8%	25.0%	19.5%
"Equality between men and women is detrimental to the welfare of the family						
Agree	9.3%	10.4%	8.2%	23.2%	28.3%	19.6%
Disagree	83.1%	79.3%	86.7%	72.6%	68.4%	75.6%
"If there is equality between men and women economic success would suffer"						
Agree	5.5%	6.9%	4.2%	11.2%	16.7%	7.3%
Disagree	85.6%	81.9%	89.3%	82.4%	76.6%	86.5%

The questionnaire indicates that reasonably similar views are held in Hong Kong and Britain with regard to the desirability of equality. However what the questionnaire does not present is an indication of what equality actually means to the respondents. This has been explored earlier and brings us back to the fundamental difference in the meaning of equality as 'equal but different' or the 'same and equal'. These two perspectives can be seen as either end of a continuum with Britain towards the 'same and equal end' and Hong Kong at the 'equal but different' end of the scale. Again collectivism/individualism can be seen to play a role in this. In Hong Kong the nature of the collective culture means that self identity is formed through contact with a close group of people, the family and close family friends. Having a variety of different skills and abilities means that the family unit has the widest ranges of skills to draw on to assist its survival. Difference may therefore actually be beneficial to survival and all those differences can be valued. In the more individualistic environment of Britain, the focus on the individual and their achievements and abilities as the means of determining the value of that individual, means that if particular abilities or characteristics are lacking then that individual can be viewed as less valuable. Therefore for women to be seen as being of equal value to men they must demonstrate that they have the same abilities and personalities as men. This is an extreme presentation of the circumstances. In fact we can see that there is some

perception that women and men may be different and that in some circumstances women may be better or more appropriate than men. The two scenarios are ideal types and neither describes Hong Kong or Britain entirely. However, it is clear that the two cultures are located at different points on the continuum.

Figure 7a The perception of personality and ability on the basis of sex

Britain   Hong Kong

Men and women are
biologically different but
psychologically the same.
Personality and ability varies
between individuals but this
variation is not on the basis of
sex

Men and women are biologically
and psychologically different.
Therefore there are some
personality types, skills and
abilities that one sex is more
likely to hold than another

Through this clear social code for men and women's behaviour in Hong Kong there is certainly little attempt for women to be just like men. Differences are deemed obvious, right, expected and desirable. Confusion occurs when those differences are not maintained.

"...some of the more friendly ones told me that my personality is more like a man than a woman. ..Perhaps all the women colleagues he had come across are very soft, tender, non aggressive. Just using the salary to buy beautiful clothes and all their topics are about fashion, TV or movie stars...but in fact one of my pastimes is to chat with men...my best friends are men...Sometimes I don't like women's characters...they are very mean, you know too much gossip. I don't like gossip and I like to make fast decisions. And I hate you know calling up a girlfriend ask her to dinner and then she say "I have to ask my husband first and then I have to check my timetable see whether my kids will be well taken care of" and then she may think which restaurant are you going.? I don't like Seczhuan food, I like Japanese food...I hate that about women"

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

The locus of control debate

The location to which individuals attribute the cause or stimulus of events has been shown to vary culturally (Redding 1990, Trompenaars 1993). It is conventionally and, I suggest, simplistically presented that cultures placing emphasis on fate and luck have an external locus of control whilst less fatalistic

cultures, of which Britain is deemed one, tend to see direction and control as within the individual's own powers, that individuals are in control of their lives rather than controlled by destiny (Trompenaars 1993). The historical and traditional emphasis of fatalism originates from mainland China. Lau and Kuan suggest that in Hong Kong the situation is more complicated. As endless opportunities are dangled in front of the Hong Kong population, hard work, foresight and education are far more frequent explanatory variables than fatalism (Lau 1988). This is much closer to the picture this research paints of Hong Kong than the rather more generalised portrayals of the broader research of Trompenaars.

In discussing this theme I have introduced an additional notion of positive and negative cultures. Positive and negative cultures can be understood as a part of the locus of control debate in so far as they concern whether individuals see themselves, or something outside themselves, as the controlling force. However, positive and negative cultures are more than just this because they also refer to the way the outcome of that control is perceived and not just where that control is located.

Luck, fate and coincidence have been important in many accounts of social life in Hong Kong and also emerged in the narratives provided by the interviewees. 'It's a matter of chances and opportunities, like fate and being in the right place at the right time'. Or 'I was lucky enough to...' were common explanatory statements in Hong Kong. Similarly accident and total coincidence seem to characterise women's perceptions of their careers in Britain. In fact in Britain few would have imagined that they would have ended up where they did when they first started out.

> *"I fell into management quite accidentally and I've never really regarded it as anything other than my routine job"*

(Gabrielle - Britain)

Trompenaars (1993), Bond (1991) Redding (1990) amongst others have identified a belief in fate and luck in Hong Kong that would suggest a locus of control outside of the individual. In this section I argue that, in relation to the career although there is clearly a strong belief in fate and luck in Hong Kong there is also a belief that if individuals work hard enough anyone can achieve, that individuals can make their own luck as it is not predetermined or outside their control.

In both Hong Kong and Britain the majority of the sample suggest that failure in life is not usually an individual's own fault (Table 7.5) but well over one third (40%) of the Hong Kong sample suggest that generally the individual is at fault.

This appears to be contrary to the notion of fate and predestination. Working hard in Hong Kong is seen as providing opportunity. As luck and fate also figure as important features of social life it is clear that the operation, influence and meaning of fate is not straightforward but rather that control is retained over one's own life by making one's own luck not simply waiting to be lucky.

Table 7.5 Questionnaire results: The importance of opportunity versus ability

Questionnaire Variable	Britain 100%=237		Hong Kong 100% = 142	
GA4 When people have failed in life it is usually there own fault	agree:	29.6%	:	40.2%
	disagree:	57.4%	:	51.4%
GA10 Everyone in society has the opportunity to achieve high social status if they work hard	agree:	36.1%	:	57.0%
	disagree:	57.4%	:	40.2%

One might expect that in a *collectivist* society there would be greater inclination to turn to the *group* for explanation of experiences and for the source of success or failure. Similarly perhaps one would assume that an *individualistic* society would place responsibility for success on the *individuals* involved. I go on to suggest that in fact it appears the reality is the reverse.

Locus of control is both a cultural and a psychological phenomenon. In a society that emphasises *individualism* and individual responsibility, psychologically lack of success would be extremely damning to perceptions of self (or identity) unless it could be attributed to sources outside the individual's control.

On the other hand if a society emphasises the *collective* over the individual then lack of individual success would not necessarily be destructive to perceptions of identity. The existence of the Chinese family means that there is less pressure to be highly successful individually as long as the family can be seen as such. Success is not solely an individual phenomenon but also a familial one. The responsibility for the family's success may fall more to some members than to others dependent on their position. For instance the eldest child, and particularly the eldest son, would face significant pressure in order to provide that success. Although these can only be tentative suggestions regarding career motivation, they do suggest a need for an understanding of, in this instance, Chinese psychology rather than the imposition of western psychology to try to explain world wide experiences.

Barriers to career development

Having provided this background indication of the way individuals from the two samples understand their situation and their success or failure, we now move on to examine the specific factors to which blame or responsibility is allocated. The aim is to explore how women are assisted or hindered throughout their careers and who, or what, by.

In terms of barriers to the career the same main areas of difficulty emerge in both Hong Kong and Britain. What is different is the degree of importance each of these areas are awarded, and more crucially the way in which they are perceived by the individuals involved. Although there are similarities as well as differences in the experiences of women managers in Hong Kong and Britain the very different ways in which these elements are explained, described and understood by the women themselves are striking. Many more quantitative comparisons of women's experience have suggested that there are more similarities than difference between some nations of women (e.g. Crompton, 1996) However, in the more qualitative research entered into here we can see that at the level of the women's own interpretations and understanding of their lives many fundamental differences remain.

The perceptions and stereotypes identified earlier provide the attitudinal context within which interpersonal relationships take place and consequently affect the choices and chances of the career. In this section we go on to examine the mechanism through which these stereotypes operate. The areas which infringe on the career and have a negative affect are: the prevailing stereotypes of, and attitudes towards, women, the subsequent male oriented organisation of labour markets, particular elements of personality, women's perceived role in the family and current economic conditions. We have explored the influence of social structures and of family roles in previous chapters. Here we explore the impact of the remaining factors.

Male oriented labour markets

A perception that the labour market is structured in such a way that it assists men most was held in both Hong Kong and Britain. The manner in which this occurs is perhaps the most immediate manifestation of the perceptions and stereotypes previously outlined. In Britain most of the explanations of difficulty revolved around the sexist nature of the workplace and those who are encountered there. The women in Britain described many bosses in terms of the particular personality problems that they had or that they simply didn't like women in the work place and the troubles that this caused at work.

"It was a very very small company which was basically two rooms. One room where the big fat directors sat and ordered coffee to be put in front of them; and one room where the busy little women would get on with doing the work of the company and it was just the actual attitude... they would read and they would, one of them particularly, any slight mistake he made he would shout at everyone who worked there and take it out on us and get really angry I would stand up to him but the others wouldn't and it got a bit wearing because they thought they didn't have the right to stand up to him and you know in the end I actually had quite a good relationship with them because I think they actually quite liked the challenge of somebody responding back to them but it wasn't fair that they did that...

When I went for the interview there, in fact I was interviewed by a women and I just knew there was bad practice before I worked there because she actually said to me because I had just got married at the time, and she said to me "and when do you plan to start a family?" I said "oh well when I'm about 30" and she said "are you on the pill?" I said "yes" and she said "no accidents likely to happen?" and that set the tone, they were such bad employers. They didn't see anything wrong with that sort of practice ..."[65]

(Casey - Britain)

Many of the British sample were frequently upset by the sexist environment which was attributed as the underlying reason for not getting higher in an organisation, for less success than hoped for or as the cause that forced a career change. It was also blamed for wasting time aiming unsuccessfully for promotions because of the all male panels, suffering sexism in meetings where they are seen as the 'dolly dimple female' with few ideas and abilities but useful only in so far as they can pour the tea and take the minutes. Those holding such perceptions might well neglect to keep women informed or be unconcerned that much of the business takes place on the golf course. The British sample tended to see the whole situation as set up in such a way that it made their progression extremely difficult and, once having reached a particular level, further progression unlikely.

"Well I would think that in the old climate there definitely was injustices as I was describing before. Before our new director we had to work quite hard convincing him that I was a reasonable, sensible person not some sort of dolly dimple female"

(Lisa - Britain)

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[65] This type of experience was by no means unique to Britain but the way the events were interpreted and reacted to was quite different in Britain and in Hong Kong.

"I don't think being female hinders your progress to a certain level ... I think you progress like anybody else. But then you suddenly reach a level where it gets a bit harder I think and I think it depends on what industry you work in as well. It is very difficult from where I am now to move up...it's very male oriented up above me ...I'm just trying to think if there is anybody [female] higher than me...there are a couple of women the same grade as me...but the rest I think, apart from maybe in the admin. area, are all men."

(Lizzie - Britain)

"The Partners in this firm are members of the men's club in X, I ask you, - but there it is. They go there every lunch time. They play snooker and they have a plate of egg and chips. I know exactly what they do when they go there and then there's the women in the office. Isn't that really horrible. We've been doing Investors in People and we've been doing all these sort of quite good things and one of the things is we've got to put a strategic plan together. So we were discussing strategic plans with them and I was really chuffed because they asked me to come in on it and ...they had a consultant in and the six of us were sitting there. They all got up and went for lunch and I had to sit there, they didn't even ask me and they'd been discussing all this and by the time they came back from lunch they knew exactly what was going in the strategic plan...you know they'd obviously been discussing it over lunch and I hadn't been there... there's a girl who's a manager in the office in X and she came over and the partners and this consultant, again they got up and just went to lunch at the men's club. And I said it's very rude to go and leave me and Chris just sitting...[they said] "Oh you can go for lunch somewhere else"...But they don't see anything wrong with it"

(Avril - Britain)

In Hong Kong, however, the perception is different. The same experiences go on. Business and entertaining takes place in clubs and bars of a type at which "female guests would not be welcome". Other people's perceptions are important but these women talk in individual terms and feel individually responsible for where they are in the labour market. Particular aspects of their nature or personality have made it difficult for them to do the things necessary to move on. But they attribute the cause of this to themselves rather than to factors outside themselves and not to the sexism of the labour market. In such a context it is not surprising if women are less inclined to set up liberation and equal rights movements. Men will not push for these things and the women do not perceive this to be the issue[66].

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[66] See table 6.7

"Table 7.6 Questionnaire results: "Women have to work harder than men to achieve a very senior position"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	**Male** n=116	**Female** n=121	**Total** n=142	**Male** n=60	**Female** n=82
Agree	87.4%	83.7%	90.9%	62.6%	50.0%	72.0%
Disagree	8.9%	11.2%	6.6%	35.9%	46.6%	28.0%

There does seem to be general agreement that women probably do have to work harder than the male equivalent in order to achieve senior positions. The group least likely to adhere to this belief are men in Hong Kong. The difficulty posed for senior women is seen as most problematic in Britain. In Hong Kong the women felt that their success was made more difficult because of very traditional attitudes towards women that exist today. The difficulties raised by the prevalence of traditional attitudes was largely concerned with being selected for the job in the first place or achieving promotions through selection panels at specific stages later in the career. Once there, although the attitudes might remain that made working life hard, an individual would be seen as a manager before being seen as a woman.

The identification of this additional pressure on women does not necessarily mean that it is perceived to be a great problem. In Britain comments arose about it not being fair and being discriminatory. In Hong Kong the same phenomenon was broadly perceived to be present but it was stated as matter of fact rather than as a complaint. In Chinese family businesses in particular the traditional attitudes regarding men and women's roles made women's role in management more of a struggle.

> At first in our organisation it was quite hard because mainly in our Chinese style...man is more important than woman. In Chinese culture ...our organisation is quite traditional style in this. So you want to build up your role to the top level men need to give 20% of effort to do the job I must pay 30 or 40% on that job and that job must be much better than the men. If you can't do the very same they will give the recognition to the man not the woman.

(Amanda - Hong Kong)

Personal characteristics and personality

Particular elements of the individual's own personality, such as shyness or lack of confidence, can have significant impact on the career. Lack of confidence is cited as a difficulty for women in both Hong Kong and Britain. Lack of confidence seems especially significant for women returning to work after a substantial

period out of the labour market and as such figured more strongly in the British women's accounts than in those of the Hong Kong Chinese.

Lack of confidence tended to figure at some point during the British women's careers as explanation of under achievement. Table 7.7 suggests that at the point at which the questionnaire was completed the sample in general were fairly self confident and confidence did not currently pose a barrier for them, though relative to the men in the sample the women were considerably less confident. Despite their current confidence it was evident from the interviews that at times in the past lack of confidence had been significant in their careers.

" *When I look back at what I was like as a teenager and young woman I was very different. I was much more, well like the example I told you about when I was in Youth work, I let it happen to me, I shouted and bawled at him but I let it happen to me. And when I was in school and college I did things that I think "What was I doing?" they were about wanting to be seen as soft and female and with all the nice female attributes, pretty and a bit dim, not too manly....so somewhere along the line there's been a radical change. It doesn't just grow from nowhere. You must be conditioned into it because you learn the way to get certain responses is to be a certain way....I was a shy child, a wimpy adolescent, a self effacing young woman so somewhere along the line I've learnt to be a bit more of a battler..."*

(Meryl - Britain)

"It was that sort of expectation that if you went to a secondary modern school you were pretty dim. It has always affected me...you always think...well the way it affects you is because you have this great chip on your shoulder and your self confidence ...is shattered. And it's very difficult to recognise that you don't actually believe in yourself, you don't actually believe you can achieve anything...The woman who was my manager at the time insisted I should go off and do this qualification. She sent me this form to apply for a secondment which meant I got paid while I was there and it sat on my desk for a month. She came in to see me on the last day it was due in. She said "why haven't you filled that in?" and I said "because no college would accept me". And she said "of course they will you've got good references"...Anyway she sat there until I filled the form in and convinced me I should do it. And then when I went for an interview at the college I had a complete and utter fixation I was going to get turned down because I thought academically I couldn't achieve it. Then this lecturer was absolutely fantastic. He said to me "you have to remember that three quarters of the people sweeping the roads could be where I am if they had the same opportunities as me" And to some extent that was right. Anyway I got the college

place and did the thing..."

(Daphne - Britain)

Table 7.7 Questionnaire results: "I think I am unusually self confident"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
Strongly agree	7.2%	10.3%	4.1%	58.5%	60.0%	57.3%
Agree	37.6%	42.2%	33.1%	40.8%	40.0%	41.5%
Do not know	16.5%	12.9%	19.8%	0.7%	0.0%	1.2%
Disagree	31.2%	27.6%	34.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Strongly disagree	6.3%	5.2%	7.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Missing	1.3%	1.7%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

In Hong Kong rather than being a barrier there seems to be an extremely high degree of belief in oneself. Table 7.7 derived from the questionnaire shows that 99.3% of the Hong Kong sample saw themselves as unusually self confident. This staggeringly high response was true of both men and women in the sample and is very different from the self perceptions of the British sample in which 37.5% disagreed that they were unusually self confident. In Hong Kong there seems to be a great faith in one's own capabilities, what one can achieve, the control one has over that achievement and the confidence about doing so. This positive mental attitude underpins the interpretation of a wide range of events so that what may be viewed as negative and a barrier in one culture is perceived quite differently in another. This is a further manifestation of positive and negative cultures mentioned earlier.

"Every time when people ask me "do you have any difficulties or have you met any barriers in your career development" I can think of nothing. Possibly it's my personal interpretation. I have a positive attitude towards challenges. Everything to me is a challenge rather than problems or difficulties."

(Christine - Hong Kong)

K.H. " What factors have helped you to get where you are now?"

The Importance of Social Relationships

"Self motivation primarily ...and an awful lot of hard work. I always said if I had been a man that job would have been so easy and I still maintain that. If I didn't have the other responsibilities and the other roles that I have then yes it would be absolutely...it would be very, very easy."

(Clara - Britain)

Supports for career development

The factors that create barriers can be the same ones that also provide support. Whilst individual characteristics might on occasion be limiting they can be the deciding factor in success also. This section examines the individual's interpretation of everyday life and their interpretation of events, people and processes that they feel have assisted progress through their careers.

Inner beliefs and underlying attitudes

The spiritual, or inner beliefs, of the individual regarding their attitudes to life, work and their self perception are the underlying attitudes which determine in part how relationships are perceived.

Weber (1930) examined the "work ethic" and its influence on the economy and capitalism. At that time Confucianism was purported to be one of the explanations for China's economic backwardness. The work ethic described western, particularly Protestant, cultures. However, this is now also apparent in Hong Kong (e.g. Lau 1988) In this study the work ethic is evident in expression of notions such as "I have always believed that you must work as hard as you can", or "It is my belief that it is right to work extremely hard if one is to earn a salary". "You do not get something without effort", or the individual's "personal philosophy" such as that mentioned by Christine earlier in the chapter. Attitudes reflecting the work ethic are also apparent in a feeling of guilt for those who perceive themselves as getting privileges that have not been earned.

"At that point my boss was starting his own business and the factory is in Ha Kwai Chung at this time so every day he asked his driver to pick me up first and go back to the office...so about 9am he pick me up at Causeway Bay and then drove back to the office it is almost 10 something. I was so guilty that most of the staff had been in the office ...and I have the privilege to come late... I am really a person who wants to work but people think I have the privileges to do something which I am not supposed to have so I said to him since he is starting a business and it's too far away I'd better find another job..."

(Junia - Hong Kong)

It was mentioned earlier that in Hong Kong the interviewees maintained what they called a 'positive attitude'. This attitude seems to result in quite a different motivation to achieve as well as different interpretation of events around them. In Britain achievement was often a fight against men and against the system. Consequently, as we have seen, failure to reach the top was an indication of the bias and male domination of the system not a reflection of individual failings or weakness. In Hong Kong achievement was a reflection of hard work, ability and being a good person, and consequently the individual was responsible for whether or not this goal was achieved. There was no such equivalent in Britain. The confidence that we saw earlier to be displayed by the Hong Kong sample may be strongly related to the positive inner beliefs that are carried with them.

> *"I guess it [career development] all depends on your attitude towards yourself and your career. I have a healthy attitude to both of them. In Hong Kong I don't think I have a big problem in terms of career development...[A healthy attitude means] you feel good about yourself, you have confidence in yourself, you know you can do a job well, even if you haven't done it before you can pick it up. Towards people you know you can get along. A healthy way to see life can help you to look at things differently. My belief is that if a person has a healthy attitude towards life this person has got to succeed. Because of their healthy outlook on life you are happy all the time".*

(Lilly - Hong Kong)

Boss/protégé relationship

It was common in Britain for there to be one extremely significant character of dramatic importance in pushing the individual on to achieve more than they might have done without that support. As we have seen when looking at the barriers faced, relationships with people in positions of influence such as a boss, also could be the source of a negative stimulus for change because of what is perceived to be male chauvinism. In Hong Kong simply being a boss demanded a particular type of benevolent role and consequently in general only elements of support and added help emerged. Part of the relationship was not just support and encouragement that a boss could provide, but was also gleaned indirectly from the existence of that relationship. Being the protégé of a respected senior member of an organisation carried a status in itself.

Bosses have figured strongly as both barriers and support. In Hong Kong the subordinate/boss relationship tended to be a generally positive experience whereby bosses would provide support, encouragement, a way into a job and opportunities within it and be a role model from which the individual felt

privileged to learn. In Britain there was a great deal of negative influence when a sexist boss destroyed confidence or limited opportunities or was a 'woman hater' and so was perceived to prevent progress and challenge everything that was said or done. Many of the British interviewees did have one boss who was particularly memorable because of their support and encouragement. These were considered good bosses whereas in Hong Kong this was the expected and normal relationship between a boss and subordinate.

Interestingly it was common amongst the Hong Kong women in the sample for their careers to change as their boss' did. If their boss set up a company on their own they might well go with them.

> *"When I tendered my resignation I have been persuaded to stay by very senior people including the deputy chairman. But I was determined to go because I can see that my career development will...I will face... that it won't be a very smooth path because I was then engaged in the sort of China project launch but ____ was so conservative with their business in China that I don't see any future in the Business that I was in. So in order to further my experience in that particular sector I decided to go to join ____ together with my boss.."*

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

Alternatively when a boss moved jobs or was head hunted they might endeavour to bring their protégé along with them. This seems to be a kind of informal and unwritten mentorship for those relationships which work well, loyalty by both members of the relationship in a situation of rapid labour turnover beyond the boundaries of a particular organisational or job context.

In part this may relate back to the positive world view in which the negative aspects were largely overlooked. What was good, kind, and encouraging about any boss was remembered and highlighted. That the boss plays a crucial role is evident. As a note of caution the positive picture might also reflect an unwillingness to recognise and so show disrespect to seniors by identifying more negative aspects. Even though culture may be influencing the portrayals of bosses it seems plausible that it also impacts on how they perceive their boss so that they are less likely to feel hostility for behaviours that might not be looked on so favourably in Britain, and therefore the expressions reflect the reality. The enthusiasm with which some bosses were discussed was dynamic and positive. Difficulties experienced were classified as 'a challenge'; lending further support to the argument that it is patronising and ethnocentric to suggest that what is termed discrimination and sexism in the West is not recognised by Chinese women *yet* .

In fact these behaviours are seen, but rather than some unfair problem to retaliate and fight against are perceived as just another fact of life to make the best of.

Networking and access to information

Networking plays a crucial role in support and encouragement in Hong Kong. There is a sense of a close knit business community. There are clubs of personnel managers, for instance, from different organisations, many starting on the basis of informal friendships made during evening classes, vocational education or university. These groups might meet to discuss organisational changes and so group members find out what is going on in other organisations. This is useful when changing jobs as contacts are made, people know of others and this is crucial in whether or not one gets the job. Those individuals who find they are not in such a group, or chose not to join in, find promotions difficult because of a lack of knowledge and lack of visibility.

> *"Because I spend most of my, actually all of my academic study in Hong Kong and it helps me to establish a very good connection in Hong Kong. And comparatively speaking Asia no matter you start business or whatever, connection counts very much... For example most of my university mates work in Hong Kong. If I need any information from other companies its easier for me to establish the kind of relationship because we studied in the same university. But if you don't know that person well people may not help you. Because Hong Kong is very small and competition between companies is very keen everything is regarded as confidential unless it's on a friendly basis then a person will tell you... The so called friendly basis very often developed when we were in university and that helped me a lot with my career development. Because for example setting up a training department in order to help people to learn. As a trainer you should know more and you have to quote life examples so you have to understand more about other companies and so on. Also nowadays when we talk about bench marking. You need information about other companies and how can you get that kind of information? In the case of Hong Kong we don't have that many kind of research reports available. We have to do it on our own and we need personal connections in order to do that kind of information gathering.... Because at least one company that I joined, that is the fast food chain, is a very traditional Chinese company, they really do business by closing doors. The company was founded by a family member and after founding the company he brought in other family members to work in the company so they are a very closed circle and they know very little about the outside companies, the outside world and so on because of lacking connections. So actually they brought me in because of my connections in the field of training. There's something very personal, when I first joined the company I was pregnant already which is*

*extremely unusual for any company to take on board a pregnant woman as a new
employee because I would take my maternity leave very soon after commencing
duty but because of my connections as well as expertise they brought me in. Yes
connections are very important in Asia."*

(Christine - Hong Kong)

Table 7.8 Questionnaire results: The importance of networks at work

Questionnaire Variable	Britain 100% = 237		Hong Kong 100% = 142	
AW14 I sometimes spend time socialising with colleagues outside work hours	agree:	73%	:	92%
	disagree:	25%	:	8%
AW15 The informal networks built outside work are helpful at work	agree:	69%	:	89%
	disagree:	16%	:	7%
AW16 Both sexes attend work social events	agree:	65%	:	97%
	disagree:	24%	:	2%
AW17 Male & female colleagues are treated as equals at social events	agree:	70%	:	88%
	disagree:	11%	:	10%

Organisation based networks are also of importance and table 7.8 indicates the
high level of involvement with such networks. In particular in Hong Kong the vast
majority socialise with their colleagues, spend time with them and feel that they
are treated as their equals. Although this is also true of the British sample it is so
to a lesser degree.

A distinctive feature explaining the people who influence an individual and their
career comes back to this notion of networks and what it means in different
cultures. Networks in Britain tend to be networks set up precisely for people with
a common interest and for the purpose of exchanging information such as a
Professional Business Women's network. In Hong Kong, however, the networks
are a much more integrated part of social life. The family network is the most
immediate and longest standing but throughout life more individuals are added to
that intricate network so that family friends become part of that network and so
too do trusted past class mates. Networks of like minded people in similar
occupations also serve a function, but again these seemed to be formed through
groups who knew each other already such as by having been at university together
or they were all on the same personnel course etc. Networks do not seem to
develop in Hong Kong simply because individuals feel that a network would be
useful rather they develop because there is a group of people who trust each other
and who therefore can exchange information. The whole business community of

Hong Kong is characterised by a series of interrelated networks in a way that does not seem to occur in Britain.

In Britain there seems to be a feeling that it is useful to know others outside of the department but (perhaps in part a result of geography again) these relationships do not span across whole occupations as they tend to in Hong Kong. Although people are members of groups they may passively offer support but do not seem to bring about change actively as they do in Hong Kong. In particular women seem to get together as women in women only groups far less in Hong Kong, they talk far less about the unfortunate position of being female and the detrimental affect it can have on one's career. The Hong Kong women seem to spend less time searching for solutions to problems associated with being a professional woman. This locating of blame does emerge strongly in Britain. Although there are professional women's clubs in Hong Kong the women interviewed suggested that although there probably were less opportunities for women than men this was individual women's responsibility to resolve and if they were motivated there was nothing really to stop them.

Work place relationships

Simply by being a woman in the workplace women have a different experience of work than men. Clearly this is not an isolated non social phenomena but is inherently social and cultural. Consequently we explore in this section the relationships, interactions and perceptions of experiences at work for women managers in Hong Kong and in Britain.

In Hong Kong workplace relationships were perhaps less participative than in Britain but both could be dictatorial when deemed necessary. There is a sense of strict discipline in Hong Kong which those who discussed it explained as part of what it is to be Chinese. Strict discipline is taught in the family, in particular by the father[67]. In Hong Kong there seems to be more formality in the way in which men and women talk and relate to each other at work talking of "lady managers" rather than "women managers" and this is very much how they are seen.

Interestingly the women in both Britain and Hong Kong described the 'typical' female manager in the same way and the 'typical' male manager in the same way. Even women manager's perceptions of the woman manager could conform to these stereotypes until reality disproved them.

> "...I was working for a woman as my manager, I was really nervous about it to start with because Heather was a really dynamic character and I felt that, she is

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[67] See section on the influence of the father in Chapter 5.

actually a very emotional person, and I felt that if I did the slightest thing wrong she would get really upset about it and it would become all blown up out of proportion. And then when we did work together...that didn't happen"

(Casey - Britain)

The similarity of stereotypes in both cultures is fascinating bearing in mind the very different cultures which they are embedded within. This requires further examination of the role of patriarchy and how, as a process, it interacts with culture and to some degree overrides it. The process of patriarchy exerts pressure in a particular direction whilst culture may influence what it looks like and how it is perceived.

In order to examine the interactions at work the following discussion is divided into three subsections: the respondent's relationship with her boss, her relationship with her peers and, her relationship with her subordinates. The issues are made more complex by the intermingling of the effects of organisational culture and structure which are explored first to provide a contextual background to this theme.

The culture and structure of the organisation

Before we continue with the detail of this section we begin with an examination of the types of organisational forms to which we are referring. Table 7.9 summarises key information from the questionnaire.

Table 7.9 Questionnaire results: summary of organisational background

	Britain	Hong Kong
% employed in organisations of <21 employees	4.6%	8.1%
% employed in organisations of >1000 employees	46.4%	42.6%
% working for a family owned business	9.3%	15.5%
% working in Private Sector	53.0%	90.1%
% working in Public sector	33.3%	8.5%
% who own their own company	6.3%	9.2%
% working in a MNC	64.1%	34.2%

The Hong Kong respondents tend to work for larger organisations than is average in Hong Kong generally[68]. In the UK the vast majority of organisations (72.3%) are classified as 'size class zero'. In other words they contain one or more self employed individuals but have no employees. Just over 22% of businesses in the UK are in the 1-9 employees category, 3.0% in the 10-19 category, 1.6% in the 20-49 employees category, 0.5% in the 50-99 category, 0.2% in the 100-199 category, less than 0.05% in the 200-249 category and only 0.2% in businesses with more that 250 employees. Again the questionnaire sample work for larger organisations that is average in the UK as a whole (Labour Market Trends 1995). However, large organisations do, of course, account for a larger proportion of employees and therefore of managers.

There are more family business in the Hong Kong sample than the British one, as we might expect, but again the degree of difference is not as great as it would be if the sample were entirely representative[69]. The vast majority of the Hong Kong sample work in the private sector. Although the majority of the British sample do work in the private sector a significant proportion (one third) work in public sector organisations. There are more MNCs in the Hong Kong sample than is territorially representative which may explain the greater proportion of larger organisations in the sample, shown in Table 7.9 than is representative of Hong Kong organisations as a whole. Table 7.10 shows that when examined in closer detail, the size of the organisations worked in by both samples are relatively similar making for a good comparison of like with like despite the rather different profiles of organisations nationally (and territorially).

Table 7.10 Questionnaire results: organisational size of questionnaire sample

Number of Employees	Britain	Hong Kong
< 10	2.5%	3.7%
10 - 20	2.1%	4.4%
21 - 50	4.6%	5.1%
51 - 100	4.2%	7.4%
101 - 500	29.1%	21.3%
501 - 1000	11.0%	15.4%
>1000	46.4%	42.6%
TOTAL*	99.9%	99.9%

* does not equal 100% due to rounding

[68] See table 3.1

[69] Sampling details and the issue of representativeness is discussed in more details in Chapter 4.

The Importance of Social Relationships

In Hong Kong the variations in organisational culture reflect, amongst other things, whether it is a Chinese organisation, a MNC or British owned. The Chinese businesses (even when they are relatively large) are highly centralised and run by the head of the family. If you are in the family you are in the know, if you are not in the family then information is more difficult to come by. As well as being highly centralised the organisation is very conservative and traditional in its views adhering to the belief that men are the important wage earners and women earn 'pin money'.

The organisation of the business in a CFB means that knowledge is retained at the top. This extends to areas like personnel information; although there is a personnel department they do not hold or keep all personnel information. Knowledge is seen as power and so is kept away from anyone who is not in a position of trust which means it is kept away from all but the family members and the few trusted individuals outside it.

"...the salary and application form are very confidential and in the normal situation it should be kept in the personnel department not in accounting. However, the application forms are kept in the accounting department because they are a highly valued department in the organisation and they check that it is kept confidential. But how can I show my authority and my knowledge and expertise in personnel? It is difficult I have to educate my boss and other colleagues in the organisation. Let them know more what is personnel management and what is their job. Not only interviews and keeping the filing. No that is not all of the personnel function. So in the first year I gradually built up my confidence with my boss and then I showed how the head of accounting should give back all the information to our department but because they realise the value for them, that this information is an asset and they are very important if they hold this power and feel uncomfortable about giving it back."

(Amanda - Hong Kong)

Each individual will have a title but this rarely reflects their jobs. Much of the business done takes place within the context of evening entertaining and as we explored earlier this is usually a largely male enclave. There is the feeling that despite barriers if you prove yourself to the top boss and show that you are trustworthy, competent and can stamp your authority on subordinates then regardless of whether you are male or female you will be presented with opportunities. This finding lends further support to the Luk's suggestion that women in Hong Kong do believe that they have the chance of success and that this is not hindered by being female. Luk's work showed that nearly 85% of her

sample of women managers believed that "regardless of gender people who do well in their jobs receive recognition" (Luk 1993: 112).

In American or British organisations in Hong Kong the culture is somewhat different. However, in such cases another factor is brought into play and that is the discrimination against the Chinese. Consequently, not only are there few women at the top there are also few Chinese. Localisation policies mean that this may be beginning to change.

"Basically this is a British bank and frankly speaking... so far in this bank there have not been many senior, really senior Chinese executives in this bank...to a certain extent because of the old traditional British Management style. But in the past, I think, 7 or 8 years things have been changing quite rapidly and then there are more opportunities for... for not just local staff but for women and men alike."

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

"Then because I got a professional qualification, coupled with the fact that I was doing quite well in work, I progressed very fast. _____ is quite a British firm, in the way that it is quite colonial and Hong Kong is a colony. In the past they did not have any female managers and I was made to be a deputy manager. I really had to break through the ice. Luckily I was made the first local female manager. There was a European lady manager who was promoted two months before I was promoted but that was because of politics. They had to make a European one first before I was a lady manager because it is so British. From there after I was made manager. The manager's role here is very tough. We have to take up a department consisting of about 50 people so more or less we are running a small firm. We have to look after all the administration work, we have to make sure the junior staff are engaged, make sure the clients are being taken care of, make sure they are meeting deadlines etc. When I was made a manager it used to commandeer at least six to seven senior staff assisting you but when I took hold of the department, the former manager resigned and at that time you needed to have served at least six months notice, but virtually as soon as he handed in his resignation he was not working. So he created lots of havoc for me to clear. And when I took over the department only three assistants and senior persons were left. They were all European and it is quite difficult for a Chinese lady manager to rule over a European. One European lady and then two males. So I had to play tough, I was really tough on them and gradually I took over the department and I got other senior assistants to help me out but it took me about eighteen months working day and night, possibly sixteen to eighteen hours a day."

(Jennifer - Hong Kong)

In Britain the perception expressed was that male dominated culture was clearly evident within the organisations. 'Patronising', 'sexist' and 'chauvinistic' were prevalent phrases.

"...They have a very male chauvinistic attitude here!...If we are in a meeting it is always considered that it's Patsy or I's job to take the minutes and do the secretarial side of things and you know get cups of tea, and organise the food if we have an evening meeting or something like that. But you try and say 'but we're all equals here, we should take it in turns' 'ah but you're girls, you are much more practised at it' ...Patsy and Roy, who is the managing Director, live in a house across the road and it ended up with meetings at their house but they got so fed up with everybody expecting Patsy and I to do the food between us that we now have it in a hotel because none of the boys would cook.

"If there is something that is after hours, like a meeting or something that's been arranged and one of the boys has got to go sailing or got some after work activity then its quite okay to rearrange everything. If it's because Patsy can't get a baby sitter it's totally different...They have been made aware of it but...still these prejudices go on. I find the sort of 'male attitude' is very much, you know, we'll do what we want to do and we'll do it when it suits us. And you girls will do it when it suits us not when it suits you or when it's mutually convenient for all of us...I think it's the way that we are brought up in society. The men are brought up to expect they get married and the wife stays at home, has the children, does the cooking, the cleaning. They come home in the evening and they put their feet up and are waited on hand and foot. And I think even nowadays with more and more women going out to work and holding responsible positions...when the women get home in the evening the vast majority of them still have to run the family and the home while the men put their feet up."

(Sarah - Britain)

We now move on to examine the relationships that exist between the various levels of the organisation and the importance that these relationships have had for women managers' careers.

Bosses

Gender and seniority interact strongly in Hong Kong. In a relationship the female will be treated as a "lady" as that is the correct behaviour of a gentleman. However, the relationship is one largely of distance and respect. The impact of Power Distance (Hofstede 1980) combined with the consensus, as opposed to the conflict oriented culture (Trompenaars 1994) is visible in the perceptions of this

relationship and the manner in which it may be discussed. The harshest criticism voiced in Hong Kong was that one boss ...

"did not treat me as he should".

In Britain open hostility was considered perfectly acceptable.

"He was a complete chauvinistic pig".

Seniority and age can create particular problems in Britain but these tend to occur if someone very young is in a senior position to someone substantially older and the feeling is one of awkwardness until all have become accustomed to it. In Hong Kong seniority is taken more seriously and structures the whole relationship. Whilst a boss may be extremely supportive and encouraging, deference and respect are aspects of the relationship though in some instances that relationship may also be a warm and supportive one.

Despite the unwritten rules governing the subordinate/boss relationship women managers in Britain and in Hong Kong both found being able to "speak up to their boss" a useful means of indicating ability to move on. Additionally this was in some way unusual for both, though apparently a trait amongst those who succeed. In Britain part of this speaking up took the form of pointing out sexist behaviour and condemning it even when this meant that one became branded as the "company feminist". Being labelled as a feminist was common amongst those women who stood up to those they felt did not treat them as they should and this has been noted in other studies. In Collinson and Collinson's study and in this research the label 'feminist' was something to be avoided (Collinson and Collinson, 1996). Being labelled a 'feminist' was seen as being offensive as a term indicative of aggression and irrationality. In Hong Kong, however, feminism was not the issue. 'Speaking up' was about presenting new ideas and being willing to offer suggestions concerning organisational effectiveness rather than pointing out discriminatory or unfair practices. Consequently speaking up in Hong Kong was more about contributing to the system rather than fighting the system as tended to be the case in Britain.

It seems therefore that gender is an issue which structures relationships in Britain in a negative manner, generating concern with catching individuals out to highlight their discriminatory attitudes and actions and challenge their behaviour. In Hong Kong, what in the west might be classified as sexist behaviour does not cause the same reaction. Rather it is accepted as a reality and left alone whilst other issues are concentrated on. Sexist behaviour might occur and it might be annoying or distressing but there are more important things. Although an instance did occur when a male boss was perceived as harassing the woman concerned,

this was the only instance in Hong Kong in which sexist behaviour was indicated as a reason for moving jobs or changing career. In Britain this seemed to have occurred frequently. For instance one woman left because she did not get the promotion that she sought and felt she was the most qualified to do the job. When she asked why she did not get the job she was informed that it would be unfair to expect her to work the longer hours that the job entailed because it would be unfair to her husband and children. On hearing this she sought work elsewhere which led to a complete change of career direction.

"I worked for a man who was a male chauvinistic pig of the worst kind. I mean he just was. The youngest chap and he has a family and was very sporty and all that, as these youth workers often are and I was the Youth work assistant or whatever and so he was in charge and then there was myself and I think his wife worked there occasionally and then there was a man I think he was the PE teacher in a local school...and we had a very good system, when it was all functioning well because I ran the actual club side of it ...and the other chap did sports outside and that was all he did...Anyway this toddled on for a couple of years and then the boss of the establishment....I think he had a back injury or something but he was off for a long time, several months. I'd been doing two nights a week and I was visited by some of the headquarters people who said can you do some overtime and I said yes fine and went in 4 nights a week and I ran the place, I ran the discos I organised everything, ran it. In the meantime my colleague carried on doing what he'd always do which was all the sports outside. I did this for eight months I suppose, just ran the place, never thought anything of it. They offered me, because you were on a sort of sessional payment that wasn't negotiable but very kindly HQ offered me another nights payment as if I were doing 5 nights to recognise the fact that I was running the place...When the boss came back and we all settled back down to where we were they decided that they would appoint a deputy leader. And I thought great, this is fine, and I began to see some sort of career progression and I thought yes I could actually get into this and I'll be deputy and then when the post comes up I could apply for Leader position. So I applied and there was no interview, nothing happened and then I was told that they'd given it to this chap who did the sports. And when I said "well why?" I was told "well, you know, you shouldn't really be doing all these hours you've got your kids to look after, its not fair on your husband...Now when I look back on it I think "why didn't I make him pay for it?" but I made a lot of it in that I went stark raving bonkers and told him what I thought about it and told him where to put his job and that was the end of that."

(Meryl - Britain)

The chauvinist attitudes that the British women identified in their organisational culture and amongst their bosses clearly permeated the whole organisation.[70]

> "...we've got five directors and six on the management team. Of the directors three of them are male chauvinist! One's a woman anyway and the other is pretty good. Management team, of those that are married one is extremely good, and the other again is a chauvinist...I'm the only woman on the management."

(Sarah - Britain)

Other instances occurred in which bosses were perceived to take great enjoyment out of bullying staff members (apparently usually female staff) causing both a huge lack of confidence for the women concerned and for some forcing the necessity to resign in order to preserve self respect and sanity.

> "I had a really bad experience with a previous boss who was a real bully. He was unbelievable. On reflection I don't know how I stuck it as long as I did...He liked to bully women basically. With guys he didn't have a problem - he was having an affair with the administrator, the lady that looked after management development left the December after he started and rejoined in another department in January, another lady instructor, he bullied her so much she freaked out in her hotel room, refused to come in. I mean he was a really evil guy on reflection. How I stuck it as long as I did I don't know. I decided I was in such a state, I actually decided I was going to resign. I thought I can't think straight to be able to find something else and I've got to find something else, else my career and me personally would be in shreds. So I took the decision, I mean there were more jobs around then - to resign. He just undermined your confidence all of the time. He would just shout orders "you will do this - you will do that" and if he wasn't happy with what you had done - even if it wasn't your fault or whatever, he would just stand there and shout at you, often in front of customers. It was very hard to describe really. My life was just so that I didn't want to walk through the door in the morning and I was sort of panicking every second of the day and checking and double checking I had done everything...It just tore my confidence to shreds because that was my first full management job so I got no coaching as a manager all I got was a lot of hollering and if I didn't do something it wasn't a coaching or 'did you realise - had you thought of doing this?' type of thing which is what you need when you...I mean that leap into management is a huge step...I was in shreds and I thought if I don't get out I'm going to be totally in shreds and it will finish me - simple as that. So I resigned and started looking for another job and that's when fortunately I got the call from here. I actually had two other job

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[70] See also the previous quote from Sarah earlier in this chapter.

offers, actually had three jobs, one was a full time sales job which I discarded but the other two. It's quite interesting, one was working for a company as a Management consultant so it was actually moving into the management development / management consultancy area which even then I was quite interested to do and the other job was here doing very much what I had been doing...It was strange really because the salary packages and that were more or less equal. The only thing I had to choose ...one was taking me down the avenue I was already on and the other was taking me in a totally new direction. And the end result was quite simply I thought I had got to go and do what I had been doing then to prove to myself I can do it....So he has had a very significant affect because I think that in the long run whilst I have really enjoyed this and I do enjoy what I'm doing...in the long run I would have liked to have taken the other avenue. But having said that it was the wrong time, I think I made the right decision coming here."

(Lizzie - Britain)

"When I was in _____ the senior manager, and he was a male chauvinistic pig...He was terrible. He didn't like women at all and he, there were two women in fairly senior positions - one girl was a manager and I was then a supervisor. And he would have meetings with the men managers and supervisors and not ask us. We used to stand outside the door "what's going on, what's going on?" and we'd find out later that this was a managers meeting and we were not there. ...He said to me when I was leaving "oh yes it's better for a married woman to work closer to home:. I thought "oh your true colours are coming out now". What difference does it make if you're married? why should you work closer to home?... If you're not in a meeting when things that are relevant to you are being discussed... If you're not present at the meeting and things are being decided or even just discussed, you can't be there to put your view point forward and it's really difficult if you're not there....He'd go out of his way not to ask us because we were women I'm sure."

(Avril - Britain)

These kind of instances were not uncommon in Britain. This does not necessarily imply that it is easier for female managers in Hong Kong nor that sexist behaviour does not go on in Hong Kong or even that it goes on less than in Britain. However, it does appear that it creates less strong reactions, has a less detrimental affect on feelings of self worth and is not considered as important an issue by the women in Hong Kong as it is by those in Britain.

"In _____ the Director, 55 or 56, he is kind of old fashioned and I think he would like that a women should stay at home as his wife does. He has not treated me as good as he should but maybe because of the age difference and sex he always treated me like I am too young to make those decisions, you are not mature enough, I was not as experienced as he was...He was at that time about to employ an accountant to be his assistant and he told me that it must be a man. I say why? He said "a woman has to take care of family. She would not be so devoted to her work and what about if she got pregnant and then I have to give her 10 weeks maternity leave and all those casual leave for her to see Doctors and for medical check ups." Its ridiculous to even think about but he is such an old fashioned man. I had to work very hard to lead him to think in the other ways, educate him . Even though she might get pregnant and give her maternity leave. Even a man may need to change job if his wife got pregnant and he got another child to support he has to change to another job. There is no guarantee if it is a young guy, old guy, young woman, old woman or whatever. There is no guarantee."

(Teresa - Hong Kong)

There were other reasons expressed for career changes but upset caused by sexist behaviour and the unwillingness or inability to tolerate it was not an important cause of career change in Hong Kong, whilst it was in Britain.

Generally the boss/respondent relationship is far cooler and more formal in Hong Kong than in Britain. However, within this there is genuine concern and affection as well as continuing loyalty. In Britain the relationship is more participative, warmer and less deferential.

"If your superior is a guy and you are a girl I think they tend to make things easier for you...It's hard to tell and it's rather subjective. It is how I feel. They never try to argue with you if it's not a critical issue, they try to make it pass. Maybe they are gentlemen. For the ladies they are strict with themselves and will be strict with you. Myself I am strict to myself and my staff."

(Teresa - Hong Kong)

"I had a boss who I could just sort of bounce into and say ' Look you know I've got a problem, how do I sort it out? This is what I'd like to do - why can't I?' and she'd say 'Well why can't you? - Do it' Whereas before it was 'No you can't do that you've got to go through various committees 'and all this. She really just kick-started everybody into a very positive frame of mind and under her leadership, the unit really turned into a nice place to work. There was no fear. Once upon a time if you smiled at the wrong time in the morning the boss would

have you over the carpet. You know it was that kind of atmosphere. Fear culture or total power culture or whatever you want to call it. Stella was absolutely brilliant."

(Gabrielle - Britain)

A large proportion of the working population of Hong Kong have had the experience of working for a female boss. The questionnaire shows that of the managers in this sample 66% have at some point worked for a female boss as compared to 55% in Britain. Interestingly the proportion of women managers who had worked for a female boss was the same in both Hong Kong and Britain at 73%.

Table 7.11 Questionnaire results: The sex of bosses past and present

	Britain		Hong Kong	
% who have at some time worked for a female boss	Male 36%	Female 73%	Male 56%	Female 73%
% of total sample	55%		66%	
% of total sample who have never worked for female boss	45%		34%	
TOTAL	100%		100%	

Table 7.12 Questionnaire results: Sex of current boss

Sex of current Boss	Britain			Hong Kong		
	All n=237	**Male** n= 116	**Female** n=121	**All** n=142	**Male** n=60	**Female** n=82
Male	68.8%	80.2%	57.9%	72.5%	71.7%	73.2%
Female	12.2%	6.9%	17.4%	17.6%	10.0%	23.2%
Missing/ not applicable	18.9%	12.9%	24.7%	9.9%	18.3%	3.7%
TOTAL*	99.9%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.1

* May not equal 100% due to rounding

In both Britain and Hong Kong women are more likely than men to have female bosses, though it is still most likely that a manager's boss is male regardless of gender or country. Despite this segregation there are opportunities for women and

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these seem to be realised by a wider range of people in Hong Kong than they do in Britain.

Peers

In Hong Kong it is at the peer level that the most overt hostility occurs, though this is not only between genders. Peer relationships are characterised by competition, very often against each other. Consequently if one is promoted over another or one appears to be treated differently they may be looked at with "strange eyes". Jealousies emerge and assertions may be made as to how legitimately a female got to the position she did.

> *"Men tend to appreciate my career more than women...Most of the jealousies I can feel [is] from women whether they are more senior or junior than me...All sorts of words behind my back I know...Mostly jealousy because they thought she must have... how should I say this... have a way to please the bosses..."*

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

This is interesting as a manifestation of the lack of trust for those outside the family, close knit group or when there are not the guarantees of a personal relationship. The lack of trust of some colleagues is also evident in Britain though somewhat less overtly. Perhaps this is unsurprising because it is at the peer level that individuals can measure themselves against each other to evaluate their progress. Some of the difficulties and uncomfortable situations that arose for the women in Britain were not so much a result of deliberate hostility on the part of their male colleagues. Rather the male and the female involved in the interaction interpreted behaviours in different ways. Consequently a man might be behaving in what he though was a polite and appropriate manner but the woman on the receiving end actually felt that unintentionally she was undermined by that action. This is a further reflection of the lack of understanding between men and women in Britain in terms of beliefs about the differences between them and what constitutes male and female gender roles. Consequently as a result of the traditional stereotypes no longer being openly acceptable men and women at work are in state of flux, unsure of their ground and misunderstanding each others actions.

> *"There is one kind of situation that I often encounter. That is when you walk into a meeting or you arrange to meet someone, a male colleague to discuss a particular topic, you know like resources or whatever it is and they greet you by commenting on your dress or personal appearance. You wouldn't do that to a male, you wouldn't. It's interesting, cos a man would do that to a female. I mean even if it's very complimentary they'd say "gosh you look really nice today" or*

"that's a lovely perfume you're wearing" and yet it automatically puts you in a different relationship than the one which you expect to be in as colleagues. I mean I wouldn't go up to a man and say "I really like the smell of your aftershave", not unless I was particularly attracted to him! I certainly wouldn't do it in a business context where it's actually a business environment! But a male, some males not all of them, but some males would never see actually never see that it was changing the whole nature of the relationship between two colleagues... and then you have to try to turn the relationship back again and get it on a professional footing as two colleagues of equal standing. I'm not saying they do it consciously, but...."

(Clara - Britain)

The women in the sample also faced situations in which it was implied that as a woman they were in some way odd or abnormal simply to be there. In Hong Kong these questions are openly raised. One women said a male colleague actually asked her why she thought she had succeeded to be the only woman at a level of otherwise entirely men. Was she a particularly aggressive woman and was she trying to overthrow what he considered to be a man's world?

"Sometimes when you out perform a man you just feel, you know and you feel that people are looking at you with strange eyes...I've been told by men colleagues that "you're one of the very rare outstanding women in this bank. Why are you so? Are you very aggressive? Are you trying to challenge a man's world?"

(Virginia - Hong Kong)

Subordinates (and styles of management)

There seem to be 4 main characteristics which differentiate the Hong Kong women managers from their British counterparts in terms of their relationships with their subordinates.

The first of these is that the relationship in Hong Kong is a formal one as compared to Britain where it tends to be less so. In Britain the degree of formality seems to be in part due to the sex of the subordinate. Female subordinates may be chatty and supportive whilst male subordinates are more distant and reserved. In Hong Kong, on the other hand, all the relationships are considered formal and taken seriously.

"I have three people who report absolutely directly to me if you see what I mean. Two of them are men and one's a woman and certainly with the woman, I'm much more inclined to sit and have a chat with her about some things you know

whereas I'm not... I'm certainly not unfriendly to the others I mean we sit and chat about things but I spose I always feel slightly inhibited you know. It's more difficult to say well "and what are you up to at the weekend then?"...With the men when we do talk I do ask "how are the kids? and what's happening? and we chat but it's not quite the same. ..to be fair if I want to find out what's going on I tend to drop in to Sue's office as opposed to Barry's office...so it's very hard to say it's personalities or whatever. I mean I don't go around thinking oh this is a man or this is a woman I'm just aware that's the case..."

(Catherine - Britain)

The second point concerns the management style that is used. The distinction is not solely between a participative style of management in Britain and a non participative style in Hong Kong. Rather in Hong Kong the relationship is less participative but is a more concerned paternalistic style in which the respondent is trying to do the 'right' thing by their subordinates, look after them but also discipline them when necessary. This supports the findings of other literature on Chinese Business (Redding 1990, Whitley 1992). There was evidence of some hostility to more participative informal and open styles in Hong Kong as was mentioned by Caroline who actually tried to use a more open style of dealing with those who worked with and for her.

"I think may be because of my education...well maybe now people are more open...but I can say things out more openly and that has not necessarily won me a lot of friends. I am actually making obstacles for myself because I say things openly with open heart and that doesn't mean it will be appreciated. People don't usually say anything out, especially Chinese, if they appreciate it they put it in their hearts, if they were angry they put it in their heart...they hide everything."

(Caroline - Hong Kong)

Although these organisations may look similar in many respects between the cultures, the relationships within them, how they are interpreted and how that organisation evidently operates are significantly different. The occasion arose to interview women who were not just in the same kinds of organisation but who actually worked for the same multinational organisation (one in Britain and another in Hong Kong). Although too infrequent to draw solid conclusions from, there was a definite feeling of an 'us and them' attitude in Hong Kong supporting Hofstede's high power distance and the non participative style suggested to be prevalent in Chinese culture (Hofstede 1984, Redding 1990). In Britain there seemed to be greater interaction between levels on the basis of personality and developing personal friendships.

This further reinforces the idea that Hong Kong typifies a role culture. The treatment received is on the basis of the position held. A part of that position in some circumstances could be related to whether the individuals are male or female and so logically this can affect the respect received. In Britain treatment is based on personal relationships which develop across boundaries such as status and seniority. In Hong Kong the role demands and deserves respect as opposed to the individual which is the case in British culture. Whether a culture attributes value to the role or the individual has implications for women and their experiences of management. One would expect that in Hong Kong where role is salient, being a manager is the determining aspect of the treatment received whereas in Britain the suggestion would be that they would be seen as a woman before being seen as a manager.

The third characteristic can be seen in the respondent's perception of relationships within their organisation. In Hong Kong the relationships are seen as a totality in terms of how the whole organisation relates together. When examining relationships each is seen in connection to others, not just their own relationship with someone beneath them but rather how they relate to their subordinates and boss at the same time whilst also seeing their boss' relationship with their subordinates. Thus if their reprimands are not successful then there is no hesitation or reticence in going to their own boss to "sort them out". The whole organisation relates to each other as a single unit of clearly connected layers in which the Confucian ideal that those from each layer know their place and the limits of their power is clear.

The significant work relationships in Hong Kong are the general, formal relationships between workers of different status and the obligations that this entails. In contrast in Britain the relationships tend to be seen in isolation as distinct from what the organisation as a whole is about. The relationships vary more on the basis of personalities and whether they happen to get on. Very often this is based on gender[71].

The fourth, and final, characteristic is that interestingly the women managers in Britain and in Hong Kong both thought that it was easier to manage men than to manage women. The reasoning behind this similarity was, however, rather different. In Hong Kong it was easier because men would always treat a woman more gently and politely. Even when complaining, subordinates would not swear as they might to a male manager. Caroline's quotation below is a further illustration of the manner in which women managers are generally treated as 'ladies'

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[71]As we have seen from earlier quotations such as Catherine's earlier in this chapter.

"Most of them employed in the plant are male. They don't say a lot of rough languages in front of me. They would try to phrase it more gently even when they were complaining. But if I were a male they would just blah, blah, blah. You know let it go out all the way. And I think they also trust me a little more than say if a man would go in. I think...they feel I am sincere. Not that a male is not sincere but maybe their way of presentation will be a little different...I think some of the employees will perceive a male will always kind of come in and see and pick out the things you do wrong and then they are not as offensive when a female comes through. They don't feel as threatened in a way or they don't feel that they have to build up a certain type of defence system. Now when it comes to the office its a little bit different...there's a lot of ladies and I hear feedback. They were threatened in a way because you know...the same sex you feel threatened. I cannot put it into words but I see reactions from them...they try to put you down not showing co-operation just to see how far you can go...I don't think they understand that mutual respect is the key word and I'm not going to pick on them but if I do see things are not going and there will be a more efficient way I will mention it to them and if they do not listen I would go higher. They wouldn't [be the same with a man] because its like a power... a type of image"

(Caroline - Hong Kong)

Additionally they felt that the difficulties they experienced from subordinates tended to be from women who were either being "moody" or who were jealous. It was suggested that because they were the same sex they were treated with less respect. Men on the other hand as a different sex were far more respecting and trusting because the nature of the relationship between men and women demanded such. But tolerance did not extend to all areas or groups.

"So they [the technicians] had reservations if I can [as a woman] earn credibility and if I can really stand as an authority for training....[If I had been a man] at least you know they could start the conversation socially with a man. For example talking about horse racing but I know nothing about it and I'm not interested ...and they believe as a woman maybe you're interested in talking about fashion, family, child and husband, which are not interesting to those guys...the social dialogue between a woman and a man will be difficult to establish. When I first conducted a sales programme for the engineers I did have that kind of difficulty... the engineers looked at me "you know nothing about our field". Engineering is very technical and they just bluff me with technical terms I don't understand. I really don't understand a damn word, I don't know the spelling, I don't know about the technical product and so on. So at the beginning they really bluff me with the technical terms and I have to prove myself... For at least the first half an hour for those kinds of programmes I have to use my

performance to prove to them 'I don't know your subject, but I can help you mastering the selling skills'... For other programmes I don't have to do that."

(Christine - Hong Kong)

Despite convention governing how men and women behaved towards each other it still seems odd to both the men and the women involved that it should be the women in the position of authority. In Britain where it was also felt that men were easier to manage it was for a different reason, that men were seen to be less questioning than women. Despite men apparently being easier to manage, managing men did have associated difficulties as detailed in Table 7.13

Table 7.13 Questionnaire results: The effect of the sex of the boss on relationships with subordinates

Questionnaire Variable	Britain 100% = 237		Hong Kong 100% = 142	
GW15 Men find it difficult to take women in senior positions seriously	agree:	64%	:	54%
	disagree:	25%	:	40%
GW21 It is uncomfortable for men to have a female boss	agree:	38%	:	44%
	disagree:	37%	:	53%
GW24 It is uncomfortable for women to have a male boss	agree:	6%	:	5%
	disagree:	76%	:	92%

The responses to GW15 provide interesting illustration of a number of significant themes within Chinese culture. The first of these is that traditional attitudes towards men and women do remain and this is evident in the fact that more than half of the sample believed it to be difficult for men to take senior women seriously. Nevertheless what it also suggests is that this belief may be less acute in Hong Kong than it is in Britain. Again this brings us back to the issue of being seen as a woman first or being seen as a manager first. Although traditional attitudes infiltrate, the position of a manager is of more significance in Hong Kong than it is in Britain where being a woman is of stronger influence on experience. This is further demonstrated in table 7.14. This may relate to the equality debate which in Hong Kong means of equal value but different. Women managers in Hong Kong do not need to behave like men to be seen to do their jobs effectively. Women managers do not need to behave like men because gender is secondary. Rather they need to behave like managers as this is what they are primarily being judged on. Consequently it is this behaviour rather than gender which affects their experience of work and therefore gender may be seen to be of less importance in shaping their experience of work.

Table 7.14 Questionnaire results: "A manager's sex probably does not affect their experience of work"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
Agree	42.2%	46.6%	38.0%	83.8%	86.1%	81.7%
Disagree	44.7%	35.3%	53.7%	14.1%	13.3%	14.6%

Perhaps this relates to the differences in orientation to social life. In Britain the individual is the fundamental unit and so characteristics of that individual such as gender are salient. Comparatively in Hong Kong where the unit of analysis is beyond the individual to the group (in this case organization) the classifications of the group or organisation which structure how the individual relates to those around them that is crucial. Therefore position vis-a-vis colleagues is a determinant of the relationship[72].

Table 7.15 Questionnaire results: number of staff managed

	Britain			Hong Kong		
Number of Staff managed	All n=206	Male n=101	Female n=105	All n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
0-10	65.4%	60.6%	69.7%	76.2%	71.7%	80.6%
> 10	34.6%	39.4%	30.3%	23.8%	28.3%	19.4%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.15 indicates that the majority of respondents manage relatively small numbers of staff. In both Hong Kong and Britain women are less likely than men to be managing more than ten members of staff. The table does demonstrate that although for all respondents it is most likely that they will be managing 10 or fewer staff this is more common amongst women than men and slightly more common amongst the Hong Kong sample than the British sample.

From Table 7.16 it is evident that although the sample managing managerial staff is similarly small, the split between the managers of non managerial staff and both managerial and non managerial staff is quite different. It would appear that the women in the British sample are managing in rather different circumstances than

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[72] Gender may, of course, have an impact, on whether a position is obtained.

the men in the sample and although this research cannot conclude as to why that might be it seems that this difference is not occurring in Hong Kong.

Table 7.16 Questionnaire results: "Do you manage managerial or non managerial staff?"

Staff Managed	Britain			Hong Kong		
	All n=237	Male n= 116	Female n=121	All n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
Managerial	11.4%	13.8%	9.1%	9.9%	13.3%	7.3%
non - Managerial	59.9%	62.9%	57.0%	25.4%	23.3%	26.8%
Both	16.9%	13.8%	19.8%	58.5%	58.3%	58.5%
Missing or N/A	11.8%	9.5%	14.0%	6.3%	5.1%	7.3%
TOTAL*	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%

* May not equal 100% due to rounding

The workplace in Hong Kong seems to be viewed by those who participate in it quite differently than is the British workplace by its participants. At the levels of subordinate, colleague and boss, women managers in Britain and Hong Kong express quite different interpretations of relationships and practices despite at times these appearing to reflect many similarities.

Other people of influence

The relatively limited range of influences on the Hong Kong women managers as compared to a fairly extensive list for the British women is striking. In Hong Kong the women seemed influenced by the following groups of people: family, close personal friends of family, bosses, friends on courses taken (e.g. Personnel course or University). The equivalent list for Britain was: family, friends of the family, friends at school, careers advisers, families of friends, lecturers, business women's organisations, bosses. Those influences not explored in earlier sections are explored below.

Hong Kong: family and ties through trust

The sources of influence in Hong Kong are relatively narrow. Being influential requires being in a respected and trusted position. The different perceptions of, and perspectives on, the world that we have seen exist in Britain and Hong Kong seem likely to explain these patterns. In a collectivist and ascribed society, such as Hong Kong, specific groups of individuals (who have come to be trusted by the individual) and those who by the nature of their position (relative to the individual

in society) command respect are likely to be more influential. The collective orientation and the ascription of power combined with the respect accorded to position affects who would have the opportunity to influence individuals' lives and careers. Consequently whilst situations do occur where someone outside one of these key groups holds influence, these are rare and tend to develop out of similar kinds of values such as the influence of some eminent expert, guru or recognised extraordinarily successful individual.

> *"A few years ago I read the biography of the ex-President of Chrysler. I really admired him, the way he changed things. He had a very healthy attitude towards life, he is very ambitious, very energetic. He has a lot of good human relations skills, that's what makes him so successful. After reading the book I said I would be like him, to be successful in terms of career development and as a person. I tried to do be more..trying to do well at the kind of skills he has, leadership skills, human relations skills, trying to have initiative all the time."*

(Lilly - Hong Kong)

Britain: friends & their families, career advisers, & role models

In Britain, on the other hand, the more individualistic environment and the achievement orientation result in influence not being restricted to a narrow range of specified groups. Those individuals of most influence will be those deemed successful themselves as well as those with whom most frequent contact occurs. Almost any situation could potentially result in circumstances where some individuals are able to influence others strongly. In the remainder of this section we examine other individuals who have been of influence to the women managers in Britain throughout their careers but who, as a result of the diversity of influential sources, have not been discussed under previous headings.

Friends & their families

Exerting influence on another in Britain often seems to be simply accidental as a result of the situations that a person finds themselves in. Because time is spent with friends and their families it is often them who can be of influence.

> *"One of my friends' fathers was an accountant and when I knew I wasn't going to do very well at 'A' levels - I mean I had an offer of 3 Bs and I got a C, a D and an E which was way off what I needed. So I sort of thought about what other things I could do and accountancy seemed like lots of money, easy life, 9 to 5 which of course the medicine that I'd been thinking about doing hadn't been any of those things - it wasn't very good money really, to start with anyway, and it certainly wasn't nine to five. I went and worked in his office for about a week in the*

summer holidays before I had my 'A' level results so I knew that if I didn't do that [medicine] I'd go and do accountancy and it seemed to work out okay."

(Avril - Britain)

For the same reason when in an environment frequently one can accidentally come across situations and people who inadvertently influence. Those of influence in such a context could be almost anybody. There are few parameters to exerting influence as there are in Hong Kong.

"My first job when I left school was a dark room technician at the hospital when I decided by the time I was sixteen that although I was encouraged at school to go on to university my parents' financial position could not see their way to supporting me. They were really struggling supporting my brother, but I don't feel at all resentful. I mean my mother was pawning rings to keep my brother in education. I could not see, even with grants, in those days how they could support me and I had another two sisters as well so I decided at 16 that I would look for something to do and I overheard somebody talking about radiography saying that you could go to the local hospital as a darkroom technician and then go on at eighteen."

(Judith - Britain)

"I had always been going to do English. I had a place at Nottingham and then 2 months before I thought what am I going to do with it? Why am I doing something that I am already good at? That's really silly I'll just end up teaching and I didn't want to do that. So I took a year out against my parents advice, they thought I would never go to College. I had a job working as an auxiliary nurse in a big hospital and they had a Speech Therapy department. There was an article in the Times about careers and that made me do something, profiles or whatever and this person had exactly the same A levels as me. A bit unusual English, French and Biology and she became a Speech Therapist so I didn't know what it was, had only heard of it to the extent that I knew there was a department in the hospital and was casting around for something that was medically based as well as the linguistics and the English side of it. It seemed really ideal. It just seemed perfect."

(Lesley -Britain)

Careers advisers

The advice that the British sample received from careers advisers was at best stereotypical or inappropriate and at worst deemed offensive. There has been

considerable evidence to show that this is often the case and that careers advisers in schools tend to push girls into stereotypically feminine fields (Ward and Silverstone 1980b). At the time when these women received advice those tendencies were stronger than they may be today. The women managers in the British sample felt that either they received very little careers advice and would have wished to have received some or that they did receive it but that in general it was not accepted. Consequently the influence of careers advisers seems in general a negative one stemming from the prevailing attitudes regarding what was appropriate work for women.

"..on the whole women didn't look at long term careers unless they weren't going to get married. To be honest, okay there was teaching and there was nursing which was suggested by school. In actual fact we were lined up and called into the head who said "well you can go to one of the universities" or "you can do maths, physics and chemistry" and I didn't go a bundle on it at the time ..."

(Judith - Britain)

"I always remember seeing a Careers Officer at school. Careers Officers had a lot to answer for because they either instil an enthusiasm into children or they completely put the dampeners on. This one completely put the dampeners on me because I saw him just before I got the results of this exam to go to college and he said to me "what do you want to do young lady" and I said "I either want to be a journalist or I want to work as an almoner in a hospital" (which in fact was social work really because almoners in hospitals became social workers). And he looked at me and said "my dear you have to be clever to do that" and I never forgave him because I knew that if he and a couple of teachers had given me the right encouragement at that time or at least said why don't you go to Tech college and see if you can get your qualifications or otherwise those options may not be open to you".

(Daphne - Britain)

Social situations are not static and greater attempt is now made to provide encouraging and non sexist advice to both males and females. The extent to which this is actually happening is not yet clear but that there is some change is probable.

Role models

As well as bosses, lecturers at university and on management courses could be highly influential in Britain. These role models tended to be women and the fact that they were strong and successful gave them the impact.

"I've got the woman who's the Chairman of the network, Lynette. I use her quite a lot for support and as a role model. She's quite a good listener. You know, I'll say to her, she's done a bit of marketing, "what do you think to this?" a brochure or something we're doing for the firm and she's helped me a lot on those kind of things and also personal things. I say to her "I'm going to suggest that I have a new title in the firm, what do you think I should say and how do you think I should go about it?" And those kind of things, I don't know, you'd feel a fool asking a man. You couldn't ask a man those kind of things. It's difficult to be friendly with a man at that level, I don't know. I wouldn't class them as friends at all, the partners, they're not my friends".

(Avril - Britain)

There are a number of reasons why in Hong Kong by comparison role models and people to look up to were not necessarily women. Firstly, it may be that there are few women in the very senior and influential positions who could have influenced them. However, additionally, because the role is given first priority they are seen as a manager before they are seen as a woman and consequently any manager can provide the role to model not just the women. If it is the case that women in Britain find it difficult to identify with any but a female work role model, then perhaps this is indicative of the fact that they may also see themselves as women before being managers as well.

These possibilities should be examined further in future research. Much research has been done in the west that concludes that cross sex mentoring relationships may encounter difficulties (Reich 1985). What is found here suggests that whether or not such a relationship is successful may well be culturally determined by the way in which individuals and roles are perceived and which role dominates perception of that individual.

Career planning and promotion

Table 7.17 below suggests that in Britain opportunities for career progression can be limited by staying in one organisation. However, when we look at Table 7.19, illustrating what the individuals concerned actually expect as the next step in their careers, the single largest group are those who are expecting promotions in their current organisations.

Table 7.17 Questionnaire results: "Staying with the same employer for a long time is generally the best way of getting ahead"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
Agree	9.7%	13.8%	5.8%	40.2%	45.0%	36.4%
Disagree	71.7%	70.7%	72.8%	50.0%	45.0%	53.6%

One of the difficulties of such a question is that a long time may mean different things to different individuals and in different economic and cultural contexts. The information on this table is also interesting in the light of earlier discussion about the different types of security that individuals were looking for. It was suggested that in Hong Kong they were seeking labour market security whilst in Britain concern with the economic situation had generated a focus on the more immediate job and occupational security. The figures in Table 7.17 above appear potentially contradictory to this assertion. However, this need not be the case. This question asks generally about what the best route to assured progress is. As this focus is general belief it need not be contradictory to the more specific reaction to particular economic circumstances. It is difficult to interpret this table clearly because of the relative nature of the terms used. Consequently, we can only draw from it whether the individuals see progress as resulting from what *they* perceive to be a long time although what this period is, and whether they are referring to a similar length of time, we cannot tell.

Career planning

Career planning amongst the British sample does not seem to take the form of working out where you want to be, the various steps involved and when these should be achieved in order to meet the final goal. Rather, it is more general and concerned with always wanting to be moving up in some form or another. If there seems to be little chance of moving on in the current job or field then a decision to move would represent some form of plan for the career.

> "I really enjoyed it when I was a Speech Therapist but it didn't hold the range of activities for me. There were absolutely no career prospects whatsoever. It was just that you joined, you did your bit, you had the same kids for quite a long time. The same type of child comes through the door all the time. So after a year I just knew that there wasn't going to be anything else and that there was a very limited career path. You could go so far but if you were good there were only about four levels within Speech Therapy. So when you get to about the second or third

you're stuck there basically waiting for somebody to die or whatever so that was that."

(Lesley - Britain)

Having any kind of goal requires knowledge of the different types of experience that will be necessary to achieve it. The desire to obtain diverse experience in order to progress was found in the women in both Hong Kong and Britain. For example, in Hong Kong some saw the need to gain the experience of working for a multi-national company as the first step in broadening exposure. The next stage was to move to a different multi-national company that operated in a more diverse range of markets and products thus broadening the experience further.

> *"I'd been successful in the area of training but all the companies that I'd worked for were really locally based or just Singaporean based company and he [my ex-boss] said that if I really wanted to pursue my career further then it would be necessary for me to change to work for a multi-national company...So I moved to 'X ', a comparatively big company but only for 1 year because then I was head hunted to join Y which is comparatively more famous in Hong Kong. So because it's a multi-national company and also because the business is more diversified I have lots more exposure so I moved here in order to further develop myself."*

(Christine - Hong Kong)

> *"Hong Kong is very small and in order to expand or further develop we have to go to the PRC[73] which is very new and comparatively risky... I'm moving to a new company next week and that is a company which has a lot of investment in PRC and one of the main reasons for me to move there is for me to further develop my career with more emphasis on the PRC market.*

(Christine - Hong Kong)

So the need for experience is a common reason for moving on in both Hong Kong and Britain when the opportunities are available and this is related to general, rather than specific, career planning. Existing research has indicated that men and women in Hong Kong have identifiably different aspirations and preferences in terms of how they view their careers in the final year of a university degree. (Chau 1991). Through her study of final year students in Shenzen university (China) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Chau found that women in Hong Kong were almost as likely as men to have definite career plans in terms of the area that they wanted to go into (51.2% of women as compared to 54.9% of men).

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[73] People's Republic of China

Although the men and women in Chau's sample were attracted to Administrative and Managerial careers they tended to be inclined towards different sectors with men expressing a preference for commerce and industry whilst women tended to seek occupations in government, commerce, social services, public utilities and education (Chau 1991). It appears that a sense of direction and purpose for the career does exist in both Hong Kong and Britain. However, in both places the planning of very specific stages seems to be a less central concern. Of course in environments where it is difficult to plan for events, general rather than specific planning is a useful means of providing flexibility. The nature of the events which may impact on the career do vary between Hong Kong and Britain and consequently do have implications for planning. In Britain there is not as strong a notion of career planning. This may be a function of the fact that in Britain women cannot easily plan a career in any detail because it will be affected by the husband's career if in the future they get married, by having children, if in the future they have any, and by the uncertain economic circumstances. Consequently there are too many influencing factors for rigid career planning to be feasible.

On the other hand in Hong Kong these factors do not necessarily have such an influence and consequently there is the opportunity to realise career goals that are somewhat more clearly planned. It is evident that some individuals do plan their careers in Hong Kong within a very competitive, aggressive, rigid and strict framework. Of course on occasions these plans are discarded or go awry.

For instance one individual said that she intended to move every two years. However this went awry when she informed her employer that she intended to leave and they offered her a higher salary. The next time she intended to leave them they offered her sponsorship to do an MBA so she stayed. After having finished this she felt she owed the organisation her commitment for a year or two after her MBA was completed.

> "I wanted to quit every two years. Because of my family commitments I dared not try it but every two years I try to make a move. The first time I tried to make a move I was offered a job in the Hong Kong Tourist Association but then the central headquarters sent someone to see me and they promised me a promotion, a quite big jump in salary. So I stayed. And then after the second posting I wanted to quit the job and leave to study for a year and at that time they offered me a sponsor...So I feel I have a commitment to work for the government for three years because of the course. So I think for another two or three years I will stay with the government. There may be different postings for me, it depends on the operation needs but at least for these few years I will stay in the government."

(Betsy - Hong Kong)

The goal of the career may be decided fairly early, wanting to be successful, leaving after certain length of time unless something more attractive is offered. Part of the career plan therefore is to be open to opportunities that are presented and to be prepared to move if the conditions for continuous progress are not being presented. This may explain the high proportion who did not know what the next step would be (Table 7.18 and 7.19). In retrospect the questionnaire might have asked more about specific plans and this is clearly something that requires additional research. The interviews suggest that again the career planning was long term but the immediate next step was less clear. The British sample could identify what they wished to do next and what they expected, whilst the Hong Kong sample talked more generally about a future long term goal.

Another Hong Kong interviewee decided to leave after each year spent in one company but again was offered a change in the job so she decided to stay. In both Hong Kong and Britain there seems to be the idea that you can get trapped in an organisation, that there is a "right" time to leave and that missing the 'right' time means it becomes more and more difficult ever to get a job outside that organisation. The difference between the two concerns the timing. What seems to vary between Hong Kong and Britain is that in Hong Kong flexibility is necessary to maximise opportunity whilst in Britain much flexibility is concerned with minimising risk.

Career planning must also be related to career goals in terms of the type of security that is sought, as mentioned earlier. The Hong Kong women's aims are best characterised as being in search of labour market security as compared to the British women whose goals can be seen as occupational or job security. The skills and experience necessary to achieve job or occupational security are very different from those necessary to achieve labour market security. Thus an understanding of the career cannot be detached from understanding the effects of economic conditions which in part determine the present 'structure of opportunity'.

"I think my decision to switch from the treasury department to marketing was a big move and was a particularly significant point in my career. It is a major decision in the sense that it is a career change from strictly technical number crunching...to becoming a general manager in the long run. It was not an easy decision because my boss at the time in the treasury department was offering me a promotion. Going in to marketing was a lateral move. I really had to do a lot of catching up in the marketing area in terms of product knowledge and marketing skills,....I forewent that career promotion opportunity in pursuing something of my interest which I hope I can capitalise on in the long-run by having a broader

career path."

(Sheree - Hong Kong)

Table 7.18 indicates the length of time that the individual intends to stay in their organisation. Two comparisons are particularly interesting. That is the difference in proportions expressing that they do not know how long they intend to stay, similarly to the question about actual plans. The other noticeable difference is the proportion staying until they retire. The proportion remaining till retirement in Britain is more than double that in Hong Kong. [74]

Table 7.18 Questionnaire results: "How much longer do you intend to work for your current organisation?"

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	All (n=237)	Male (n=116)	Female (n=121)	All (n=142)	Male (n=60)	Female (n=82)
6 months at most	5.5%	4.3%	6.6%	5.6%	8.3%	3.7%
2 yrs at most	11.4%	9.5%	13.2%	8.5%	5.0%	11.0%
2 - 5 yrs	20.3%	22.4%	18.2%	7.0%	5.0%	8.5%
More than 5 yrs but before I retire	18.6%	18.1%	19.0%	8.5%	13.3%	4.9%
Until I retire	23.2%	22.4%	24.0%	14.1%	18.3%	11.0%
Don't Know	1.7%	1.8%	1.7%	52.8%	43.3%	59.8%
Other	19.4%	21.6%	17.4%	3.5%	6.7%	1.2%
TOTAL**	100.2%	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%

** Where total does not equal 100% it is due to rounding

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[74] This may be partly related to the slightly older sample in Britain

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Table 7.19 Expected career progression

Promotion	Britain			Hong Kong		
	All n=237	Male n= 116	Female n=121	All n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
promotion in current organisation	44.9% (52.6%)	50.8%	37.3%	27.5% (50.0%)	23.3%	30.5%
promotion in other organisation	20.8% (24.3%)	21.5%	19.0%	14.8% (27.0%)	13.3%	15.9%
stay the same	10.6% (11.9%)	4.6%	15.5%	5.6% (10.3%)	6.7%	4.9%
start own business	4.5% (5.3%)	5.4%	3.5%	5.6% (10.3%)	8.3%	3.7%
change direction of career	8.7% (9.3%)	5.4%	11.3%	0.7% (1.2%)	1.7%	0.0%
retirement	7.5% (8.8%)	10.0%	4.9%	0.7% (1.2%)	0.0%	1.2%
don't know	1.5%	0.8%	7.0%	40.1%	36.7%	42.7%
other	1.5%	1.5%*	1.4%†	4.9%	10.0%	1.2%
TOTAL**	100.1%	100.1%	100.1%	100%	99.9%	100.1%

* All 'other' = unemployment
† 0.7% = unemployment
(%) as a percentage of those who had some expectation for next step (i.e. excluding don't know or other)
** Where total does not equal 100% it is due to rounding

Table 7.19 above is difficult to interpret precisely but presents many rather interesting aspects. The most frequent response of the Hong Kong sample is that they do not know what the next step in their careers will be. As the proportion who do not have an idea of what they will be doing next is so great in Hong Kong it is difficult to compare meaningfully the remaining proportions with the British responses. Consequently the percentages in brackets have been added to give an indication of percentages as a proportion of those who did have some expectation of their next step.

It is also worth noting the percentages responding that a change of career direction might be the next step. In Britain this is a relatively larger proportion than in Hong Kong and is particularly striking amongst the women managers in the sample (0% in Hong Kong compared with 11% in Britain). This may be indicative of the staggered career path identified for women managers in Britain.

The argument presented is that there is a more clearly defined notion of a career in Hong Kong as a series of sequential steps that are under the individual's control. The element of individual control is significant as the belief leads individuals to take an active role in controlling where their career goes next and looking out for

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opportunities. It may also be this feature of control that provides further explanation for the desire to return to education, to improve qualifications and affecting the types of skills sought. By being in control individuals see it as their responsibility to acquire the skills and attributes they believe will be required for further progress and to obtain the labour market security that this provides. What is also interesting is that the Hong Kong notion of career fits more clearly with the traditional academic literature on careers that is now suggested to be based on male experience. Existing career models therefore seems to be more appropriate to understanding women's careers in an entirely different culture than women's careers in the culture from which it originated. This implies that when changing career models, theorists must be extremely careful that they are not just changing the models to suit particular groups of individuals but that they really can help make sense of careers in different contexts. What is therefore required is not just a new model that incorporates western women's experience but a model that can incorporate difference by gender but also by culture.

Promotion

Some promotions occurred through the individual's boss leaving, for whatever reason, and the woman involved was asked to take her role. This was quite a common route to the next step up in Hong Kong and Britain.

Another means of moving up in Hong Kong was through being head hunted to join other organisations. As this seems to happen fairly frequently in Hong Kong each offer has to be seriously considered but also rejected when necessary. If it offers wider experience and will help in further steps then it is something that may be worth taking. Very often it is the large Multinational companies that recruit in this way but this is not entirely limited to them.

The women in Britain seemed to find that promotions were quite difficult to come by and consequently 'to move up you moved out'. This is supported by an Institute of Management report (Coe 1992) which suggested that in Britain if women are to get on they should move between companies whereas men seem more likely to be successful whilst remaining in the same organisation. Other promotions occurred as a consequence of organisational restructuring.

> "My career progressed far too quickly. I wasn't prepared for it ...When I trained, nobody ever mentioned management, the only way to earn more money in our profession is to go up the professional scale and I didn't bother to go through the progressions I took one major leap, from Clinical to Managerial, almost to managerial the job was actually graded as Chief Clinician rather then the Managerial job when I first took it. It's when Stella, the new General Manager

who came in, regraded my post. It was one of the first things she did and I think that might have been the thing that really spurred me into working my socks off for her."

(Gabrielle - Britain)

Additionally a stage does seem to come where many women do not see how to move on from where they are now.

"...working in this industry, I mean it's a small company and apart from being a director of the company which is the only step I've got left up the ladder here, it is a bit of a sort of position I've found myself in. I want to go on yet I really enjoy my job and I really enjoy everything about it and the company and everything and yet I'm coming up against this stopping point."

(Sarah - Britain)

"I think I'm finding in the last few years that it is beginning to be recognised that women do have a part to play in management but I think it's a harder struggle than men...I think women have to prove themselves a lot more than men have to and I think to a certain extent its a bit of the old boys' network. Men can climb the ladder on people they've met or sort of influence if you like. But women really have to prove themselves."

(Sarah - Britain)

Changes over time

There are three levels of changes that emerge as significant in terms of the opportunities that are available and the experiences women have. These three levels are firstly changes in level and nature of industrialism, capitalism, and general levels of development and concomitant changes in the economic circumstances in which societies exist. Related to this are generational differences, with each generation encountering different experiences. Finally there are changes within an individual throughout their own development and life cycle.

The industrial and economic changes that have occurred so rapidly in Hong Kong mean that changes between the experiences and situations of one generation and the next are extensive relative to the west.

"In Hong Kong the problem [of working and looking after children] would not be so great because I have my family to look after the children and it is quite common here that we employ female maids to look after the children. Because of the economic gains ...it is quite expensive to live in Hong Kong, so I think both of

us would have to work. I don't think I could stay at home as a housewife for the rest of my life anyway ...[because] I still enjoy working and having interaction with people and I like something moving and active I think. I like to know the news and know what is going on in the world. If I stayed in the house I am afraid that I may not be able to know what is around. It is not very healthy for the whole family. You may not know what your husband is doing and what is around. Hong Kong changes quite quickly, very quickly. I do think this is a new generation concept. There are more opportunities and especially because there are more women getting higher education, so they can get jobs more easily. But for my parents the whole situation was quite different. My parents generation came over from mainland China and they didn't receive a good education. Some of them may only have received primary education so its hard for them to find work especially when they get older."

(Betsy - Hong Kong)

There has been a huge reduction in the numbers of children being born to a family. For this sample their parents were one of perhaps 10 children, the respondent's were one of 5 to 8 children and they tend to be having fewer children themselves. Hong Kong now has the world's lowest fertility rate at 1.21 children per woman which represents a decrease of more than 40% since 1970 (United nations 1995). This compares to the United Kingdom which has the twenty ninth lowest fertility rate of 1.81 children per woman (The Economist 1996).

There have been substantial changes in all sorts of opportunities that are available to women today as compared to their mothers. For instance recent figures suggest that there are now near equal numbers of male and female undergraduates in Hong Kong. The most recent census figures show that 48% of 15 to 19 year olds who hold a first degree are female. The table below presents this data for each age band to demonstrate how rapid change has been and how different the opportunities open to the women in this sample are as compared to their mothers. The majority of the women in the Hong Kong sample fall into the 25-40 age group. Within this group there are significant differences in their likelihood of holding a first degree 37% - 45% of those with degrees in their age group would be women. In their parents generation approximately 19% - 23% of degree holders would be women. This represents a rapid shift in opportunity although there remain significant differences between subjects they enrol on (1991 Census of Population).

Table 7.20 Percentage of each age in Hong Kong group obtaining first degree broken down by sex.

Age Group Sex	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65+
Male	52%	53%	55%	59%	63%	66%	67%	72%	77%	77%	81%
Female	48%	47%	45%	41%	37%	34%	33%	28%	23%	23%	19%

Source: 1991 Hong Kong census of Population Main tables p 79 Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department

Changes within oneself also occur over time such as those associated with changing confidence levels and particularly increasing confidence through experience. For the British women this tends to take a slightly different pattern in that for many the period of child birth and being in the home was one in which they suffered serious lack, and loss, of confidence which took a number of years back in the labour market to regain.

> *"My husband also has been supportive. I mean he's had few shocks as I said when the reality first hit him of actually doing things as opposed to saying he would. But he has actually been very supportive and to go right back to when I was expecting my second child which was the first extended period in the home and I turned into a sort of bovine creature, with a small baby and a big belly and no brain at all and couldn't think or do anything. And he was bored out of his skull with me because there was nothing going on, you know, it was like living with the old Jersey cow. He'd sort of laughed about it, you know we joked about it but he likes me to be doing things and getting on with it..."*

(Meryl - Britain)

There was a definite feeling that the time could never be recovered and that they would never completely overcome the effects that lack of confidence had on them. This seems to have occurred most amongst the older members of the sample. It is now somewhat easier and more common for women to get back into paid employment or to return immediately and so not suffer the long term decline in confidence and feelings of self worth.

As we can see similar kinds of differences emerge but the main difference is one of degree. The changes in Hong Kong have been more rapid than in Britain where the same changes have taken longer and consequently have been more gradual. This is of course related to the speed at which the different economies developed. Change is continuous and in both places is steady but slower (than in the past). It

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will be interesting to see how these changes continue through the next generations.

Summary

This chapter has sought to demonstrate how fundamental the nature of the relationships between men and women are for our understanding of working lives and in this instance women managers' careers. The relationship between men and women generates particular social perceptions of the meaning of equality which in turn are fundamental in shaping the orientations towards careers and to our understanding of them.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

Introduction

In this concluding chapter the aim is first to draw out the main features of women's experience of management, then the processes that influence the career path and the role that this thesis argues culture plays in the explanation. Table 8.1 illustrates what has been found to characterise the cultures of Hong Kong and Britain.

Table 8.1 Summary of the cultures of Britain and Hong Kong

Britain	Hong Kong
Compartmentalisation (Specific)	Unified, Holistic culture (Diffuse)
Achieved familial roles/external roles	Ascribed familial roles/external roles
Personal culture	Role culture
Negative culture; External forces to blame (negative world view)	Positive Culture; internal forces account for career experiences (positive world view)
Narrow inward looking view of Britain. Can ignore the rest of the world	Outward view from Hong Kong to the rest of the world
Individualistic orientation	Collective orientation
Conflict based view of gender relations	Harmonious/ Consensus view of Gender relations
Belief that men and women are biologically different but psychologically the same - equality means being seen as and treated the same	Belief in difference between men and women - equality means recognising these differences but their being seen as equally valuable

Women's experience of management

The argument propounded is that there are distinctive career paths for women managers in Hong Kong and Britain. These different paths emerge because of the way in which the women organise their working lives vis a vis their family lives. A series of processes and attitudes make these different sets of arrangements possible and also make them the probable choice for the women manager. What makes this particularly interesting is the clear relationship between the attitudes, the processes and the experiences of the women. This interrelationship suggests that neither the macro nor the micro level explain or determine patterns of social life but rather that it is the interaction between the two which results in the particular configurations of relationships that give shape to social life. This means

that unicausal arguments espoused from positions at either extreme on the convergence/ divergence continuum are inadequate.

Women managers in Hong Kong seem to follow a different pattern of career path than women managers in Britain. The questionnaires and interviews have helped to understand not just that these patterns exist but why. Cultural, historical and economic processes combine not to *determine* the career path but rather to predispose individuals to act in particular ways and to experience their surroundings in some ways rather than others.

In particular the roles of women in the family, and the degree to which that family life exists in isolation from, or as part of other social structures, is fundamental in moulding the way women move into and out of the labour market. We know that the family provides the context for value formation and the development of selves, yet we have seen that rapid economic growth and rapid industrialisation present a particular set of problems for this process in Hong Kong that are not present in Britain where industrialisation has been slower and more gradual.

Family and family relationships are of considerable importance in Hong Kong. Their influence can gain an individual entry to an organisation and influence how far they progress within it. Additionally it is family that motivates the individual to achieve so that aspiration is realised through family success and survival. In contrast in Britain individualism results in the achievement of individual goals becoming the motivation to succeed.

Economy, education, legislation and class are all significant. However, the individual behaviours which define the nature of these structures vary significantly between Hong Kong and Britain because of the combined effects of the nature of historical processes and cultural attitudes (which themselves are influenced by each other). In Hong Kong most individuals come from fairly poor backgrounds yet they have achieved high status despite having to support siblings, to work in the family shop, or despite the fact that both parents worked full time and despite the lack of funds for education. Within these circumstances the respondents believed in the importance of education for their future careers which, whilst generally valued by their parents, was not always perceived as important for their daughters specifically. In Britain, by comparison, family origins in the working class were explanations of difficult progression, lack of information and delayed achievement.

In addition to the social structures of society and its historical roots, perhaps where culture is most clearly visible is in the manner in which individuals, or groups of individuals, relate to each other. It is these relationships that make

culture visible within structure. It is these relationships that join people together into groups which we see as structures whether that is the organisation, the family or any other apparent 'structure'. It is these relationships which differ culturally so forming different skeletal forms which give shape to social life. It is in part as a result of these relationships that people are motivated to succeed but also these relationships can significantly hold them back.

The central figurations of relationships that shed light on the particular experiences and understandings that women have of their management careers are the nature of the family figuration and the nature of the relationships between men and women. These sets of relationships in conjunction with historical and economic processes encourage particular types of orientations to work which are reflected in the experiences of the careers and the nature of the career paths.

Additionally the way in which people relate to others in society has an impact on their actions with in it. Consequently, understanding and examination of the collectivist environment of Hong Kong, as compared to the more individualistic nature of Britain, is crucial in explaining the differences in patterns of attitudes and career that have emerged in this research. The consequences of this explain what the individuals are hoping to achieve through work and also how they view the people they encounter at work and around them at home. The more individualistic stance found in Britain combined with the particular nature of family relationships generates pressure for women to hold multiple roles of housewife, mother and manager. Often the roles conflict and there are limited opportunities to gain assistance. In Hong Kong the more collectivist culture combined with a rather different set of relationships within the family means that both the organisation and the family are viewed more broadly than they are in Britain, and that networks spread between members of the family beyond nuclear groups and between organisations. As a consequence of the broad family networks there is a support mechanism enabling some women to concentrate on their management careers, knowing that the roles of mother and housewife are still well taken care of. In Hong Kong this network of support is further enhanced by its economic situation vis a vis the countries around it. Consequently the steady supply of cheap foreign labour provides domestic assistance without significant loss of income. The combination of a collectivist orientation and a diffuse perception in the case of Hong Kong and the individualistic orientation and the specific perception of the social world in Britain seems to encourage these particular configurations.

Much past research has aimed to isolate the various dimensions of culture. Although such a model may be necessary in order to understand the nature of culture a true picture cannot really be achieved unless these are all reassembled

together again. Through an examination of the interaction of culture as a whole, rather than of isolated dimensions, this research has been able to take part in this reassembly. Culture can only truly be understood by investigating the way in which the various elements or dimensions operate in conjunction with each other. Understanding of each aspect adds to the understanding of the others.

The central argument

Figure 8a The strands of the argument: The Role of Culture

Economic, historical and geographical circumstances:

Time, point in time, speed & circumstances of industrialisation, & degree of change inter & intra generation

Economic history and current conditions

Geographic location

Historical events and global relationships

Culture: The nature and perception of interpersonal relationships

Nature of family relationships

Relationship between men & women

Diffuse/Specific orientations

Collectivism/Individualism

Religious beliefs

Characteristics of the career and experiences and orientations to career and work

THE LABOUR MARKET

The process of industrialisation

Fig 8b The process of industrialisation

pre industrial   future economic change
⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯►

point (a)   point (b)
Point of industrialisation   Present economic circumstances
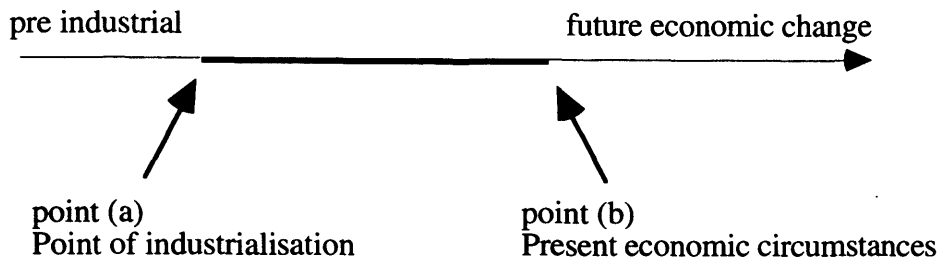
The circumstances in which industrialisation took place (point (a) of the above diagram) are of crucial significance for the nature and structure of subsequent social life. There are two important aspects of the circumstances existing at the point of industrialisation that require consideration. The first is the global conditions of the time and the second is the internal institutional circumstances existing at the time.

Global circumstances at the point of industrialisation

The time at which industrialisation occurred in relation to the industrialisation of other areas of the world is significant also. Late development relative to Europe and Northern America has played a significant role in shaping Hong Kong. For instance, later development has provided Hong Kong the opportunity of borrowing the most up to date technology, starting with this modernity and adapting it to suit particular local circumstances. However, the time of industrialisation, whilst affecting the physical and practical aspects of production, also may have a psychological impact caused by the need to survive economically. If a later developing economy is to survive it has to be successful and competitive in order to break in to the existing world economy.

Britain is a country where economic dominance was achieved largely as a result of being the first to industrialise and so protected from competition by the fact of there being no initial competitors and few for a considerable time after. Hong Kong, however, if it were to survive economically faced extreme threats. It had to be immediately competitive, and to break in to an existing global market. Hong Kong could not afford to simply evolve and just see what happened rather each stage of its economic development had to be negotiated (Ashton and Sung 1996). Consequently from the beginning of Hong Kong's industrialisation the various

threats posed by other economic powers was of utmost concern as was the need to know its strengths, weaknesses and vulnerabilities so that planned industrialisation could occur. When economic success determines a society's survival it would not be improbable to suggest that the value and price that the people are prepared to attach to economic growth would be much higher than in a society already well established in the global economy.

Table 8.2 Questionnaire results: The importance of family interests as compared to economic interests

Variable	Britain (n= 237)		Hong Kong (n= 142)	
GA2 Family interests should be sacrificed for the good of the country	agree:	31.6%	:	49.3%
	disagree:	48.1%	:	30.2%
GA7 Adults are reliant on their families in their everyday lives	agree:	40.5%	:	56.3%
	disagree:	47.3%	:	38.0%
GA6 Economic prosperity is the most important social goal	agree:	24.0%	:	66.2%
	disagree:	62.4%	:	29.6%

We have seen how important the family actually is and yet half of the Hong Kong sample (in direct contrast to the British sample) felt that family interests should be sacrificed for the good of the country as a whole if it was necessary to do so. A primary social goal is to increase the wealth and prosperity of Hong Kong. Economic prosperity is a long term goal and this long term view of the Hong Kong Chinese can be attributed in part to culture. The willingness to sacrifice immediate comfort for greater future gain has been well documented in Chinese societies (Redding 1990, Harris Bond 1991) and this is another sign of this willingness.

One might expect that a society that places so much value on the collective group, and particularly the family group, would think very little worth its sacrifice. However, combined with the other elements of a culture, in this case a long term view and acceptance of deferred gratification, results often may not be what the western mind might expect. The family support mechanism would not be destroyed by hardship. Family interests could be sacrificed without the family being in any way harmed. Life might be more difficult but the family is organised in such a way that it can cope with this by pooling resources to support each member.

The family being sacrificed for the good of the country is not inherently incompatible with being heavily reliant on the family and viewing it as extremely

important. Understanding the family in Chinese society is alien to the western mind. It is not so easy as simply to say that the family is important therefore its interests must be put first. In fact we can see that the family is of central importance but it is a set of social relationships not a social goal. There are social goals such as economic success that are worth striving for even if this makes family life difficult, but even in such circumstances the family will ensure its members are supported.

Economic prosperity is in the family's long term interest; if there is no economic prosperity the family has less wealth. In a society where there is little state provided welfare, sickness pay, unemployment benefit, pension, National Health Service then economic prosperity is crucial if the family is to be protected. This leaves us with the paradox that in Hong Kong it is in the family's long term interests to sacrifice its immediate interests for economic growth.

Economies which face the pressures of late development may have a greater chance of gaining a competitive position if their culture emphasises, or can be manipulated to emphasise, the collective good over individual interests so that individual rights and interests will be sacrificed for the good of the economy as a whole. If this is the case then we might expect that in late, or later, developing economies those with low scores on the individualism index (combined, of course, with other complimentary attitudes and feasible circumstances) might be likely to do better than would more individualistic economies.

In conditions of early industrialisation i.e. for those countries just developing the industrial mode of production, individualism was an asset, as can be seen in Weber's Protestant ethic (1930). For those countries breaking into world markets at a later stage collectivism is an asset. Thus culture can have an economic impact. Some forms of cultures may encourage economic growth through predisposing individuals to behave in particular ways. This is not to say that some cultures are better than others. It is not possible to make an unbiased judgement on this and any such judgement would be inherently culturally biased but would also miss the point. Cultures cannot be compared in this way, rather they are simply different but not 'better' or 'worse'. In many ways it could be seen as a loss of rights, a loss of the nature of a society, a loss of human dignity to value economic growth at the expense of other aspects. However, to make such judgement is to incorporate one's own biases. Therefore all I suggest by this statement is that particular types of cultures may be more predisposed to invest in economic growth than others and that collectivism may be one aspect of culture that encourages this. In order for us to be more conclusive about this one would compare the newly developing economies with those which have not been as successful. Of course it would be easy to say that one country was successful because of particular events, outside

support and resources available. This might well be true but might not culture play a part in the explanation? Unfortunately the means of making such a comparison are not readily available. What we can do is refer back to Hofstede's work once more.

Hofstede found that there is a strong correlation between a country's wealth and its score on the IND index. The most wealthy countries tend to have higher IND scores. However, Hofstede also found that in terms of economic growth there is a negative correlation of Individualism and economic growth amongst the most wealthy 19 countries[75]. He goes on to suggest that this implies that

> *"For the 19 wealthier countries, 1960 - 1970, economic growth is negatively related to individualism. This fact (wealth is positively associated with individualism, but lower individualism with faster growth) logically should lead to a certain balancing of wealth among wealthy countries: If they become too wealthy they become too individualistic to grow any more..".*

Hofstede (1984: 168)

So, interestingly, the suggestion is that collectivism can be associated with rapid economic growth. Hofstede's calculations are based on 1960 - 1970 data and 19 most wealthy countries may be different today. For instance Hong Kong and Singapore and the other Asian NICs are now much wealthier than they were then. In fact both Hong Kong and Singapore are now amongst the top twenty most wealthy countries as measured by the World Bank index. In terms of GNP per capita, Singapore is now ranked 8th in the world and Hong Kong 13th. The UK is ranked 18th in the same list (The World Bank 1997). If wealth and individualism are related we would now expect these countries to demonstrate greater individualism than Britain. However, although levels of collectivism in Hong Kong may have reduced evidence suggests collectivism is still strong (Redding 1990, Harris-Bond 1986, 1991).

Late developing economies benefit from a drive to survive. In Britain it might be precisely this lack of threat that has resulted in a more inward looking, insular culture whose members are relatively slow to recognise the threat from new, more productive economies. This legacy has made it difficult for Britain to take the economic threat from the Asia Pacific region seriously. As Britain and the UK is pushed down the ladder in terms of standards of living, prosperity, economic growth etc. it may become easier to recognise this threat. However, such an

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[75] Hofstede measured this correlation using the countries' 1970 national wealth levels. As such the top 19 countries were; USA, Sweden, Canada, Switzerland, Denmark, France, Norway, Germany, Australia, Belgium, New Zealand, Netherlands, Great Britain, Finland, Austria, Israel, Japan, Italy and Ireland. (based on GNP/Capita)

admission (or recognition) would fundamentally alter the attitudes of British people and therefore alter their culture within which Britain's dominant position has been a central feature.

Internal institutional circumstances

In addition to the significance of global circumstances the institutional arrangements of the society at the point of industrialisation also are important. The structures and inter-relationships between the family, the state, production etc. will provide a push in a certain direction. For instance in China, Redding (1990) suggested that the way the state maintained control through village organisation (and within that the way that the family competed with other local families for land, produce and ultimately survival) is reflected in China today and in the overseas Chinese social groups (Whitley 1992).

The speed of industrialisation and economic growth

In Hong Kong the rapid rate of economic growth has meant that the gap between the experiences of different generations is relatively great. In Britain the more gradual growth has meant that the gulf between generations' experiences is less extreme. This has importance for our understanding of socialisation processes and brings into question the universal manner in which socialisation theory has been used. Socialisation takes place through different mechanisms. Socialisation tools in the west, in particular the family, may not necessarily be capable of achieving the same socialisation effects in a rapidly changing environment. Consequently, individuals in different circumstances have very different experiences of socialisation. Thus differences in the process of economic growth (in this instance differences in its speed) have resulted in very different sets of perceptions of the circumstances and very different means of achieving the same outcomes, and ultimately in different sets of behaviours.

The speed at which economic growth occurs creates particular kinds of pressures and tensions within a system. For instance gradual development in Britain has meant that industries were using technology and infrastructure that had also developed over lengthy periods. Thus by the time an industry was well established the technology could already be outdated. A complete overhaul of technology was time consuming and expensive therefore modernisation might be constrained by the machinery.

More rapid growth combined with later growth provides the conditions for the immediate introduction of modern technology (it does not have to evolve) but results in different kinds of tensions leading to different kinds of individual responses and structures. One of the inevitable pressures faced in the early stages

is the lack of a skilled work force because the demand for skills are new it therefore tends to outstrip the supply. Consequently education is crucial as a means of achieving those skills that employers and industry require. Cultures can value or disregard education's importance and this may be one of culture's influential (though not determining) roles in economic success. Culture affects the way the individuals within societies respond to circumstances and thus it influences the structures that emerge and how they change. This example of education is a useful illustration because it has such broad implications. Valuing education must have, at the very least, facilitated Hong Kong's achievement of economic success. The combination of the high value placed on education and the family at the centre of social life has had specific results. By contrast Britain industrialised with a fairly limited and class based education system and this may have contributed to the low value that is placed on education within British culture.

Current economic circumstances

Whether recession or growth, the current and recent economic situation - point (b) in Figure 8b - has an affect on how people view work and their mobility between jobs. Career choices are crucially affected by economic circumstances as they play a role in determining the ease with which jobs can be obtained.

To what extent are any phenomena simply products of one source, products of just culture or products solely of the economy? In times of economic growth and concomitant skill shortages job security and financial security may not be a big concern or motivation because needs are easily met. In such times it is not dangerous to 'quit' jobs. In recession however quitting carries a far greater risk. Clearly then there is an economic basis to career choices but there is also a cultural basis as seen in Hofstede's UAI which in part measures the frequency with which individuals move jobs. Hofstede's measure explores solely the cultural aspect of this issue and consequently does not examine the implications of the economy for these choices. The economic circumstances of each of the countries in the study contain huge variations which may have significance for the UAI and individuals' propensity to move jobs.

Currently Hong Kong and Britain are facing very different local economic circumstances which clearly have some influence on the way that individuals view work. As well as interaction between economy and culture, educational choices add further complexity to the configuration of related structures. Choices during the initial years of formal education and choices to return to education later may be identified in many societies but the motivations for those choices need to be examined not solely in the context of the different cultures and how they view

education but also within the context of the particular economic conditions that the societies are currently facing.

The point being reiterated here is that there can be no deterministic, unicausal and simplistic cause of behaviour. Unfortunately for social scientists the situation is more complicated as structures, individuals and cultural attitudes cannot be understood in isolation from the context that makes sense of them and provides them with meaning. To understand any single social phenomenon requires examination of all of these.

Culture as a process

Culture is a concept that has been overlooked by many positivist researchers because of the difficulties involved in operationalising it for measurement. The intangibility of culture demands particular methodologies for its investigation but that it may be problematic is not sufficient justification to ignore it. In the convergence or divergence debate the choice of single cause is either industrialism on the one hand or culture on the other. The most classic debate on cause is the structure versus agency debate and some might see the question of industrialism or culture as a further reflection of that. In this thesis it has been argued that those sociological arguments which try to present a single phenomenon as the determinant of all that surrounds it are misconceived. Culture is not either structure or agency but is a social phenomenon that links the two. Structure is in many ways a reflection of culture but in addition structure feeds into culture. Similarly individual agency reflects underlying attitudes and values and as we have seen many of these are not unique to the individual but culturally bound. In addition structures only exist through individual actors and consequently it is the configuration of all these things that provides us with social understanding. Although the action reflects cultural norms and values it is not entirely determined by it. In turn individual action can feed back into culture and collectively over time can continue the process of cultural change. As a result an understanding of the experiences of any group in society requires that they are not dislocated from the circumstances in which their behaviour and experiences are embedded.

The dimensions of culture depicted in Hofstede and Trompenaars' work which are of most significance in explaining differences in the career paths, choices and experiences of women managers in Hong Kong and Britain are; (i) Individualism versus collectivism and (ii) Specific versus Diffuse world view. These are examined in turn below.

Individualism versus collectivism

This dimension figures strongly in the way in which women managers make choices about their careers. The dimension does not operate in isolation but is tied up with the operation of the other dimensions as well. However, at each stage in the analysis the implications of either a collective or an individualistic orientation are evident.

The particular orientations to a career must relate to its aims or purpose. In Hong Kong the goal of the career is seen in terms of the success of the family. In Britain the more individualistic orientation results in the aim of the career being individual success. The whole notion of self identity is affected by the way that the individual is perceived by, and in relation to, the people around them. The individualism versus collectivism index examines the nature of this relationship. Motivation and self concept emerge from different sources of influence depending on a culture's position on the continuum of collective through to individualistic.

Specific versus diffuse

Whether or not the world is viewed as a series of overlapping and connected areas of life or as a series of discrete and isolated segments of life has a dramatic affect on perceptions of work and ultimately career. Family and work, for example, are seen as being more related in Hong Kong than they are in Britain. Another example is religion which explains personality and is a part of how people behave at work in Hong Kong, whereas in Britain it is generally seen as something that fills just one part of social life and that can be kept out of other areas. In Britain religion is considered as having little to do with working life.

In terms of the orientation to the career, specific versus diffuse culture plays an enormous role. For example in terms of educational choices, the diffuse orientation in Hong Kong encourages educational choices to be made with a view to their implications for work and in turn the implications for the family. Consequently a decision regarding education cannot be understood without also examining the importance of family as well as the decisions significance for working life. Educational choices and career goals are determined within the family in Hong Kong. In Britain on the other hand there is a much more unilinear approach whereby the structures involved remain separate from each other. Educational choices are seen to lead to a good career and therefore to all that is desirable in life rather than leading on to anything beyond this or related to a broader context.

The implications of the specific versus diffuse dimension is further apparent when it is examined in conjunction with the previous dimension of individualism. It seems plausible that there is some correlation between these two dimensions. I would suggest that in fact because of the nature of these dimensions it is unlikely that a culture would emerge that was individualistic and diffuse or that was collectivist and specific. Rather individualism and a specific world view and collectivism and a diffuse world view tend to complement each other and consequently occur in these pairings rather than the opposite. Weight is added to this suggestion as not a single one of the highly collective societies in Hofstede's study appears as specific in Trompenaars' work. Similarly none of the societies that score most highly on the individualism index appear to have diffuse cultures in Trompenaars' work. Austria, which has a score of 55 on the individualism index (the mean being 51), just placing it on the individualism side of the continuum, is the only country from the individualism end of the continuum to appear on Trompenaars' diffuse scale. Consequently it seems likely that the dimensions work together to produce particular effects and it is therefore important that the links between dimensions are explored in order to understand fully the mechanisms of culture's operation. The only way to understand how the relationship between dimensions work and how that manifests itself structurally is through an in-depth qualitative study of the meanings behind individual action.

All these cultural features can be related back to the processes which have operated on the lives of the women managers. The circumstances of those processes, such as the speed and circumstances of industrialisation or the particular global and historical relationships between societies, can be seen to have influenced experiences of individuals and the behaviours that were appropriate. Thus cultural attitudes are a manifestation of the experiences of the individuals which have been influenced and moulded by the entwined strands of a whole series of processes each of which may develop differently in different circumstances.

Theorists, such as Hofstede, have presented a huge array of cultural profiles as if breadth is the ultimate knowledge. I argue that this breadth of knowledge that Hofstede, and others, provide whist important is made more meaningful if combined with the depth of knowledge that explains what the broad statistics really mean.

The focus of the studies of Hofstede and Trompenaars was to describe cultural characteristics rather than seek to explain cultural change. Inevitably this means

that they portray static pictures of different cultures.[76] The studies' static nature means that they soon become dated. For example Hofstede's snapshot of Hong Kong's culture must be questionable because of the vast changes that have occurred there since the study was conducted. This study sees culture as one of a number of processes. These processes interact and entwine to produce particular sets of circumstances and to predispose individuals towards particular kinds of behaviour. It is this continuous change, the very nature of the word *process*, that brings about cultural change. The intention is that the contribution this study may make is to add to our understanding of the mechanisms and processes that are culture and to uncover the mechanisms through which those processes have structural effect.

The relationship between men and women and the process of patriarchy

Structures that can be said to be broadly the same kind of social phenomena exist in different societies. However understanding of that structure, for example the family, in one society does not provide understanding of all families in all societies. This is fundamental for social science because the implications are that we cannot unproblematically apply theories developed in the context of one society based on that society to another. Whether these are theories of motivation, of socialisation, of female subordination or of anything else cannot necessarily be applied universally. This is one of the reasons why comparative research is vital. Testing theories in societies other than those for which they were designed can provide a vast amount of information and lead to the evolution of new theories. It is only through such sociology that we can escape western ethnocentrism which has characterised much social study.

Much of the emphasis of this thesis has been on the differences that have been identified between the careers of women managers in Hong Kong and Britain, but it is important and interesting to note also where and when similarities occur. There do seem to be significant similarities in terms of what activities are considered part of a female role and what are considered part of a male role. Women's role in the family and areas of employment that are seen as most suitable for a woman are very similar in Britain and in Hong Kong. Perhaps the key difference is in terms of degrees of adherence to these stereotypes as Hong Kong remains more traditional in these attitudes than Britain. Nevertheless these similarities do exist. This is where the process of patriarchy comes in. Whether this is the deliberate or unconscious domination of women by men, patriarchy has

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[76] Hofstede makes some attempt to relate culture to outside factors to explain how they developed such as climate, geographical location etc. This explains its emergence but not its continual change.

resulted in a particular set of patterns in many countries of the world and Hong Kong and Britain prove to be no exception to this.

Patriarchy is just one factor or process and, though it clearly does have an impact on what work women do and on women managers' experience of work, it is not, on its own, adequate to explain satisfactorily the differences in the career paths and the experiences of women managers in Hong Kong when compared to Britain. Patriarchy is just one of a number of processes that together shed understanding on these patterns and experiences.

There are similarly small proportions of women managers in both Hong Kong and Britain. Patriarchy may play a significant role in explaining the fact that they are so small, but it cannot explain the different paths that they take or the different experiences that they encounter. Although women managers in Hong Kong and Britain have taken very different routes through their management career, neither one seems to have been more successful than the other in getting more women into the senior echelons of paid employment. Despite this, the way in which the women feel about the career, their orientations, their perceptions and their motivations can be seen to have been fundamentally affected by, and a part of, the differences in the processes and circumstances changing around them.

Implications for social science

Together all these processes help us understand the culture of these two societies, which in turn helps explain the particular institutional and interpersonal relationships that impact on the career path followed by women managers. Consequently these processes help us understand why these paths, and the experiences along them, look different in Britain compared with how they look in Hong Kong. The career path reflects these processes and their effects. The career path is not determined solely by social structures, but cultural norms combined with particular networks of social relationships predispose individuals to behave in particular ways and to make particular choices. As the nature of social relationships vary between cultures a largely western based sociological theory cannot fully understand the lives and experiences of the Hong Kong Chinese. Many theories ingrained in social science, which we have used to explain and understand the world, are limited by the fact that they were developed at a time when there was less knowledge available about different types of society and less diversity in the types of change and development to explain. Today the vastly more complex world in which we live has a whole series of different capitalisms, different economies, different histories which cannot be understood through outdated concepts and terms.

If perceptions of society itself are cultural, then western sociological theories attempting to explain social structures from a particular cultural perspective may not be appropriate world wide. In fact the organisation of academia may be cultural as the rigid boundaries set up between academic disciplines (which is not a culture free means of viewing knowledge) may not be sensible as a means of understanding Chinese societies or any other society with a diffuse perception of social life.

For too long we have been operating within the confines of western theories of social life. It is only now in the light of the emerging body of cross cultural research, of which this is a part, that the extent of this bias is becoming apparent. We will have to be sensitive to these things in the future and perhaps some of the questions raised here will facilitate such sensitivity.

Cross cultural studies will be essential if we are to understand the principles on which social life is organised. The only way to develop theories about social development or societal structure that can apply beyond the boundaries of the society in which it was carried out (or very similar societies) is to do cross cultural research. In this way theories can be developed on the basis of non biased, non western information. In view of this many existing theories may be invalid for universal application. For instance, the convergence/divergence debate is one that may not stand up to close scrutiny. Why should only one end of the debate provide the 'truth'? Must it be that the only options are either that the process of industrialisation determines society and cultures or alternatively that society and culture determines the industrialisation process? This debate reflects western universalism but the same conclusion might not be reached by an academic from a more particularist culture. If we cease seeking determinants both the process of industrialisation and culture can be considered significant.

There are problems with existing theories of socialisation which see the family as a site in which a particular set of attitudes and values are reproduced in the next generation. Although general attitudes may be taken on, it is not so easy to state that the family is the route to most socialisation in circumstances when one generation 's experiences have little or no correlation with their children's. Vast changes between one generation and the next are evident in Hong Kong because of the rapid economic development. However, the situation in Britain may have moved in this direction also, as recession has resulted in substantial groups of unemployed youth who have never had paid employment. This increasingly means that the experiences of parents when they were young people first leaving education may be very different from those of their children who may face unemployment as the next step after school. Perhaps socialisation into a particular set of attitudes (in relation to employment and potentially other areas of social

life) via the mechanism of the family no longer describes the process in many modern societies. There are further areas where we have tried to understand the world through western experience. For instance, the distinction of the family of destination and the family of origin was shown to be more appropriate in some contexts than in others.

Whether or not men's interests are perceived to be diametrically opposed to those of women is fundamental in explaining how the women interpret and react to the male oriented organisation of the labour market. The nature of these perceptions also help explain whether women see women's rights as an issue and fight for liberation. Feminist arguments propounding that patriarchy is the explanation of all women's experiences overlook the interconnected nature of patriarchy with the whole range of other processes that have been identified here.

Another area of research influenced by western experience is how we understand women's position in society, women's rights and movements striving for these. In different cultures women's liberation movements may not emerge, not because, as feminism implies, they are so backward, so lacking consciousness of their exploited position that they just have not developed them yet. Rather they are not seen to emerge because they take different forms unrecognisable by such a term "women's liberation". Alternatively the nature of culture results in such situations simply not being perceived as an issue or a problem. The reason for this is the way that men and women are seen, both as individuals and as they relate together within that culture. In Hong Kong the relationship is such that whilst similar behaviours may occur as they do in Britain, in Hong Kong they generally are not seen as a problem or something despicable that must be 'stamped out' and 'fought against'

In the context of our discussions of the family the questionnaire results showed much greater agreement between men and women in Hong Kong on what the roles of mother, father, and husband and wife meant than was shown in Britain, where disagreement on these issues existed between men and women. This indicates the hostility and conflict between men and women in terms of who they believe they are and what they should be, in Britain. That conflict does not exist in Hong Kong because there is a much higher level of agreement between men and women on these issues. Consequently 'women's liberation' as a reflection of women's hostility about the way men perceive them is not an issue in Hong Kong. The whole notion of 'liberation' and 'fighting' for women's rights stems from a conflict culture but is not apparent in the same way in a culture such as Hong Kong which emphasises consensus. Conflict thus underlies western (or certainly British and Northern American) thought and as a result has become embedded within social theory which has, till now, largely emanated from these western

sources. Consequently when westerners look to Hong Kong they see a lack of women's liberation movements and women's struggles as evidence of backwardness and naiveté in Hong Kong women. In fact rather than eastern naiveté this is western ethnocentrism.

This can be further understood by referring back to the collectivism in Hong Kong versus the individualism of Britain. In a collectivist context there is greater agreement on what social roles mean for society. In Britain individual competition is reflected in conflicting relations between men and women who view the others' achievement of their respective goals as being in direct conflict with their own.

The future of social research

It is not necessary that all research should be cross cultural, but what this thesis has shown is that if that research is not cross cultural we cannot assume that a theory has been provided that explains social life throughout the many cultures of the world. For example, it is patronising, rather than liberating, to imagine that Hong Kong Chinese women have simply not yet reached the stage where they are capable of recognising their own exploitation.

What we must do as social researchers is recognise our own biases. One way of doing that is to work with researchers from different cultures. Another is to do cross cultural research. In many circumstances the ideal would be to combine the two. Such research is one way of showing that our own experience is not universal. There are other ways of organising, other explanations and in finding them we find out more about ourselves.

> *"The eye cannot see its own lashes"*

> Chinese proverb. (Bond 1991:1)

Contribution to existing knowledge

This study has aimed for depth of analysis rather than the breadth achieved by other studies such as that of Hofstede. In achieving that depth it has remained close to the narratives provided by the subjects of the study without abstracting the material so far away from their own words that it loses its richness and becomes a series of statistics behind which the individual's interpretation and meaning is lost.

The study has shown what dimensions of culture actually mean to the individuals involved and how they are manifested in the actions of individuals. The problem with discussing culture through a series of dimensions is that the links between the dimensions are lost. This study has shown that in order to understand any specific

aspect of social life those links have to be explored. In the process of doing this, problems with the dimensions Hofstede identified have been uncovered. One of the problems with Hofstede's research was the male bias contained in the sampling. In this research a specific focus on women has drawn out a further dimension of cultural difference and this is the perception of gender relations as a site of conflict or consensus and more generally the way in which men and women are viewed in relation to each other. This was clearly visible in the greater levels of agreement by men and women in Hong Kong on what a gender role entailed as compared to extensive disagreement from the British sample. This additional dimension has provided another mechanism through which to understand women's position in society and as such represents an initial step beyond which future research might investigate.

The key contribution of this research has been to examine the reason why very different sets of experiences were encountered by women managers in Britain as compared to Hong Kong. The results have demonstrated how individual experience and behaviour is embedded in a whole series of processes and networks of social relationships. No single process, concept or structure can explain the entire experience. Rather the way all the processes entwine together to create a particular set of relationships predispose groups of people to different behaviours thus acting as the skeleton on which individual behaviour places the flesh.

The two fundamental areas that this thesis has addressed are how the variation in perception of the relationship between the roles of men and women impact on daily life and the impact of the sets of relationships which make up the family on the interaction between work and family life. These sets of relationships generate almost entirely different orientations to and perceptions of working life generally and specifically in the context of the careers of women managers. It is by understanding these relationships that we can make the links between the macro level processes and the individual action that characterises the rather different career paths and career path experiences of women managers in Hong Kong and Britain.

SPECIAL NOTE

This item is tightly bound
and while every effort has
been made to reproduce the
centres force would result
in damage.

Appendix A - British and Chinese questionnaires (and translation)

University of Leicester

CLMS

10 Princess Road East Leicester LE1 7LA England   Centre for Labour Market Studies

Dear respondent,

The Centre for Labour Market Studies at Leicester University is currently undertaking a large scale comparative survey of the experiences and attitudes of managers in the United Kingdom, Hong Kong and Singapore.

Of particular interest to us are the experiences of women managers in each country. However we feel that in order to understand women's experiences of management we must also examine those of men. Consequently this questionnaire is being sent out to both men and women in the three countries and we are equally interested in the responses of both.

The research will be carried out by Katharine Hills (the Research Officer for the 'Women in Management' project) of the Centre for Labour Market Studies under the direction of Professor David Ashton, Co-Director of the research centre. This confidential questionnaire constitutes the first stage of the research and will be followed up by interviews in each country which you are invited to participate in. There is an opportunity to express this interest at the back of the questionnaire. Please fill in the questionnaire as accurately as possible and return it in the pre paid envelope provided. We would be grateful for as prompt a reply as possible in order that the research may proceed. All research data will be treated with strict confidentiality and respondents will remain anonymous. A summary of the final results will be made available to those who are interested.

Many thanks for your interest, help and co-operation which has made this piece of international research possible.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

K. Hills

Katharine Hills
(Research Officer)

Professor David Ashton

General Attitudes

Listed below are a number of attitudes which have been expressed. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with them by circling the appropriate number.

**1 = Strongly agree.   2 = Agree.   3 = Not sure/Do not know.
4 = Disagree.   5 = Strongly disagree**

1. Group goals are more important than an individual's goals.	1	2	3	4	5
2. It is sometimes necessary that family interests should be sacrificed for the good of the country.	1	2	3	4	5
3. The group is of secondary importance to the individual.	1	2	3	4	5
4. When people have failed in life it is usually their own fault.	1	2	3	4	5
5. A husband and wife should express the same opinions on major political and religious issues.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Economic prosperity is the most important social goal.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Individual adults are heavily reliant on their families in their everyday lives.	1	2	3	4	5
8. A married man's main duty is to provide financial support for his family.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Inequality in society is good.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Everyone in society has the opportunity to achieve high social status and position if they work hard.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Men tend to be more emotional than women.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I feel a strong identification with my country.	1	2	3	4	5
13. It is a married woman's main duty to financially support her family.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Women and men have distinctly different personalities.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Women tend to be better than men at listening to people.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Equality between men and women is detrimental to the welfare of the family.	1	2	3	4	5
17. In most marriages if husband and wife both work outside the home they will share housework equally.	1	2	3	4	5
18. If there is equality between men and women ecomomic success will suffer.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Men tend to be more self confident than women.	1	2	3	4	5

2

20. Men tend to be more objective than women.   1   2   3   4   5

21. Women tend to have better interpersonal skills than men. 1   2   3   4   5

22. The achievement of equality between men and women is
    desirable.   1   2   3   4   5

23. If husband and wife both work full time outside the home
    they should share housework equally.   1   2   3   4   5

General Work Attitudes

Listed below are some attitudes which have been expressed about work and employment. Please indicate how far you agree or disagree with them by circling the appropriate response.

1. Men and women bring different qualities and abilities
   to the work place.   1   2   3   4   5

2. Women's expected role in the home and family is
   completely compatible with a full time career.   1   2   3   4   5

3. Home life is generally relaxing.   1   2   3   4   5

4. The role that men are expected to play in the home and
   family is generally compatible with a full time career. 1   2   3   4   5

5. It is necessary to be assertive to be a good manager. 1   2   3   4   5

6. Management tends to require skills that men have more
   often than women.   1   2   3   4   5

7. It is necessary not to be emotional in order to be a
   successful manager.   1   2   3   4   5

8. Most women have the right temperament to be full time
   housewives.   1   2   3   4   5

9. A married man will tend not to want promotion if it
   involves moving to another location.   1   2   3   4   5

10. A married woman will tend not to want promotion if it
    involves moving to another location.   1   2   3   4   5

11. Men are more likely than women to have the
    temperament necessary for a high powered senior
    management career.   1   2   3   4   5

12. It is necessary to be self confident to be a good manager. 1   2   3   4   5

13. It is necessary to be objective to be a good manager. 1   2   3   4   5

14. It is necessary to be able to listen to others in order
    to be a successful manager.   1   2   3   4   5

**1= Strongly agree. 2 = Agree,   3 = Not sure/Do not know.
4 = Disagree.   5 = Strongly disagree**

15. Men often seem to find it difficult to take women in senior positions seriously.	1	2	3	4	5
16. A manager's sex probably does not affect their experience of work.	1	2	3	4	5
17. For various reasons women tend not to make as good senior managers as men.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Women have to work harder than men do to achieve a very senior position.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Sexual discrimination is often used as an excuse by women who do not get to the top.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Staying with the same employer for a long time is generally the best way of getting ahead.	1	2	3	4	5
21. It is uncomfortable for men to have a female boss.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Male and female managers use distinctly different methods and practices in the workplace.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Men are suited to some occupations to which women are not suited.	1	2	3	4	5
24. It is uncomfortable for women if they have male bosses.	1	2	3	4	5
25. There are some occupations to which women are suited but men are not.	1	2	3	4	5
26. It is better for the child if its mother does not work full time outside the home in the first years of its life.	1	2	3	4	5
27. Career breaks probably result in loss of status and hinder later promotion.	1	2	3	4	5
28. It is often better to work with members of one's own family rather than with individuals outside of the family network.	1	2	3	4	5

Attitudes in your own workplace

In this last selection of attitudes we are asking you to indicate how far the following statements correspond with the situation in your own workplace. The numbered responses mean the same as they have done in the previous sections.

1. My company is strongly hierarchical.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I am not aware of any sexual discrimination in my company.	1	2	3	4	5

4

3. I think there are many more women than men in
   management positions in my company.   1   2   3   4   5

4. There are many more male managers than female
   managers in my company.   1   2   3   4   5

5. There are probably many more male senior managers
   and directors than female ones.   1   2   3   4   5

6. I think there are probably many more men than women
   in my company as a whole.   1   2   3   4   5

7. In my company those who set recruitment policies
   are mainly men.   1   2   3   4   5

8. I think my company is genuinely committed to equal
   employment opportunities.   1   2   3   4   5

9. I think I am unusually self confident.   1   2   3   4   5

10. The senior managers and executives in my company are
    committed to equal employment opportunities. 1   2   3   4   5

11. In my company female managers are treated exactly
    the same as the equivalent male manager.   1   2   3   4   5

12. I think that the employees in my company are on the
    whole committed to equal employment opportunities. 1   2   3   4   5

13. I think that in my company employees are treated
    equally regardless of their sex or race.   1   2   3   4   5

14. I sometimes spend time socialising with my colleagues
    outside working hours.   1   2   3   4   5

15. The informal networks built outside working hours
    are very helpful in the workplace.   1   2   3   4   5

16. Colleagues of both sexes attend all of the social events
    I go to with my colleagues.   1   2   3   4   5

17. Male and female colleagues are treated as equals at these
    social events.   1   2   3   4   5

General Information About Yourself

In this section we will ask you some general background questions about yourself.

1. What is your date of birth?_____   What sex are you?   male ☐   female ☐

2. To which ethnic group do you belong?_____

3. What is your nationality?_____

4. What is your marital status?   single ☐   divorced/ separated/widowed ☐
                                 married/living as married ☐

5. If you are (or were) married in what year(s) did you get married?_____

6. How many children do you have?_____ How old are your children?_____

7. Are you religious?   yes ☐   no ☐

8. What is your religion?   _____

9. What does your company do?_____

10. Do you own your own company?   yes ☐   no ☐

11. Is your organisation a family run business? yes ☐   no ☐

12. Is your company   locally owned ☐
                             foreign owned ☐

13. Is your organisation   state owned ☐   other ☐
                         or privately owned ☐

14. Does your company operate only in the country in which you work ☐
                        or is it a multi national company ☐

15. How many employees does your organisation have in the country where you work?
                             fewer than 10 ☐
                             10 - 20 ☐
                             21 - 50 ☐
                             51- 100 ☐
                             101 - 500 ☐
                             501 - 1000 ☐
                             Over 1000 ☐

16. For how much longer do you think you will work for your current employer?
                             6 months at most   ☐
                             2 years at most   ☐
                             2-5 years   ☐
                             More than five years but I will
                             probably leave before I retire. ☐
                             Until I retire.   ☐
                             Other/ Do not know   ☐

17. How do you anticipate that your career will progress?
                             Promotion within current organisation ☐
                             Promotion with another organisation   ☐
                             Sideways   ☐
                             Demotion   ☐
                             Set up my own business   ☐
                             Complete change in career direction   ☐
                             Retirement or equivalent   ☐
                             Other (please specify)   ☐

18.How many people report directly to you at work? _____

19.How many of these are male?_____ How many are female?_____

20.Do you report directly to one boss?   yes ☐   no ☐

21.If yes is this person   male ☐   female ☐

22.Do you or have you ever worked for a female boss?   yes ☐   no ☐

23.Do you manage   both managerial and non managerial staff ☐
                         or   managerial staff only ☐
                         or   non managerial staff only ☐

24.At what age did you leave full time education? _____

25.What is you highest academic qualification?   _____

26.At what age did your parents leave full time education?   Mother_____

                                                Father_____
27.What were/are your parents occupations?
                Mother_____

                Father_____

28.What professional qualifications do you have?

29.What other training have you had which did not lead to a qualification?

30.What was your reason for leaving your last occupation?_____

_____

_____

_____

General Employment Details .

The purpose of this section is to discover information about your employment history in order to see how your career has changed over the years.
- Please outline your career experience starting from your current position and treating promotion and change of direction (e.g time off to have children or to return to education) as a separate entry.

- Please use the appropriate code numbers given in the notes on the right hand side of this page.

- If you were performing more than one of the activities simultaneously please indicate this by noting all the relevant code numbers.

From month year	To month year	Activity code see note A.	Sector of Business see note B.	Employment position see note C.	Salary range. see note D.	Ownership code. see note E.	Country / location if different from previous. please indicate reason for moving.

Notes:

A.
1. Full time employee (30 hours per week or more)
2. Part time employee (less than 30 hours per week)
3. Looking after children/home full time.
4. Seeking job (not in full time job or education)
5. In full time education/training.
6. Self employed.
7. Job share.
8. Other (please state)

B.
1. Financial Services	7. Police force/armed services
2. Health services	8. Public Administration/ Government
3. Education/Training	9. Professional/Scientific/Consultancy
4. Leisure	10 Manufacturing/Production
5. Other services	11 Retail/Distribution/Transport
6.Multi-sector.	12 Other (please specify)

C.
1. Chief Director/Partner	4. Middle Manager
2. Non executive Director	5. Junior Manager
3. Senior manager	6. Other (please state)

D.
1. Below £10,000	5. £40,000 - £49,999
2. £10,000 - £19,999	6. £50,000 - £59,999
3. £20,000 - £29,999	7. £60,000 and above
4. £30,000 - £39,999	

E.
1. British	5. Japanese
2. American	6. German
3. Singaporean	7. Other (please specify)
4. Hong Kong	

If you have any comments you wish to make in order to clarify any of your answers to the previous questions please add them here.

What factors, if any, do you feel have had a particularly **positive** impact on your carrer and in what ways have these factors affected you?

What factors, if any, do you feel have had a particularly **negative** impact on your carrer and in what ways have these factors affected you?

Thankyou for completing this questionnaire

研究題目：Work-related attitudes in management: a cross cultural comparison

被訪問者姓名：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿）

電話：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿）　　由訪問員填寫

一般態度

下列是一些曾被發表過的觀點及看法，請圈上適當的號數來表示你同意或不同意的程度。

1 ＝ 非常同意；　2 ＝ 同意；　3 ＝ 不肯定／不知道
4 ＝ 不同意；　　5 ＝ 非常不同意

1．群體目標較個人目標重要。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

2．有些時候有必要爲國家利益犧牲家庭利益。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

3．與個人比較，群體是次要的。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

4．人生的挫折，通常都是個人的錯誤。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

5．丈夫及妻子都應該就主要政治及宗教問題中發表同一意見。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

6．經濟繁榮是最重要的社會目標。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

7．成年人的日常生活是極度依靠家庭。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

8．一個已婚男人的首要責任是爲他的家庭提供經濟支持。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

9．如果勤力工作，社會上每一個成員都有機會獲取崇高的社會地位。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

10．我對香港具有強烈的認同感。　　　　1　2　3　4　5

１１・一個已婚女人的首要責任是對她
的家庭提供經濟支持。　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

１２・女性和男性在性格上有明顯的分
別。　　　　　　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

１３・「男女平等」是不利於家庭利益
的。　　　　　　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

１４・如果男女平等，社會的經濟成就
將會受到不良影響。　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

１５・社會理應達致男女平等。　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

１６・若夫妻都是在外全職工作，他們
應該平均分擔家務。　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

一般工作態度
（以下的句子是描述一些普遍的工作態
度）

１・男女在工作上都會有不同的品質
和能力。　　　　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

２・女性在外全職工作是與家庭責任
有衝突。　　　　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

３・家居生活一般是悠閒的。　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

４・男性在外全職工作會與家庭責任
有衝突。　　　　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

５・管理階層一般對男性技能上的要
求比女性為高。　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

６・大部份女性具有成為全職家庭主
婦的素質。　　　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

７・在高層管理，男性較女性更具有
適合的素質。　　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

８・男性通常不能認真地接受擔任高
級職位的女性。　　　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

９・一個管理職級人員的工作經驗大
概不會受性別影響。　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

10・不同的原因使到女性不能像男性一樣成為好的高級管理職級人員。	1	2	3	4	5
11・女性需要比男性更努力才可獲取高級職位。	1	2	3	4	5
12・「性別歧視」往往被女性用來解釋不獲高層位置的藉口。	1	2	3	4	5
13・為同一僱主長期工作通常是獲得晉升的最好方法。	1	2	3	4	5
14・男性對於有一位女性上司會感到不自然。	1	2	3	4	5
15・男性與女性經理會在工作部門採用明顯不同的方法及措施。	1	2	3	4	5
16・有些職業只適合男性但不適合女性。	1	2	3	4	5
17・女性對於有一位男性上司會感到不自然。	1	2	3	4	5
18・有些職業只適合女性但不適合男性。	1	2	3	4	5
19・當子女年幼時，他們的媽媽最好不用在外擔任全職工作。	1	2	3	4	5
20・職業間斷可能會導致失去地位及日後升職的阻礙。	1	2	3	4	5
21・一般來，與自己家庭成員一起工作比較與外人工作較好。	1	2	3	4	5

自己工作間的看法及態度（在最後的一節中，我們嘗試搜集你對自己工作間的看法和態度）

1・我的公司是極度階層化。	1	2	3	4	5
2・在我的公司裡，我沒有察覺有「性別歧視」。	1	2	3	4	5
3・在我的公司裡，制定職員招募政策主要都是由男性同事負責。	1	2	3	4	5

3

4 · 我相信我的公司具有真誠提供平　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　等就業機會的信念。

5 · 我認為自己通常有自信。　　　　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5

6 · 在我公司裡的高級經理及行政人　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　員皆具有提供平等就業機會的信
　　念。

7 · 在我的公司裡，女性經理與同等　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　男性經理都受到同一看待。

8 · 我相信我公司裡的員工都具有平　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　等就業機會的信念。

9 · 有時我會在公餘時間與同事有社　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　交活動。

10 · 在公餘時與同事或外面建立的關　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　係聯絡對工作十分有幫助。

11 · 在與同事一起的社交活動中，參　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　加的人，有男性，也有女性。

12 · 在與同事一起的社交活動中，男　　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5
　　性及女性的同事都受到同一看待
　　。

<u>關於你的一般資料</u>

1・你的出生日期是：_____

你的性別是：　男□　　　　　　　　女□

2・你是否中國人呢？是□　否□如果不是，請說明_____

3・你的國籍是甚麼？_____

4・你的婚姻狀況？
獨身□　　　　　　　　已婚／同居□
已離婚／分居／配偶已去世□

5・若果你已婚或已離婚，請問於何年結婚？_____

6・你有多少孩子？_____　　孩子多大？_____

7・當你完成全日制的教育後，你找到甚麼職業呢？_____

8・你在何時開始你這份工作？　　_____年_____月

你在何時離開這份工作？　　_____年_____月

9・你第一份經理級工作是甚麼？_____

10・你在何時開始這份經理級的工作？_____年_____月

你在何時離職？　　　　_____年_____月

11・你在何時離開你上一份工作？　　_____年_____月

12・你目前所屬的機構從事甚麼業務？_____

13・你目前的職位是甚麼？_____

14・你是否擁有自己的公司？
是□　　　　　　　　否□

15・你的機構是否從事家族生意？
是□　　　　　　　　否□

16・你現時工作的機構是否屬於政府／國家？
是□　　　　　　　　否□

5

17・你的機構是一間跨國公司嗎？
是□　　　　　　　　否□

18・在你的機構內，有多少僱員？
少於10　　　□　　　　10－20　　　　□
21－50　　　□　　　　51－100　　　　□
101－500□　　　　501－1000□
多於1000　□

19・你在目前的機構裡服務了多少時間？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

20・你認為在目前的機構裡，你會工作多久？
起碼6個月□　　　　　　起碼2年□　　　　　2－5年□
超過5年，但不會留任至退休□　　　　　　直至退休□
不知道□

21・你預料事業會如何發展呢？
在目前的機構內晉升□　　　　在其他機構裡晉升□
擔任類似目前的同級職位□　　　降級□
自己成立公司□　　　　　　　改變事業方向□
退休□　　　　　　　　　　　其他（請註明）□＿＿＿＿＿

22・在你的機構裡，經理多是　　　□男性
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　□女性

23・在你的機構內最高層，領導人多是　　　□男性
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　□女性

24・在你現時工作，有多少人要直接向你負責？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

25・在這些人中，有多少是男性？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

有多少是女性？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

26・你是否直接向一位上司負責？　是□　　　　否□

27・若上一題的答案是「是」，這個上司是　男性□
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　女性□

28・你現時或曾經為一位女性上司工作過嗎？　是□
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　否□

29・你需要管轄　　　管理階層及非管理階層的職員□　　或；
　　　　　　　　　只是管理階層職員□　　　　　　　或；
　　　　　　　　　只是非管理階層職員□

３０・你在甚麼年紀完成你的正規教育？_____

３１・你的最高資歷是甚麼？　　學業上　_____

　　　　　　　　　　　　　事業上　_____

＊多謝你回答上述各問題，在日後你是否願意接受我們另一次較爲深入的訪問，這
　個訪問不會超過一小時？　　　　　　是□　　　　　　否□

General Attitudes

Listed below are a number of attitudes which have been expressed. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with them by circling the appropriate number.

1= Strongly agree. 2 = Agree. 3 = Not sure/Do not know. 4 = Disagree. 5 = Strongly disagree

1. Group goals are more important than an individual's goals.   1   2   3   4   5

2. It is sometimes necessary that family interests should be sacrificed for the good of society.   1   2   3   4   5

3. The group is of secondary importance to the individual.   1   2   3   4   5

4. When people have failed in life it is usually their own fault.   1   2   3   4   5

5. A husband and wife should express the same opinions on major political and religious issues.   1   2   3   4   5

6. Economic prosperity is the most important social goal.   1   2   3   4   5

7. Individual adults are heavily reliant on their families in their everyday lives.   1   2   3   4   5

8. A married man's main duty is to provide financial support for his family.   1   2   3   4   5

9. Everyone in society has the opportunity to achieve high social status and position if they work hard.   1   2   3   4   5

10. I feel a strong identification with Hong Kong.   1   2   3   4   5

11. It is a married woman's main duty to financially support her family.   1   2   3   4   5

12. Women and men have distinctly different personalities.   1   2   3   4   5

13. Equality between men and women is detrimental to the welfare of the family.   1   2   3   4   5

14. If there is equality between men and women ecomomic success will suffer.   1   2   3   4   5

15. The achievement of equality between men and women is desirable.   1   2   3   4   5

16. If husband and wife both work full time outside the home they should share housework equally.   1   2   3   4   5

General Work Attitudes

This next set of attitude statements are about general attitudes to work.

1. Men and women bring different qualities and abilities to the work place.   1   2   3   4   5

2. Women's expected role in the home and family is completely compatible with a full time career.   1   2   3   4   5

3. Home life is generally relaxing.   1   2   3   4   5

4. The role that men are expected to play in the home and family is generally compatible with a full time career.

    1   2   3   4   5

5. Management tends to require skills that men have more often than women.

    1   2   3   4   5

6. Most women have the right temperament to be full time housewives.

    1   2   3   4   5

7. Men are more likely than women to have the temperament necessary for a high senior management career.

    1   2   3   4   5

8. Men often seem to find it difficult to take women in senior positions seriously.

    1   2   3   4   5

9. A manager's sex probably does not affect their experience of work.

    1   2   3   4   5

10. For various reasons women tend not to make as good senior managers as men.

    1   2   3   4   5

11. Women have to work harder than men do to achieve senior positions.

    1   2   3   4   5

12. Sexual discrimination is often used as an excuse by women who do not get to the top.

    1   2   3   4   5

13. Staying with the same employer for a long time is generally the best way of getting ahead.

    1   2   3   4   5

14. It is uncomfortable for men to have a female boss.

    1   2   3   4   5

15. Male and female managers use distinctly different methods and practices in the workplace.

    1   2   3   4   5

16. Men are suited to some occupations to which women are not suited.

    1   2   3   4   5

17. It is uncomfortable for women if they have male bosses.

    1   2   3   4   5

18. There are some occupations to which women are suited but men are not.

    1   2   3   4   5

19. It is better for the child if its mother does not work full time outside the home in the first years of its life.

    1   2   3   4   5

20. Career breaks probably result in loss of status and hinder later promotion.

    1   2   3   4   5

21. It is often better to work with members of one's own family rather than with individuals outside of the family network.

    1   2   3   4   5

Attitudes in your own workplace

In this last selection of attitudes we are trying to gather information about your own work place.

1. My company is strongly hierarchical.

    1   2   3   4   5

2

2. I am not aware of any sexual discrimination in my
   company.   1   2   3   4   5

3. In my company those who set recruitment policies
   are mainly men.   1   2   3   4   5

4. I think my company is genuinely committed to equal
   employment opportunities.   1   2   3   4   5

5. I think I am unusually self confident.   1   2   3   4   5

6. The senior managers and executives in my company are
   committed to equal employment opportunities.   1   2   3   4   5

7. In my company female managers are treated exactly
   the same as the equivalent male manager.   1   2   3   4   5

8. I think that the employees in my company are on the
   whole committed to equal employment opportunities.   1   2   3   4   5

9. I sometimes socialise with my colleagues out of work hours 1   2   3   4   5

10. The informal networks built outside working hours
    are very helpful in the workplace.   1   2   3   4   5

11. Colleagues of both sexes attend all of the social events
    I go to with my colleagues.   1   2   3   4   5

12. Male and female colleagues are treated as equals at these
    social events.   1   2   3   4   5

General Information About Yourself

In this section we will ask you some general background questions about yourself.

1. What is your date of birth?_____   Which sex are you?   male ☐   female ☐

2. To which ethnic group do you belong?_____

3. What is your nationality?_____

4. What is your marital status?   single ☐   divorced/ separated/widowed ☐
   married/living as married ☐

5. If you are (or were) married in what year(s) did you get married?_____

6. How many children do you have?_____   How old are your children?_____

7. What was the first job you got after leaving full time education?_____

8. When did you: start this job yr_____ month_____When did you leave it yr_____ month _____

9. What was your first managerial job _____

10. When did you: start this job yr _____ month_____When did you leave yr_____ month _____

11. Why did you leave your last occupation?_____

12. What does your current organisation do?_____

3

13. What is your current occupation?_____

14. Do you own your own company?   yes ☐   no ☐

15. Is your organisation a family run business? yes ☐   no ☐

16. Is the organisation you work for owned by the state/government?   yes   ☐   no ☐

17. Is your organisation a multi national company?   yes ☐   no ☐

18. How many employees does your organisation have in the country where you work?

Fewer than 10 ☐   10 - 20 ☐   21 - 50 ☐   51 - 100 ☐

101 -500 ☐   501 - 1000 ☐   Over 1000 ☐

19. How long have you worked for your present organisation?_____

20. For how much longer do you think you will work for your current employer?

6 months at most ☐   2 years at most ☐   2 - 5 Years ☐

More than 5 years but I will
probably leave before I retire ☐   Until I retire ☐   Do not know ☐

21. How do you anticipate that your career will progress?

Promotion with current organisation ☐   Promotion with another organisation ☐

Sideways ☐   Demotion ☐   Set up my own business ☐

Change in career direction ☐   Retirement ☐   Other (please specifiy) ☐
_____

22. Amongst the managers in your organisation are there more   men ☐

or more women ☐

23. Of the managers at the very top of your organisation are there more   men ☐

or more women ☐

24. How many people report directly to you at work? _____

25. How many of these are male?_____ How many are female?_____

26. Do you report directly to one boss?   yes ☐   no ☐

27. If yes is this person   male ☐   female ☐

28. Do you or have you ever worked for a female boss?   yes ☐   no ☐

29. Do you manage   both managerial and non managerial staff ☐
                    or   managerial staff only ☐
                    or   non managerial staff only ☐

30. At what age did you leave full time education? _____

31 . What is your highest qualification? Academic_____ Professional_____

4

Appendix B - Descriptive statistics for questionnaire respondents

Table B1 - Respondent's age

Age	Hong Kong n = 141	Britain n = 235
< 26	3%	6%
26 - 30	20%	17%
31 - 35	36%	22%
36 - 40	21%	17%
41 - 45	13%	17%
45 - 50	5%	14%
51 - 55	2%	5%

Table B2 Age broken down by sex

Age	Hong Kong Males (59)	Females (80)	Britain Males(115)	Females (120)
< 26	2%	3%	6%	5%
26 - 30	12%	26%	17%	14%
31 - 35	28%	42%	22%	23%
36 - 40	22%	20%	17%	22%
41 - 45	22%	6%	17%	21%
46 - 50	7%	3%	14%	10%
51 - 55	5%	0%	5%	3%
> 55	2%	0%	2%	2%

Table B3 Sex of respondents

	Hong Kong	Britain
Male	42.3%	48.9%
Female	57.7%	51.1%

Table B4 Marital Status

	Britain			Hong Kong		
Marital Status	All n=237	Male n= 116	Female n=121	All n=140	Male n=58	Female n=82
Single	19.4%	18.1%	20.7%	35.7%	22.4%	45.1%
*Married	75.1%	77.6%	72.7%	62.9%	75.9%	53.7%
†Divorced	5.5%	4.3%	6.6%	1.4%	1.7%	1.2%

* = includes living as married
† = includes separated/widowed

Table B5 Number of Children

	Britain			Hong Kong		
	Total n=237	Male n=116	Female n=121	Total n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
0	43.9%	37.1%	50.4%	57.7%	43.3%	68.3%
1	13.9%	14.7%	13.2%	18.3%	26.7%	12.2%
2	30.4%	32.8%	28.1%	21.8%	26.7%	18.3%
3	11.0%	13.8%	8.3%	2.1%	3.3%	1.2%
4	0.4%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
5	0.4%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Table B6 Educational level completed before leaving full time education?

Educational Level	Britain	Hong Kong
Secondary or below	Total Sample =30% Total male = 30% Total female = 30%	Total Sample =16% Total male = 14% Total female = 19%
Tertiary	Total Sample =34% Total male = 43% Total female = 25%	Total Sample =30% Total male = 29% Total female = 31%
Degree	Total Sample =21% Total Male = 17% Total female = 25%	Total Sample =34% Total male = 27% Total female = 38%
Postgraduate	Total Sample =15% Total Male = 9% Total female = 20%	Total Sample =20% Total male = 30% Total female = 12%

Table B7 Organisational Size

Number of Employees	Britain	Hong Kong
< 10	2.5%	3.7%
10 - 20	2.1%	4.4%
21 - 50	4.6%	5.1%
51 - 100	4.2%	7.4%
101 - 500	29.1%	21.3%
501- 1000	11.0%	15.4%
>1000	46.4%	42.6%

Table B8 Publicly or privately owned?

	Hong Kong	Britain
Privately owned	90.1%	35.0%
State Owned	8.5%	33.3%
Missing data	1.4%	31.7%

Table B9 Do you own the company that you work in currently?

	Hong Kong	Britain
Respondent is company owner	9.2%	6.3%
Respondent does not own the company	89.4%	93.2%
Missing data	1.4%	0.4%

Table B10 Numbers working for a multinational company

	Hong Kong			Britain		
MNC	All n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82	All n=237	Male n= 116	Female n=121
Yes	64.1%	63.3%	64.6%	34.2%	49.1%	19.8%
No	35.9%	36.7%	35.4%	65.8%	50.9%	80.2%

Appendix C - Questionnaire results

Summary of results for British sample (N=237)

GA1   Group goals are more important than an individual's goals

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
STRONGLY AGREE	1	29	12.2	12.2	13.1
AGREE	2	114	48.1	48.1	61.2
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	27	11.4	11.4	72.6
DISAGREE	4	60	25.3	25.3	97.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	5	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA2   It is sometimes necessary that family interests should be sacrificed for the good of the country.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	11	4.6	4.6	5.1
AGREE	2	64	27.0	27.0	32.1
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	47	19.8	19.8	51.9
DISAGREE	4	97	40.9	40.9	92.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	17	7.2	7.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA3   The group is of secondary importance to the individual.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
STRONGLY AGREE	1	7	3.0	3.0	3.8
AGREE	2	50	21.1	21.1	24.9
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	43	18.1	18.1	43.0
DISAGREE	4	119	50.2	50.2	93.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	16	6.8	6.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA4   When people have failed in life it is usually their own fault.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	7	3.0	3.0	3.4
AGREE	2	63	26.6	26.6	30.0
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	30	12.7	12.7	42.6
DISAGREE	4	113	47.7	47.7	90.3
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	23	9.7	9.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA5   A husband and wife should express the same opinions on major political and religious issues.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	7	3.0	3.0	3.0
AGREE	2	11	4.6	4.6	7.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	6	2.5	2.5	10.1
DISAGREE	4	87	36.7	36.7	46.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	126	53.2	53.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA6   Economic prosperity is the most important social goal.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	6	2.5	2.5	3.0
AGREE	2	51	21.5	21.5	24.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	31	13.1	13.1	37.6
DISAGREE	4	119	50.2	50.2	87.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	29	12.2	12.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA7   Individual adults are heavily reliant on their families in their everyday lives.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	11	4.6	4.6	4.6
AGREE	2	85	35.9	35.9	40.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	29	12.2	12.2	52.7
DISAGREE	4	98	41.4	41.4	94.1
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	14	5.9	5.9	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA8 A married man's main duty is to provide financial support for his family.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	12	5.1	5.1	5.5
AGREE	2	79	33.3	33.3	38.8
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	20	8.4	8.4	47.3
DISAGREE	4	96	40.5	40.5	87.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	29	12.2	12.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA9 Inequality in society is good

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	3	1.3	1.3	1.7
AGREE	2	43	18.1	18.1	19.8
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	32	13.5	13.5	33.3
DISAGREE	4	83	35.0	35.0	68.4
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	75	31.6	31.6	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA10 Everyone in society has the opportunity to achieve high social status and position if they work hard.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	19	8.0	8.0	8.0
AGREE	2	68	28.7	28.7	36.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	14	5.9	5.9	42.6
DISAGREE	4	109	46.0	46.0	88.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	27	11.4	11.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA11 Men tend to be more emotional than women.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
AGREE	2	11	4.6	4.6	4.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	51	21.5	21.5	26.2
DISAGREE	4	147	62.0	62.0	88.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	28	11.8	11.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA12   I feel a strong identification with my country

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	32	13.5	13.5	13.9
AGREE	2	117	49.4	49.4	63.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	36	15.2	15.2	78.5
DISAGREE	4	37	15.6	15.6	94.1
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	14	5.9	5.9	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA13   It is a married woman's main duty to financially support her family.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
AGREE	2	20	8.4	8.4	8.4
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	27	11.4	11.4	19.8
DISAGREE	4	157	66.2	66.2	86.1
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	33	13.9	13.9	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA14   Women and men have distinctly different personalities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	22	9.3	9.3	9.7
AGREE	2	99	41.8	41.8	51.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	30	12.7	12.7	64.1
DISAGREE	4	75	31.6	31.6	95.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	10	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA15   Women tend to be better than men at listening to people.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	19	8.0	8.0	8.0
AGREE	2	116	48.9	48.9	57.0
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	31	13.1	13.1	70.0
DISAGREE	4	63	26.6	26.6	96.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	8	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA16 Equality between men and women is detrimental to the welfare of the family.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	8	3.4	3.4	3.8
AGREE	2	14	5.9	5.9	9.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	17	7.2	7.2	16.9
DISAGREE	4	107	45.1	45.1	62.0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	90	38.0	38.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA17 In most marriages if husband and wife both work outside the home they will share housework equally

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	17	7.2	7.2	7.6
AGREE	2	71	30.0	30.0	37.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	24	10.1	10.1	47.7
DISAGREE	4	95	40.1	40.1	87.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	29	12.2	12.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA18 If there is equality between men and women ecomomic success will suffer.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	3	1.3	1.3	1.3
AGREE	2	10	4.2	4.2	5.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	21	8.9	8.9	14.3
DISAGREE	4	120	50.6	50.6	65.0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	83	35.0	35.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

GA19 Men tend to be more self confident than women.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	11	4.6	4.6	4.6
AGREE	2	102	43.0	43.0	47.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	25	10.5	10.5	58.2
DISAGREE	4	86	36.3	36.3	94.5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	13	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA20 Men tend to be more objective than women

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	5	2.1	2.1	2.1
AGREE	2	62	26.2	26.2	28.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	45	19.0	19.0	47.3
DISAGREE	4	110	46.4	46.4	93.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	15	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA21 Women tend to have better interpersonal skills than men.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	22	9.3	9.3	9.3
AGREE	2	99	41.8	41.8	51.1
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	36	15.2	15.2	66.2
DISAGREE	4	73	30.8	30.8	97.0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	7	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GA22 The achievement of equality between men and women is desirable.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	72	30.4	30.4	30.4
AGREE	2	129	54.4	54.4	84.8
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	18	7.6	7.6	92.4
DISAGREE	4	15	6.3	6.3	98.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

GA23 If husband and wife both work full time outside the home they should share housework equally.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	101	42.6	42.8	42.8
AGREE	2	115	48.5	48.7	91.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	6	2.5	2.5	94.1
DISAGREE	4	11	4.6	4.7	98.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
	.	1	.4	Missing	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   236   Missing cases   1

GW1   Men and women bring different qualities and abilities to the work place.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	66	27.8	27.8	27.8
AGREE	2	146	61.6	61.6	89.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	10	4.2	4.2	93.7
DISAGREE	4	12	5.1	5.1	98.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW2   Women's expected role in the home and family is completely compatible with a full time career.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	7	3.0	3.0	3.0
AGREE	2	48	20.3	20.3	23.2
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	24	10.1	10.1	33.3
DISAGREE	4	121	51.1	51.1	84.4
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	37	15.6	15.6	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

GW3   Home life is generally relaxing

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	20	8.4	8.4	8.9
AGREE	2	98	41.4	41.4	50.2
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	19	8.0	8.0	58.2
DISAGREE	4	74	31.2	31.2	89.5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	25	10.5	10.5	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

GW4   The role that men are expected to play in the home and family is generally compatible with a full time career.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	31	13.1	13.1	13.1
AGREE	2	143	60.3	60.3	73.4
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	22	9.3	9.3	82.7
DISAGREE	4	32	13.5	13.5	96.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	9	3.8	3.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW5 It is necessary to be assertive to be a good manager.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	53	22.4	22.4	22.8
AGREE	2	137	57.8	57.8	80.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	10	4.2	4.2	84.8
DISAGREE	4	31	13.1	13.1	97.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	5	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW6 Management tends to require skills that men have more often than women.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	5	2.1	2.1	2.5
AGREE	2	28	11.8	11.8	14.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	17	7.2	7.2	21.5
DISAGREE	4	127	53.6	53.6	75.1
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	59	24.9	24.9	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW7 It is necessary not to be emotional in order to be a successful manager.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	4	1.7	1.7	1.7
AGREE	2	64	27.0	27.0	28.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	29	12.2	12.2	40.9
DISAGREE	4	127	53.6	53.6	94.5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	13	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW8 Most women have the right temperament to be full time housewives.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	4	1.7	1.7	2.1
AGREE	2	35	14.8	14.8	16.9
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	33	13.9	13.9	30.8
DISAGREE	4	95	40.1	40.1	70.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	69	29.1	29.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

GW9   A married man will tend not to want promotion if it involves moving to another location.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	2	.8	.8	.8
AGREE	2	50	21.1	21.1	21.9
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	35	14.8	14.8	36.7
DISAGREE	4	133	56.1	56.1	92.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	17	7.2	7.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW10   A married woman will tend not to want promotion if it involves moving to another location.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
STRONGLY AGREE	1	14	5.9	5.9	6.8
AGREE	2	102	43.0	43.0	49.8
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	48	20.3	20.3	70.0
DISAGREE	4	67	28.3	28.3	98.3
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	4	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW11   Men are more likely than women to have the temperament necessary for a high powered senior management career.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	3	1.3	1.3	1.3
STRONGLY AGREE	1	4	1.7	1.7	3.0
AGREE	2	35	14.8	14.8	17.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	24	10.1	10.1	27.8
DISAGREE	4	122	51.5	51.5	79.3
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	49	20.7	20.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW12   It is necessary to be self confident to be a good manager.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	63	26.6	26.6	26.6
AGREE	2	155	65.4	65.4	92.0
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	8	3.4	3.4	95.4
DISAGREE	4	10	4.2	4.2	99.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW13 It is necessary to be objective to be a good manager

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	55	23.2	23.2	23.2
AGREE	2	164	69.2	69.2	92.4
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	9	3.8	3.8	96.2
DISAGREE	4	7	3.0	3.0	99.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW14 It is necessary to be able to listen to others in order to be a successful manager.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	105	44.3	44.3	44.3
AGREE	2	124	52.3	52.3	96.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	4	1.7	1.7	98.3
DISAGREE	4	3	1.3	1.3	99.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW15 Men often seem to find it difficult to take women in senior positions seriously.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	25	10.5	10.5	10.5
AGREE	2	126	53.2	53.2	63.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	28	11.8	11.8	75.5
DISAGREE	4	51	21.5	21.5	97.0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	7	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

GW16 A manager's sex probably does not affect their experience of work.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	20	8.4	8.4	8.9
AGREE	2	80	33.8	33.8	42.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	30	12.7	12.7	55.3
DISAGREE	4	88	37.1	37.1	92.4
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	18	7.6	7.6	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW17 For various reasons women tend not to make as good senior managers as men.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	7	3.0	3.0	3.0
AGREE	2	24	10.1	10.1	13.1
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	32	13.5	13.5	26.6
DISAGREE	4	119	50.2	50.2	76.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	55	23.2	23.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW18 Women have to work harder than men do to achieve a very senior position.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	90	38.0	38.0	38.0
AGREE	2	117	49.4	49.4	87.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	9	3.8	3.8	91.1
DISAGREE	4	16	6.8	6.8	97.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	5	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW19 Sexual discrimination is often used as an excuse by women who do not get to the top.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	16	6.8	6.8	6.8
AGREE	2	87	36.7	36.7	43.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	77	32.5	32.5	75.9
DISAGREE	4	49	20.7	20.7	96.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	8	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW20 Staying with the same employer for a long time is generally the best way of getting ahead.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
AGREE	2	23	9.7	9.7	9.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	44	18.6	18.6	28.3
DISAGREE	4	141	59.5	59.5	87.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	29	12.2	12.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW21 It is uncomfortable for men to have a female boss

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	8	3.4	3.4	3.4
AGREE	2	81	34.2	34.2	37.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	60	25.3	25.3	62.9
DISAGREE	4	74	31.2	31.2	94.1
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	14	5.9	5.9	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW22 Male and female managers use distinctly different methods and practices in the workplace.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	5	2.1	2.1	2.1
AGREE	2	82	34.6	34.6	36.7
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	64	27.0	27.0	63.7
DISAGREE	4	79	33.3	33.3	97.0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	7	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW23   Men are suited to some occupations to which women are not suited.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	30	12.7	12.7	13.1
AGREE	2	129	54.4	54.4	67.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	15	6.3	6.3	73.8
DISAGREE	4	52	21.9	21.9	95.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	10	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW24   It is uncomfortable for women if they have male bosses.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
AGREE	2	14	5.9	5.9	6.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	43	18.1	18.1	24.5
DISAGREE	4	144	60.8	60.8	85.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	35	14.8	14.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW25   There are some occupations to which women are suited but men are not.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	27	11.4	11.4	11.8
AGREE	2	122	51.5	51.5	63.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	23	9.7	9.7	73.0
DISAGREE	4	55	23.2	23.2	96.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	9	3.8	3.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW26   It is better for the child if its mother does not work full time outside the home in the first years of its life.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	40	16.9	16.9	17.3
AGREE	2	90	38.0	38.0	55.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	28	11.8	11.8	67.1
DISAGREE	4	60	25.3	25.3	92.4
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	18	7.6	7.6	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

GW27   Career breaks probably result in loss of status and hinder later promotion.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	31	13.1	13.1	13.6
AGREE	2	125	52.7	53.0	66.5
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	41	17.3	17.4	83.9
DISAGREE	4	34	14.3	14.4	98.3
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	4	1.7	1.7	100.0
	.	1	.4	Missing	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   236   Missing cases   1

GW28   It is often better to work with members of one's own   family rather than with individuals outside of the family network.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
AGREE	2	6	2.5	2.6	2.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	24	10.1	10.3	12.9
DISAGREE	4	134	56.5	57.5	70.4
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	69	29.1	29.6	100.0
	.	4	1.7	Missing	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AT WK 1   My company is strongly hierarchical.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	50	21.1	21.1	21.1
AGREE	2	104	43.9	43.9	65.0
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	10	4.2	4.2	69.2
DISAGREE	4	66	27.8	27.8	97.0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	7	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW2   I am not aware of any sexual discrimination in my company.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	32	13.5	13.5	13.5
AGREE	2	104	43.9	43.9	57.4
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	23	9.7	9.7	67.1
DISAGREE	4	58	24.5	24.5	91.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	20	8.4	8.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW3   I think there are many more women than men in management positions in my company.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	15	6.3	6.3	6.3
AGREE	2	18	7.6	7.6	13.9
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	6	2.5	2.5	16.5
DISAGREE	4	90	38.0	38.0	54.4
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	108	45.6	45.6	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW4   There are many more male managers than female managers in my company.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	114	48.1	48.1	48.1
AGREE	2	80	33.8	33.8	81.9
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	8	3.4	3.4	85.2
DISAGREE	4	23	9.7	9.7	94.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	12	5.1	5.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW5   There are probably many more male senior managers and directors in my company than female ones.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	133	56.1	56.1	56.1
AGREE	2	83	35.0	35.0	91.1
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	3	1.3	1.3	92.4
DISAGREE	4	10	4.2	4.2	96.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	8	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW6   I think there are probably many more men than women in my company as a whole.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	58	24.5	24.5	24.5
AGREE	2	47	19.8	19.8	44.3
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	34	14.3	14.3	58.6
DISAGREE	4	62	26.2	26.2	84.8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	36	15.2	15.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW7   In my company those who set recruitment policies are mainly men.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	56	23.6	23.6	23.6
AGREE	2	83	35.0	35.0	58.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	22	9.3	9.3	67.9
DISAGREE	4	61	25.7	25.7	93.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	15	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW8   I think my company is genuinely committed to equal employment opportunities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
STRONGLY AGREE	1	41	17.3	17.3	18.1
AGREE	2	110	46.4	46.4	64.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	36	15.2	15.2	79.7
DISAGREE	4	40	16.9	16.9	96.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	8	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW9   I think I am unusually self confident.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	3	1.3	1.3	1.3
STRONGLY AGREE	1	17	7.2	7.2	8.4
AGREE	2	89	37.6	37.6	46.0
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	39	16.5	16.5	62.4
DISAGREE	4	74	31.2	31.2	93.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	15	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW10   The senior managers and executives in my company are committed to equal employment opportunities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
STRONGLY AGREE	1	25	10.5	10.5	11.4
AGREE	2	108	45.6	45.6	57.0
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	52	21.9	21.9	78.9
DISAGREE	4	46	19.4	19.4	98.3
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	4	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW11   In my company female managers are treated exactly the same as the equivalent male manager.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
STRONGLY AGREE	1	26	11.0	11.0	11.4
AGREE	2	121	51.1	51.1	62.4
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	29	12.2	12.2	74.7
DISAGREE	4	52	21.9	21.9	96.6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	8	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW12   I think that the employees in my company are on the whole committed to equal employment opportunities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	20	8.4	8.4	8.4
AGREE	2	142	59.9	59.9	68.4
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	42	17.7	17.7	86.1
DISAGREE	4	31	13.1	13.1	99.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW13   I think that in my company employees are treated equally regardless of their sex or race.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	24	10.1	10.1	10.1
AGREE	2	131	55.3	55.3	65.4
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	23	9.7	9.7	75.1
DISAGREE	4	54	22.8	22.8	97.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	5	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW14   I sometimes spend time socialising with my colleagues outside working hours.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STRONGLY AGREE	1	16	6.8	6.8	6.8
AGREE	2	156	65.8	65.8	72.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	5	2.1	2.1	74.7
DISAGREE	4	45	19.0	19.0	93.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	15	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

AW15 The informal networks built outside working hours are very helpful in the workplace.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
STRONGLY AGREE	1	31	13.1	13.1	13.9
AGREE	2	132	55.7	55.7	69.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	35	14.8	14.8	84.4
DISAGREE	4	35	14.8	14.8	99.2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	2	.8	.8	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 237   Missing cases 0

AW16 Colleagues of both sexes attend all of the social events I go to with my colleagues.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
STRONGLY AGREE	1	24	10.1	10.1	11.0
AGREE	2	131	55.3	55.3	66.2
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	24	10.1	10.1	76.4
DISAGREE	4	43	18.1	18.1	94.5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	13	5.5	5.5	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 237   Missing cases 0

AW17 Male and female colleagues are treated as equals at these social events.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	6	2.5	2.5	2.5
STRONGLY AGREE	1	36	15.2	15.2	17.7
AGREE	2	130	54.9	54.9	72.6
NOT SURE & DO NOT KN	3	38	16.0	16.0	88.6
DISAGREE	4	24	10.1	10.1	98.7
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 237   Missing cases 0

BOSS1 Does respondent report to one boss

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
YES	1	179	75.5	75.5	75.9
NO	2	55	23.2	23.2	99.2
	99	2	.8	.8	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 237   Missing cases 0

BOSS_SEX   Sex of boss

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
MALE	1	163	68.8	68.8	69.2
FEMALE	2	29	12.2	12.2	81.4
	9	1	.4	.4	81.9
	88	1	.4	.4	82.3
NOT APPLICABLE	99	42	17.7	17.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

COMP   What company does

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FINANCIAL SRVCES	1	5	2.1	2.1	2.1
HLTH & SOC SRVCS	2	22	9.3	9.3	11.4
OTHER SERVICES	3	13	5.5	5.5	16.9
ED & TR	4	55	23.2	23.2	40.1
SPORTS AND LEISURE S	5	7	3.0	3.0	43.0
POLICE & ARMED SERVI	6	1	.4	.4	43.5
PUBLIC ADMIN	7	3	1.3	1.3	44.7
CENTRAL AND LOCAL GO	8	24	10.1	10.1	54.9
PROFESSIONAL	9	4	1.7	1.7	56.5
SCIENTIFIC	10	7	3.0	3.0	59.5
MAN & PROD	11	70	29.5	29.5	89.0
RETAIL DIST & TRANS	12	15	6.3	6.3	95.4
PUBLISHING	13	2	.8	.8	96.2
ENGINEERING	14	5	2.1	2.1	98.3
CONSULTANCY	15	2	.8	.8	99.2
CONSTRUCTION	16	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

C_PROG1   Anticipated career progression 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
PROM CURRENT ORG	1	119	50.2	50.2	50.2
PROMOTION ANOTHER OR	2	44	18.6	18.6	68.8
SIDEWAYS	3	26	11.0	11.0	79.7
SET UP OWN BUSINESS	5	4	1.7	1.7	81.4
CHANGE CAREER	6	13	5.5	5.5	86.9
RETIRMENT	7	20	8.4	8.4	95.4
REDUNDANCY	8	2	.8	.8	96.2
UNEMPLOYMENT	10	1	.4	.4	96.6
SAME NO_PROG	11	1	.4	.4	97.0
DEV NEW AREAS	12	2	.8	.8	97.9
TRAVEL	30	1	.4	.4	98.3
DO NOT KNOW	99	4	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

C_PROG2 Anticipated career progression 2

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	202	85.2	85.2	85.2
PROMOTION ANOTHER OR	2	11	4.6	4.6	89.9
SIDEWAYS	3	1	.4	.4	90.3
SET UP OWN BUSINESS	5	8	3.4	3.4	93.7
CHANGE CAREER	6	7	3.0	3.0	96.6
SECOND CAREER	9	1	.4	.4	97.0
	32	1	.4	.4	97.5
DO NOT KNOW	99	6	2.5	2.5	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

FATH_ED Age father left full time ed

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum Percent	Percent
missing	0	24	10.1	10.1	10.1
	1	2	.8	.8	11.0
	9	1	.4	.4	11.4
	12	3	1.3	1.3	12.7
	13	7	3.0	3.0	15.6
	14	77	32.5	32.5	48.1
	15	49	20.7	20.7	68.8
	16	40	16.9	16.9	85.7
	17	4	1.7	1.7	87.3
	18	11	4.6	4.6	92.0
	20	1	.4	.4	92.4
	21	8	3.4	3.4	95.8
	22	2	.8	.8	96.6
	25	2	.8	.8	97.5
	26	1	.4	.4	97.9
	29	1	.4	.4	98.3
	35	1	.4	.4	98.7
not applicable	99	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

FATH_OCC Fathers' occupation

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	8	3.4	3.4	3.4
CLERICAL	1	5	2.1	2.1	5.5
GOVERNMENT	4	6	2.5	2.6	8.1
MANUAL	5	60	25.3	25.5	33.6
SKILLED MANUAL	6	67	28.3	28.5	62.1
OTHER SERVICES	7	12	5.1	5.1	67.2
ED & TR	8	14	5.9	6.0	73.2
OTHER PROFESSIONS	9	10	4.2	4.3	77.4
POLICE & ARMED SERVI	10	11	4.6	4.7	82.1
DIRECTORS	11	8	3.4	3.4	85.5
OTHER	14	1	.4	.4	86.0
MANAGERIAL	15	21	8.9	8.9	94.9
SCIENTIST	16	3	1.3	1.3	96.2
HSWIFE & MNGERIAL	20	1	.4	.4	96.6
TRANSPORT	23	6	2.5	2.6	99.1
DO NOT KNOW	99	2	.8	.9	100.0
	.	2	.8	Missing	
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   235   Missing cases   2

Appendix C

F_BOSS   Ever worked for female boss

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
YES	1	128	54.0	54.0	54.9
NO	2	106	44.7	44.7	99.6
	3	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

HI_QUAL   Highest academic qualification

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	11	4.6	4.6	4.6
HIGHER DEGREE	1	22	9.3	9.3	13.9
FIRST DEGREE	2	45	19.0	19.0	32.9
DIPLOMA	3	16	6.8	6.8	39.7
A LEVELS OR EQUIVALE	4	12	5.1	5.1	44.7
O LEVELS OR EQUIVALE	5	43	18.1	18.1	62.9
C & G 3	6	1	.4	.4	63.3
HNC	7	19	8.0	8.0	71.3
HND	8	10	4.2	4.2	75.5
PG DIPLOMA	9	8	3.4	3.4	78.9
PROFESSIONAL QUAL	10	2	.8	.8	79.7
CERTIFICATE	11	19	8.0	8.0	87.8
FORCES EXAMS	13	1	.4	.4	88.2
NVQ4	14	7	3.0	3.0	91.1
ONC	15	3	1.3	1.3	92.4
NONE	16	1	.4	.4	92.8
A.C.I.B.	17	1	.4	.4	93.2
N.E.B.B.S	18	2	.8	.8	94.1
IPM	19	1	.4	.4	94.5
BTEC	20	3	1.3	1.3	95.8
SCE HI GRADE	21	1	.4	.4	96.2
C & G	22	7	3.0	3.0	99.2
CQSW	23	1	.4	.4	99.6
PGCE	24	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

K1_AGE   Age of first child

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	7	3.0	3.0	3.0
	1	6	2.5	2.5	5.5
	2	7	3.0	3.0	8.4
	3	3	1.3	1.3	9.7
	4	3	1.3	1.3	11.0
	5	6	2.5	2.5	13.5
	6	2	.8	.8	14.3
	7	6	2.5	2.5	16.9
	8	5	2.1	2.1	19.0
	9	4	1.7	1.7	20.7
	10	6	2.5	2.5	23.2
	11	4	1.7	1.7	24.9
	12	6	2.5	2.5	27.4
	13	2	.8	.8	28.3
	14	5	2.1	2.1	30.4
	15	3	1.3	1.3	31.6
	16	3	1.3	1.3	32.9
	17	5	2.1	2.1	35.0
	18	6	2.5	2.5	37.6
	19	6	2.5	2.5	40.1
	20	4	1.7	1.7	41.8
	21	10	4.2	4.2	46.0
	22	7	3.0	3.0	48.9
	23	6	2.5	2.5	51.5
	24	3	1.3	1.3	52.7
	25	3	1.3	1.3	54.0
	26	2	.8	.8	54.9
	27	1	.4	.4	55.3
	28	1	.4	.4	55.7
	29	2	.8	.8	56.5
	30	1	.4	.4	57.0
	31	1	.4	.4	57.4
	32	2	.8	.8	58.2
	34	1	.4	.4	58.6
not applicable	99	98	41.4	41.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

K2_AGE   Age of second child

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	7	3.0	3.0	3.0
	1	1	.4	.4	3.4
	2	5	2.1	2.1	5.5
	3	4	1.7	1.7	7.2
	4	4	1.7	1.7	8.9
	5	6	2.5	2.5	11.4
	6	3	1.3	1.3	12.7
	7	6	2.5	2.5	15.2
	8	5	2.1	2.1	17.3
	9	2	.8	.8	18.1
	10	4	1.7	1.7	19.8
	11	4	1.7	1.7	21.5
	12	3	1.3	1.3	22.8
	13	3	1.3	1.3	24.1
	14	4	1.7	1.7	25.7
	15	2	.8	.8	26.6
	16	3	1.3	1.3	27.8
	17	4	1.7	1.7	29.5
	18	5	2.1	2.1	31.6
	19	8	3.4	3.4	35.0
	20	3	1.3	1.3	36.3
	21	5	2.1	2.1	38.4
	22	3	1.3	1.3	39.7
	23	6	2.5	2.5	42.2
	27	3	1.3	1.3	43.5
	28	2	.8	.8	44.3
	29	2	.8	.8	45.1
	31	1	.4	.4	45.6
not applicable	99	129	54.4	54.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

K3_AGE   Age of third child

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	8	3.4	3.4	3.4
	1	1	.4	.4	3.8
	2	1	.4	.4	4.2
	4	2	.8	.8	5.1
	5	2	.8	.8	5.9
	6	3	1.3	1.3	7.2
	7	1	.4	.4	7.6
	9	2	.8	.8	8.4
	11	1	.4	.4	8.9
	12	1	.4	.4	9.3
	13	1	.4	.4	9.7
	14	1	.4	.4	10.1
	17	1	.4	.4	10.5
	18	2	.8	.8	11.4
	19	1	.4	.4	11.8
	20	1	.4	.4	12.2
	21	2	.8	.8	13.1
	23	1	.4	.4	13.5
	25	1	.4	.4	13.9
	27	1	.4	.4	14.3
not applicable	99	203	85.7	85.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

K4_AGE   Age of fourth child

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	8	3.4	3.4	3.4
	7	1	.4	.4	3.8
not applicable	99	228	96.2	96.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

K5_AGE   Age of fifth child

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	8	3.4	3.4	3.4
	5	1	.4	.4	3.8
not applicable	99	228	96.2	96.2	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

KIDS   Number of children

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	104	43.9	43.9	43.9
	1	33	13.9	13.9	57.8
	2	72	30.4	30.4	88.2
	3	26	11.0	11.0	99.2
	4	1	.4	.4	99.6
	5	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

LO   Territory Location

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
UK	1	237	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

MARRY   Marital status

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
SINGLE	1	46	19.4	19.4	19.4
MARRIED LIVING AS MA	2	178	75.1	75.1	94.5
DIVORCED SEPARATED W	3	13	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

MNG   Type of staff managed

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	6	2.5	2.5	2.5
BOTH MNGIAL & NON-MN	1	40	16.9	16.9	19.4
MNGERIAL	2	27	11.4	11.4	30.8
NON-MNGERIAL	3	142	59.9	59.9	90.7
	24	1	.4	.4	91.1
	99	21	8.9	8.9	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

MOTH_ED   Age mother left full time ed

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	23	9.7	9.7	9.7
	12	2	.8	.8	10.5
	13	6	2.5	2.5	13.1
	14	66	27.8	27.8	40.9
	15	53	22.4	22.4	63.3
	16	59	24.9	24.9	88.2
	17	5	2.1	2.1	90.3
	18	8	3.4	3.4	93.7
	19	1	.4	.4	94.1
	20	2	.8	.8	94.9
	21	8	3.4	3.4	98.3
	22	1	.4	.4	98.7
	24	1	.4	.4	99.2
	99	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

MOTH_OCC   Mother's occupation

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	10	4.2	4.2	4.2
CLERICAL	1	40	16.9	16.9	21.1
SALES ASSISTANT	2	9	3.8	3.8	24.9
HEALTH SERVICES	3	18	7.6	7.6	32.5
GOVERNMENT	4	2	.8	.8	33.3
MANUAL	5	22	9.3	9.3	42.6
SKILLED MANUAL	6	12	5.1	5.1	47.7
OTHER SERVICES	7	9	3.8	3.8	51.5
ED & TR	8	19	8.0	8.0	59.5
OTHER PROFESSIONS	9	1	.4	.4	59.9
DIRECTORS	11	2	.8	.8	60.8
HOUSEWIFE	12	57	24.1	24.1	84.8
NONE	13	11	4.6	4.6	89.5
OTHER	14	1	.4	.4	89.9
MANAGERIAL	15	5	2.1	2.1	92.0
SCIENTIST	16	1	.4	.4	92.4
SOCIAL WORKER	17	1	.4	.4	92.8
HSWIFE & CLERICAL	18	1	.4	.4	93.2
HSWIFE & OTHER	19	7	3.0	3.0	96.2
HSWIFE & MNGERIAL	20	1	.4	.4	96.6
HSWIFE & MANUAL	21	4	1.7	1.7	98.3
HSWIFE & MOTHER	22	2	.8	.8	99.2
STUDENT	24	1	.4	.4	99.6
DO NOT KNOW	99	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

NAT   Nationality

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
BRITISH	1	237	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

R1L_OCC   First reason for leaving last occ

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	17	7.2	7.2	7.2
PROMOTED	1	30	12.7	12.7	19.8
CONTRACT COMPLETED	2	9	3.8	3.8	23.6
REDUNDANCY	3	20	8.4	8.4	32.1
WANTED PREFERABLE LOCATION	4	1	.4	.4	32.5
WANTED MORE RESPONSIBILITY	5	1	.4	.4	32.9
WANTED HIGHER SALARY	6	8	3.4	3.4	36.3
SOUGHT JOB SATISFACTION	7	5	2.1	2.1	38.4
TO BROADEN EXPERIENCE	8	2	.8	.8	39.2
WANTED TO CHANGE CAREER	9	17	7.2	7.2	46.4
TO INCREASE PROMOTIOM PROSPECTS	10	20	8.4	8.4	54.9
TO RETURN TO EDUCATION	11	1	.4	.4	55.3
PREGNENCY & CHILD CARE	12	9	3.8	3.8	59.1
FOLLOW PARTNER	13	4	1.7	1.7	60.8
MOVE LO NO REASON GIVEN	14	3	1.3	1.3	62.0
ECONOMIC REASONS RELATED TO FAMILY	15	2	.8	.8	62.9
UNSATISFACTORY WORKPLACE	16	6	2.5	2.5	65.4
COMPANY FINANCIALLY UNSTABLE	17	4	1.7	1.7	67.1
COMPANY CLOSED DOWN	18	3	1.3	1.3	68.4
COMPANY SOLD	19	1	.4	.4	68.8
COMPANY RELOCATED	20	1	.4	.4	69.2
REACHED CEILING	21	1	.4	.4	69.6
LEAVING TEMP POSITION	22	2	.8	.8	70.5
GENERAL CAREER PROGRESSION	23	14	5.9	5.9	76.4
WANTED JOB SECURITY	24	1	.4	.4	76.8
WANTED MORE STATUS	26	1	.4	.4	77.2
NEEDED MORE HRS	28	2	.8	.8	78.1
RESIGNED	29	2	.8	.8	78.9
ECONOMIC REASONS	30	1	.4	.4	79.3
SPECIALISATION	31	2	.8	.8	80.2
PERSONAL DEV	32	1	.4	.4	80.6
START OWN BUSINESS	33	6	2.5	2.5	83.1
TO WK FULL TIME	34	2	.8	.8	84.0
IMPROVE CONDITIONS	35	2	.8	.8	84.8
TO PERMANENT POST	36	3	1.3	1.3	86.1
HEALTH	37	1	.4	.4	86.5
NOT APPLICABLE	99	32	13.5	13.5	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

R2L_OCC   Second reason for leaving last occ

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	141	59.5	59.7	59.7
PROMOTED	1	1	.4	.4	60.2
CONTRACT COMPLETED	2	1	.4	.4	60.6
WANTED PREFERABLE LOCATION	4	2	.8	.8	61.4
WANTED MORE RESPONSIBILITY	5	2	.8	.8	62.3
WANTED HIGHER SALARY	6	6	2.5	2.5	64.8
SOUGHT JOB SATISFACTION	7	2	.8	.8	65.7
TO BROADEN EXPERIENCE	8	1	.4	.4	66.1
WANTED TO CHANGE CAREER	9	2	.8	.8	66.9
TO INCREASE PROMOTION PROSPECTS	10	11	4.6	4.7	71.6
TO RETURN TO EDUCATION	11	1	.4	.4	72.0
UNSATISFACTORY WORKPLACE	16	2	.8	.8	72.9
COMPANY FINANCIALLY UNSTABLE	17	1	.4	.4	73.3
COMPANY CLOSED DOWN	18	1	.4	.4	73.7
REACHED CEILING	21	1	.4	.4	74.2
GENERAL CAREER PROGRESSION	23	6	2.5	2.5	76.7
WANTED JOB SECURITY	24	1	.4	.4	77.1
WANTED REG INCOME	25	1	.4	.4	77.5
WANTED MORE STATUS	26	1	.4	.4	78.0
NEEDED MORE HRS	28	2	.8	.8	79.2
ECONOMIC REASONS	30	2	.8	.8	80.1
IMPROVE CONDITIONS	35	3	1.3	1.3	81.4
HEALTH	37	1	.4	.4	81.8
TIME FOR FAMILY	39	1	.4	.4	82.2
WANTED EFFORT REWARDED	40	1	.4	.4	82.6
NOT APPLICABLE	99	41	17.3	17.4	100.0
	.	2	.8	Missing	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   236   Missing cases   1

R3L_OCC   Third reason for leaving last occ

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	178	75.1	75.7	75.7
WANTED MORE RESPONSIBILTY	5	1	.4	.4	76.2
WANTED HIGHER SALARY	6	3	1.3	1.3	77.4
SOUGHT JOB SATISFACTION	7	1	.4	.4	77.9
TO BROADEN EXPERIENCE	8	1	.4	.4	78.3
TO INCREASE PROMOTION PROSPECTS	10	2	.8	.9	79.1
GENERAL CAREER PROGRESSION	23	1	.4	.4	79.6
WANTED JOB SECURITY	24	1	.4	.4	80.0
WANTED MORE STATUS	26	1	.4	.4	80.4
PERSONAL DEV	32	1	.4	.4	80.9
IMPROVE CONDITIONS	35	1	.4	.4	81.3
HARRASSMENT	38	1	.4	.4	81.7
EASIER TRAVEL	41	1	.4	.4	82.1
NOT APPLICABLE	99	42	17.7	17.9	100.0
	.	2	.8	Missing	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   235   Missing cases   2

R4L_OCC   Fourth reason for leaving last occ

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	191	80.6	81.6	81.6
FOLLOW PARTNER	13	1	.4	.4	82.1
NOT APPLICABLE	99	42	17.7	17.9	100.0
	.	3	1.3	Missing	
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   234   Missing cases   3

REL   Religious

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	1	.4	.4	.4
YES	1	77	32.5	32.5	32.9
NO	2	159	67.1	67.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

RELIG   What religion

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	2	.8	.8	.8
CHURCH OF ENGLAND	1	56	23.6	23.6	24.5
CHRISTIAN	2	8	3.4	3.4	27.8
METHODIST	3	3	1.3	1.3	29.1
ROMAN CATHOLIC	4	6	2.5	2.5	31.6
EVANGELICAL	5	1	.4	.4	32.1
CATHOLIC	6	10	4.2	4.2	36.3
CONGREGATIONALIST	7	1	.4	.4	36.7
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRI	8	1	.4	.4	37.1
PROTESTANT	9	3	1.3	1.3	38.4
HUMANIST	10	1	.4	.4	38.8
PRESBYTERIAN	11	2	.8	.8	39.7
DEIST	12	1	.4	.4	40.1
NOT APPLICABLE	99	142	59.9	59.9	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

Sex

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MALE	1	116	48.9	48.9	48.9
FEMALE	2	121	51.1	51.1	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

WK_EMP   How long continuing with current organisation

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
6 MTHS AT MOST	1	13	5.5	5.5	5.5
2 YRS AT MOST	2	27	11.4	11.4	16.9
2-5 YRS	3	48	20.3	20.3	37.1
>5YRS BUT LEAVE BEFO	4	44	18.6	18.6	55.7
UNTIL RETIRE	5	55	23.2	23.2	78.9
OTHER	6	46	19.4	19.4	98.3
	7	1	.4	.4	98.7
DO NOT KNOW	99	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

YMARRY1   Year of first marriage

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	26	11.0	11.0	11.0
	56	1	.4	.4	11.4
	57	1	.4	.4	11.8
	58	2	.8	.8	12.7
	60	1	.4	.4	13.1
	63	4	1.7	1.7	14.8
	64	2	.8	.8	15.6
	65	3	1.3	1.3	16.9
	66	3	1.3	1.3	18.1
	67	4	1.7	1.7	19.8
	68	5	2.1	2.1	21.9
	69	7	3.0	3.0	24.9
	70	9	3.8	3.8	28.7
	71	4	1.7	1.7	30.4
	72	9	3.8	3.8	34.2
	73	4	1.7	1.7	35.9
	74	5	2.1	2.1	38.0
	75	5	2.1	2.1	40.1
	76	2	.8	.8	40.9
	77	6	2.5	2.5	43.5
	78	8	3.4	3.4	46.8
	79	7	3.0	3.0	49.8
	80	8	3.4	3.4	53.2
	81	6	2.5	2.5	55.7
	82	4	1.7	1.7	57.4
	83	2	.8	.8	58.2
	84	8	3.4	3.4	61.6
	85	3	1.3	1.3	62.9
	86	5	2.1	2.1	65.0
	87	4	1.7	1.7	66.7
	88	6	2.5	2.5	69.2
	89	6	2.5	2.5	71.7
	90	8	3.4	3.4	75.1
	91	4	1.7	1.7	76.8
	92	8	3.4	3.4	80.2
MARRIED NO DATE	98	1	.4	.4	80.6
NOT APPLICABLE	99	46	19.4	19.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

YMARRY2   Year of second marriage

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MISSING	0	155	65.4	65.4	65.4
	80	3	1.3	1.3	66.7
	81	1	.4	.4	67.1
	86	1	.4	.4	67.5
	89	1	.4	.4	67.9
	90	1	.4	.4	68.4
	92	1	.4	.4	68.8
MARRIED NO DATE	98	1	.4	.4	69.2
NOT APPLICABLE	99	73	30.8	30.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   237   Missing cases   0

SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR WHOLE HONG KONG SAMPLE (N=142)

Group goals are more important than an individual's goals.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	60	42.3	42.3	42.3
Agree	2	63	44.4	44.4	86.6
Not sure	3	7	4.9	4.9	91.5
disagree	4	8	5.6	5.6	97.2
Very disagree	5	1	.7	.7	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

It is sometimes necessary that family interests should be sacrificed for the good of Hong Kong.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	6	4.2	4.2	4.2
Agree	2	64	45.1	45.1	49.3
Not sure	3	19	13.4	13.4	62.7
disagree	4	32	22.5	22.5	85.2
Very disagree	5	11	7.7	7.7	93.0
Dk	6	8	5.6	5.6	98.6
	7	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

The group is of secondary importance to the individual.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	8	5.6	5.6	5.6
Agree	2	33	23.2	23.2	28.9
Not sure	3	8	5.6	5.6	34.5
disagree	4	70	49.3	49.3	83.8
Very disagree	5	20	14.1	14.1	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Appendix C

When people have failed in life it is usually their own fault.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	20	14.1	14.1	14.1
Agree	2	37	26.1	26.1	40.1
Not sure	3	10	7.0	7.0	47.2
disagree	4	55	38.7	38.7	85.9
Very disagree	5	18	12.7	12.7	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

A husband and wife should express the same opinions on major political and religious issues.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	13	9.2	9.2	9.2
Agree	2	21	14.8	14.8	23.9
Not sure	3	3	2.1	2.1	26.1
disagree	4	67	47.2	47.2	73.2
Very disagree	5	33	23.2	23.2	96.5
Dk	6	5	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Economic prosperity is the most important social goal.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	47	33.1	33.1	33.1
Agree	2	47	33.1	33.1	66.2
Not sure	3	3	2.1	2.1	68.3
disagree	4	38	26.8	26.8	95.1
Very disagree	5	4	2.8	2.8	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Individual adults are heavily reliant on their families in their everyday lives.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	23	16.2	16.2	16.2
Agree	2	57	40.1	40.1	56.3
Not sure	3	4	2.8	2.8	59.2
disagree	4	47	33.1	33.1	92.3
Very disagree	5	7	4.9	4.9	97.2
Dk	6	4	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

A married man's main duty is to provide financial support for his family.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	44	31.0	31.0	31.0
Agree	2	57	40.1	40.1	71.1
Not sure	3	5	3.5	3.5	74.6
disagree	4	32	22.5	22.5	97.2
Very disagree	5	3	2.1	2.1	99.3
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Everyone in society has the opportunity to achieve high social status and position if they work hard.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	24	16.9	16.9	16.9
Agree	2	57	40.1	40.1	57.0
Not sure	3	3	2.1	2.1	59.2
disagree	4	42	29.6	29.6	88.7
Very disagree	5	15	10.6	10.6	99.3
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

I feel a strong identification with Hong Kong

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	50	35.2	35.2	35.2
Agree	2	69	48.6	48.6	83.8
Not sure	3	4	2.8	2.8	86.6
disagree	4	10	7.0	7.0	93.7
Very disagree	5	6	4.2	4.2	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

It is a married woman's main duty to financially support her family.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	4	2.8	2.8	2.8
Agree	2	39	27.5	27.5	30.3
Not sure	3	8	5.6	5.6	35.9
disagree	4	78	54.9	54.9	90.8
Very disagree	5	12	8.5	8.5	99.3
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Women and men have distinctly different personalities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	50	35.2	35.2	35.2
Agree	2	58	40.8	40.8	76.1
Not sure	3	3	2.1	2.1	78.2
disagree	4	21	14.8	14.8	93.0
Very disagree	5	6	4.2	4.2	97.2
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	99.3
	7	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Equality between men and women is detrimental to the welfare of the family.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	11	7.7	7.7	7.7
Agree	2	22	15.5	15.5	23.2
Not sure	3	2	1.4	1.4	24.6
disagree	4	64	45.1	45.1	69.7
Very disagree	5	39	27.5	27.5	97.2
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	99.3
	7	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

If there is equality between men and women ecomomic success will suffer.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	6	4.2	4.2	4.2
Agree	2	10	7.0	7.0	11.3
Not sure	3	4	2.8	2.8	14.1
disagree	4	61	43.0	43.0	57.0
Very disagree	5	56	39.4	39.4	96.5
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	98.6
	7	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

The achievement of equality between men and women is desirable.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	48	33.8	33.8	33.8
Agree	2	55	38.7	38.7	72.5
Not sure	3	6	4.2	4.2	76.8
disagree	4	25	17.6	17.6	94.4
Very disagree	5	6	4.2	4.2	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

If husband and wife both work full time outside the home they should share housework equally.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	60	42.3	42.3	42.3
Agree	2	62	43.7	43.7	85.9
Not sure	3	4	2.8	2.8	88.7
disagree	4	11	7.7	7.7	96.5
Very disagree	5	2	1.4	1.4	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Men and women bring different qualities and abilities to the work place.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	87	61.3	61.3	61.3
Agree	2	42	29.6	29.6	90.8
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	91.5
disagree	4	9	6.3	6.3	97.9
Very disagree	5	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Women's expected role in the home and family is completely compatible with a full time career.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	8	5.6	5.6	5.6
Agree	2	52	36.6	36.6	42.2
Not sure	3	6	4.2	4.2	46.4
disagree	4	59	41.5	41.5	87.9
Very disagree	5	16	11.3	11.3	99.2
Dk	6	1	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Home life is generally relaxing.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	18	12.7	12.7	12.7
Agree	2	53	37.3	37.3	50.0
Not sure	3	4	2.8	2.8	52.8
disagree	4	43	30.3	30.3	83.1
Very disagree	5	21	14.8	14.8	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

The role that men are expected to play in the home and family is generally compatible with a full time career.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	21	14.8	14.8	14.8
Agree	2	79	55.6	55.6	70.4
Not sure	3	2	1.4	1.4	71.8
disagree	4	28	19.7	19.7	91.5
Very disagree	5	9	6.3	6.3	97.8
Dk	6	3	2.2	2.2	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Management tends to require skills that men have more often than women.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	21	14.8	14.8	14.8
Agree	2	46	32.4	32.4	47.2
Not sure	3	4	2.8	2.8	50.0
disagree	4	55	38.7	38.7	88.7
Very disagree	5	13	9.2	9.2	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Most women have the right temperament to be full time housewives.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	18	12.7	12.7	12.7
Agree	2	52	36.6	36.6	49.3
Not sure	3	8	5.6	5.6	54.9
disagree	4	45	31.7	31.7	86.6
Very disagree	5	16	11.3	11.3	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Men are more likely than women to have the temperament necessary for a high powered senior management career.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	16	11.3	11.3	11.3
Agree	2	39	27.5	27.5	38.7
Not sure	3	8	5.6	5.6	44.4
disagree	4	58	40.8	40.8	85.2
Very disagree	5	19	13.4	13.4	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Men often seem to find it difficult to take women in senior positions seriously.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	17	12.0	12.0	12.0
Agree	2	59	41.5	41.5	53.5
Not sure	3	6	4.2	4.2	57.7
disagree	4	52	36.6	36.6	94.4
Very disagree	5	5	3.5	3.5	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

A manager's sex probably does not affect their experience of work.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	60	42.3	42.3	42.3
Agree	2	59	41.5	41.5	83.8
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	84.5
disagree	4	12	8.5	8.5	93.0
Very disagree	5	8	5.6	5.6	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

For various reasons women tend not to make as good senior managers as men.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	16	11.3	11.3	11.3
Agree	2	56	39.4	39.4	50.7
Not sure	3	5	3.5	3.5	54.2
disagree	4	40	28.2	28.2	82.4
Very disagree	5	22	15.5	15.5	97.9
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	99.3
	7	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Women have to work harder than men do to achieve a very senior position.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	34	23.9	23.9	23.9
Agree	2	55	38.7	38.7	62.7
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	63.4
disagree	4	40	28.2	28.2	91.5
Very disagree	5	11	7.7	7.7	99.3
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Sexual discrimination is often used as an excuse by women who do not get to the top.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	14	9.9	9.9	9.9
Agree	2	58	40.8	40.8	50.7
Not sure	3	10	7.0	7.0	57.7
disagree	4	46	32.4	32.4	90.1
Very disagree	5	12	8.5	8.5	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Staying with the same employer for a long time is generally the best way of getting ahead.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	17	12.0	12.0	12.0
Agree	2	40	28.2	28.2	40.1
Not sure	3	11	7.7	7.7	47.9
disagree	4	56	39.4	39.4	87.3
Very disagree	5	15	10.6	10.6	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

It is uncomfortable for men to have a female boss.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	10	7.0	7.0	7.0
Agree	2	52	36.6	36.6	43.7
Not sure	3	3	2.1	2.1	45.8
disagree	4	66	46.5	46.5	92.3
Very disagree	5	9	6.3	6.3	98.6
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	99.3
	7	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Male and female managers use distinctly different methods and practices in the workplace.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	21	14.8	14.8	14.8
Agree	2	71	50.0	50.0	64.8
Not sure	3	7	4.9	4.9	69.7
disagree	4	31	21.8	21.8	91.5
Very disagree	5	9	6.3	6.3	97.9
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	99.3
	7	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Men are suited to some occupations to which women are not suited.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	59	41.5	41.5	41.5
Agree	2	71	50.0	50.0	91.5
Not sure	3	2	1.4	1.4	93.0
disagree	4	9	6.3	6.3	99.3
Very disagree	5	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

It is uncomfortable for women if they have male bosses.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Agree	2	7	4.9	4.9	4.9
Not sure	3	4	2.8	2.8	7.7
disagree	4	80	56.3	56.3	64.1
Very disagree	5	50	35.2	35.2	99.3
	7	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

There are some occupations to which women are suited but men are not.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	57	40.1	40.1	40.1
Agree	2	65	45.8	45.8	85.9
Not sure	3	3	2.1	2.1	88.0
disagree	4	13	9.2	9.2	97.2
Very disagree	5	3	2.1	2.1	99.3
	7	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

It is better for the child if its mother does not work full time outside the home in the first years of its life.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	27	19.0	19.0	19.0
Agree	2	51	35.9	35.9	54.9
Not sure	3	9	6.3	6.3	61.3
disagree	4	42	29.6	29.6	90.8
Very disagree	5	11	7.7	7.7	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Career breaks probably result in loss of status and hinder later promotion.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	43	30.3	30.3	30.3
Agree	2	76	53.5	53.5	83.8
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	84.5
disagree	4	19	13.4	13.4	97.9
Very disagree	5	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

It is often better to work with members of one's own family rather than with individuals outside of the family network.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	5	3.5	3.5	3.5
Agree	2	15	10.6	10.6	14.1
Not sure	3	5	3.5	3.5	17.6
disagree	4	76	53.5	53.5	71.1
Very disagree	5	39	27.5	27.5	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

My company is strongly hierarchical.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	31	21.8	21.8	21.8
Agree	2	46	32.4	32.4	54.2
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	54.9
disagree	4	46	32.4	32.4	87.3
Very disagree	5	16	11.3	11.3	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

I am not aware of any sexual discrimination in my company.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	46	32.4	32.4	32.4
Agree	2	50	35.2	35.2	67.6
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	68.3
disagree	4	34	23.9	23.9	92.3
Very disagree	5	10	7.0	7.0	99.3
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

In my company those who set recruitment policies are mainly men.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	18	12.7	12.7	12.7
Agree	2	25	17.6	17.6	30.3
Not sure	3	2	1.4	1.4	31.7
disagree	4	55	38.7	38.7	70.4
Very disagree	5	39	27.5	27.5	97.9
Dk	6	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

I think my company is genuinely committed to equal employment opportunities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	56	39.4	39.4	39.4
Agree	2	61	43.0	43.0	82.4
Not sure	3	8	5.6	5.6	88.0
disagree	4	14	9.9	9.9	97.9
Very disagree	5	3	2.1	2.1	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

I think I am unusually self confident.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	83	58.5	58.5	58.5
Agree	2	58	40.8	40.8	99.3
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	100.0
		-------	-------	-------	
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

The senior managers and executives in my company are committed to equal employment opportunities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	52	36.6	36.6	36.6
Agree	2	62	43.7	43.7	80.3
Not sure	3	9	6.3	6.3	86.6
disagree	4	16	11.3	11.3	97.9
Very disagree	5	1	.7	.7	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

In my company female managers are treated exactly the same as the equivalent male manager.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	55	38.7	38.7	38.7
Agree	2	64	45.1	45.1	83.8
Not sure	3	5	3.5	3.5	87.3
disagree	4	13	9.2	9.2	96.5
Very disagree	5	1	.7	.7	97.2
Dk	6	4	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

I think that the employees in my company are on the whole committed to equal employment opportunities.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	49	34.5	34.5	34.5
Agree	2	70	49.3	49.3	83.8
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	84.5
disagree	4	19	13.4	13.4	97.9
Very disagree	5	1	.7	.7	98.6
Dk	6	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

I sometimes spend time socialising with my colleagues outside working hours.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	55	38.7	38.7	38.7
Agree	2	75	52.8	52.8	91.5
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	92.3
disagree	4	9	6.3	6.3	98.6
Very disagree	5	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

The informal networks built outside working hours are very helpful in the workplace.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	64	45.1	45.1	45.1
Agree	2	62	43.7	43.7	88.7
Not sure	3	5	3.5	3.5	92.3
disagree	4	7	4.9	4.9	97.2
Very disagree	5	3	2.1	2.1	99.3
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Colleagues of both sexes attend all of the social events I go to with my colleagues.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum Percent	Percent
Very agree	1	72	50.7	50.7	50.7
Agree	2	65	45.8	45.8	96.5
Not sure	3	2	1.4	1.4	97.9
disagree	4	1	.7	.7	98.6
Very disagree	5	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Male and female colleagues are treated as equals at these social events.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very agree	1	64	45.1	45.1	45.1
Agree	2	61	43.0	43.0	88.0
Not sure	3	1	.7	.7	88.7
disagree	4	14	9.9	9.9	98.6
Dk	6	1	.7	.7	99.3
	38	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

How long you have you worked for your current company?

No of years	%
<1 year	1.4
1-5 years	51.5
6-10 years	22.5
11-15 years	10.5
16-20 years	6.3
21-25 years	5.6
>25years	2.1
Total	99.9*

How long do you intend to continue working for your current organisation?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Missing data	0	5	3.5	3.5	3.5
At least 6 months	1	8	5.6	5.7	9.2
At least 2 years	2	12	8.5	8.5	17.7
2-5 yr	3	10	7.0	7.1	24.8
>5 yr but not to retirement	4	12	8.5	8.5	33.3
Until I tire	5	20	14.1	14.2	47.5
Don't Know	6	75	52.8	53.2	100.7
		Total	142	100.7	100.7*

Valid cases   142   Missing cases
* Due to rounding

How do you anticipate your career will progress?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	2	1.4	1.4	1.4
Promotion within cur	1	39	27.5	27.5	28.9
Promotion in other c	2	21	14.8	14.8	43.7
As current	3	8	5.6	5.6	49.3
Own business	5	8	5.6	5.6	54.9
Change direction	6	1	.7	.7	55.6
Retirement	7	1	.7	.7	56.3
Other	8	7	4.9	4.9	61.3
Dk	9	54	38.0	38.0	99.3
	10	1	.7	.7	100.0
		Total	142	100.0	100.0

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Are there more men or more women amongst the employees in your organisation?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Missing	0	2	1.4	1.4	1.4
More male	1	129	90.8	90.8	92.3
More female	2	11	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Are there more men or more women amongst the senior management in your organisation?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Missing	0	2	1.4	1.4	1.4
More male	1	136	95.8	95.8	97.2
More female	2	4	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

How many people report directly to you at work?

Number of Staff managed	Hong Kong		
	All n=142	Male n=60	Female n=82
0	6.3%	5.0%	7.3%
1-2	14.1%	11.7%	15.9%
3-4	26.7%	23.4%	29.3%
5-6	13.3%	16.6%	11.0%
7-8	8.4%	8.3%	8.5%
9-10	7.7%	6.7%	8.6%
11-20	12.6%	11.6%	13.2%
21-40	5.6%	8.4%	3.6%
41-60	2.1%	3.4%	1.2%
61-100	2.8%	5.1%	1.2%
>100	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

How many males and females are their amongst the staff who report to you?

Number of staff	Male respondents		Female respondents	
	female subordinates	male subordinates	female subordinates	male subordinates
0	18.3%	20%	11.0%	39.0%
1-2	26.7%	31.6%	31.8%	34.2%
3-4	21.6%	15.0%	19.5%	4.9%
5-6	10.0%	8.3%	14.6%	11.0%
7-8	3.4%	5.0%	8.6%	4.8%
9-10	5.0%	1.7%	4.8%	1.2%
11-20	10.1%	8.4	6.0%	2.4%
21-40	1.7%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%
41-60	1.7%	5.1%	1.2%	0.0%
61-100	1.7%	1.7%	2.4%	2.4%
>100	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Do you report directly to one boss?

```
                                                   Valid      Cum
Value Label              Value  Frequency  Percent Percent   Percent

Missing                    0         2       1.4     1.4       1.4
Yes                        1       128      90.1    90.1      91.5
No                         2        12       8.5     8.5     100.0
                                  -------  -------  -------
                         Total     142     100.0   100.0
Valid cases    142  Missing cases    0
```

Is your boss male or female?

```
                                                   Valid      Cum
Value Label              Value  Frequency  Percent Percent   Percent

missing/ not applicable    0        14       9.9     9.9       9.9
Male                       1       103      72.5    72.5      82.4
Female                     2        25      17.6    17.6     100.0
                                  -------  -------  -------
                         Total     142     100.0   100.0
Valid cases    142  Missing cases    0
```

Have you ever worked with/for a female boss?

```
                                                   Valid      Cum
Value Label              Value  Frequency  Percent Percent   Percent

Missing                    0         2       1.4     1.4       1.4
Yes                        1        92      64.8    64.8      66.2
No                         2        48      33.8    33.8     100.0
                                  -------  -------  -------
                         Total     142     100.0   100.0
Valid cases    142  Missing cases    0
```

Do you manage managerial or non managerial staff?

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Missing	0	2	1.4	1.4	1.4
Management level	1	14	9.9	9.9	11.3
Non-management level	2	36	25.4	25.4	36.6
Both	3	83	58.5	58.5	95.1
Dk	4	6	4.2	4.2	99.3
	5	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	142	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases   142   Missing cases   0

Appendix D - Interview Schedule

Topic Guide

<u>initial questions</u>
Can we start with you telling me a little bit about your organisation;
what it does, how long you have worked here and your role within it.

<u>First of all I would like to talk briefly about your career so far...</u>
    first job, ...then what, ...present job.   - why that field
        Fields. Non Traditional? Pressure?

<u>What factors do you think have enabled you to achieve what you
have achieved?</u>

<u>Is there anything which you feel has prevented you from achieving
more?</u>

       <u>Things at work</u>
       bosses, colleagues, subordinates...
       any particular people or events ....

       <u>Things outside of work</u>
       work group networks; socialising... Status
       family support; what type, children, partner spouse,
parents [past & present]

Why that field? that Career -ever wish you had done it differently?

aspirations & barriers/support to them

<u>Your organisation</u>
       Hierarchy?
       Decision making - Centralised or Participative?
          Flow of information.

       <u>Your methods within it</u>
          Styles/approaches
          Way your treated by superiors
          way you treat subordinates
       Management of Conflict
          avoidance, accommodate, compromise,
competitive ...?

<u>Relationship between work & family life:</u>
       what does family mean to you. Children?
          What is your relationship to your family.
          career. hierarchy, authority, role (acceptance?) Why?
       Compatibility
    Sacrifices? ... Positive aspects... typical?

please could you tell me a little about the family situation in which you grew up?:
Brothers & sisters?, Ages? Parents; occupations if any [at the time of growing up & later].
particular influences on your career.
parental pressure. Career. Role? Away from non-traditional.
Where did you get you career information from

When you were growing up what type of school did you attend?

Subjects [qualifications] - why do those, Found these quals to be necessary?
any   significant events ,teachers, support, encouragement, disincentives,   dissuasion.

Effect of ed on Career?

would you go back to ed., change what you did at all
[e.g. in terms of subjects, levels etc.]

RECRUITERS weight given to educational qualification when recruiting staff?

THOSE WHO RETURNED TO ED - why , expected benefits, actual benefits

Training
Access?
Requested or pushed?
Male female diffs?
How important is training?

Any differences in behaviour between male & females at wk
styles/methods, ... capabilities, ... Strengths & weaknesses.
colleagues beliefs about this
what about their beliefs about women generally?
are these Common or extraordinary views?

Are you aware of any **discrimination** in your work place?

have you ever experienced any during your career.

How committed to **equal opportunities** is your current organisation?

senior managers, ... employees generally

How successful ? transmitted to organisational practice?

attitudes or beliefs you hold

which you feel have had a particular impact on your career.
Religious?...Affect on   life?
          Political ?

Helping future women

          would you do anything to help.
                    Non traditional fields?
                    things you couldn't/didn't do?

          Government. legislation

          How important a factor is training? & access etc....

Are attitudes to women and work changing?
          How... Future,... good or bad?

Is there any thing else you would like to add?

Appendix E - Interview Analysis Index
Analysis Index

8.   Education/ Pre work training
8.1   Primary
8.2   Secondary
8.3   College
8.4   Overseas & why
8.5   Attraction to fields.
8.6   Later education & training
9.7   Effects of education

9.   Career path
9.1   Actual jobs
9.2   Attraction
9.3   Reason for change/ or no change
9.4   interactions
9.5   Ambition/Objectives
9.6   Satisfaction
9.7   Progression

10   Influence of family
10.1   Influence of family of origin
      10.1.1 Place in Family
      10.1.2 Rel between family (O) on work
10.2   Importance of Concept of family
10.3   Importance of family of destination
      10.3.2 Relationship with spouse
      10.3.3 Effect of children
      10.3.4 Rel between family (D) and work
      10.3.5 D of L in family (& effect)
      10.3.6 In-Laws

11   Outside Influences
11.1   Other people
      11.1.1 Friends
      11.1.2 Others from work
11.2   Particular events or experiences
11.3   Things which could/should have been done

12   Personal Beliefs and principles
12.1.   About life
12.2   About people
12.3   About work
12.4   Religion
12.5   As held by general population

13   Economic context
13.1   Influence of current economic sit
13.2   Influence of past economic sit
13.3   What is economic sit.

14 Other Important factors
14.1 Education
14.2 Age
14.3 Ethnic origin
14.4 Connections
14.4.1 Through family
14.5 Geography
14.6 Social Class

15. Legislation/Policy effects
15.1 Equal opps
15.2 Immingration & employment of foreign workers
15.3 Wage levels

16. Personality
16.1 Importance of self Confidence
16.2 Effects of socialisation
16.3 Personality changes over time

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