Women and Leadership Within the Public Service: Is the Glass-Ceiling Effect Real or Imagined? A Case Study of Mpumalanga Department of Rural Development and Land Reform

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to explore perceptions on the existence of barriers often referred to as a "glass ceiling", to women's career development within the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in Mpumalanga. The term "glass ceiling" refers to an unseen and unreachable barrier that prevents women from climbing the corporate ladder regardless of their qualifications or achievements. The human socialisation process is said to have instilled and perpetuated gender inequality in the way both boys and girls are socialised, whilst boys are socialised to believe that they are superior, decision-makers, protectors, brave, heads of households, independent and assertive, girls are taught to be submissive, nurturing, soft and sensitive, passive, dependent, obedient and submissive beings. This kind of socialisation is said to promote autonomy for boys and dependency for girls; as a result, men are able to climb the corporate ladder with relative ease as compared to women. Reproductive roles such as taking care of the family, fetching firewood, water, taking care of the sick, attending community engagements such as funerals, are relegated to women due to skewed patriarchal customary practices. Working mothers are said to find it hard to balance work and household responsibilities and find themselves taking more time off from work in order to take care of children and other members of the family. This creates loss of confidence in women as they are deemed unreliable and less committed to their work. It is argued that the lack of mentorship specifically targeting women as a group is another invisible barrier preventing women from climbing the career ladder. The results of this study confirms what literature asserts that women face barriers such as lack of mentors, inability to balance work and household activities due to unequal division of household activities, and general gender discrimination by men and women who believe that women are not born to lead.

Keywords: Glass Ceiling, Leadership, Mentorship, Corporate Ladder, Work-Life Balance

1. Introduction

Women's battle for liberation has been going on since the 19th century as captured under the three waves of feminism. The main concern of the first wave of feminism was about women having the right to vote and gain political and legal equality (Gillis & Munford, 2003; Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006:2-7). The second wave of feminism was formed around the 1960'sand was about fighting for social and cultural inequalities suffered by women (Mann & Huffman, 2005; Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006:7; Mota, Fominaya, Eschle & Cox, 2011; Carter, 2013). The third wave began in the 1990's to this day and calls for the appointment of women into leadership positions. Women are said to be experiencing the glass ceiling effect which refers to unseen and unreachable barriers that prevents women from climbing the corporate ladder on par with men. The argument presented in this paper does not by any means dispel the fact that women are making notable strides in the corporate and government spheres, a fact that is evidence by the growing number of women heading private corporations and in government structures. In Africa, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was elected by the African Union Commission as its chairperson making her the first woman to lead the organisation. Her appointment is a demonstration of how Africa is paving the way for female leadership and thus increasing the level of importance placed on gender equality. There are also few women from the African continent who are political leaders in their own right such as Joyce Banda the President of Malawi, Navi Pillay a jurist who served as the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the 24th and current President of Liberia. There are several treaties that have been

ratified by many countries all over the world, to implement and monitor gender equality strategies; namely, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) now referred to as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). There has also been an improvement in the establishment of structures that monitor the implementation of developed policies that govern gender equality in South Africa such as the Commission for Gender Equality, Equality Courts and the Human Rights Commission. What this paper postulates is that only a few women, as compared to men, advance to higher echelons of careers.

2. The "Glass-Ceiling" Defined

The term glass ceiling refers to an unseen and unreachable barrier that prevents women from climbing the corporate ladder regardless of their qualifications or achievements. This term was first heard of around 1986 when it was published in an academic article of the Wall Street Journal in 1987. Ever since then there has been an increasing interest in the term (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Hoyt, 2010; Bombuwela & De Alwis, 2013; Angelovska, 2014:7; Grover, 2015). It is said that the glass ceiling barrier is invisible, however it becomes more apparent when women have to attain top positions in companies and the public sector. This barrier is felt more by women and people with disabilities (Cotter, Heinsen, Ovadia & Vanneman, 2001; Ragusa & Groves, 2012). This is because leadership is viewed with a masculine face rather than a genderless face (Moran, 1992; Elmuti, Jia & Davis, 2009; Kiamba, 2008; Piterman, 2008:38; Hoyt, 2010). This indirectly discriminates against women because patriarchy dictates that men should lead and women should be followers or supporters of men. As such, "men are said to ride the glass-ceiling escalators" to top positions thus implying that to get to top positions, women have to struggle (Hoyt, 2010). Ideally, in a just society, leadership should be genderless. The genderlessness of leadership does not by any means imbue that women and men lead in the same manner. Each has a distinct way of leading like for example, women possessing the characteristics of gentleness in their leadership skills and men that of aggression

when they lead. The difference in leadership styles by no means implies that one leadership style is better that the other.

3. Conceptual Framework

The paper is anchored on the socialist perspective of feminism. The Socialist perspective puts more emphasis on women's position of subordination to men in society. Patriarchy is blamed as a social order that puts women in the subordination position because it divides humans into two categories, i.e. female and male. This division calls for people to act in particular ways to maintain the social order. Socialist feminism describes the social order as a male-dominated gender order. Men are regarded as strong, intelligent, and having leadership capabilities and hence their responsibilities are described as such. Women on the other hand are relegated to inferior status as they are deemed dependent on men hence their responsibilities are those that do not have decision-making capacity. Women's roles are defined along the lines of motherhood, domestic workers and child rearing. According to Holub (n.d:4), most women would sacrifice to leave their jobs and thus forsake their careers so they can assist in the rearing of their children. It is only after the kids are grown up that women would think of their careers and by then they are either too old to re-enter the work place. Their qualifications may no longer be relevant or there has been a lot of changes within the workplace that they no longer "fit", a notion that seldom affects men. It is thus plausible that women play a vital role in men's career advancement even though this is rarely acknowledged since they are the ones what take career breaks in order to take care of children.

4. Contributory Factors to the Glass-Ceiling Effect on Women

4.1 The Socialisation of Women

The family is regarded as the first institution to perpetuate female oppression and discrimination. Male dominance is a learned behaviour because children learn how to connect gender and the power relations that are associated with it. The value that is placed on a boy child makes him realise that he is better and important than the girl child. This is also apparent in the division of household labour. Boys are socialised to believe and know

that they are superior, they are decision-makers, protectors, brave, heads of households, independent and assertive, whereas girls are taught to be submissive, to always strive to please men, to become mothers, soft, sensitive, passive, dependent, obedient and to be submissive housewives. This kind of socialisation aver the promotion of autonomy for boys and dependency for girls (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Crespi, 2003:2; Kambarami, 2006:2; Wallace, 2007; Marks, Bun & McHale, 2009; Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2010:10; Hamieh & Usta, 2011:11; Sultana, 2011:8).On the basis of this statement, it can then be adduced that when women are socialised to be dependent on men, they never develop and perfect their own leadership skills and thus cannot participate in a "male dominated" territory. In most cultures it is seen as taboo for women to lead, especially leading men because, culturally, women are perceived to be weak (Moran, 1992; Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Chipunza, 2003; Kiamba, 2008). On the other hand, women who show leadership abilities are judged for not being feminine enough but as wanting to be men. This leads to them being rejected by both men and women because stepping out of what is regarded as normal, in this case being submissive and dependent, is a taboo. This is because there are already gender roles and responsibilities that have been assigned to both men and women by the patriarchal order of society.

4.2 Social Responsibilities and Women's Career Advancement

According to perused literature on the gender division of labour at household level, and reproductive roles performed by women disadvantages them because these roles are not seen as important and hence relegated to women whilst productive roles are relegated to men. Customary practices relegate reproductive roles like taking care of the family, fetching of firewood, water, taking care of the sick, attending community engagements like funerals, to women, whilst men are given productive roles that assist them to make money and thus earn prestige. Working mothers are shown to find it hard to balance work and household responsibilities (Green, Moore, Easton & Heggie, 2004:22; Piterman, 2008:11; Elmuti et al., 2009; Hewlett, Peraino, Sherbin & Johns, 2013:5; Hoyt, 2010; Sumberg, 2010:22). The impact is more serious on women who have small children. Women with older children or those without children are said

to be able to climb the career ladder faster since they do not suffer from time poverty unlike their counterparts who have small children and have to juggle work and taking care of children. It is argued that most women are stuck in the middle corporate ladder which is termed the "sticky rung of the ladder" (Sanders et al., 2009; Merchant, 2012:15). What affects women with regard to career advancement is that they take more time off from work due to the responsibility of taking care of children and other members of the family. This creates loss of confidence in women as they are deemed to be unreliable and less committed to their work. On the basis of this assertion, it would be reasonable then to conclude that even though more men assist in the sharing of household activities, the bulk of the work is still done by women; as such men are able to progress faster to higher ranks in their careers. Women's social responsibilities deepen gender inequality in the workplace because it is a cause of subtle discrimination of women. It thus becomes important for organisations to make it easier for them to balance work and life by developing policies and programmes to mitigate the covert discrimination of women in the workplace.

4.3 Leader Preference

The argument regarding leadership styles is that women and men show different styles in leadership. Whilst men are depicted as calculating, risk taking, assertive, domineering, aggressive, decisive and having confidence in their leadership style (Moran, 1992; Growe & Montgomery, 1999; Elmuti et al., 2009; Kiamba, 2008; Piterman, 2008:38) women are portrayed as docile, patient, do not take calculated risks, nurturing, lack confidence and not showing aggression (Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Green et al., 2004:24; Buckalew, 2012; Johns, 2013:6). Interestingly, women who show aggression and take risks are not likeable; they are devalued by both men and women (Pieterman, 2008:46; Sanders et al., 2009; Hoyt, 2010:489; Merchant, 2012:43, Johns, 2013:6). This asserts the hypocrisy in the way society operates, whilst women are reprimanded for breaking gender stereotypes by "behaving like men", in the showing of aggression and taking of calculated risks, society tolerate the same behaviour if it is portrayed by men. It is thus safe to postulate that most women who watch the difficulties faced by other women as they climb the corporate ladder and realise the difficulties such women face, subsequently avoid

unnecessary stress by not applying for higher positions at the cost of their own career mobility. Women fear being thrown into the deep end and watched whether they can swim or drown. It can thus be contended that society rewards women for being unassertive and hard working. They are discreetly taught through socialisation, that someone else controls their fate. It is also through socialisation that men are discreetly taught to control women's destiny. (Kiamba, 2008; Hewlett et al., 2010:18; Ragusa & Groves, 2012). Women who are able to "morph" from being female to male whilst maintaining a balance by not overstepping existing "invisible gender lines" do better with regard to career advancement than those who cannot. Having said that, this is not to say such women do not face challenges in the advancement of their careers because it is deduced that men will sabotage, undermine and make it difficult for women to lead. Literature, however, asserts that there is no leadership style that is more suitable for men or for women. It acknowledges that both men and women seem to do well when given an opportunity to lead. The diversity of leadership styles should thus be embraced. The difference in leadership styles should not be associated with gender. What is important is the achievement of goals or results as set out by companies and organisations. Leadership capabilities are not innate as society tends to think, however, leadership is learnt behaviour. By exposing women to leadership positions and giving them the right skills, women have the ability to lead just as well as men even though using different leadership styles. Even though legislation advocating for women's career advancement has been developed, as a result, most institutions or organisations just appoint women for compliance sake, they do not provide support and that contributes to women's failure.

4.4 Men's Clubs

It is alleged that men tend to promote other men to higher positions (Growe & Montgomery, 1999; Piterman, 2008:10; Elmuti et al., 2009). It seems like an unspoken "brother code" that holds the "boys" together. Consequently, for women to advance career wise, they need to form some career networks which implies that they must form part of men's clubs. Men seem able to form career networks with more ease than women because to form part of social networks one needs to have time to "hang" with members of the networks. Women

spend much of their time caring for families and thus suffer from time poverty, men on the other hand have enough time to play golf and visit "drinking holes" together. It is argued that women suffer from time poverty which is detrimental to their career progression. If they had all the time in the world, they would also be able to play golf and visit drinking holes so they can be members of the social clubs that enhances career opportunities. Hence, you find the membership of these clubs being more male than female. It is postulated that it is within these networks or men's clubs that talent is recognised (Growe & Montgomery, 1999; Piterman, 2008:10; Hewlett et al., 2010:22; Hoyt, 2010:489). It is, therefore, safe to argue that for women to succeed and climb up the career ladder there is a need for them to form relationships with men. Even within these relationships women are expected to tread very carefully, because they need to manage their presence, otherwise they might be regarded as threats and that will thwart the very purpose of joining men's clubs.

4.5 Mentorship

Mentorship is argued to provide an opportunity for women to learn the ropes in an informal and formal environment. It creates a platform for women to learn on the job and thus boost their career progression. Women who are mentored are said to stand a better chance of being visible and recognised for career progression than those who are not. Mentorship is also necessary in preparing a second order of women to take over to balance the equation and address gender inequality in the workplace. It is alleged that women, unlike men, lack mentors to show them the ropes in terms of career advancement because the majority of those in leadership positions are men (Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Kiamba, 2008; Elmuti et al., 2009; Johns, 2013:7). It can be reasonably contended that since men are in the majority in terms of the occupation of high positions in the workplace, they prefer mentoring other men. This might to due to fear of sexual harassment connotations, fear of jealous spouses or pure mistrust of women's ability to lead. According to Growe & Montgomery (1999), women prefer being mentored by other women because it is assumed that they have a common understanding of challenges faced by women than men. It is argued that men have no tolerance to the fact that women have to balance work and family care, a notion that is said to support and perpetuate the gender stereotypes.

4.6 The Appointment of Women to Senior Positions Within South Africa

As a measure of meeting the 50 percent (50%) target of women in senior or management positions, South Africa developed the Head of Department's 8-principle action plan for promoting women's empowerment and gender equality within the Public Service in which heads of departments are encouraged to include in their departmental action plans towards achieving women's empowerment and gender equality within the Public Service through the Department of Public Service Administration (DPSA). This however seems not to be strictly monitored as it is done on ad-hoc basis by Heads of Departments because there are no punitive measures for non-compliance. The fact that Senior Managers do not have to report on gender mainstreaming and sex desegregated data is one example of how lax the law is in terms of reporting and accountability. DPSA presented a memorandum to Cabinet on 27 November 2012 indicating that the gender target at SMS level was not achieved. Cabinet then agreed to retain and extend the target date from 2015 to 2016 in order to achieve the fifty percent (50%) target for women at SMS level. The current gender representation at SMS level within the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform is fifty-nine percent (59%) men and forty-one percent (41%) women. The representation within Mpumalanga Department of Rural Development and Land Reform is thirty-nine percent (39%) women and sixty-one percent (61%) men. The Department aim to achieve the target by March 2016 (Republic of South Africa, 2015).

5. Research Design and Methodology

This study utilised a qualitative research approach. Interview schedules were used to collect data from employees of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. The purpose of this paper was to explore perceptions on the existence of barriers often referred to as a glass ceiling, to women's career development within the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in Mpumalanga. The province has a total of seventeen (17) local municipalities but only one of the municipalities was chosen because the Head Quarters of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform is located in its area. As such the study was conducted within the Ehlanzeni District.

5.1 Sampling Techniques

A purposive sampling technique was utilised in the study to draw employees who were willing to participate in the study. This sampling method was also chosen because it is less complicated and more economical in terms of time and expenses. A sample size of one hundred (100) employees out of a staff complement of three hundred and eighty-nine (389) within the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in Mpumalanga Province (fifty males and fifty females) was utilised in this study.

5.2 Data Collection Techniques

Data was collected by utilising semi-structured interview schedules, perusal of documents and literature on gender equality and leadership.

5.3 Analytical Procedure

The researcher used interview summary forms to summarise each and every interview. The summary was used to capture field notes, emerging themes as well as opinions, attitudes and perceptions. A comparative analysis was done to compare and contrast data obtained from different respondents and also in identifying emerging issues. A content analysis was ascribed where codes were assigned to specific characteristics in a text and a conversation analysis used to look at patterns of speech and responses.

6. Results and Discussions

The aim of this research was to determine perceptions on the existence of barriers, often referred to as the glass ceiling, to women's career development within the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in Mpumalanga. Literature mentioned various barriers for women's career progression such as women's socialisation and socio-cultural responsibilities, men's clubs and lack of mentoring programmes targeting women as a group.

6.1 Perception of Barriers Preventing Women from Climbing the Corporate Ladder

Women are said to be facing invisible barriers that prevents them from climbing the corporate ladder at the same pace as men regardless of their qualifications (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Hoyt, 2010; Bombuwela & De Alwis, 2013; Angelovska, 2014:7; Grover, 2015). In order to gauge perceptions on

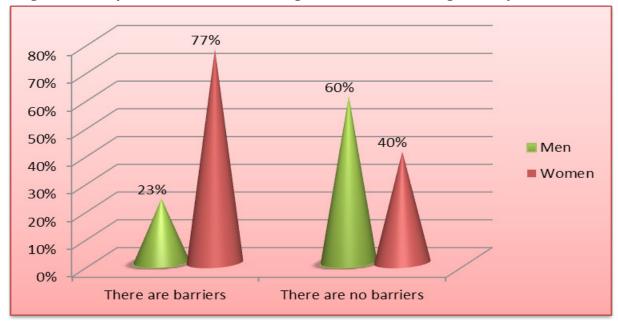


Figure 1: Perception of Barriers Preventing Women from Climbing the Corporate Ladder

awareness of the existence of barriers preventing women from climbing the corporate ladder, respondents were asked to indicate whether they were aware of barriers that affect women's career mobility. See Figure 1 above.

A majority of women (77%) argued for the existence of barriers preventing women from climbing the corporate ladder. They cited patriarchal gender roles such as the unequal division of household labour which keeps women from pursuing leadership positions due to the inability to balance work and household responsibilities. They argued that organisational culture was designed to suit men's needs rather than collective needs of both men and women since the culture did not take into cognisance women's roles and responsibilities. Sixty percent (60%) of male respondents argued for the non-existence of barriers preventing women from climbing the corporate ladder. They mentioned the existence of legislation developed to enforce the appointment of women such as the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 as ensuring the employment of women and career mobility. Whilst accepting the reasons given by the men on the existence of laws advocating for women empowerment and eradication of gender discrimination, it is however important to note that the existence of laws advocating for equal appointment of women into high positions however does not translate to

the implementation of such policies. This is because women still face discrimination despite the existence of such laws. The results of the study thus confirm what literature asserts that women face more barriers in climbing the corporate ladder than men.

6.2 Social Responsibilities and Women's Career Advancement

Customary practices relegate reproductive roles like taking care of the family, fetching of firewood, water, taking care of the sick, attending community engagements such as funerals, to women. The impact of reproductive roles on women with regard to career advancement is that women take more time off from work due to the responsibility of taking care of children and other members of the family. Men seldom take time off from work to take care of sick children: it is women who make the sacrifice. This creates loss of confidence in women as they are deemed unreliable and less committed to their work as compared to men. According to perused literature, working mothers are shown to find it much harder to balance work and household responsibilities (Green et al., 2004:22; Piterman, 2008:11; Elmuti et al., 2009; Hewlett, Peraino, Sherbin & Johns, 2013:5; Hoyt, 2010; Sumberg, 2010:22), especially women who have small children hence they are found to be stuck in the middle corporate ladder, termed the "sticky rung of the ladder" (Sanders et al., 2009; Merchant, 2012:15).In order to probe whether reproductive

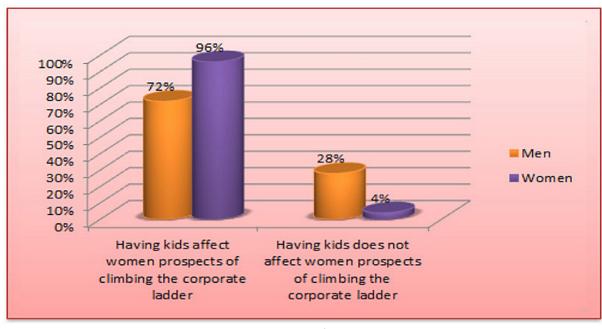


Figure 2: Social Responsibilities and Women's Career Advancement

roles impacted women's career advancement, respondents were asked to indicate if having children affected or did not affect women's prospects of climbing the corporate ladder. See Figure 2 above.

According to the results of the study, ninety-six percent (96%) of female respondents indicated that having children affected women's prospects of climbing the corporate ladder. Seventy-two percent (72%) of male respondents also affirmed that women who have children may not climb the corporate ladder on par with men because women are seen as primary care givers hence they have to choose between pursuing their careers or bringing up children. Working hours for managers at the higher echelons are said not to cater for family needs because managers work unpredictable hours and sometimes have to travel far from home. This is said to contribute to women refusing job offers for fear of being unable to balance work and household responsibilities. The results of the study, therefore, confirm what literature postulate that working mothers find it hard to balance work and life (Green et al., 2004:22; Piterman, 2008:11; Elmuti et al., 2009; Hewlett et al., 2013:5; Hoyt, 2010; Sumberg, 2010:22).

6.3 Mentorship

Mentorship is said to provide an opportunity for women to learn the ropes in an informal and formal environment. It is also said to create a platform for women to learn and boost their career progression. Women who are mentored are said to stand a better chance of being visible and recognised for career progression than those who are not. It is alleged that women, unlike men, lack mentors to show them the ropes in terms of career advancement because the majority of those in leadership positions are men than women (Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Kiamba, 2008; Elmuti *et al.*, 2009; Johns, 2013:7). To probe the availability of mentorship programmes for women, respondents were asked if there were mentorship programmes targeting women within the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. See Table 1 on the following page.

The majority of respondents (88% males and 90% females) indicated that the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has no mentorship programmes targeting women. The respondents agreed that mentorship programmes prepared women for leadership positions as it gave them the opportunity to learn on the job. They also indicated that mentoring assisted women in building their self-confidence and assisted organisations with career pathing and succession planning efforts. The results of this study then confirms what has been asserted by literature that women lack mentors to show them the ropes in terms of career advancement women (Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Kiamba, 2008; Elmuti *et al.*, 2009; Johns, 2013:7). It was only a few respondents (12% males and 10% females) who

Table 1: Opinions on the Availability and Implementation of Mentorship Programmes Targeting Women

RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE	
	MEN	WOMEN
There are mentorship programmes targeting women in the workplace	12%	10%
There are no mentorship programmes targeting women in the workplace	88%	90%
No response	0%	1%
TOTAL	100	100

cited the risk of sexual harassment when mentoring was between a male and female. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has policies in place for mentoring and succession planning however, these does not specifically target women as a group. As such, these policies are not implemented hence they do not benefit those that they are meant for.

6.4 Leader Preference

Men are depicted as calculating, risk taking, assertive, domineering, aggressive, decisive and having confidence in as far as leadership style is concerned which is said to render them effective leaders (Elmuti et al., 2009; Kiamba, 2008; Piterman, 2008:38). Women on the other hand are portrayed as docile, patient, unable to take calculated risks, nurturing, lacking confidence and not aggressive (Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001; Green et al., 2004:24; Buckalew, 2012; Johns, 2013:6). These perceptions have a serious impact on the ability of women to lead because it makes women to be viewed as being unable to lead. In order to probe respondents' perceptions on the ability of women to lead, respondents were asked to indicate whether they prefer being led by females or males. See Figure 3 on the following page.

The majority of male respondents (42%) indicated that they prefer being led by men instead of women. The reasons given were that women are viewed as weak and emotional whilst men are said to have strong leadership skills than women. The results of the study thus support what has been stated in literature that leadership is viewed with a masculine eye than female eye (Moran, 1992; Elmuti *et al.*, 2009; Piterman, 2008:38; Hoyt, 2010). It was only eighteen percent (18%)of males who participated in the study

that indicated that they had no problem reporting to either a woman or man. What was important was that the person leading them should be skilled. From these responses it is hoped that in time, indeed leadership will become genderless and people will be judged based on capability and not gender.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

The results of this study confirms what literature asserts that women face barriers such as lack of mentors, inability to balance work and household activities due to unequal division of household activities and general gender discrimination by men who believe that women are not born to lead because they are too emotional to handle work pressure. It is in light of these results that recommendations are made that:

- Organisations develop focused strategic planning by having retention strategies where they target women as the next in line for management and leadership positions. This will assist organisations to have a pool where they draw women for succession purposes.
- Collection of sex desegregated data and research on the implementation of gender equality programmes should form part of organisational strategic plan regarding retention strategies of women within organisations.
- Organisations develop leadership programmes targeting women to enable them to develop confidence and the "killer instinct" men are postulated to possess. Trainings should be tailor-made for women taking into consideration their social role in society, as such trainings

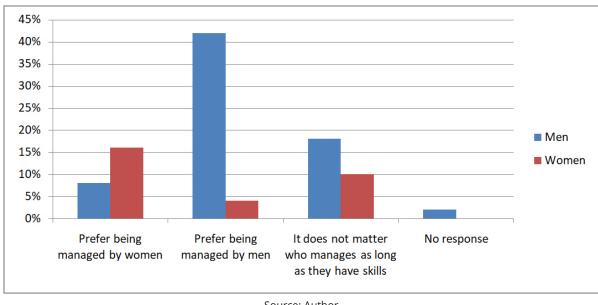


Figure 3: Leader Preference

should be scheduled at venues that are conducive for women to be able to travel home and be able to still attend to household chores.

- Bursaries targeting women as a group for them further their studies in order to enable them to compete on the same level as men when opportunities for career advancement present themselves.
- Organisations should endeavour to provide child care facilities, family rooms and nursing rooms for new mothers. Flexible working hours should be implemented by organisations to allow women to pick up kids to and from school.

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