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PhD Dissertation

Title:

Individual Identity, Organizational Identity and Racial Transformation in the Market Research Industry in South Africa

Abstract

The market research industry prides itself on providing accurate and reliable information and solutions to varying business problems. However, the industry has been faced with the challenge of racial transformation at senior decision-making positions of the organisations. The pace of upward mobility of black researchers is slow and this is a threat for the industry because the senior level positions are often tasked with the analysis of research data and formulation of the strategic insights and business solutions to communicate to clients and stakeholders to meet their business needs. Therefore, it is difficult to be confident that the data about the black market does not get lost in translation and interpretation due to cultural nuances that may not be accessed. What is unique about the market research industry is that promotions to senior level positions are based on training on the job and the mastering of relevant skills on the job rather than specific prior training at college or university level. This opened theoretical and practical questions about the individual and organisational qualities that made it difficult for black researchers to progress to senior level positions.

A phenomenological research approach was implemented to explore the lived experiences of the black researchers and the organisations, which could explain the slow upward mobility pace. In-depth semi-structured individual interviews were conducted with four CEOs of prominent organisations in the industry and 14 black researchers at various levels in these organisations. These interviews identified the organisational identity espoused by the leadership and the organisational identity lived by the black researchers. Narrative identity research approach and Erikson's (1956) stage developmental model guided the process of understanding the individual identity of the black researchers at the point of the interview.

The results suggest that there are three categories of black researchers in the industry. It is those who are not promoted within a specified timeframe promised by the leadership who leave the organisations, those who are not promoted but stay in the organisations for longer periods than would have been expected and those researchers who are promoted to senior

level positions. Each of these categories shows unique individual qualities that potentially shape their experience in the organisations. A framework for understanding the interplay between the various lived experiences and outcomes has been developed.

The slow pace of racial transformation at senior levels of the organisations can be traced to the responses of organisational management to change and the types of social exchange relationships between the black researchers and management. Future research may quantify the findings and validate the framework developed in this study to establish generalisability in the industry and in contexts outside the market research industry. A case study research methodology focusing on all the demographics of the organisations could also enrich the framework.

Key words: individual identity, organisational identity, racial transformation, social exchange, organisational values, market research industry, positive organisational behaviour (POB), perceived organisational support (POS).

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Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BAWM	Black Acquired White Managed
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BOM	Black Owned and Managed
BUD	Business Unit Director
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CODESA	Convention for Democratic South Africa
EE	Employment Equity
EWOM	Emerging White Owned and Managed
FMCG	Fast Moving Consumer Goods
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
IAWM	Internationally Acquired White Managed
JRE	Junior Research Executive
NP	National Party
PI	Preliminary Interview
RE	Research Executive
SAMRA	Southern African Market Research Association
SRE	Senior Research Executive
SPM	Senior Project Manager

1. Introduction

The South African history of racial segregation and the achievement of democracy have been well documented (Aram & Salipante, 2003; Seekings & Nattrass, 2008; Stanwix, 2014; A. Thomas & Jain, 2004). Although democracy was achieved in 1994, the racial inequality legacy persists in all aspects of the South African society (Le Roux, 2014; Mapadimeng, 2014; Moloi, 2014; Ozler & Hoogeveen, 2005; Rademeyer, 2014; A. Thomas & Jain, 2004). Poverty and wealth, for instance, can still be clearly demarcated along racial lines (Adato, Carter, & May, 2006; Ozler & Hoogeveen, 2005). South African universities are still largely dominated by white students and white professors (Costandius et al., 2015; Joubert, 2014; Kamsteeg & de Groot, 2015) and this access to advancement is reflected in the income disparities of the various racial groups in the country. For instance, the Census 2011 indicates that in 2011 the average income per year of an African headed household in South Africa was R60 613 compared to R112 172 for Coloureds, R251 541 for Indian/Asian and R365 134 for Whites (Bailey, 2012; StatsSA, 2012a).

These income disparities are wide and they suggest that race continues to typify the South African society and the economy in particular. In many organisations the racial transformation of senior positions has been slow (Mapadimeng, 2014; Moleke, 2006) and the reasons offered for the status quo vary from one industry to another (Khoele & Daya, 2014). The often mentioned reason is the lack of relevant skills from black candidates (Booysen, 2007), while black managers mention the racialised and often hostile organisational cultures that prevent them from entering and staying in the organisations (Nkomo, 2011).

This study focuses on the market research industry to explore some of the challenges the industry faces concerning the disparities in racial representation, specifically at senior management level positions. The problem statement is articulated below to illustrate the reasons that prompted interest in this industry in particular. The purpose for the study and research objectives are provided in order to set out what the study aims to achieve.

1.1. The context to the study

Like many colonised states, South Africa went through conflict before achieving independence and democracy in 1994 (Wilson, 2001). However, compared to most states that have experienced conflict, the South African conflict resolution story is inspiring (Lewis, 2001) because the negotiations in 1991 were anchored on the need to ensure peace and compromise in the country (Mandela, 1994; Wilson, 2001). Conflicted parties were mindful of the power dynamics at play and emphasis was placed on power re-distribution to maintain the stability of the country (Gevisser, 2007; Mandela, 1994; Wilson, 2001). This is rare in African politics as every so often violence and coups are used to dismantle governments (Collier & Hoeffler, 2005; Lemarchand, 1994; Mbeki, 2009).

One major promise made by the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (NP) leaders during the pre-democracy negotiations (post Nelson Mandela's release from prison) was a free, safe and just South Africa where all its inhabitants would participate equitably in decision-making and wealth creation of the country (De Klerk, 1998; Mandela, 1994). White South Africans recognised that Apartheid was no longer sustainable. To defuse any potential collapse of security (physical and economic), they would let democracy prevail and contribute to reconstructing the country (De Klerk, 1998). This entailed, inter alia, the openness to the implementation of the reconciliation policies represented by the Employment Equity (EE) Act and the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy (Mbeki, 2009). The urge for black South Africans to revenge was also palpable, but it was contained by the vision of an inclusive South Africa, where black dignity would be restored and black people would participate equally in opportunities to wealth creation (Mandela, 1994).

These resolutions were not merrily arrived at, but were negotiated in lengthy meetings, including the Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA) meetings, that were at some point temporally halted due to devastating violent killings in the townships between members of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC. The CODESA meetings were later resumed

because talking to each other and negotiating was seen as the only solution to the country's problems (Mandela, 1994). The product of those negotiations was a negotiated democracy that would involve measures to create an equitable society where all who lived in it would contribute equally and equally reap the fruits of their contributions. These involved transformation of all sectors of society to include those previously excluded. Therefore, for the sake of sustained stability and sustainable peace in the country, it is crucial that transformation, diversity and economic power dynamics continue to be sensitively managed (Human, 1996b).

However, the transformation agenda can be fraught with resentment and suspicion, as it involves an uncomfortable process of confronting perceptions and assumptions about the different groups (Maier, 2002). According to Maier (2002), bringing the different group members together to construct new experiences can be daunting. For instance, reports on the progress and extent to which transformation is taking place in South African organisations suggest that there has been numerous lip-service cases, where the principles of affirmative action have not been made an integral part of the organisation's planning, employee engagements and reward systems (Booysen, 2007; Human, 1993). Human (1996b) asserts that at the core of the lip service, is the belief that black people are fundamentally inferior to white people. Since it is no longer acceptable in many organisations to express such (conventional) views, individuals harbour them together with the need to hold on to power, and thus they articulate all the right things publically but their actions contradict their utterances. They pay lip-service to the transformation efforts (Human, 1996b; Nkomo, 2011).

The results of such subtle attitudes are as brutal, if not worse, as those overtly expressed because they have the power to affect how the discriminated individual view him or herself (Wa Thiongo, 1994) which thus affect how he or she reacts to particular situations (Human, 1996b). Booysen (2007) is of the view that the subtle attitudes are at times expressed through a tendency not to delegate real responsibility to black people, which at times, contributes to high attrition levels of black people in management positions (Booysen, 2007). Wa Thiongo

(1994, p. 16), expresses the impact of one's inner perceptions to play a huge role in how one relates with and responds to the world around him or her:

> *"How people perceive themselves affects how they look at their culture, at their politics and at the social production of wealth, at their entire relationship to nature and to other beings".*

Kammeyer-Mueller, Judge, and Piccolo (2008) studied the relationship between self-esteem, education, income and occupational prestige amongst individuals in their early careers over a seven year period. The results suggest that self-esteem increased occupational prestige and income but career outcomes did not alter self-esteem. Similarly, in a study to explore the relationship of ethnic identity to self-esteem, perceived self-efficacy and prosocial attitudes, E. P. Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, and Seay (1999) found that self-esteem and ethnic identity are distinctive but related contributors to adolescents' views of their ability to achieve academically, to find meaningful careers and to value prosocial means to achieve their goals. These studies support Wa Thiongo's (1994) views on the impact of self-perceptions on how one relates with the world around oneself.

Thus, it was important for this study to investigate how self-perceptions evidence themselves in transformation matters among black individual employees in white lead organisations. It was proposed that self-perceptions may explain how each individual interpreted and dealt with the situations in the organisations for which they worked.

1.2. Problem statement

The market research industry in South Africa provides market solutions to a wide variety of sectors. Amongst those are the automotive sector, fast moving consumer goods (FMCG), banking and insurance, service sectors such as tourism and hospitality, retailing and telecommunications (TNS, 2012). The industry provides solutions to a range of marketing problems by applying both traditional research methods, such as paper based questionnaires and more innovative research solutions, such as online interview techniques (Ipsos, 2012; Synovate, 2012).

While all organisations in South Africa are legislated according to the Employment Equity Act of 1998 to ensure a fair demographic representation of citizens of the country at all levels of management, the South African labour force has been observed to continue evidencing a concentration of white individuals in senior management positions, while black individuals are mostly concentrated in unskilled or non-managerial positions (Moleke, 2006; Nkomo, 2011). According to Moleke (2006), this phenomenon is more widespread in the private sector than it is in the public sector. Although not extensively published, this trend of sluggish progression of black researchers into senior positions appears to be visible in the market research industry as well (See preliminary Interviews with a Recruitment Agent, Founding Partners and an HR practitioner of prominent market research organisations, p. 301). For instance, based on the SAMRA (2012c) Salary Survey, the demographic reflection of the employees included in the survey was as follows:

Table 1: Positions Profile (SAMRA Salary Survey, 2012)

n	Job Category	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Female	Male	Average Years in Position
n = 613								
8	Managing Director/Chief Executive Officer	1	0	0	7	4	4	7.17
4	Operations Director	0	0	1	3	1	3	3.73
5	Financial Director	0	0	0	5	4	1	5.35
3	Human Resource Director	1	0	0	2	1	2	1.20
18	Research/Client Director	1	0	0	17	12	6	3.37
5	Marketing Director	1	0	0	4	1	4	3.00
5	Financial Manager	1	1	0	3	4	1	2.86
2	Operations Manager	0	1	0	1	1	1	2.00
7	Human Resource Manager	0	0	2	5	7	0	3.35
4	Marketing Manager	0	0	0	4	3	1	2.50
15	National Field Manager/Director	1	0	2	12	7	8	2.79

74	Account Director	0	0	2	72	55	19	2.56
20	Research/Account Manager/Key Account Manager	1	2	3	14	15	5	3.25
7	Data Processing Manager	0	5	2	0	5	2	0.64
17	Field Manager	4	0	0	13	14	3	1.67
31	Fieldwork Supervisor	9	5	3	14	29	2	2.28
51	Senior Research Executive/Senior Project Manager	9	1	10	31	33	18	1.40
59	Research Executive/Project Manager	18	6	6	29	46	13	1.35
69	Junior Research Exec/Research Assist/Trainee/Intern	28	1	10	29	46	23	1.30
42	Specifier/Programmer/CATI specialist/data analyst/System Developer	10	7	13	12	12	30	1.63
14	Data Processing Supervisor	4	2	4	4	6	8	8.00
37	Field Assistant/Coordinator	18	3	3	13	23	14	3.68
13	Receptionist	5	2	2	4	13	0	8.64
2	Editor/Coder/Data Capturer	1	0	0	1	2	0	2.80
25	Call Centre Manager/Supervisor	4	5	4	12	17	8	3.12
10	Call Centre Quality Assuror	9	1	0	0	7	3	2.86
14	Statistician	2	1	4	7	6	8	2.35
10	Database Administrator	7	1	1	1	6	4	1.25
10	Quality Manager (e.g. SABS/ISO)	1	1	2	5	9	1	3.98
23	Quantitative Data Collector	12	10	0	1	16	7	3.82
7	Qualitative Data Collector	5	1	0	1	5	2	Not indicated

The annual SAMRA salary survey is based on voluntary participation of the member organisations. Some organisations have opted not to participate in it and thus this sample is not exhaustive of all the employees in the industry. However, the above trend can be regarded as a good indication of how the industry is constituted. The trend suggests that the industry is dominated by white employees, particularly at management positions in all parts of the divisions. Specifically in the client facing positions that are of interest to this study, black employees are proportionally represented only in the Junior Research Exec/Research Assistant/Trainee/Intern positions.

In this industry, junior positions are often reserved for data collection and responsibilities with limited decision-making influence. The analyses of research results and interpretations often rest with senior researchers (See preliminary interview with Founding Partners of a prominent market research organisation, p. 301). Although some black researchers do progress to senior levels, these cases are relatively marginal as most remain in mid-management positions (Bizcommunity, 2012). This is concerning since the market research industry prides itself on providing accurate and reliable information and solutions to varying business problems (TNS, 2012). It raises questions related to how the industry guarantees that the interpretations of

research findings about the black majority are reliable and accurate when this population is not adequately represented in senior decision-making positions that interpret the research data in the organisations and thus offer strategic direction to clients or research users.

While studying the process that professional designers go through to produce a new design, Hutchinson and Tracey (2015) found that professional identity is very closely linked to individual identity because when producing new designs, professional designers always used individual experiences and backgrounds for inspiration. Similarly, Ibarra (1999) found amongst professionals transitioning to senior roles that, before they could settle into the kind of professional they want to become, they tend to lean on their individual identity together with the use of role models in their profession and internal standards within the organisation as the basis for the development of their professional identity. Thus, the significance of individual identification and biases in the process of interpreting research results may potentially be a real threat for the market research industry. This threat could be mitigated by ensuring a fair or equal representation of individuals from different backgrounds. However, such background representation is currently limited in the industry, especially fair racial representation.

The reasons often cited for the racial disparities in the industry are the limited supply of black researchers of senior calibre to occupy senior positions (See preliminary Interviews with a Recruitment Agent, Founding Partners and an HR practitioner of prominent market research organisations, p. 301). However, this reason might be naïve, considering that there is no formal training such as a college or university degree to prepare market researchers for employment in the industry or for promotions. Only from the year 2010 had there been evidence of a drive from the Southern African Marketing Research Association (SAMRA) to expose market research to university students as a viable career choice (Thirion-Venter, 2011). Prior to that the profession was not actively marketed and exposed in universities.

Most individuals enter the industry by accident, with related qualifications such as training in the social sciences, business related or marketing degrees and statistics, often as a consequence of difficulties in finding employment in the desired fields (Bizcommunity, 2012; Thirion-Venter, 2011). A select few enter the industry with a research psychology degree since it is a postgraduate degree accessible to a few students (UNISA, 2012).

Therefore, almost all market researchers learn the required skills such as data analysis, report writing and presentation to clients, on the job. They are promoted to senior positions as they master these required skills (See preliminary interview with Founding Partners of a prominent market research organisation, p. 301). Thus, the inconsistencies in the number of black individuals who are promoted to senior levels raise questions about the industry norms, values and behaviours that breed such inconsistencies, particularly since, as illustrated, it is under mentorship that one is exposed to the skills required for a promotion.

The author recognises that while the pace of promotions was slow there were those few individual black researchers who progressed to senior levels. Thus, questions arise about the individual traits of the promoted black researchers and the traits of those who remain at the bottom ranks for several years with limited signs of willingness to change their circumstances. Answers to these questions could help explain why black individuals with skills progress slowly or not at all.

1.3. The purpose for this study

The purpose of this study is to explore the interplay between individual identity and organisational identity, in racial transformation efforts, in the market research industry in South Africa. Both the individual qualities and traits of the black researchers and the organisations are investigated with the aim to explore the lived experiences related to racial transformation efforts and processes in this industry.

In order to understand the interplay between individual identity and organisational identity, each construct is explored and the traits that shape each one established. The voices of black researchers are particularly attended to and highlighted, since they are often absent in conversations about racial transformation in the market research industry.

1.4. The significance of the research

In the past 21 years, racial transformation has been a hotly contested issue in all areas of South African life, such as the sports (Cupido, 2015; Rademeyer, 2014), the economy (Igbatayo & Awoyemi, 2014; Madzivhandila, 2014; Samodien, 2014; Worku, 2014), the arts (Le Roux, 2014; Q. E. Williams & Stroud, 2014) and education (Joubert, 2014; Moloi, 2014). The reality is that a very slow racial transformation process is taking place in all these areas and there is increasing impatience with the status quo from the citizens (Friedman, 2014a). At the core of the contestations is the limited empathy for what each of the racial groups is going through, and how they are dealing with both the past and the present because they know little about each other (Friedman, 2012).

The conversations taking place in private and public discourse often deteriorate to blame, where one group is accused of either resisting change or holding on too much to the past or refusing to see past it (Maier, 2002). Although these conversations may simply reflect a normal and healthy process towards a common understanding, they could potentially lead to a total breakdown of the social relations if left unchecked (Friedman, 2012). Thus, it is important to encourage a safe space where each group can express what they are going through. This study is focusing on the racial transformation of the economy, specifically on the market research industry, to better understand racial transformation challenges faced by this industry. The significance of the study is in that it will contribute to the emergence of voices that have been silent in the discussions about racial transformation in the market research industry. The individuals visible in discussions about racial transformation are often those with leadership power, while those without such power remain silent.

The significance of the research includes the increased awareness of the experiences of both those with leadership power and the subordinates in the industry that may be contributing to the sluggish nature of transformation, specifically at senior level positions. This may assist decision makers to have more informed discussions related to racial transformation of the industry, which may potentially lead to the development of relevant and sustainable transformation measures. It has already been illustrated that the racial transformation of this industry is important to promote a fair representation of the research insights generated. This will improve confidence levels of clients or research users that the market research advice and business solutions solicited from this industry are representative of the worldviews of the wider South African population.

It was proposed that both individual identity and organisational identity play a major role in facilitating or delaying transformation efforts and the interaction between the two concepts could shed important insights to contribute to the progressive transformation journey. The significance of the study is that it provides potential answers to this assumption. The empirical findings illustrate how individual and organisational identity constructs manifest under covert power dynamics, including the role they play in enabling or hindering desired behaviour.

Individual identity and its role in adaptable behaviour has been well studied in the psychology discipline (Amiot, Blanchard, & Gaudreau, 2008; Côté, 2006; Côté & Levine, 1987). Some scholars have also introduced the concept to the management discipline, particularly, in human resource and diversity management studies (Fiol, 2001; Maier, 2002; Rowley & Moldoveanu, 2003). However, individual identity has not yet been explored in the management discipline through a phenomenological lens. Phenomenology is particularly sensitive to the individual experience and seeks to give a voice to marginalised voices (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009), which can be important when studying environments with covert power dynamics.

In addition, organisational identity is a relatively new concept in the management discipline (He & Balmer, 2007). As a result, fewer empirical studies have been conducted thus far, notwithstanding that the concept is theoretically strong (He & Balmer, 2007) when compared to the corporate identity concept which has a longer history within the management discipline (Balmer, Abratt, & Nsenki Mofokeng, 2001). This study is significant because it extends the empirical evidence for some of the theoretical frameworks proposed by scholars studying the organisational identity concept that have yet to be empirically demonstrated.

1.5. Working definitions

The Employment Equity Act defines **Black People** as Africans, Coloureds and Indians. For the purposes of this study, this definition is adopted.

The Market Research Industry constitutes of various organisations that provide research expertise to research users (i.e., clients) to answer questions related to customers and consumers in order to influence their purchasing or service adoption behaviour.

Transformation refers to the convictions that drive the equitable representation (or lack of) of the South African racial demographics in senior level management positions.

1.6. Research objectives

The main research objective for the study is to:

Explore the interplay between individual identity and organisational identity in the racial transformation of the market research industry

In order to meet this research objective, sub research objectives were identified in order to break each component of the construct in the main research objective into palatable chunks. The following are the sub research objectives:

1. To describe the life experiences of black market researchers and the values defining them as individuals.
2. To identify the individuality and unique qualities amongst the black market researchers
3. To describe the organisational identity of the market research industry espoused by management, with reference to racial transformation.
4. To describe the organisational identity of the market research industry as lived by black market researchers
5. To explore how the black market researchers' individuality shapes their experience of the organisations
6. To identify the elements of individual identity and organisational identity that inspire or stifles transformation efforts in the market research industry.

1.7. The delimitations of the study

In order to explore individual and organisational identity, subjective narratives by the respondents were gathered rather than the usage of validated identity assessment instruments to arrive to a supposedly objective sense of identity. Although group identity such as racial identity was observed, the emphasis of the study was on the individual identity inclusive and beyond race identity, such as social identity and professional identity influenced by all the life experiences narrated by the individual from the earliest childhood memories to the point of the interview. Similarly, organisational identity was confined to the aspects that were espoused by the organisational leadership in relation to those narrated and experienced by the organisational employees under investigation. Thus, subjective experiences were the focus for the study rather than objective observations through objective research instruments.

Studies aimed at validating established identity assessments instruments in the South African context have found the instruments to be limiting because of the contextual nuances (e.g. socio-economic status) that are not incorporated in the instruments. These studies have recommended the use of qualitative research methodologies in future research in order to capture these nuances (Alberts, 2000; Alberts, Mbalo, & Ackermann, 2003; Alberts & Meyer, 1998).

While the Employment Equity Act refers to transformation in broader terms such as the representation of previously disadvantaged groups (i.e. women, people with disability and black people) in managerial positions in all South African organisations (Lewis, 2001), transformation in this study is limited to racial transformation of specifically, the market research industry. This includes both the equitable racial representations and the cultural transformation of the industry so as to be inclusive of the values and beliefs held by all the various racial groups represented in the organisation.

The market research industry is the focus for data collection, analysis and interpretation of the results for the study. Although a few specific market research organisations were sampled for the data collection purposes, the findings are reported to reflect the market research industry in South Africa. The industry is composed of organisations with specific typical characteristics and the organisations selected for participation in the study were a reflection of those typical characteristics. Hence, it is possible to report the findings from the various organisations as reflective of the industry. However, the findings cannot be generalised to industries outside of the market research industry nor to countries outside South Africa.

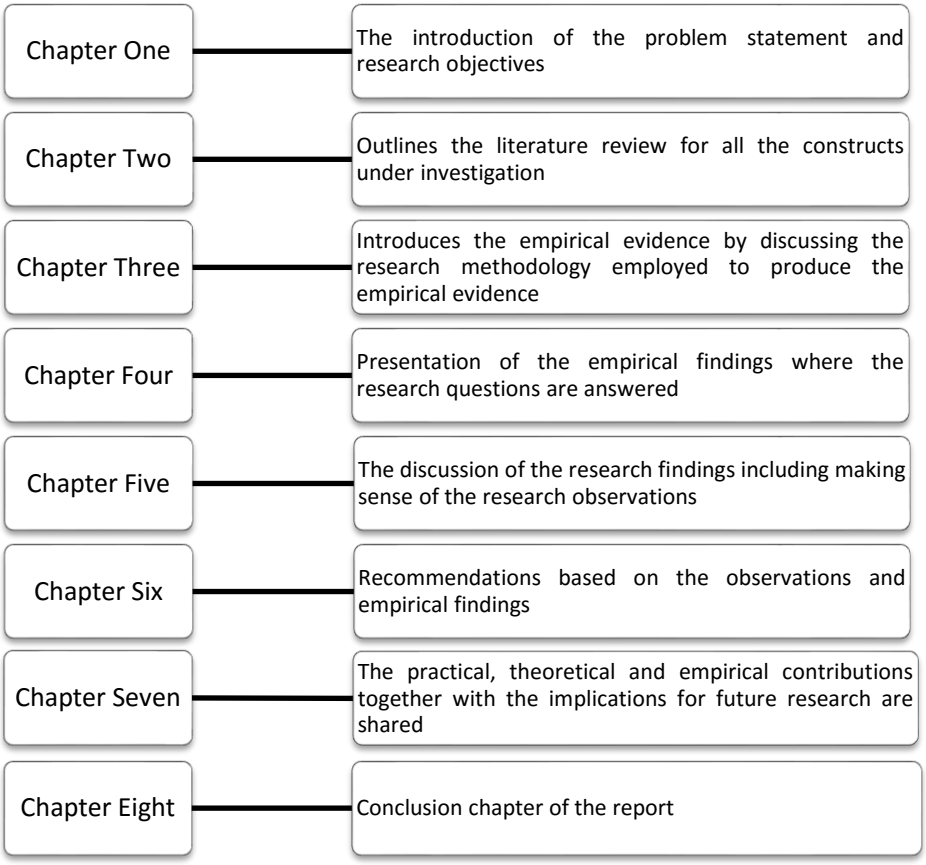
1.8. The organisation of the report

The research began with an articulation of the research problem based on literature review. The literature review process was a daunting process because of the limited literature about the market research industry and the racial transformation journey (the author was aware of the issues and challenges based on experience of working in the industry). To overcome this challenge, the researcher conducted preliminary interviews with human resource professionals and independent recruitment personnel to learn about their views on the state of racial transformation in the industry. These professionals confirmed the author's observations that movements into senior positions were rare for black market researchers.

Taking into consideration the views of these professionals and the author's own observations, a proposal was formulated to look into the transformation challenges faced by the industry. Assumptions about the possibility of individual identity and organisational identity contributing to the situation were made. Literature review of individual identity and organisational identity was done together with literature review into the South African transformation journey and measures applied to facilitate the transformation of South African society. The literature review suggested that there was a gap in the knowledge of the lived experiences of black market researchers. Thus, the author decided to approach the research through an interpretivism ontology and phenomenology as the epistemology to focus on the lived experiences of both the individuals and the organisations.

The report has been structured to tell the story of the research process from problem statement to discussion and sense making of research findings. The problem statement and research objectives were introduced in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 outlines the literature review for all the constructs under investigation. Chapter 3 introduces the empirical part by outlining the research methodology employed in order to produce the empirical evidence. Chapter 4 is the presentation of the empirical findings where the research questions are answered. Chapter 5 is the discussion of the research findings, including making sense of the research observations. Chapter 6 provides recommendations based on the observations and empirical findings. Chapter 7 presents the practical, theoretical and empirical contributions together with the implications for future research. Chapter 8 is the conclusion chapter of the report.

FIG 1: SUMMARY OF THE ORGANISATION OF THE REPORT



2. Literature Review

This study chapter will present the literature relevant to this study. It will start with an overview of the market research industry followed by a review of Individual Identity, Organisational Identity and Racial Transformation as concepts.

2.1. The Market Research Industry

The market research industry can be traced as far back as 1910 in the United States, while market research techniques emerge as early as 1824 (Lockley, 1950). The profession developed from a simple desire to collect information about the market with limited care for questions of validity and reliability of the information collected (Lockley, 1950). In 1911, the industry grew to cover all industries, such as food, agricultural equipment, automobile and textiles, under the leadership of Mr. Stanley R. Latshaw of The Curtis Publishing Company (Lockley, 1950). In the same year, the Bureau of Business Research was established at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration (Lockley, 1950), which supported the industry to develop formalised research techniques to take into consideration reliability and validity matters in the research process.

In South Africa, market research activities began to show signs of growth to suggest the establishment of an industry in the 1960s (SAMRA, 2012b). This prompted the need to promote professionalism amongst the researchers, including the sharing of ideas and new developments (SAMRA, 2012b). In 1963, the Southern African Market Research Association (SAMRA) was established as a voluntary association of market researchers to meet this need, together with the desire to promote the effective use of marketing research by decision-makers on the client-side (SAMRA, 2012b).

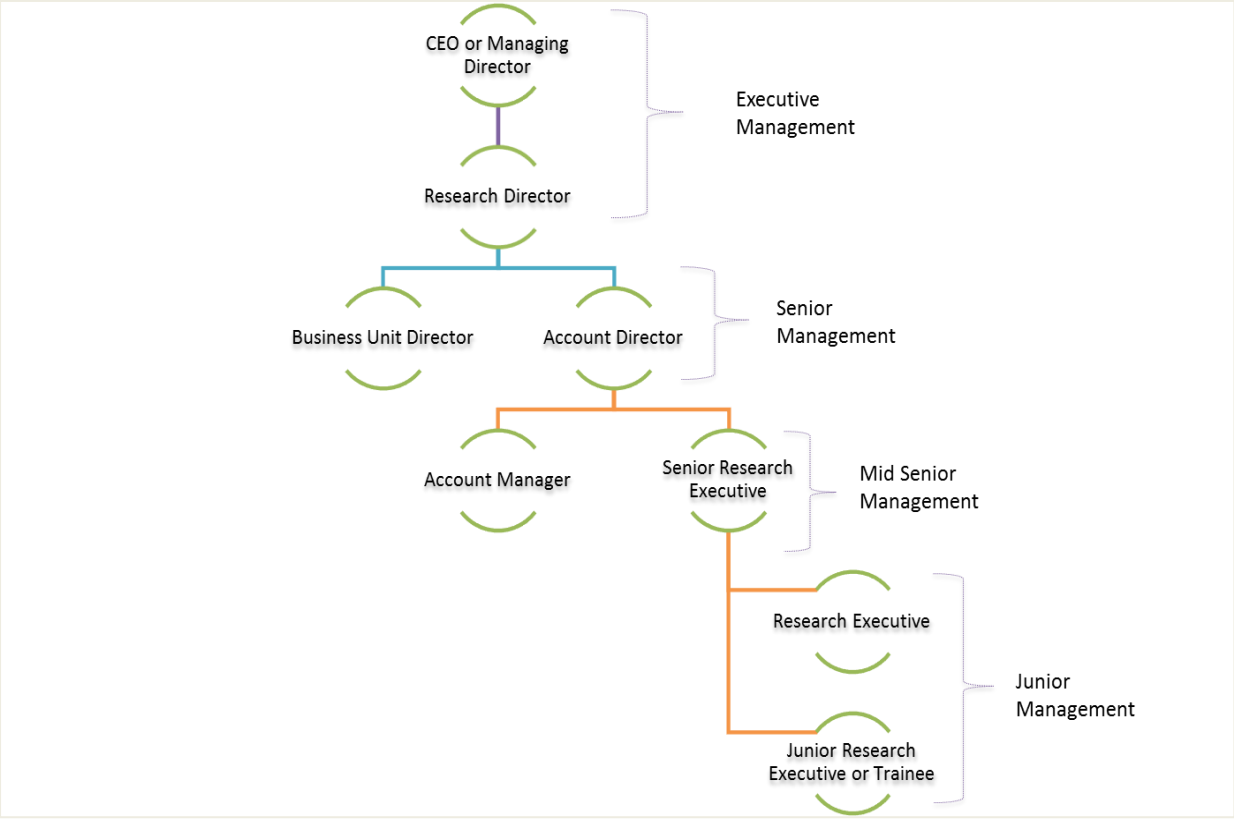
SAMRA is a professional body of individuals engaged in every aspect of marketing research – from planning, supervising and setting standards for the industry, to teaching and promoting professionalism in marketing research (SAMRA, 2012b). A total of 36 organisations were registered in the 2012 SAMRA database (SAMRA, 2012a) and they have since grown to 81

organisations, including research users (clients) in 2015 (SAMRA, 2015), suggesting that research organisations see value in being affiliates with SAMRA. These organisations provide market research services to all other industries in South Africa (i.e. textile, hospitality, automobile, food, health and beauty, mining, politics, etc.) (TNS, 2012) and they compete with each other for business and clients. Each organisation competes by differentiation based on specialisation on a particular market area or research technique. To name a few examples, Columinate Pty (Ltd) specialises in Online Market Research (Columinate, 2012), Consulta specialises in customer satisfaction research (Consulta, 2012), Kaufman Levin Associates (KLA) specialises in qualitative research methodologies (KLA, 2012), Millward Brown Ltd specialises in brand health and brand communication research (MillwardBrown, 2012) and Youth Dynamix specialises in youth research and strategy (YouthDynamix, 2012).

This industry is very influential as it provides support to all other industries in South Africa (TNS, 2012) to maximise the potential profitability and sustainability of those industries. StatsSA (2012b) does not single out the market research industry in its Quarterly Labour Force report but classifies it under Financial Intermediation, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services category. This industry category is the third largest employer in South Africa in terms of the number of individuals employed (1 811 000) after the Community and Social Services category (3 025 000) and the Trade category (2 962 000). The employment growth observed in quarter four of this Quarterly Labour Force report was driven by an increase in the number of individuals employed in the Financial Intermediation, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services industry category, which amounts to an increase by 74 000 individuals since quarter two 2012 report (StatsSA, 2012b). Therefore, the market research industry could be regarded as being part of the most influential industries in South Africa. The industry itself may be small in terms of size and the number of people employed but it is significant and influential in terms of the impact it has on all other industries.

In terms of organisational structure and reporting levels, all organisations in the market research industry are structured in a similar fashion. The titles of positions may differ from one organisation to another but in essence, they comprise the following levels:

FIG 2: STRUCTURAL LEVELS IN THE MARKET RESEARCH INDUSTRY (SAMRA SALARY SURVEY, 2012)



These positions apply to those individuals who liaise with clients and manage the research process from taking a research brief, proposal writing, briefing the project to fieldwork co-ordinators to the report writing and presentation of results to clients. In addition to these positions, there are teams of individuals who provide support to client facing positions such as fieldwork co-ordinators who ensure that data collection and capturing is conducted smoothly, and finance managers who supervise that research project expenses are kept on budget to ensure profitability (SAMRA, 2012c). The following are the roles and responsibilities associated with each position and level:

Table 2: The Roles and Responsibilities Associated with Each Level (SAMRA Salary Survey, 2012)

Role	Responsibilities	level
Research assistant (RA)/ Research Intern/ Junior Research Executive (JRE)	• Trainee in all aspects of the research process; • may have a degree or diploma and 0 to 2 years relevant experience; • provides support to the research executive; • assists with the co-ordination and control of the flow of work and resources between team members	Skilled technical
Research Executive (RE) or Project Manager (PM)	• writing, presentations and client projects; • develops project activity schedules; • A degree is generally required as well as 2 - 3 years' experience. • May report to Senior Research Executive or Account Manager	Junior management
Senior Research Executive (SRE) or Senior Project Manager (SPM)	• Assists Account Director in the management of a client portfolio and on-going relationship with client; • identifies the issue requiring research and determines the information needs of the clients; • writes proposals; develops and documents an integrated (project) plan; • manages (lead, organise, co-ordinate, control) the implementation of projects and co-ordinates relevant internal departments in order to ensure that work is carried out; • contributes to process improvement; • responsible for questionnaire design and presentations; • may have one or two research executives reporting to them	Middle management
Account Manager (AM) or Research Manager (RM)	• Manages or assists in the management of a client portfolio and the on-going relationship with the client; • writes proposals and is responsible for research instrument design and presentations; • co-ordinates relevant internal departments in order to ensure that research is carried out successfully; • may have one or more research executives / teams reporting to them	Middle management
Account Director (AD) or Business Unit Director (BUD)	• Responsible for managing a research team and achieving specific sales targets; • enters into and manages contracts with clients; • responsible for a range of accounts; • oversees the development of a realistic plan of a portfolio of accounts that supports future growth; • ensures that accounts are monitored and evaluated; • establishes and maintains collaborative business relationships with relevant stakeholders, including clients/customers, suppliers, and beneficiaries; • manages (plan, lead, organise, control) research executives	Senior management
Research/Client Director	• Provides strategic direction of research. • Assumes ultimate responsibility for the research division, budget and outputs • Manages client and industry stakeholder relationships. • Consults with clients. Sets revenue targets.	Executive management

The focus of this research was restricted to the above positions because these are the positions that require the competences to manage and influence clients, which are the core competences required to progress to seniority in the industry (see preliminary interview with an HR practitioner of a prominent market research organisation, p. 301). Although not widely documented, it is open knowledge in the industry that black researchers tend to be concentrated in mid management and junior management positions (SAMRA, 2012c). The reasons attributed to the status quo are subjective and based on assumptions that have not been adequately understood. Hlongwane and Thirion-Venter (2014) suggest that poor levels of mentorship in the industry might be one of the reasons for the status quo. They assert that real transformation in the industry will require a transfer of knowledge from one race to the other and from one generation to another through a process of mentorship (Hlongwane & Thirion-Venter, 2014).

Most of the organisations tend to downplay the racial representation at all levels of the organisation as prescribed by the Employment Equity Act and they rather focus on the BEE scorecard (see preliminary interview with a Recruitment Agent recruiting talent for the industry, p. 301). Since the BEE scorecard can be monitored and used as a competitive advantage, the organisations pay more attention to presenting an appealing BEE status level (see preliminary interview with a Recruitment Agent recruiting talent for the industry, p. 301). However, BEE status levels can be misleading because the components that make up the levels can be manipulated. For instance, Black Ownership is one of the components making up the BEE scorecard that contribute high on the calculation of the overall scorecard to give a BEE status level. Thus, some of the organisations manipulate their scorecard by selling the majority of the shares to a silent black partner who is not involved in the day-to-day running of the company (see preliminary interview with Founding Partners of a prominent market research organisation, p. 301). Since black ownership contributes to an increased status level, this gives the organisations advantage over others as they appear to be transformed and they win more projects from companies who insist on doing business with transformed companies (see preliminary interview with an HR practitioner of a prominent market research organisation, p. 301).

However, this practice does not address the challenge of transformation because the day-to-day running of the company remains with the same management since the black partner is not involved in the running of the company (see preliminary interview with Founding Partners of a prominent market research organisation, p. 301) and the status quo remains the same while the organisations gain a bogus advantage for being “apparently transformed” (see preliminary interview with an HR practitioner of a prominent market research organisation, p.301). Therefore, the BEE status level of the organisations is not the focus of this study. The study is rather on the employment equity status and power distribution represented by the composition of positions in the structure of each of the organisations.

BEE is often viewed as synonymous with transformation in the industry (see preliminary Interviews with a Recruitment Agent, Founding Partners and an HR practitioner of prominent market research organisations, p. 301). Therefore, the BEE status level of the organisations and experiences with implementing BEE were used for conversational purposes to trigger thoughts about the process of transformation to gauge how the organisations have been dealing with and experiencing the process of racial transformation.

2.2. Individual identity

In essence, identity is understood to be the set of beliefs that assists one to respond to the question 'who am I?' (Behyan, Naseri, Piri, & Piri, 2015; Foreman & Whetten, 2002). Lynd (1958) argued that in order for one to respond to the question 'who am I?', one has to first answer the question 'where do I belong?'. Thus, a sense of identity means that one has to bring to awareness the unconscious identifications they have integrated from their families, culture and the society in which they live (Behyan et al., 2015; Totakhil, 2015). The emphasis is on the iterative process or the idea that the same mechanism is repeated continually, while in the next loop the starting point is the outcome of the previous iteration. Thus, the sequence of short-term identification processes results in long-term development (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001).

This sense of self-awareness will, according to Côté (1996), direct how one reacts to different experiences encountered as it provides one with sets of meaning codes to which to ascribe these experiences. Thus, identity has been thought of as a campus for human life to use to navigate around one's world (Amiot et al., 2008; Harris, 2015). It provides a sense of grounding and it assists one to feel that she or he is someone and has a place where she or he belongs (Amiot et al., 2008; Amiot, De La Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007; Harris, 2015; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Erikson (1959) saw identity as a basic human accomplishment required for optimum psychological wellbeing (Tsang & Yip, 2006).

Two frameworks to identity development have been influential in understanding identity as a concept. The Erikson (1956) stage model which focuses on progression through normative stages and Marcia (1966) status model which views identity development as a shift from one identity status to another through pathways (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). Erikson is considered the father of identity theory because he is the earliest identity theorist to have formalised the concept of identity development (Schwartz, 2001). Although many scholars made references to identity before Erikson (G. R. Adams, Bennion, & Huh, 1989), Erikson provided a way to

study identity empirically when he placed identity development within a psychosocial framework of the human development lifecycle, such that identity could be seen in the context of an organising theory (Marcia, 1993). Freud (1930) introduced the idea of identification in the psychology discipline where he emphasised parental influence as the basis for developing a sense of self moulded during the development of the superego in infancy, which informs behaviour throughout adulthood (Schwartz, 2001). Erikson (1950) built on Freud (1930)'s idea of identification but argued that childhood was separated from adulthood by the presence of the self-selected elements of identity. For Erikson (1950), the realisation of identity signified the end of childhood.

According to Schwartz (2001), the Erikson (1950) identity theory is centred around the concept of identity confusion and identity synthesis. Identity confusion represents an inability to formulate a functional set of ideals on which to base an adult identity, while identity synthesis is incorporating childhood identifications into a larger self-determined set of ideals that are self-selected (Schwartz, 2001). Thus, an ego identity represents a coherent picture of an individual visible to both him or herself and the outside world (Erikson, 1956). Here vocational preferences, sexual orientation and ideological preferences all come together to form a picture of who one is (Schwartz, 2001, 2005). The more consistent and complete this picture is, the closer one is to ego identity synthesis, while the more incoherent and incomplete the picture is, the more ego identity confusion will be evident (Schwartz, 2001).

According to G. R. Adams et al. (1989), Erikson's ego identity development theory accounts for the interaction between psychological, social, historical and developmental factors of the personality, such that identity is both a continued sense of sameness with oneself and continued sharing of some essential character aspects with others. Erikson (1950)'s identity framework was formulated based on clinical observations of the individual functioning within his or her socio-historical context and thus the framework is not concerned with generalisability but the unique ways that all societies permit members to complete their identity (Waterman, 1988). Erikson (1959) asserted that all societies provide a scheduled timeframe in which identity is to be completed, even though the duration, intensity and

ritualisation may vary (G. R. Adams et al., 1989). Therefore, identity includes but is not limited to the sum of all the sequential identification of those childhood years when the child was often forced to become like the people he or she depended on (Erikson, 1959). Identity develops as a product of a crisis to be solved in the new identification with peers and with leader figures outside of the family (Waterman, 1988).

For instance, when studying race relations amongst Black Americans, refered to as 'negros' Erikson (1966) noted that negro identity often represented something absent or negative and a desperate quest. Negro writers often reflected what appeared to be a negative sense of self such as a sense of being invisible and unheard in society. Erikson (1966) concluded that rather than this being a negative identity, it was a demand to be seen, heard and recognised as individuals with a choice. For Erikson (1966), these were revolutionary writers who had chosen to be spokespersons of identity confusion. What they represented was a human dilema that every person finds in him or herself throughout childhood. Erikson (1966) understood this human dilema to be a pyschosocial identity containing a hierachy of positive and negative prototypes to choose from. For instance, a growing individual would be presented with malicious as well as ideal prototypes in their environment against which to mould their identity (Erikson, 1966).

These prototypes are presented by reward or punishment or by parental and community modelling. The positive identity is in conflict with that which society commands to be lived down and that potential future to be avoided. Thus, an individual growing up in an oppressed and exploited community who is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but is prevented from emulating them, is likely to fuse the negative images presented to him or her by the dominant majority with his or her own negative identity to become what society expects of him or her (Erikson, 1966). This serves the purpose of keeping the future from being filled with futile wishes. Thus, Erikson (1966) concluded that to arrive at a sense of identity, people do not ask "who am I?" but rather they ask "who do I want to make of myself?" and "what do I have to work with?". Those who are better trained by the realities of their historical context can

channel the energies that have the potential to be activated by development while suppressing those that would be a source of constant disappointment (Erikson, 1966).

Erikson (1950)'s thesis focused on understanding the human lifecycles and the developmental tasks to be mastered at each level of the lifecycle. He observed that for survival, an infant has to learn and accomplish developmental tasks such as trust, autonomy, initiative and productiveness, while overcoming mistrust, shame, guilt and inferiority. These are to be negotiated throughout childhood years and they are important as they form building blocks from where individual identity can be formulated (Amiot, Terry, Jimmieson, & Callan, 2006; Totakhil, 2015). Thus, a developmental task that has not adequately developed or overcome can create impediments in the identity formulation processes in later adulthood years (Amiot et al., 2006; Amiot, Terry, Wirawan, & Grice, 2010; Tsang & Yip, 2006).

The significant contribution of Erikson's writings is the observation that identity is a multifaceted construct formed within the context of others, which implies that one has to internalise cultural norms and play different roles within the acceptable norms of a particular society (Amiot et al., 2007; Totakhil, 2015). The first form of identity development occurs in infancy through a process of identification with the significant other (Erikson, 1966). This is where an infant assimilates the values and beliefs of the significant other (Côté & Levine, 1987). For instance, by observing parental love, a child learns how to display love, and by observing specific gender roles, a child learns appropriate gender specific behaviours. However, as the child reaches teenage years, the child begins to formulate an own identity beyond parental ways. The teenager becomes aware of his or her surroundings and he or she learns to separate from parents or significant others so as to formulate a view of own autonomous self (Côté, 2006; Côté & Levine, 1987; Erikson, 1968).

Erikson (1956) distinguished an ego identity and an ego ideal on the basis that an ego identity processes the self-images derived from the childhood developmental tasks, and evaluates them, so as to select those to integrate to the current developmental climate. The ego ideal

represents the utopian self-goals that an individual strives for without ever attaining them. Therefore, ego identity is the sense of self that is achieved but continuously improved, within a social reality (Côté & Levine, 1987). However, Erikson has been criticised for developing an eloquent and artistic theory based on clinical observations that was not backed by empirical research and from which operational definitions were difficult to extrapolate (Schwartz, 2001).

Marcia (1966) built on the work started by Erikson by focusing on the observable structure of identity relating to the role of identity to organise and harmonise diverse aspects of the person's physical, psychological and social being and thus assisting in achieving both solidarity with others and differentiation from them (Waterman, 1988). Marcia (1966), introduced the four identity development statuses, which are Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Achieved. Diffusion is when an individual is yet to explore and commit to a particular identity. Foreclosure is when an individual has committed to a certain identity solely based on the opinions of others. Moratorium is when an individual is exploring different options of their identity prior to committing to an identity and Achieved is when an individual has committed to an identity after a process of exploration (R. Williams & Waite, 2012).

For Marcia (1980), identity is an internal, self-constructed and dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs and individual history. The better organised this structure is, the better the individual is aware of his or her uniqueness and similarities to others. The less developed this structure is, the more confused the individual is about his or her own distinctiveness from others and the more he or she has to rely on external sources to identify him or herself (Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1988, 1999). Thus, identity can be seen in three aspects: structural or developmental aspects, phenomenological or experiential aspects and behavioural or the observable aspects of identity (Marcia, 1993). According to Bertram-Troost, de Roos, and Miedema (2006), the behavioural or observable aspects of identity have been the main focus of Marcia (1980)'s theory at the expense of the structural and phenomenological aspects. The focus on behavioural aspects has been a major criticism from a number of theorists as it is seen to underrepresent Erikson's theory, which was more inclusive to cover the

developmental and social aspects to identity (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Côté & Levine, 1987; Schwartz, 2001, 2005; van Hoof, 1999b).

According to Waterman (1988), Marcia is more concerned with styles or processes that an individual uses to approach the task of establishing, maintaining and if necessary, revisiting one's sense of personal identity. Thus, it is possible for an individual to be using several of the processes simultaneously in different domains of identity. For instance, one may be foreclosed with regards to religion, in moratorium with regards to a career, diffused with regards to sexual orientation and achieved with regards to political beliefs (Waterman, 1988). The difference between an individual in Foreclosure status and that in Achieved status is that although both of them may have established commitments regarding their beliefs, values and goals in a specific domain and seeking no changes in those domains, the commitments of the individual in Foreclosure were established without active consideration of alternative possibilities (Marcia, 1993; Waterman, 1988). The commitment is made to the first ideas seriously considered and often it is ideas derived from trusted significant others, while those in Achieved have made commitments based on a thorough interrogation of alternatives (Marcia, 1993).

Both those in identity Foreclosure and identity Achieved maintain their commitments because they are believed to be personally expressive or rewarding. Those individuals in identity Diffusion lack the firm commitment to goals, beliefs and values and they are not concerned with making such commitments. They hold temporary commitments that are subject to change and thus their sense of identity provides a weak sense of purpose in life and an unstable sense of continuity. Individuals in Moratorium identity status are in crisis. They are actively searching and exploring various alternatives with a strong desire to form identity commitments (Waterman, 1988).

The critical contribution of Marcia's identity status model is that it bridged a gap between Erikson's psychodynamic identity development model to a self-reporting approach, where

individuals are measured at a point in time and analysed based on their self-report on different domains of their lives at that moment in time. This approach provided a framework for non-clinicians to empirically study identity development using self-assessment tools (G. R. Adams et al., 1989; Baumeister, 1987). However, Côté and Levine (1987) criticised Marcia for misappropriating Erikson's concepts and terms and for focusing too much on the respondents' goals, beliefs and values in a separate number of domains of personal concern, thus failing to address spatial continuity, which is foundational for Erikson.

Schwartz (2001) argues that Marcia (1966)'s identity status model is better positioned as a character type model rather than a developmental stage model because each status has been associated with specific personality characteristics but the developmental sequencing of the statuses has not be clearly established. van Hoof (1999b) has argued that there is limited validation of the identity status model as different studies yield different results and the contradiction regarding the absence of a developmental continuum of the identity statuses yet the identity statuses are presented in a developmental like manner. van Hoof (1999a) calls for a major revision in the identity status model before it can be regarded as a valid identity development model.

Waterman (1988) finds this criticism to be unwarranted because, according to him, although Marcia's theory was inspired by Erikson, Marcia's status theory emphasises different aspects to those emphasised by Erikson but without deviating from Erikson's ego identity theory. Waterman (1988) is of the view that Marcia stresses the structure of identity that is observable, while Erikson stresses both the conscious and unconscious subjective sense of wholeness that represent the person's psychosocial motivation value to himself and significant others in the community. The sense of continuity is addressed in Marcia's theory through the identity related goals, beliefs and values that give the respondent a sense of continuity, reported in the various domains of the identity status during the interview. This model maintains that as long as the identity commitments formed remain stable, there will be a corresponding sense of continuity while the lack of commitments increases the risk of having a fragile sense of personal continuity or even psychopathology (Waterman, 1988).

For Marcia (1993), identity achievement is not a permanent or static state but commitment is commitment because of the subjective belief that one has established particular goals, beliefs and values that are appropriately personally expressive or personally rewarding that no changes in them are desired or expected. Thus it is not correct to say that one has an identity because identity is inferred, underlying and a fairly stable structure observable only through one's problem solving responses (Marcia, 1980). For instance, Waterman (1999), found that many college students in longitudinal studies moved in and out of commitments until they found convincing identity commitments to commit to on a long-term basis. Adults too were found to change their commitments after having held them for years due to changing circumstances in their lives. This supports Marcia (1980)'s argument that identity structures change gradually because the materials that give them shape evolve and the responses that follow from them change with age and experience.

Berzonsky (1989) argued that the four identity outcomes classified by Marcia (1966)'s status model may be attributable to differences in individual processes of decision making and problem solving. Berzonsky (1989) developed an identity style model to explain the relatively stable disparities in how individuals make decisions, solve personal problems and process identity relevant information. According to this identity style model, there are three distinct styles that individuals employ when faced with a decision or problem solving. These are (1). Information style, which incorporates information seeking and problem focused coping, active exploration, flexible commitment and a high need for cognition and self-esteem. (2). Normative style, which represents imitation and conformity, closed minded coping, rigid and dogmatic commitment, stable self-conceptions and suppression of exploration and (3). The diffuse-avoidant style, which is associated with procrastination and evasive action, situation by situation approach to life, and emotion focused coping strategy (Berzonsky, 1989; Schwartz, 2001).

According to Berzonsky and Kuk (2005), individuals who are identity achieved or those in moratorium tend to use information style. They actively seek out information, process and evaluate relevant information before making a decision. Foreclosed individuals depend on

normative style. They tend to be more concerned with conforming to the normative standards and ideals held up by significant others. Uncommitted individuals use diffuse-avoidant style where they avoid facing problems or making decisions. They tend to delay and procrastinate until forced to make decisions by external forces (Berzonsky, 1989). According to Schwartz (2001), this identity style model seeks to incorporate a process to Marcia (1966)'s identity status model and thus transform it from the static, single event that it is proposed to be, to a dynamic process of constructing as intended by Erikson (1956).

Strong correlations have been found between the four categories of identity status and personality traits (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006). Personality refers to the critical variances in temperament and social functioning that makes one individual different from another (McAdams & Pals, 2006). It is the broad psychological differences that are of most consequence for adaptation to group life (McAdams & Olson, 2010). Personality traits outline one's inclination or dispositional picture of psychological individuality and they develop from temperament (McAdams & Olson, 2010; McAdams & Pals, 2006). Temperament is understood to be the individual's most natural endowment. It is what developing individuals bring to the encounters with significant others and their social world (McAdams & Olson, 2010; Thompson & Goodvin, 1999). Temperament is developed in light of cultural values and norms and one's temperament may impact on relations with others because a certain behavioural style may arouse certain reactions from others (Thompson & Goodvin, 1999).

Personality traits predict one's critical life outcomes such as the quality of personal relationships, adaptation to life's challenges, vocational success and health, amongst others (McAdams & Olson, 2010). There are five personality traits, termed the Big Five, that have generally been accepted to represent personality at a broadest sense (John & Srivastava, 1999). These are: (1). Extraversion or Surgency. These are related to the experience of positive emotions such as assertiveness, talkative and energetic. (2). Agreeableness is associated with being co-operative (i.e., trusting of others and caring) as well as likable (i.e., good natured, cheerful and gentle). (3). Conscientiousness is related to performance across jobs. It manifests in being orderly, responsible, dependable and hardworking. It is related to a degree of self-

control and a need for achievement. (4). Emotional stability versus neuroticism is associated with being calm and not easily upset, versus being likely to experience negative emotions, such as anxiety, mood swings and depression. (5). Openness to experience is characterised by intelligence, imaginative, open-minded, unconventionality and independent (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003; John & Srivastava, 1999; Judge, Higgins, Thoresen, & Barrick, 1999).

According to Ozer and Benet-Martinez (2006), individuals who are in foreclosure identity status are associated with low levels of openness to new experience. Those in Achievement status are associated with low neuroticism, consciousness and extraversion. Individuals in Moratorium and Diffuse status are associated with neurotic behaviours while, Diffusion is also inversely associated with agreeableness (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006). However, personality traits are not fully supported by identity researchers because personality traits do not incorporate the adaptation element of human nature and the environmental influences. They assume inherent predisposition (McAdams & Olson, 2010).

Researchers such as G. R. Adams et al. (1989), Baumeister, Shapiro, and Tice (1985) and Waterman (1988), amongst others, were influenced by Marcia's identity status model and they spent their careers building on and advancing the model, from debating and developing objective measurement instruments (G. R. Adams et al., 1989; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Waterman, 1999), to articulating the processes involved in each of the identity statuses (Baumeister, 2010; Bosma & Kunnen, 2001) and the different kinds of possible crises or moratoria (Baumeister et al., 1985). As a result, the model enjoys extensive empirical validation especially amongst European communities (Baumeister, 1987; Marcia, 1993; Tatum, 1992; R. Williams & Waite, 2012). According to Schwartz (2001), the model had influenced over 300 research studies since it was first introduced.

An empirical validation of the model in the South African context amongst black respondents proved inconclusive because of the contextual nuances and inappropriate measurement tools, calling for more qualitative empirical research in the area and possible revision of the

domains to take into consideration socio-economic factors (Alberts, 2000; Alberts et al., 2003; Alberts & Meyer, 1998). Erikson's psychosocial model has been empirically evidenced to be appropriate in the South African context because of its focus on contextual realities (Cohen, Chartrand, & Jowdy, 1995; Thom & Coetzee, 2004). However, the identity concept has been found to be difficult to manage because of challenges with conceptualisation and definitions that make it difficult to consistently measure (Schwartz, 2001).

Erikson (1966) himself expressed a view that the identity concept is not only difficult to work with but it also triggers deep seated resistance that ought to be pointed out in order to make peace with a shadow that will always follow us rather than to make attempts to do away with it. Gleason (1983) argues that what makes identity difficult to grasp is that it involves the interaction of the psychological development of personality as understood in the Freudian Id, Ego and Superego model. It also involves the development of a sense of self as triggered by participating in society as one internalises the cultural norms and playing different roles that allow access to different societal positions. For Waterman (1985), the problem with both Erikson (1950) and Marcia (1966)'s writings on identity is the global descriptive inference made to the term. An individual is said to either have a sense of personal identity or lacks one.

Yet according to Waterman (1985), evidence amongst adolescents specifically, suggests that adolescents differ widely in the life areas where they have established goals, values and beliefs of personal importance to warrant being called identity commitments. For some adolescents, the most important self-defining commitment may be in the area of vocation, while for others it may be in ideological aspects or relationship aspects and others may or may not feel a sense of commitment on all the domains. Thus, Waterman (1985) suggests that the identity construct to be used to understand adolescents must be seen as both a process and content variable. Process variable refers to the skills that an individual applies as a means to evaluate and identify those goals, values and beliefs seen as candidates for possible identity commitments. While content variable refers to areas in an individual's life in which identity commitments exists. Thus an adolescent individual should be seen to either

have the skills required to achieve commitment even though they may not have achieved it yet or having achieved identity in some or all identified domains.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) propose that the identity term is overburdened in identity research to a point where it means nothing. They argue that the problem arise because identity is both a category of practice and a category of analysis. As a category of practice, identity is used in ordinary language by lay actors to make sense of themselves and their activities together with what differentiate them from others. Politicians easily manipulate it to organise and justify collective actions based on sameness as groups such as race, ethnicity or nationality. This often creates problems for identity as a category of analysis because identity talk and identity politics is then analysed without questioning the very existence of those identities (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) warn against reification of the identity term and urge scholars to ensure that the mechanisms through which what has been labelled 'identity' can, in fact, hold at certain moments as a powerful, compelling reality. For Brubaker and Cooper (2000), it is not enough to stipulate that identity is a fluid concept constructed throughout one's lifespan because it leaves no justification to talk about identities at all. Hence, they propose that the term is unbundled and alternative terms used, that are more specific and relevant to the discourse, such as self-identification and self-understanding.

Further criticisms against identity have been levelled at the methodologies employed to study it. Erikson (1950)'s understanding of identity was based on clinical observations and his use of the identity term was inconsistent, making it difficult to replicate (Waterman, 1982, 1988). Marcia (1966) developed a useful semi-structured interview to measure both the clarity of personal identity and the processes by which it develops (Waterman, 1982). However, the focus was on personal identity and limited attention to the unconscious psychological and social aspects that influence identity to which Erikson paid attention (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Schwartz, 2001, 2005). Different identity instruments often yield incompatible results because the instruments have not been standardised so as to facilitate comparisons across instruments (Schwartz, 2001).

Males dominated many of the participants in the studies of identity. As a result, it is often questioned whether the identity domains were not influenced by such a male bias (Schwartz, 2005). However, Waterman (1982) argues that while biological predisposition may be expected to play a role in identity choices, they would not be involved in the processes by which identity elements are selected. For Waterman (1982), any sex differences observed in the different identity statuses can be interpreted to be a function of cultural influences, rather than a result of the unfolding of different developmental capabilities. Identity studies have been often conducted amongst white respondents from individualistic cultures. This has resulted in the development of separate ethnic and racial identity studies because of observations that individuals from collective cultures tend to have different identity priorities, such as the preservation of the community rather than individual preservation (Helms, 1995; Phinney, 1989; Schwartz, 2005).

A vast majority of identity studies have also been conducted amongst university students relying on self-reported data collection instruments (Schwartz, 2005). This has resulted in the omission of certain groups in the understanding of identity, such as the lower class groups since university students tend to represent the middle to upper classes of society. Those individuals who drop out of high school or those who are post university years (Waterman, 1982) are not included in the identity understanding despite the assumption that identity development is a process that continues throughout one's lifespan (Giddens, 1991). There is a need for more longitudinal studies to be conducted to understand the developmental processes of identity (Schwartz, 2005; Waterman, 1982).

In the absence of longitudinal studies, narrative identity research could be useful to understand identity at a point in time. Narrative identity research is concerned with how individuals tell stories to develop and sustain a sense of personal identity (Singer, 2004). Narrative identity refers to the dynamic personal story that one constructs in order to make sense of his or her life (Bauer, McAdams, & Pals, 2008). The story is based on memory of specific events in the life of the individual that carry enough meaning to be recalled at a later stage (McLean, 2005). Narrative memory and life story construction enable the revelation of

how individuals make meaning of their lives, both how they understand themselves as unique individuals and as social beings defined by societal labels such as gender, class or culture (Singer, 2004). The story that an individual chooses to tell is significant because often it is based on meaning making, a kind of causal occurrence created to link the life experiences in order to explain how life events led to or influenced a current event or parts of the self (McLean, 2005).

Autobiographical reasoning is often employed in narrative identity research because it enables individuals to make inferences from the stories to accept those stories that are relevant to oneself to provide insight into one's own nature, values and goals (Bauer et al., 2008; Singer, 2004). According to Singer (2004), the accumulative insights that emerge from reasoning about the narrative memories produce a life story diagram that provides causal, temporal and thematic coherence to an overall sense of identity. In his study, McLean (2005) found that identity is composed of both meaning of rich experiences and self-defining fun experiences that induce pleasure, suggesting that all types of life experiences contribute to one's sense of identity provided that meaning is attached to it.

Narrative identity research is consistent with Goffman (1959)'s ideas of identity or self in everyday life. Goffman (1959) argued that individuals are actors in everyday settings as they present a view of themselves when they appear to others that best convey the image they want to portray. They direct their behaviour and activities to convey an impressive picture, which is in their best interest to portray. Conversely, when an individual enters the presence of others, the others often seek information on which to evaluate the individual. Information such as the individual's general socio-economic status, attitude towards them, competencies and trustworthiness, amongst others, is useful to define the situation and know in advance how to act towards the individual (Goffman, 1959). Therefore, the construction of realities is a normal occurrence in the process of defining oneself and can be uncovered by narrative identity research.

2.2.1. Social aspects of individual identity

The conclusion that individual identity is formulated in the context of societal realities implies that individual identity, as a construct, cannot be understood outside its social structures. In light of this, Côté (1996) observed that, in addition to the ego identity, as termed by Erikson (1956), there are additional senses of self that an adult individual may possess which need not be in competition with each other. These are personal identity and social identity.

Côté (1996) operationalised personal identity to be the tangible aspects of an individual experience based on interactions with others. According to this view, personal identity is different from ego identity in that ego identity refers to the subjective sense of self that relates to the personality, while personal identity is rooted in interactions with others. However, the major distinction may be that ego identity is a concept most utilised in the psychology discipline with emphasis on the psychosocial influences to identity development (Erikson, 1956), while personal identity is located in the sociology discipline with the emphasis on the influence of the social structure on the individual self and the influence of the individual self on the social structure (Mead & Mind, 1934; Stryker, 1956). According to Erikson (1956), ego identity represents the most unconscious, implied and silent processes underlying identity development while personal identity represents observable behaviour such as goals, values and beliefs (Schwartz, 2005).

Early personal identity theorists focused on the difference between the self, person and body when defining personal identity (Daniels, 1969; Locke, 1975; Mead & Mind, 1934). Central to their arguments was the definition of a human person and what differentiates a person from animals (Locke, 1975). Locke (1975) concluded that a person is a thinking intelligent being that can reflect on itself and can reason as itself. Both Daniels (1969) and Locke (1975) supported the idea that while the body is necessary in defining a person, a person is more than the body because a person could continue to exist outside the body that he or she was originally born with and it was comprehensible that the same body could become different

persons in one lifetime. What distinguished a person from a body and a self - where a self is understood as that which is aware of emotions such as pain, pleasure, misery, happiness and others - is that a person can think and retain memories, which gives the person continuity.

Thus, a person is understood to be a series of conscious and consistent memories throughout a lifetime (Locke, 1975). Here consciousness is sufficient for personal identity regardless of the body that houses those memories (Daniels, 1969; Locke, 1975). A similar definition of personal identity is adopted by Perry (1978), but instead of using the term 'person' he refers to mind or soul. According to Perry (1978), the body and mind or soul are interlinked but they are not identical because the mind or soul is eternal while the body is mortal. However, the soul needs the body to exist since it is intangible. What connects the body and the mind or soul are psychological characteristics such as the person's beliefs, attitudes and memories that are observable through the body on the outside but represent the sameness of the soul inside the body (Perry, 1978).

For Perry (1978), a person is a whole composed of sections of consciousness as parts of the whole and identity is built from those sections of consciousness. What connects the person and make him or her whole is that the later sections of consciousness contain memories of the earlier sections of consciousness. Thus the ability to remember thoughts and feelings of the past make the person who they are (Perry, 1978) or as Locke (1975) and others concluded that personal identity is embedded in consciousness alone and whatever has the consciousness of the present and the past actions belongs to the same person (Parfit, 1971; Reid, 1975). For Parfit (1971), personal identity should not be the main concern but what should be of concern is the series of psychological connections that can trace memories about experiences that one has had and thus connect one's present to his or her past.

What is consistent about these ideas is the stance that personal identity consists of personal thoughts that provide the individual with a sense of continuity and consistency over time (Hitlin, 2003). According to Hitlin (2003), personal identity is a fairly recent concept developed

as a result of the shrinking influence of religion and societal pressures on the individual. It has since been left to the individual to define himself or herself. Thus, personal identity is defined as the sense of self that is built up over time as the person strives for personal rather than communal goals. Here the emphasis is on individual autonomy rather than communal involvement (Hitlin, 2003).

However, personal identity has also been conceptualised to emphasise the person's temperament or character, where personal identity is defined to highlight labels which describe personality traits such as "jealous", "shy", "aggressive" or "kind" or make reference to the person's character or temperament (Caughey, 1980; Hitlin, 2003). Hitlin (2003) argues that personality traits are seldom understood outside their social definitions because different cultures and societies differ in how they define and interpret behaviour and personality (Caughey, 1980; Hitlin, 2003). Thus, Hitlin (2003) contends that personal identity needs not be understood as distinctive personal attributes that are unique to each individual but rather as a core to the individual, experienced as unique but subject to social influence through the concept of values.

Here values are defined as desirable goals that transcend situations but vary in importance that serve as guiding principles in the life of an individual or society (Hitlin, 2003). They are enduring beliefs that specific end states or patterns are more desirable over others (Côté, 2002; Hitlin, 2003). These values impact on how the individual identity formulates and develops over time (Côté, 2002, 2009). This is because of the influence of the social context as values draw on culturally significant symbolic tangibles and are experienced as essential and central but not coerced aspect of the self. Thus, they are regarded as ideals worth striving for rather than externally binding pressure (Hitlin, 2003).

According to Côté (1996), personal identity is moulded by societies or cultures because societies provide a framework for what is acceptable or unacceptable cultural or political behaviour and individuals develop their personal identities in line with this framework. Thus,

for Côté (1996), personal identity reflects the gradual progression of the individual which progresses in three phases. The first phase is when the individual uncritically accepts the expectations and evaluations of others. Then the individual moves to the second phase where a distinct style of relating and integrating into the community is developed. The last phase is where the individual becomes someone who is image driven and exhibits specific behaviours that may provide access to a particular community while withholding others that may be frowned upon (Caughey, 1980; Côté, 1996).

Stryker (2008) attributes these patterns of adjustment to the evolution of the human mind that enables the mind to have the capacity to respond flexibly to itself, treating itself as an object in relation to any other objects. The consequence of the different phases of personal identity development is that society is created out of the interaction and society shapes the individual (Stryker, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Society is also constantly being created and recreated as individuals evolve and meet new challenges (Mead & Mind, 1934; Stryker, 2008). Thus, social identity and personal identity are dependent on each other and the connections between them contribute to the understanding of personality appraisal and social conduct (Caughey, 1980).

According to this view, social identity reflects the position that one holds within a particular society because of one's personal identity. For instance, in his study conducted on the Trukese island of Faanakkar, Caughey (1980) discovered that there are different personality traits expected of authoritative figures compared to those expected of the general population in this community. Personality traits such as 'demanding' and 'severe' are viewed negatively for the general population while they are evaluated positively when possessed by individuals who occupy social positions of power such as a chief or a councillor. Character appraisals are of deep concern to the community and thus individuals care deeply whether they are viewed to have a positive or negative character. In order to influence the perceptions of others and avoid negative consequences associated with those perceived to have negative character traits, individuals strive to play the rules of their social roles in ways that allow them to be viewed positively and thus have a positive social identity (Caughey, 1980).

For Turner, Oakes, Haslam, and McGarty (1994) however, personal identity refers to the self-categories that define an individual's differences from others, while social identity refers to the social categories of self and others. Self-categories define the individual in terms of shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to other social categories. These are the shared categories that define an in-group versus an out-group or 'us' versus 'them' (e.g. male v/s female or black v/s white) (Turner et al., 1994). This view is based on self-categorisation theory, which states that personal and social identity are two levels of self-categorisation, which are equally valid and authentic expressions of the psychological process of the self (Turner & Reynolds, 2001). Self-categorisation is when individuals are viewed as the embodiments of the attributes of their group rather than as unique individuals with unique characteristics and talents (Turner et al., 1994; Turner & Reynolds, 2001). Individuals are depersonalised and viewed through the lens of their relevant group prototype and how well they represent that prototype (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Hogg & Terry, 2000).

For Hogg and Terry (2000), prototypes express all the group attributes such as attitudes, beliefs, feelings and behaviours that are typical of the group and distinguish the group from other groups. They maximise similarities within groups and differences between groups such that groups are defined as different entities. Self-categorisation minimises uncertainty by transforming self-conception and assimilating self to a prototype that prescribes and describes perception, attitudes, feelings and behaviours (Hogg & Terry, 2000). The prototype provides moral support for one's self-concept, cognition and behaviours and thus moderates uncertainty (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Stryker, 1982; Tajfel, 1981). This contributes to a degree of predictability that enables an interactional world with expected roles and organised patterns of behaviour that provide a way of dealing with interactional problems (Stryker, 1982).

Thus, Stryker and Burke (2000) conclude that the self is a multifaceted composition of interdependent, independent, mutually reinforcing and conflicting parts and social roles that bring order by attaching expectations to positions occupied in networks of relationships. Therefore, identities are internalised role expectations (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Tajfel (1981) refers to prototypes as stereotypes and although stereotypes are credited for introducing

order and simplicity where there is complexity, the downside is that they tend to oversimplify. Hostile stereotypes in particular are rigid and resistant to information which may contradict them. This may result into the preservation of inaccurate judgements, especially if the social context is supportive of those hostile stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981).

According to Hogg and Reid (2006), as much as plenty is made of individual uniqueness, observations of groups suggests that individuals are more similar to others in terms of behaviour than they would like to admit. As much as individuals are unique, they are also common and the same person tends to behave differently from situation to situation and from group to group because groups and situations are regulated by specific behavioural attributes (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Hogg and Reid (2006) argue that these attributes are social norms and they explicitly define the boundaries of different situations and groups, Tthus shape social experience into different unique groups rather than into unique individuals (Kandori, 1992). Here social norms are defined as regularities in attitude and behaviour that depict a social group and distinguish it from another social group (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Kandori, 1992; Ostrom, 2014), such that members of the social group co-operate and behave as expected in a given social group and situation (Kandori, 1992). Therefore, what individuals say and do sends a message about the group norms and the group norms themselves are constructed by norms and normative concerns (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

Internal members are those members that an individual identifies with, are regarded as a group as well as external members or outsiders that an individual may not identify with (Tajfel, 1982). According to Tajfel (1978), belonging to a group contributes to an individual self-concept because of the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. Thus, social identity is defined as that part of the individual's self-concept resulting from the knowledge of membership to a social group (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Tajfel, 1978). According to Ellemers et al. (1999), this definition suggests that in order for one to develop a sense of social identity, three components need to be in place. These are (1) cognitive component (i.e., cognitive awareness that one is a member of the group), (2) evaluative component (i.e., a positive or negative value connotation associated with the

group membership) and (3) emotional component (i.e., emotional involvement with the group) (Tajfel, 1982). Tajfel and Turner (1979) have argued that the very reason individuals seek group membership is to enhance their self-esteem.

Thus, groups that are positively evaluated elicit higher levels of emotional involvement with the group and positive bias towards own group members while showing negative bias towards out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Ellemers et al. (1999) confirm this view as they found in their study that commitment to the group is enhanced when people have self-selected themselves to belong to the group or when a group that they did not self-select to be members of turns out to have higher status. They also found that self-esteem was lowest amongst those individuals who had self-selected to belong to a group that turned out to have the lowest status even though they still acted in ways that showed commitment to the group, such as favouritism towards group members. Showing favouritism towards own group is one of the strategies used to enhance the status of the group (Ethier & Deaux, 1994).

However, Jetten, Spears, and Manstead (1996) found that in-group norms were the most important factor in determining favouritism towards group members. There was generally a tendency to evaluate in-group members positively and to favour them in reward allocation but as soon as the norm pointed against this strategy, these tendencies were dramatically reduced. Conformity to the norm was stronger despite the expectation that group members would favour their own group members in reward allocation. Most importantly, when the group norm encouraged fairness, group members evaluated the group even more positively and differentiated, suggesting that norms against prejudice may not necessarily undercut group esteem, but may possibly affect how prejudice is expressed and channelled (Jetten et al., 1996) because it was observed that when group identity was well moulded, similarity of group norms enhanced in-group favouritism and bias in general and most distinctly in competitive conditions (Jetten et al., 1996; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001)

According to Onorato and Turner (2004), the self-concept can take different forms at different levels and the shift from personal to social identity represents an important type of fluidity in the self-concept that moves the focus away from “me” and “I” to “us” and “them”. The self can be defined and experienced both subjectively as an individual and as a social collective (Turner et al., 1994; Turner & Reynolds, 2001) because self-perception is a context dependant process rather than the manifestation of enduring personality traits (Onorato & Turner, 2004). However, Côté (1996) does not share Turner et al. (1994)’s views of self-categorisation. He rather places more emphasis on the social influence as the main driver of personal and social identity development as it provides the framework for one to mould oneself against and thus earn a position in society.

Côté (1996)’s views are consistent with Turner et al. (1994) and he maintains that societies differ in the degree to which they are developed and the manner in which social positions are given may represent such maturity. For instance, in pre-modern societies positions are given based on inheritance, such as physical traits and birth rights. In early modern societies, social positions are given based on the achievements of the individual, where the individual earns a position through efforts and success credentials. In modern societies, certain approved qualities are required to welcome outsiders, and one needs to exhibit those qualities to strategically fit within the specific group (Côté, 1996).

Although Côté (1996)’s perspective is restrictive as it places the individual at the mercy of society to grant a position to him or her in order to experience a sense of social identity, to some degree the perspective resembles the processes involved when one joins a new group or environment. Often an individual may initially be viewed as an outsider and only accepted to the group once existing members feel comfortable with that person. Existing members may have a criterion used to screen new members, which may be simple physical attributes, such as attractiveness, or achievement credentials or the individual may simply connect well with the group as a result of his or her charisma. Thus, depending on the maturity of the group that one is to join, there are often specific qualities necessary for acceptance into the group (Côté, 1996).

Brewer (1991) considers social identity to be an extension of the self beyond the individual level. For Brewer (1991), personal identity refers to the differentiating personal traits of an individual from another within a given society, while social identity is a self-categorisation of the self in more inclusive units that depersonalise the concept where "I" becomes "we". Social identity includes the shift away from the perception of self as a unique individual towards perceiving the self as an interchangeable prototype of some social category (Brewer, 1991; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Hogg & Terry, 2000). Brewer (1991) is of the view that the human species is not well equipped to survive outside a group context and highly equipped for group living, which explains why individuals would risk or sacrifice their safety or personal comfort for a group position. However, Ethier and Deaux (1994) observed that individuals do not always sacrifice themselves and their comfort for group membership. There seems to be factors that drive the likelihood or unlikelihood to self-sacrifice for group membership.

Ashforth and Mael (1989) provide a clue to these factors as they assert that social identity is an individual's identification with a particular group where identification refers to the individual's psychological integration with the fate of a particular group (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Smithson, Sopeña, & Platow, 2015). Yet, identification with the group does not include the behaviour extended in support of the goals of the group or the feelings about the group. According to Ashforth and Mael (1989), the behaviour and affection are the consequences of the identification. Based on the distinctiveness theory, identification with a group is determined by the saliency of the common but rare qualities of individuals within a group (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998). The distinctiveness theory maintains that people in a social context tend to identify with those others with whom they share characteristics that are relatively rare in that context (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). For instance, blacks who are a minority in a context will tend to identify with each other but the same individuals will be unlikely to identify with each other in a context where black people are a majority. Thus, pressure to sacrifice for the group amongst minority groups tend to be stronger than it is amongst majority groups (Mehra et al., 1998).

However, in their study of Hispanic identity amongst minority Hispanic students, Ethier and Deaux (1994) found that group saliency did not necessarily lead to increased identification with other Hispanics on campus. Rather a strong ethnic identity developed prior to arriving on campus and involvement with Hispanic groups on campus predicted the identification with the Hispanic identity. Those Hispanic students who evaluated their group negatively or had a low previous involvement with the group prior to arriving on campus tended to lower their identification with "Hispanic" (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). This study highlighted the importance of studying social phenomena in natural settings rather than in laboratories because of the differences in findings. Huddy (2001) also observed that not all individuals identify strongly with their ethnic group or race. Consequently, Huddy (2001) criticises social identity theories for not explaining the individual choice to become a group member or not.

For Ashforth and Mael (1989), identification with a group does not necessarily imply agreement with the group values and attitudes. Thus, social identity can also be viewed as collective identity (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Simon & Klandermans, 2001) in that it reflects the shared places in society to which individuals have access. Simon and Klandermans (2001) assert that collective identity is the sense of self that individuals derive from their membership of a specific group. Collective identity does not require personal relationships or emotional connection among group members but rather inclusiveness (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Collective identity incorporates the individual's psychological identification with a group and the group's acceptance of the individual, which consequently gives the individual a sense of self (Simon et al., 1998). Polletta and Jasper (2001) see collective identity as both fluid and relational resulting from interactions with various audiences rather than fixed. Collective identity channels words and actions that enable some claims and deeds but disenable others (Polletta & Jasper, 2001) since individuals belong to multiple social groups and to groups of different types at the same time (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

However, Simon and Klandermans (2001) note that even though the places are shared with other people, the multiple places are not shared with the same group of people all the time. Thus, there is the possibility that there can be multiple, partially overlapping and even

clashing or cross cutting collective identities. In addition, these collective identities of one person are not always salient at the same time (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). There are intimacy groups with face-to-face or interpersonal connections and task groups that are likely to be based on symbolic attachments to the group as a whole than personal connections (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Depending on the shared life histories or prior experiences, people can decide to attach a varying degree of emotional attachment or significance to one specific group over another (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Simon et al., 1998; Smithson et al., 2015). In addition, collective identities do not necessitate personal relationships among group members. Thus, collective identity is a de-personalised sense of self (Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

The degree of overlap between social categories of which an individual is simultaneously a member may vary because some groups may be completely embedded and some may be differentiated while others may only slightly overlap (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Jones and McEwen (2000) posit that an individual may experience all of the multiple identities in conjunction or experience each one differently depending on a situation. For instance, one may be a Jewish lesbian female teacher or a Jewish woman or a lesbian teacher or a female teacher or simply Jewish or lesbian or woman or teacher. They observed in their study that within a context of privilege and unequal systems, difference helped to shape identity, while those most privileged by the systems were oblivious to the processes shaping their identity. Simon and Klandermans (2001) explain these biases as a phenomenon that occurs particularly in politicised collective identities.

It has been established that the benefit of a shared or collective identity is largely that it provides one with a sense of belonging or a sense that one is not alone; a sense of understanding or meaning to one's situation; respect and uniqueness or a sense that one belongs to a group that is distinct from others (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Hogg et al., 1995; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Smithson et al., 2015). According to Simon and Klandermans (2001), these attributes become magnified in a politicised collective identity. They assert that when there are issues of power contestations, individuals look to the in-group for support and solidarity, particularly when there is a

grievance against a third party. Individuals are more likely to place emotional significance to the collective identity of the in-group they believe is marginalised and they become more ready to act in ways that defend the group and thus make them feel that they are change agents (Huddy, 2001; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Similarly, individuals are more willing to identify with or extend in-group status to individuals who make them feel less threatened than those who threaten them in some way (Smithson et al., 2015). Language (i.e. formal versus informal) may be used to express this level of comfort and association with one group over another (Wiklund, 2015).

In-group and out-group categorisation cannot always be positive because of the consequences, such as the pronunciation of the perceived similarities between the self and other in-group members and the pronunciation of the perceived differences between the self and the out-group (Stets & Burke, 2000). This categorisation is not always positive because such differences are not real but only exist in relation to other contrasting categories. Each group has more or less the same power, prestige and status but individuals accentuate the qualities of the group that they are members of while downplaying the qualities of the out-group in order to enhance their own self esteem (Stets & Burke, 2000). Discriminatory or even violent actions directed at the out-group may also develop under supportive conditions (Tajfel, 1982).

Therefore, an individual person has both an individual self or a sense of what makes him unique from other people and a relational self or what makes him assimilate to significant social groups (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). We must further distinguish between the two levels of relational self, that is, those derived from interpersonal relationship and interdependence with specific others and those derived from more impersonal larger social groups or collective social categories (Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

Following the arguments presented thus far in this chapter, it could be likely that in a politically charged South Africa, being black may present a stronger identification for the black

individuals because of the racialised history. For instance, in their study to understand the association with South African-ness amongst adolescent respondents from the various South African racial groups, Norris et al. (2008) found that Black and Coloured respondents associated strongly with being South African. They showed a collective identity and positive views about South Africa, while Whites and Indians showed a more individualistic identity, were less certain about their South African identity and reflected negative views about South Africa. Similarly, in a comparative study exploring the identity development of black and white adolescents in the new South Africa, Thom and Coetzee (2004) discovered that the black adolescents were more certain of their identity than their white counterpart thus emphasising the role of cultural identity and positive role models in identity development.

However, regardless of the contextual circumstances presented by the unique South African past that tends to simplify individuals into racial categories, the classifications do not take away the individual need to respond to the question 'who am i?' as an individual, because the racial identification only allows the individuals to respond to the question, 'where do I belong'? There is more to an individual's sense of self than the group in which they belong and it has been shown in this chapter that individuals have a need to be unique and differentiated as much as they need to be connected to others.

2.2.2. Identity in the South African context

As already briefly discussed above, in the South African context, racialism is the most familiar way that people tap into to identify each other and themselves. Racialism is both the making sense of social relations, actions and events and also the manner in which identities are shared with some and distinguished from others through race thinking (Maré, 2001). Owing to its saliency, racialism becomes the organising principle for various other identities and it becomes a short cut to many problems of explanation (Ferree, 2006; Maré, 2001).

However, Frenkel (2008) notes that there is no scientific evidence for the realness of race. Rather the white supremacy system both imagined race in terms of its ploy and made it real through lived experiences. Everyday life stories were told to give expression to these racial identities (Maré, 2001). According to Maré (2001), everyday stories offer common sense that is rich yet disorganised, non-systemic, often inarticulate and inexpressible knowledge used to conduct daily life. Yet, these stories are not random but shaped by more structured processes and specific historical institutional practices (Maré, 2001).

These racialised stories were told in numerous ways. One of them was the spatial configuration in racial terms that served to institutionalise and normalise racism (Goldberg, 1993; Maré, 2001). Racism is normalised because social space is suddenly made to seem normal, natural or a given by being conceived in racial terms (Goldberg, 1993). To achieve conquest over racialised spaces, the apartheid regime rationalised in terms of vacant spaces that people had to occupy and overpopulated spaces that people had to move away from (Goldberg, 1993). By conquering spaces, the regime essentially achieved conquest over people (Ellapen, 2007) because racialised spaces rendered certain groups of people invisible but simply part of the natural environment to be cleared from the scenery (Goldberg, 1993). Keeping people in allocated spaces also enabled the monitoring of movement and the creation of myths and stereotypes about the 'other' (Ellapen, 2007). Thus strangers and citizens were controlled through the spatial confines of divided places (Ellapen, 2007; Goldberg, 1993).

Language was another method used to shape racialised realities and conquer people (Frenkel, 2008). Stories that advantaged racialised political actors were told to expose citizens to a racialised given order and trained them for conscious social action in racialised terms (Maré, 2001). Strict legislations were put in place to deny the ambiguous nature of race and to sustain the ideological myth of separate racial realisms (Frenkel, 2008). Thus the dominant image of South African culture was that of broad racial separateness (Ellapen, 2007; Frenkel, 2008).

The Coloured identity offers a relevant illustration of how all racial identities are constructed and naturalised over time (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999), because Coloured identity is based on racial amalgamation as a result of the South African history rather than on racial purity (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Frenkel, 2008). Coloured identity teaches us that race is dependent on historical context and construction and therefore it can be negotiated and renegotiated (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). For instance, Jews, Portuguese and Greeks amongst others, in South Africa were whitened because skin colour was the main criterion used to determine race (Dolby, 2001; Frenkel, 2008).

However, depending on the race that one was assigned to one's life was either destined for a life of prosperity or doom because race determined one's whole existence, from the place of birth, to the kind of lifestyle and accomplishments (Mandela, 1994). The Coloured identity, for instance, was placed in a position that would perpetually make them a marginal group because they shared the culture of Afrikaans speaking whites, but were simultaneously socially rejected by them (Bloom, 1967). Coloured identity is complex with roots from slavery, genocide and rape (Hendricks, 2005). Whites were antagonistic towards Coloureds, rejecting and yet often paternal, which, according to Bloom (1967), often made the ego and super ego identity development of Coloured people unstable. Since the racial divide was based on skin colour, some White skinned Coloured people did not know whether they were White or Coloured (Bloom, 1967). Thus the construction of Coloured identity has been tainted by the perceived shame of 'illegitimacy' and lack of authenticity that has, according to Hendricks (2005), psychologically disempowered those who bear the identity.

The Karretjie people located in the Great Karoo are an example of the traumatic impact of the racialised spatial configuration. The Karretjie people remain invisible in the daily discourse of South Africa as very little is known about them as a people (Schlebusch et al., 2012) because of the racial classification that left them disposed of their belongings and bargaining power (De Jongh, 2002). They have no place they call their own and no resources, which has shaped their itinerary lifestyle, moving from one place to another and thus keeping them locked in poverty as they cannot settle and acquire assets (De Jongh, 2002). They were wrongly

categorised as Coloured or people who were not natives of Africa in the Population Registration Act of 1950, which did not recognise their culture and ways of life. All of which has stripped them of all forms of security (De Jongh, 2002). The negative labels such as 'bushmen' and 'bustards' given to them pushed some to embrace the Coloured identity despite implications that it would erase their own culture (Waldman, 2013).

Post 1994, the ANC government promised to deliver a rainbow nation, based on multiracialism (Ballantine, 2004; Ferree, 2006; Ramutsindela, 1997). All racial groups were declared equal under the rainbow symbolism and plans put in place to correct the injustices of the past (Ozler & Hoogeveen, 2005). Geographical spaces were reconfigured into new provinces in an attempt to break the ethnic identities that existed prior to 1994 (Ramutsindela, 1997). Public spaces that were previously reserved for use by only certain racial groups such as the beaches were open for use by all the racial groups (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). The Khoisan people have reclaimed their San and Khoekhoen identities, denouncing the Coloured identity (De Jongh, 2002) imposed upon them.

The euphoria of the rainbow nation saw some increased levels of happiness and national pride amongst Whites (Møller, Dickow, & Harris, 1999), albert briefly (Møller, 2001). Some Whites were seen making commitments to identities beyond Whiteness, such as the circumcision of Piet Pienaar in the Xhosa culture as a symbol of broadening his identity since circumcision is not practiced amongst the Afrikaner culture (Ballantine, 2004). Racial integration was observable in more public spaces and social scenes such as nightclubs and music genres that crossed over racial lines and thus played at radio stations that traditionally would not be associated with such genres (Ballantine, 2004).

However, despite all the positive developments made, the race shadow still engulfs South Africa. There is confusion regarding whether apartheid categories should be maintained or changed (Alexander, 1995; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Goldschmidt, 2003) and ethnic identities still persist despite the geographical re-categorisation (Oldfield, 2004;

Ramutsindela, 1997). Although public spaces are open for use by all the racial groups, people have found informal yet structured ways of racially segregating themselves (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Walker, 2005a, 2005b). An observation was made by Dixon and Durrheim (2003) in their study investigating changing relations at Scottburgh beach resort in Durban (previously popular amongst white families) that informal racial segregation took, amongst others, the form of racial influx and withdrawal. They found that whites tended to arrive to the Scottburgh beach early in the morning and leave by midday just as blacks were arriving or they avoided going to the resort during certain times of the year, such as Christmas holidays and New Year, when black families would typically frequent the resort.

The biggest question appears to have been whose story holds more authority in the post 1994 South Africa (Chapman, 1998). The hope for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process was that it would open a space for the reconstruction of the South African story where both perpetrators and victims would tell their stories and thus move towards reconciliation (Mamdani, 2005; Norval, 1998). Although some South Africans have appreciated the role that the TRC played in bringing hidden information to public knowledge (Stein et al., 2008; Van der Merwe & Chapman, 2008), some have criticised the TRC of attempting to create reconciliation by silencing the victims' stories and retribution while avoiding accountability for the apartheid government (Frenkel, 2008; Mamdani, 2005; Norval, 1998; Wilson, 2001).

It is not clear whether the TRC was successful or not in helping victims find truth and peace because the very political structure and terms of reference under which the TRC operated predetermined the kind of truth that would be told and that which would be omitted (Mamdani, 2005; Norval, 1998; Stein et al., 2008; Van der Merwe & Chapman, 2008). For instance, the definition of victim and perpetrator was unclear and therefore it was difficult to ascertain what constituted justice since perpetrators obtained amnesty for telling their 'truth' (Mamdani, 2005; Norval, 1998). However, in some cases, such as that of Eugene de Kock (the chief apartheid assassin), who showed sincerity and a remorseful apology in his truth-telling,

the process seems to have been successful in re-humanising him and it elicited empathy and forgiveness from the victims (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002).

As such, the question still remains as to what stories must be forgotten and which stories must be told to forge a new South African identity (Chapman, 1998; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002; Norval, 1998). A careful balance exists between dwelling too much in the past and confronting the past for healing purposes (Norval, 1998) and that balance ought to be maintained. What is silenced always eats at a person and the consequences of silencing certain voices can be observed in that South Africans are still carrying the trauma of apartheid with them (Frenkel, 2008; Norval, 1998). As a result, it is still difficult to decide what the South African story to be told should be (Chapman, 1998).

Consequently, the apartheid racial identities have been maintained, specifically amongst those categorised as Africans as they appear to strongly identify with the African ruled government (Goldschmidt, 2003). In his study, Goldschmidt (2003) found that the identification that one used was strongly tied to one's native language, followed by race, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status and gender, suggesting that language remains the significant means of characterising an individual and thus the question is whose language should be used to tell the South African stories (Chapman, 1998), especially since Goldschmidt (2003) found that those who identified themselves as African spoke two or more languages including English and/or Afrikaans while those who claimed their mother tongue to be English or Afrikaans did not speak any of the African languages. This is supporting Ramutsindela (1997) in his observation that South Africa lacks a common foundation on which a national identity can be built.

Coloured identity vividly reveals this reality of a nation without a common foundation because of the different discourses that surround Coloured identity (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). Many Coloured people have expressed that they feel more marginalised in the post-apartheid dispensation than they did under apartheid (Hendricks, 2005). Under the

apartheid regime, poorer Coloureds were in a better position than Black people with regard to all social benefits, such as housing, health and job reservation (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999), which is no longer the case in post-apartheid environment. Adhikari (2004) asserts that Coloured identity experienced little significant change in the way it functioned during the apartheid era and it was therefore more stable. This is unlike the post-apartheid environment where the Coloured identity has undergone rapid changes.

For Adhikari (2004) and Erasmus and Pieterse (1999), the post-apartheid environment has denied, undermined and even invalidated some of the specificity of coloured experience (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999), the basic assumptions and practices that have grounded the Coloured identity from its inception to its crystallisation (Adhikari, 2004). Growing tensions are observed in the Western Cape between Black and Coloured groups because of the perceptions that there are preferential allocations of resources in favour of Black people in the area (Hendricks, 2005). Amongst Coloured people themselves, there are inconsistencies in their own association with the Coloured identity (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999).

There are groups composed of prominent leaders in the Coloured community who deny that Coloured identity is real and therefore they refuse to be associated with it (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). This group prefer that the country moves away from racial labels to adopt a national identity (Alexander, 1995; Isaacs-Martin, 2014). They attribute the Coloured identity to white rule and an imposed category upon them, which they reject (Alexander, 1995; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). Other groups such as among others, the Brown Nationalist Movement and Coloured Resistance Movement, are mobilising political power on the basis that they can show that Coloured identity is a pure ethnic group that is deserving of independence and to self-govern (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Isaacs-Martin, 2014). Others are of the view that Coloured identity is a sub-group of black identity (Hendricks, 2005).

Outgroup discourses of Coloured identity move from the White nationalist discourse, which, according to Erasmus and Pieterse (1999), is racist and patronising. This discourse shapes Coloured people as morally inferior and associating Colouredness with drunkenness and violence when they are drunk. Then there is the Black Consciousness discourse that denies the existence of Colouredness. According to this discourse, Coloured people are wholly black and unified against the white oppressor (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). This discourse may have been relevant and even effective in the ANC during the struggle against apartheid (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Hendricks, 2005). However, it has become a source of tension in the post-apartheid environment (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999) as seen in the divisions in the Western Cape between the 'Africanist' group that wants the ANC executive to be reflective of the majority group that voted them into power versus the 'nonracialism' group that wants the executive to be reflective of the majority demographic in the province (Hendricks, 2005).

Coloured identity seems to be currently in the margins and just like the Israelites on their way to Kannan, Coloured people are feeling that perhaps it was better in Egypt. Colouredness appears to be going through a process of self-definition. However, with no perception of a tangible admirable history in sight to look back on for inspiration, they need to imagine an admirable future to create. This is very challenging when the voices within the in-group are inconsistent. The question becomes who is leading the identity re-definition process or who should be leading it for the Coloured community. Erasmus and Pieterse (1999) insist that the current discourses around Coloured people deny the processes of identity formation for the Coloured people as they force them to choose between Black, White or national identity. According to Erasmus and Pieterse (1999), these ignore the Coloured people's own involvement in the construction process since subjects do not simply internalise the views of the dominant ideologies about them, they also participate in the definition and re-definition process.

Sonn and Fisher (1999) are of the view that Coloured South Africans and Anglo-Indians rejected the indigenous parts of their heritage in an attempt to elevate the importance of

the cultures and languages they shared with Europeans. European groups rewarded them with some degree of privileged status above that of the indigenous people but they rejected them as inferior (Sonn & Fisher, 1999). Thus, Coloured and Indian South Africans were neither full citizens nor complete subjects during the apartheid dispensation (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). Therefore, according to Sonn and Fisher (1999), in the attempt to understand the marginalisation of these two groups, one has to move beyond the individual and understand the community.

White identity was hoping to move towards a more inclusive identity and away from the apartheid descriptions sooner (Goldschmidt, 2003), but this has not happened. The rainbow nation euphoria was ended by the Thabo Mbeki government, which placed more emphasis on transformation compared to the Nelson Mandela's government, which focused more on reconciliation (Breytenbach, 2006). As a result, whites started expressing disappointment in how the country was being governed under Thabo Mbeki through sentiments such as uncontrolled levels of crime, failure by government to protect minority rights, failure to provide opportunity for all and for not acting to prevent the brain drain (Ballantine, 2004). Many Whites feel isolated and being denied a birth right partly because of their views of rising racial slurs, stereotyping them as racists (Ballantine, 2004; Dolby, 2001; M. E. Steyn, 2004).

According to Dolby (2001) and M. E. Steyn (2004), whiteness is going through an identity crisis because it continues its dominance gained from the apartheid era, particularly in the economic sphere (Vestergaard, 2001) but it is losing its political and cultural power. As a result, Whites express resentment towards this, which is often undertoned by fear that whiteness is no longer in control in South Africa (Dolby, 2001). They feel threatened by black violence (Ballantine, 2004) and black economic prosperity (Dolby, 2001).

Dolby (2001) studied the identity of white students at Fernwood high school, a previously white school that has become majority black. The white students remaining at the school cannot be accepted at the nearby exclusive schools due to their academic aptitude or social

status. He found that these white students felt trapped at the school, angry and fearful. They responded to their situation with resentment through the strategy of negating the other and positioning themselves as victims. They expressed the opinion that whites today must pay the bitter price for actions of previous generations, by so doing, positioning blacks as morally inferior only interested in revenge and retaliation. According to Dolby (2001), since the students could not recoup whiteness morally because of their actions under apartheid, they recoup whiteness by negating blackness.

Dolby (2001) maintains that many of the students complained that they would not be able to find employment or secure a university place when they finished high school, which suggests a fear of displacement threatening the very construction of whiteness because, historically, whiteness has been linked to political empire building (M. E. Steyn, 2004). Dolby (2001) is of the view that through losing their financial advantage, these students are forced to question whether they are still morally and intellectually superior to blacks and in what ways they are still superior, if they are. Thus, they express hostility over their black colleagues who can afford commodities that they cannot afford. They escape by removing themselves emotionally from the situation or through imagination as they fantasise about leaving South Africa. For these students, the only way of recouping a sense of whiteness is to connect to whiteness outside of South Africa's borders (Dolby, 2001).

Similar findings were observed by McKinney and Pletzen (2004) in their study of students' responses to study material addressing race inequality in South Africa. The study was conducted at Bergzicht University; a university previously associated with white Afrikaner culture and still white dominated at the time of the study. McKinney and Pletzen (2004) found that the students expressed reluctance to talk about the apartheid past and were sensitive to the association of the past with the present, especially the link between the Afrikaans history of their university and apartheid. According to McKinney and Pletzen (2004), the students responded with visible frustration and discomfort to the study material. Their sentiments were that it is unnecessary to talk about apartheid since it was decided that it is 'finished' and

in the past. They felt that they were not given a chance to move on as apartheid talk was constantly being thrown back at them (McKinney & Pletzen, 2004).

When the students were asked to describe being South African and whether a South African identity existed, the concept of rainbow nation featured strongly. Suddenly the students' language was positive, expressing sentiments such as pride and hope for South Africans to 'stand together' and 'making one colour' just like the rainbow (McKinney & Pletzen, 2004). For McKinney and Pletzen (2004), the students found themselves in a cognitive dissonance position because as much as they tried hard to deny their association with the apartheid past, they were very aware of it particularly because of the Afrikaans identity of their university. However, they did not want to be defined by that identity and thus they were eager to move towards a more inclusive South African identity or a rainbow nation as they described it.

In both Dolby (2001) and McKinney and Pletzen (2004)'s studies the white students were struggling to reconcile their past identity with the present reality. For the students in Fernwood high school their sense of socioeconomic and intellectual superiority was being challenged while for the students in Bergzicht University, their sense of moral superiority was being challenged. Both groups responded with frustration, evasiveness and escapism to these challenges. According to Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead (2006), this is a typical consequence of strong in-group identification. Strong in-group identification makes it difficult for the group members to integrate and come to terms with the negative aspects of the group history (Doosje et al., 2006).

The Fernwood high school students escaped their reality by fantasising about leaving South Africa to connect with whiteness outside the country, while the Bergzicht University students escaped by fantasising about creating an inclusive South African identity where the past was disconnected from the present and future. Both groups are attempting to rescue whiteness, as they have known it. They do not seem to be at a point where they are prepared to interrogate their own ideas of superiority and what it means to be an equal to other racial groups.

Black identity, on the other hand, has been more sensitive to ideas that blackness was deformed by colonialism and apartheid (Abdi, 1999) and that black identity was constructed by colonialism (Ratele, 1998). Thus, post 1994, black identity has been seeking to reconstruct itself (Abdi, 1999). Integral to this process is visiting the past to remember the black identity before it was tainted by colonialism (Abdi, 1999; Ratele, 1998), which is contrary to the white identity that wishes to forget the past (Doosje et al., 2006; McKinney & Pletzen, 2004). In their study, G. Stevens and Lockhat (1997) found that there was an increasing shift from collective ideals to more individualistic ideals amongst black adolescents. The black youth wanted recognition as heterogonous members of a collective (G. Stevens & Lockhat, 1997).

Sentiments that challenge the stereotypical representation of blackness have been growing and black people are expressing the need to tell their own stories and representing themselves (Ellapen, 2007; Kulkarni, 2012; Treffry-Goatley, 2010). For instance, the depiction of township life in movies, television or advertising has been criticised for not taking into cognisance the hybrid nature of township life with various cultures, characters and personalities (Ellapen, 2007; Treffry-Goatley, 2010). Township life is often depicted as a homogenous space characterised by poverty, debilitation and violence (Ellapen, 2007; Kulkarni, 2012; Treffry-Goatley, 2010). According to Ellapen (2007) and Kulkarni (2012), the depictions fail to consider the different cultural, social and economic differences that continue to shape the lived experiences of township inhabitants because the images are often shaped by white artists who dominate the film industry and the need to appeal to international markets.

The sentiments that white African film makers perpetuate apartheid stereotypes about blackness (Kulkarni, 2012) has put into question white identity as Africans, whether white Africans are capable of representing black Africans authentically or if blacks are the only ones with the capabilities of representing themselves (Ellapen, 2007). One view is that black artists are in a better position because in their portrayal of blackness, they are both outsiders and insiders and therefore do not have the burden to represent but rather to tell (Wa Thiong'o,

1994). White artist are in a good position to portray blackness if they are careful of the politicised societal positions (Ellapen, 2007).

However, it seems that black people resist being told who they are and the stereotypes projected onto them but they associate strongly with black identity (Duckitt, Callaghan, & Wagner, 2005; Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998). Yet the strong black identity amongst black people does not seem to come at the expense of other racial groups (Gibson, 2006). They exhibit weak negative attitudes towards out-group members (Duckitt et al., 2005; Gibson, 2006).

A longitudinal study was conducted by Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998) aimed at assessing in-group identification amongst black African students and their attitudes towards whites in general, Afrikaner whites and English whites. They found a strong in-group identification amongst the black students both pre and post democracy. There were negative attitudes observed towards Afrikaner whites specifically, and not towards whites in general and English whites. This suggests that out-group identification was stronger amongst groups that posed a threat. A partial positive attitude towards whites in general was observed in the post-election results suggesting that the racial reconciliation project may have had an impact in the black student's attitudes (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998).

Racial identity is a defining feature in the South African context with complicated contestations and varying emotions attached to it. It is a journey that each of the individual racial groups are on as they try to make sense of primarily the identity of their own group and subsequently how to relate to the other racial groups in order to develop a national identity. The strong racial identification in the country can be witnessed in the voting patterns in the national and local government elections (Ferree, 2006; Mattes & Piombo, 2001). As a result, some have termed the South African elections a racial census rather than ideologically based (Ferree, 2006). Although this racial pattern observed in the election process is complex and is argued to be motivated by more than simply racial identification (Ferree, 2006; Mattes &

Piombo, 2001), it is expected that the racial identity of the participants in this study will be more pronounced because they will have been minorities in a white dominated work environment.

For the purposes of the current study, 'black' is understood to be only a prominent collective identity rather than the complete sense of an individual. An attempt will be made to bracket the racial identity and priority placed on the exploration of the additional other senses of self that an individual who is Black may experience (Human, 1996b; Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Individual identity is operationalised as the consistent sense of self after integrating one's physical attributes, family history, cultural values, personal talents and abilities, interests and the society from which one hails. For this purpose, it is accepted that one's identity is never in a finished state, but rather that it continually develops as life experiences continue to shape it. Focus is placed on the point in time where individuals find themselves in their biographical history. The multiple collective identities such as racial identity (Poston, 1990; Simon & Klandermans, 2001), professional identity (Fitzgerald & Patton, 1994), gender identity (Human, 1993; Totakhil, 2015), and others, are also incorporated into the exploration of the individual's sense of identity.

2.3. Organisational identity

In this section, organisational identity as a construct is discussed, starting by making a distinction between corporate identity and organisational identity. It was important to make the distinction and provide clarity because corporate identity appears more often in management literature than organisational identity. Since organisational identity is a fairly recent concept in the management discipline, the state of the field is also discussed in order to highlight some important conditions of the field. Subsequently the organisational identity construct is discussed and conceptualised.

2.3.1. Corporate identity versus organisational identity

Management and Marketing practitioners, as well as scholars, have historically conceptualised the term corporate identity to refer to issues of internal and external perceptions of the organisation (Balmer & van Riel, 1997; He & Balmer, 2007; Neundlinger, Rack, Gucher, & Schoder, 2015; Scott & Lane, 2000; Wood, 2016). Corporate Identity developed from practitioners or consultants and its value lies in the economic benefits and competitive differentiation over other corporates (Van Riel & Balmer, 1997). The concept has a strong managerial and external constituency focus (He & Balmer, 2007). According to Balmer (2008), the corporate identity concept history dates back to 1964, spearheaded by Lippincott and Marguiles (1964) and it is associated with other concepts such as corporate image, corporate communications, corporate reputation and corporate branding. All these associated concepts have been well documented in literature (Balmer, 2008; Balmer, Abratt, et al., 2001; Hatch & Schultz, 2003)

In recent years, the identity concept has enjoyed increasing theoretical and research attention within and across the organisational context (Wickert, Vaccaro, & Cornelissen, 2016; Wood, 2016), attributable to the richness and relevance of the identity concept in unifying some of the varied organisational goals and concerns (Balmer & Burghausen, 2015; Cornelissen, Haslam, & Balmer, 2007; Neundlinger et al., 2015). However, identity can also be used hastily by practitioners and some scholars as the terminology has often been muddled and causing confusion in literature as it is used to refer to different conceptual objects

(Balmer, Harris, & de Chernatony, 2001; Cornelissen et al., 2007; Neundlinger et al., 2015; Wickert et al., 2016; Wood, 2016). However, there are efforts to consolidate the interdisciplinary approaches to the concept to bring about clarity and build from each of the conceptual frameworks (Cornelissen et al., 2007). The long history of the corporate identity concept is useful in shaping the conceptualisation of identity within organisations as it provides a starting point. However, the concept has a weaker theoretical grounding than organisational identity (Balmer, 2008; He & Balmer, 2007) because the concept developed from practitioners, specifically graphic designers (Balmer & van Riel, 1997; Leitch, 1999) while organisational identity developed from theories of organisational behaviour (Balmer, 2008; Balmer & Burghausen, 2015).

Organisational identity is relatively recent, dating back to Albert and Whetten in 1985 (He & Balmer, 2007). In their introduction of the organisational identity concept, Albert and Whetten (1985) proposed an extended metaphor analysis based on human identities for studying dual and multiple organisational identities. The focus of organisational identity is on internal behaviours, with the main constituency being employees (He & Balmer, 2007). Corporate identity on the other hand, has a strong external focus. Corporate identity reveals the way a company chooses to be known to both internal and external stakeholders through behaviour, communications and symbolism. It is the unique qualities that are rooted in the behaviour of the members of the organisation (Balmer & van Riel, 1997).

Organisational identity is often seen to be synonymous with culture in the organisation where culture refers to the collective feelings of employees in the company based on the values, beliefs and assumptions about the organisation and its historical roots and heritage (Balmer, Mukherjee, Greyser, & Jenster, 2006; Puusa & Kekäle, 2015). It is considered to be a system of shared meaning that the organisation is known for, arising from its members and external others' awareness that they belong to it (Balmer & Burghausen, 2015; Cornelissen et al., 2007; Puusa & Kekäle, 2015). Organisational identity addresses the question "who are we?" and it speaks to the relationship employees have with the numerous organisational identities, such as professional identity, cultural identity and industrial identity (Balmer & Burghausen, 2015;

Balmer, Harris, et al., 2001). It is constructed through language, such as the rhetoric, myths and stories told in the organisation, and culturally co-ordinated practices such as dress code, rituals and artefacts (Cornelissen et al., 2007). The purpose of organisational identity is to differentiate the organisation from other competing organisations and to validate the organisation for stakeholders and its operating environment (Balmer & Burghausen, 2015; Balmer, Harris, et al., 2001; Cornelissen et al., 2007).

According to Balmer, Mukherjee, Greyser, Jenster, et al. (2006), corporate identity is the strategic manifestation of the corporate's vision and mission. It includes the history, culture, communication and the industry in which the company operates and thus links the corporate to its image. Corporate identity addresses the question "what are we?" as it talks to the business strategy, structure, market, reputation and relationship to other entities (Balmer & Burghausen, 2015; Balmer, Harris, et al., 2001; Cornelissen et al., 2007; Leitch, 1999). Corporate identity was born out of practitioners' preoccupation with design, marketing and communication in order to project the desired image to outsiders (Leitch, 1999). However, it has grown to include the intrinsic traits that give a company its distinctiveness, stability and coherence (Cornelissen et al., 2007). Thus corporate identity traits form the basis of organisational identity and theorists are increasingly merging the two concepts to leverage off each other (Cornelissen et al., 2007).

2.3.2. The state of the organisational identity field

The field of organisational identity is an emerging field and as a result, there are a number of issues related to ideas of what is 'good research' in the field. Ravasi and Van Rekom (2003) compiled all these issues, based on a workshop attended by the key theorists in the field to discuss the state and future of organisational identity. Ravasi and Van Rekom (2003) argue that the field has gone passed an infancy stage. However, the varied background of theorists working in the field is both an advantage and a disadvantage for the field because constructs are conceptualised from different perspectives, which adds richness to the field. However, it also creates inconsistencies, varied understandings and disagreements that could potentially

hamper the growth of the field. Ravasi and Van Rekom (2003) compiled a summary of the issues raised at this workshop as follows:

- *Theoretical sources:* Varied theoretical sources have been used, originating from psychology and social psychology. Therefore, it is difficult to agree on the relevant guiding philosophies to adopt.
- *Levels of analysis:* Theorists often refer to organisational identity as a global construct. Yet, data is often collected from informants at an individual level. It is not clear which is the relevant level of analysis and the interrelationships between them.
- *Conceptualisation:* Some scholars attach meaning to organisational identity that overlaps with other concepts such as culture, image, vision, mission, corporate brand, corporate reputation and corporate identity. It will be important to decide what is unique about organisational identity and what is uniquely organisational about identity to separate it from the other concepts. There is a need to establish clarity on whether organisational identity is a process that organisations go through or a thing that organisations 'have'.
- *Research methods:* there are divergent views on how to operationalise constructs. For instance, aggregate measures of identification can be thought of as emergent properties of organisational identity. There are no established methodologies to guide on the most relevant data collection methods, legitimate data informants or 'who says what counts?' in organisations. There are issues of data analysis because data analysis is often descriptive, quoting informants and there are issues of validity of the research tools because the current popular tools used are subjective in nature.

These issues are evident in the discussion of organisational identity below. The views and arguments tend to be divergent and at times, murky. Proposed solutions to some of these challenges include suggestions that researchers must present their ontological and epistemological assumptions upfront in future research (Ravasi & Canato, 2013). Other suggestions include that there must be acceptance that the field is preoccupied with understanding social constructions, which implies that the focus should be more on the means by which organisational members go about constructing and understanding their lived

experience and less on construct elaboration and frequency of measurable occurrences (Dennis A Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013).

However, despite all the issues about the current state of the field, there is consensus that the contribution to organisational management is immense, evidenced by the popularity and growth rate in the management field. Organisational identity assists organisations to understand how they are similar to other organisations in the industry and also different and unique enough to make money from it. Answers to these questions are important as they assist organisations to mobilise resources to enable success. The field also contributes by shedding light on the processes that enable or hinder change in organisations and how to influence external stakeholders (Ravasi & Van Rekom, 2003).

2.3.3. Exploring the organisational identity construct

Despite the growing interest, empirical research in organisational identity is still in its infancy (Cole & Bruch, 2007; Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Dennis A Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2002). Little consensus exists amongst researchers on the definition of organisational identity and how it is different from organisational identification, which often causes confusion amongst researchers (Cole & Bruch, 2007). Part of the reason for the confusion is because the concept has often been conceptualised from different theoretical paradigms (Lievens, Van Hoye, & Anseel, 2007). Organisational identification is understood to be a state when an individual's self-concept is shaped by the knowledge of being a member of a particular identity. This is when employees use attributes to define the organisation that also defines them personally (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994).

According to Dutton et al. (1994), an individual's self-concept is composed of a number of identities evolving from memberships in various social groups, such as race, gender and nationality. Groups such as the organisation that one is a member of may come to influence the individual's self-concept. Organisational identification therefore, is an individual's mental perception of belonging to or being one with the organisation (Lievens et al., 2007). The

strength of a member's organisational identification indicates the degree to which the member's self-concept attributes have been interwoven to his or her organisational membership. This means that the individual's self-concept has incorporated a large component of what is considered to be enduring, unique and central about the organisation into what is considered to be enduring, unique and central about the self (Dutton et al., 1994). In essence, organisational identification becomes one of the individual's social identities because of the shared similarities with the organisation (Turner et al., 1994; Turner & Reynolds, 2001). Since the self-concept is considered to be a guiding structure that facilitates how people behave in a social context, strong organisational identification may yield positive outcomes for the organisation, such as citizenship behaviour or co-operation within the organisation (Dutton et al., 1994).

Organisational identification overlaps with organisational identity (Ravasi & Van Rekom, 2003) because organisational identity has sometimes been seen as an extension of individual identity since the processes of development, refinement and production involved are similar to those of individual identity (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). For instance, Albert and Whetten (1985), the fathers of organisational identity, understood the concept to be the organisational members' collective understanding of what the organisation is, or a shared story of the organisation that gives the organisation uniqueness and continuity amongst its members and constituencies (Fiol, 2001; Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Whetten, 2006).

Organisational identity captures the critical attributes of the organisation that are believed to be central about the organisation, unique to the organisation and enduring (Cole & Bruch, 2007; Dutton & Penner, 1993; Stensaker, 2007). Lievens et al. (2007) assert that there are two levels of organisational identity. These are member's own perceptions of the organisation and members' evaluations of outsider's perceptions of the image of the organisation. They term member's perception of the organisation, perceived identity or that which members perceive to be distinctive, central and enduring as a place to work. They term the evaluations of outsiders' perceptions of the organisation by members, construed external image (Brown, Dacin, Pratt, & Whetten, 2006; Dutton et al., 1994; Lievens et al., 2007).

According to Dutton and Dukerich (1991), construed organisational image acts as a powerful mirror to organisational members reflecting to them how their actions may be perceived by outsiders. It mediates how organisational members interpret organisational issues and it affects organisational actions over time (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Lievens et al., 2007). Construed organisational image is important to perceived organisational identity because it affects the employees' identification with the organisation (Dutton et al., 1994; Lievens et al., 2007). Dutton et al. (1994) maintain that an employee's identification levels are dependent on the attractiveness of the image of the organisation to the employee. The judgement of the attractiveness of the organisational image involves a subjective evaluation process (Dutton et al., 1994) and employees attach a higher degree of importance on the outsider's image of the organisation (Lievens et al., 2007). When employees believe that outsiders view the organisation positively, they lounge in the glory of the organisation (Dutton et al., 1994). Dutton et al. (1994) assert that employees find organisational identity attractive if it matches their own sense of self because the information is easy to process and to understand.

This was evident in Kjærgaard, Morsing, and Ravasi (2011)'s study to explore the influence of positive media on organisational identity. The study revealed that intense positive media coverage that has resulted in the organisation having a 'celebrity status' influences both the way members make sense of their organisation and the derived gratification (self-enhancement) from its membership. The study shows that external forces may contribute to the initial re-construction of organisational identity but may eventually hamper organisational identity growth. It was observed that the distinctive attributes that had earned the organisation the 'celebrity status', changed over time with the change of leadership. However, top management refused to admit this to the media and to the researchers in fear of losing the media attention. Organisational members expressed frustration at the incongruent media messages with their daily experiences yet, they were eager to keep feeding any interested audience positive images about the organisation (Kjærgaard et al., 2011). This study supports Dutton and Dukerich (1991)'s claims that organisational members are influenced by how they see the organisation being portrayed in the mirror of external audiences.

According to Dutton and Penner (1993), organisational identity has both an individual level and organisational level expression. At an organisational level, organisational identity refers to the collective beliefs that individual employees share about the organisational features that are central, unique and enduring. These beliefs are negotiated mental images embedded within various levels of the organisation (Scott & Lane, 2000) and embodied in the various organisational routines and programs (Dutton & Penner, 1993). It is a construction of the organisation's reality through the symbols, rituals and myths practiced within the organisation (Stensaker, 2007). Hence, Dutton and Penner (1993) conclude that organisational identity is a subset of the collective beliefs that make up organisational culture. Organisations have a broad range of cultural procedures that span beyond the organisational leader behaviour, such as rituals and stories that program and reproduce shared behavioural ways and interpretations within the organisation (Dutton & Penner, 1993).

However, for Stensaker (2007), organisational identity is a narrower concept than organisational culture because organisational culture is tangible and can be manipulated to advance certain changes in the organisation, while organisational identity emphasises the symbolic, mythical and cognitive side of the organisation. Hatch, Schultz, and Skov (2015) argue that the relationship between organisational culture and organisational identity is much closer than it is sometimes acknowledged. For them, organisational culture is the shared beliefs, understandings and meaning expressed through language, behaviour, traditions and organisational artefacts that govern how employees work together in and as an organisation.

Organisational identity is also defined as shared understandings and beliefs, but it borrows from social psychology and focuses squarely on what members believe and understand about who they are as an organisation (Hatch et al., 2015). With that said, Dutton and Penner (1993) believe that organisational identity is created and circulated through the cultural and socio-cultural systems in the organisation, which both shape and are shaped by employees' beliefs and actions. Thus, organisational identity may be understood as a social construction that individuals within an organisation recognise as meaningful and real (Stensaker, 2007). It co-

ordinates and puts boundaries on the levels of differentiation that will be tolerated from the different groups in the organisation that may have different interests and reference points (Dutton & Penner, 1993).

At an individual level, organisational identity is defined as an individual's graphic representation for what that individual believes to be the core features of the organisation shared by members of the organisation (Dutton & Penner, 1993). Cole and Bruch (2007) refer to this as perceived organisational identity because the features that individuals believe to be unique to the organisation differ depending on each individual employee. Dutton and Penner (1993) found in their study that the attractiveness of the perceived organisational identity varied depending on the organisational members' tenure and extent of exposure to the organisation. Those employees who had had a longer tenure in the organisation manifested a more salient group membership self-categorisation in comparison to other members. Thus, Cole and Bruch (2007) argue that it is possible that organisational identity may not be the conduit to understanding organisational behaviour but rather the strength with which the organisational beliefs are entrenched amongst organisational members. They argue that this is called organisational identity strength, which is the degree to which individual employees' identity perceptions are widely held and deeply entrenched within the organisation (Cole & Bruch, 2007).

Fiol (2001) is of the view that organisational identity is both an asset and a liability for organisations because it binds organisational members together and can propel them to actions that support the organisation. Yet, it can also blind organisational members to external environmental changes that call for adaptability. Hence, the notion that organisational identity is a threat to changes of strategy in the organisation because organisational members are most likely to resist change in attempts to maintain organisational identity (Dutton & Penner, 1993; Nag, Corley, & Gioia, 2007). According to Dutton and Penner (1993), organisational identity serves the role of legitimising issues in the organisation. That is, if an issue is perceived to be congruent with the organisational identity it is easier for it to be accepted. Thus, organisational identity helps members to assess issues

of importance to pursue versus those to ignore and the motivation to act on those issues that are considered relevant to act on (Dutton & Penner, 1993).

The idea that organisational identity is a social construction opens it to the possibility that it may have a sense of continuity and fluidity because if it is negotiated then it may be up for renegotiation (Cole & Bruch, 2007; Nag et al., 2007). This challenges the views presented by Albert and Whetten (1985) that organisational identity is enduring and a stabilising aspect of the organisational life. It introduces the idea that organisational identity is a social system to which organisations adapt (Stensaker, 2007). According to Dutton and Penner (1993), while some organisational aspects may be firmly institutionalised, other aspects may be open for change by individuals because different individuals enter the organisation with different values and beliefs that can manifest in ways that help to transform the organisation's identity. Organisations may also decide to adopt new strategies for specific business imperatives that call for changes in the organisational identity (Nag et al., 2007).

Nag et al. (2007) studied an attempt by TEKMA, a high technology company, to transform into a market oriented organisation by incorporating new non-technological knowledge into the way of doing business. This attempt was bold, ambitious for TEKMA, and it failed as old organisational practices prevailed. Nag et al. (2007) garnered a number of lessons from this attempt about the nature of organisational identity. Amongst these lessons was the importance of the iterative interrelationship among organisational knowledge, organisational identity and practice. The manner in which organisational members used knowledge in their work practices affected and was affected by their collective ideas of who they were as an organisation, suggesting that it is not only the introduction of new content that is important in bringing new knowledge into the organisation but the effect that new knowledge has on the collective knowledge use in daily practices of those most affected by the change. They found that deterrents to change exist at multiple levels of the organisation, such as at the intersection of organisational identity ('who we are'), knowledge ('what we know') and practice ('what we do'). Thus, for Nag et al. (2007), the definition of organisational identity

should go beyond the beliefs about 'who we are' as an organisation to include 'what we do' as a collective.

Similarly, in a study concerned with the initiation of a strategic change effort in a large public university, Dennis A Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) found that the critical first step to introduce strategic change may be described in terms of sense making and sense giving. In this study, the notion of strategic change was also too daunting for employees because it hinted at the possibility to alter the accepted culture, practices, priorities and goals for the organisation. The attempt at landing the strategic change failed and one of the lessons was that the CEO must make the effort to discover what employees want and ascribe meaning to it as the critical first step to introducing change. The CEO needs to make sense of the strategic intent for herself/himself and then give sense to employees in order to provide them with an alternative way of viewing the strategic change (Dennis A Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991).

However, Ravasi and Phillips (2011) studied strategies to align and manage organisational identity at Bang and Olufsen, a Danish producer of high quality, expensive audio-video systems. They found that an organisation could re-invent itself by revisiting organisational identity claims and artefacts that already existed to bring clarity and consensus of who the organisation is. Bang and Olufsen's organisational identity had drifted away from the original identity that had earned them success during the early years of the organisation's development and they had suffered unprecedented losses as a result. When the executive leadership realised that their problem was an organisational identity that had become unclear to both internal and external stakeholders, they embarked on a communication drive to reaffirm the attributes and capabilities that had introduced the company and distinguished them from competitors. This strategy was a success and Ravasi and Phillips (2011) attribute the success to the fact that the communication strategy was an adaptation of the old organisational identity rather than a drastic change.

These studies support the views that as a social system organisational identity can be constructed and reconstructed as long as the elements that members consider to be central are maintained. Ravasi and Phillips (2011) maintain that organisational identity adaptation is not an attempt to directly promote substantial changes but rather changes are encouraged by selectively refocusing the attention of organisational members to established organisational identity notions.

Some scholars argue against the application of individual theories to groups (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Kenny & La Voie, 1985), for reasons pertaining to the dynamics involved at individual level that cannot (always) be directly transferable to groups. Cornelissen (2002) argued strongly against the use of the organisational identity metaphor in understanding organisational behaviour because, for him, it is empirically inaccurate to directly deduce from human identities. Cornelissen (2005) argued that the role of metaphor in theory development should not be confused with formal theory testing and empirical research as it seems to be the case in organisational identity. He makes the point that Albert and Whetten (1985), the fathers of the organisational identity concept, asked if we could metaphorically project the idea of identity on organisations for purposes of simplification. However, since then researchers have perpetuated the use of the metaphor and very few researchers and theorists have considered organisational identity as a metaphor. As a result, conceptual integration and multiple projections involved in this metaphor have gone largely unnoticed and are also not fully articulated and drawn out (Cornelissen, 2002, 2005).

Theorists such as Haslam, Postmes, and Ellemers (2003) and Dennis A Gioia et al. (2002) have hit back, arguing that the debate is short-sighted and limiting because organisational identity as a theoretical and applied construct gains from the fact that it can be both a negotiated artefact and an internalised aspect of the collective self. For Haslam et al. (2003), organisational identity is more than a metaphor because it gives meaning to organisational life and makes organisational life possible. For Dennis A Gioia et al. (2002), the beauty of the organisational identity concept lies in the fact that identity is part of the lay organisational vocabulary and informants during research processes often know what is meant by it, which

makes the research process run smoothly as it gives a voice to informants. According to Dennis A Gioia et al. (2002), the concept is still in its infancy and expected to grow. Therefore, it is logical that much of the empirical work has been interpretive with an aim to build the concept and give a voice to informants. Thus, calling for the end to its use is counter advancement and ill-advised (Dennis A Gioia et al., 2002).

According to Whetten (2006), organisations are more than social collectives. Whetten (2006) asserts that in many ways, contemporary societies treat organisations as individuals by giving them equivalent powers to act, such as to self-govern and to self-actualise. This makes the organisation a social actor, which suggests that organisational identity, as a social actor (individual), is different from collective identity, which is the shared identity amongst a group of actors. Thus, it is appropriate for theories of individual identity development to be extended to the organisational level of analysis. For instance, just as individual identity is seen as a social construct formulated in relation with others, so is organisational identity seen as a product of interactions with others (Fiol, 2001; Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Whetten, 2006).

To illustrate this notion, Hatch and Schultz (2002) demonstrate the processes involved in the relationship between organisational culture, image and identity by borrowing from Mead's theory of individual identity (Mead & Mind, 1934), which stipulates that identity is a social process that has two 'distinguishable phases', termed the 'I' and the 'me'. According to these authors, the 'I' in Mead's theory comprises an individual's responses to others' attitudes while the 'me' constitutes others' attitudes that the individual has assumed. Put differently, the 'me' is the self that one is aware of, while the 'I' is unconscious and determines how one will respond to others' attitudes (Hatch & Schultz, 2002).

Organisational image is the view of external others of the organisation (Hatch & Schultz, 2002), where external others are described as all organisational constituencies such as customers, investors, competitors, and all others interested in the organisation (Bick, Jacobson, & Abratt, 2003; Christensen & Askegaard, 2001; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). As the

organisation encourages their stakeholders to become closer to the organisation through initiatives such as memberships in organisational clubs and the more recent social media platforms, the external others are gaining access to the organisation, which is allowing them to have a sense of the organisational values and beliefs that could otherwise have been hidden from outsiders (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Consequently, the organisation is open to scrutiny and the external others develop their own opinions about the organisation.

Based on Mead and Mind (1934), individual identity theory as understood by Hatch and Schultz (2002), the organisational 'me' is adopted as soon as the organisational members incorporate the opinions of others of who the organisation is into their own views of the organisation. The 'I' in Mead's theory is articulated through organisational culture. According to Hatch and Schultz (2002), the 'I' is unconscious to the individual, which is similar to organisational culture as it has been generally accepted by scholars to be deeply loaded in meaning, assumptions and values of the organisation that are commonly understood within the organisation without being spoken of (E. Martins & Terblanche, 2003; O'Reilly III, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991; Seel, 2000). Thus, culture provides the grounding from where meaning is attributed and it shapes how external messages are interpreted. Therefore organisational identity is developed when organisational culture (the 'I') and organisational image (the 'me') meet (Hatch & Schultz, 2002).

Organisational culture is difficult to study because it is embedded in the basic assumptions about nature, human relationships, time and space that are often taken for granted (Schein, 1984). Yet, organisational culture tends to mimic the broader culture of the people. For instance, according to Schein (1984), western cultures tend to be oriented towards a mastery of nature and based on individualistic competitive relationships while eastern cultures tend to be oriented towards harmony with nature and they view the group to be more important than the individual. Thus collaboration is at the cornerstone of human interactions (Schein, 1984). Organisations hailing from either of these cultures will tend to manifest the broader worldview in varying degrees (Schein, 2010). This is because organisational culture is shaped by the founder or leader who has a philosophy of how to succeed and driven by a cultural

standard based on their own prior experience in the culture in which they grew up (Schein, 1983, 2006, 2010).

Thus, in order to unearth an organisational culture one has to clearly identify the group responsible for creating culture and pay special attention to the ways of thinking, perceiving, feeling and the solutions that they pass on to new members. By definition culture assumes that members of a group have had enough shared experiences to problem solving that they have developed solutions that are considered valid and therefore assumed or taken for granted (Schein, 1984). New members in the organisation are socialised into these solutions as they are deemed to be the correct ways of behaving to achieve the desired results (N. Martins & Coetzee, 2007; N. Martins & Naidoo, 2014). Socialisation takes the form of formal orientation programmes when new members join the organisation and informal encounters with members of the organisation who share and pass on the organisation's ways (Dutton & Penner, 1993).

The positive consequences of a strong organisational culture where employees have similar attitudes and behaviours (Belias & Koustelios, 2014) is that organisational culture becomes the strongest strategic control for creating an engaged and committed workforce (N. Martins & Coetzee, 2007). This is because organisational culture shapes employees to be good citizens and to be co-operative because of the shared values (Belias & Koustelios, 2014; N. Martins & Coetzee, 2007). The negative consequences of a strong organisational culture are that organisational culture can potentially create an impermeable work environment to individuals from diverse backgrounds (Belias & Koustelios, 2014). According to N. Martins and Coetzee (2007) there are demographic differences in how employees experience the same work environment. Differences such as gender, age and ethnicity may affect how employees perceive aspects of the organisation such as remuneration, emotional support, perceptions of fairness, perceptions of empowerment and others (N. Martins & Coetzee, 2007). Employees who are different from their colleagues on several demographic attributes tend to feel more uncomfortable in their workplace and less attached to the organisation for which they work (Belias & Koustelios, 2014).

Belias and Koustelios (2014) noted that some of the challenges experienced by international business environments is that often problems arising among employees are wrongly attributed to professional incompetence when they are actually most likely a consequence of the inability amongst employees to appreciate different ideas to their own and adapt to foreign strategies. Thus, for Belias and Koustelios (2014), the biggest challenge for organisations is to convince their employees to re-categorise individuals who are demographically different as in-group members in order to build mutual trust, enhance interaction and thus benefit from diversity.

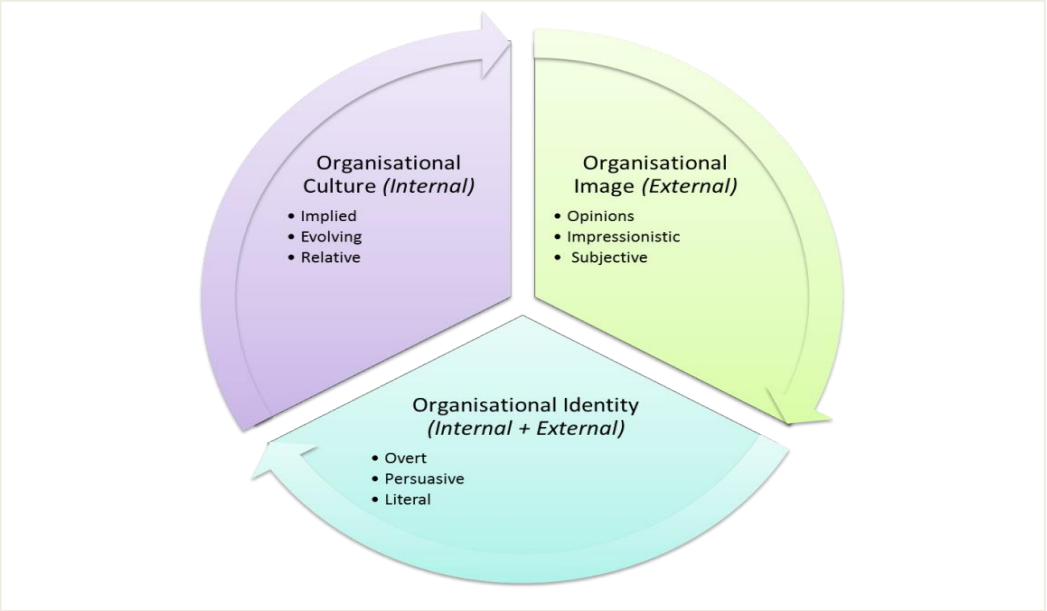
The role of the leader in facilitating mutual trust and creating a harmonious work environment is huge because of the influential role leaders play in shaping the culture in organisation (E. Martins & Terblanche, 2003; Schein, 2010). Growing evidence suggests that the personality traits and emotional intelligence of a leader has direct impact on the quality of experiences of employees in the organisation and productivity (N. Martins & Coetzee, 2007; Melita Prati, Douglas, Ferris, Ammeter, & Buckley, 2003; Rosete & Ciarrochi, 2005; Rubin, Munz, & Bommer, 2005). Emotional intelligence is defined by N. Martins and Coetzee (2007) as the ability of a leader to draw on their feelings and emotions as a source of energy to shape his or her thinking and actions. In their study, N. Martins and Coetzee (2007) discovered that leaders who had high emotional intelligence had subordinates who had higher levels of organisational commitment. These findings have been consistent with a few studies, which have concluded that higher emotional stability in a leader is linked to team cohesion and leader effectiveness (Melita Prati et al., 2003; O'Reilly, Caldwell, Chatman, & Doerr, 2014; Palmer, Walls, Burgess, & Stough, 2001; Rubin et al., 2005)

This observation of emotional stability in a leader is consistent with individual identity studies concerning personality traits and the associated outcomes of each personality trait as discussed in section 2.2 (see p. 34). Personality traits are defined as patterns of thought and emotional behaviour that are relatively stable over time and across situations (O'Reilly et al., 2014). According to O'Reilly et al. (2014), these patterns of thought and emotional behaviour manifest through values. Values involve judgement of what is seen as important and they

represent an individual's translation of personality into situational preferences (O'Reilly et al., 2014). Thus, personality traits of a leader manifested in the values are important predictors of patterns of behaviour and situation selection in the organisation. They may affect the culture of the organisation because they affect what is interpreted as important and how to behave in the organisation (Grojean, Resick, Dickson, & Smith, 2004; O'Reilly et al., 2014; Saffold, 1988).

The framework presented by Hatch and Schultz (2002) has provided a useful basis to distinguish between organisational culture and organisational identity because some scholars have sometimes seen the two constructs as the same (Corley et al., 2006; Denison, 1996). Based on this framework, culture and identity are distinguished by the degree to which one is implied/overt, evolving/persuasive and literal/relative. Culture is mostly implied, evolving and relative, while identity is more overt, persuasive and literal (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Thus, organisational identity is neither all together cultural nor all together imagistic, but rather a dynamic blend of both.

FIG 3: ORGANISATIONAL IDENTITY FRAMEWORK (HATCH & SCHULTZ, 2002)



2.3.4. Image, culture and organisational identity

Image operates as a mirror held up to the organisation about how it comes across to others (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Seth, 2014; Whetten, 2006). The organisation mulls over the reflection and if it likes the image, the organisation reinforces it but if the organisation does not like the image, it creates discomfort that motivates the organisation to take action to rectify the image so as to be congruent with identity (Brown et al., 2006; Seth, 2014).

According to Brown et al. (2006), the rectifying actions could either be directed at attempting to influence the external others to change their perceptions or image, through communication or activities that are believed to have the power to influence those outsiders, or the organisation could attempt to change their internal identity to incorporate how others see them. For Hatch and Schultz (2002), the process when the organisation takes into consideration the image reflected to them embeds identity in culture because the organisation draws from its culture the meaning codes, based on its values and beliefs to interpret the reflection and thus responds accordingly to this image. Therefore, culture gives identity meaning. The identity objects portrayed by the organisation are the implied cultural artefacts made overt (Hatch & Schultz, 2002).

According to this view, when there is an imbalance between culture and external image, a dysfunctional identity develops, where either organisational narcissism or organisational hyper-adaptation may develop (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Organisational narcissism is when the organisation refuses to take into cognisance any outside impressions about the organisation, but stubbornly rests on specific beliefs and values even in the face of a changing environment. Organisational hyper-adaptation occurs when the organisation reacts to external impressions with actions that are presumed to be expected by the public, without basing these actions on cultural beliefs, such that the organisation loses its grounding on culture (Fiol, 1991; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). This was evident in a study by Kjærgaard et al. (2011) where the organisational

members were increasingly being frustrated by the positive media coverage that was no longer a true reflection of their lived experiences in the organisation.

The framework by Hatch and Schultz (2002) assists to illustrate the connection between culture, identity and image. Yet, it seems to place too much emphasis on maintaining a balance between image and culture for optimal functioning of the organisation. This could be problematic in cases where the culture is based upon misinformed assumptions and where the changing environment represented by image is more progressive than the culture. Such cases may call for a revolution of the cultural beliefs to adopt new beliefs guided by the changing environment. This has been particularly observed in the case of transformation in higher learning in South Africa (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007), where the institutional culture needed to be reviewed in order to accommodate the societal changing needs to promote racial redress. The changing role of women in the workplace where women are increasingly occupying senior management positions has also disturbed the assumed masculine culture in senior management roles (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) and calls for cultural and racial inclusion have shaken many organisational cultures that were previously discriminatory (Ferdman, 1992; Ferdman & Brody, 1996).

Thus, Stensaker (2007) argues that rather than organisational identity evolving from deep inside the organisation, organisational identity is situated in the formal structure and becomes a 'chameleon' like imitation of the dominant images in the environment and market place. However, Rindova, Dalpiaz, and Ravasi (2011) presented the first study that exposes that it is possible for organisations to adopt cultural resources from other fields to enhance their own culture. They show that although the use of cultural resources from outside the industry of the organisation may be risky, it has the potential to enable the organisation to incorporate new resources that may be relevant to a changing environment. They show that the process of enriching the cultural repertoire through proactive expansion of the organisation's 'toolkit', which includes assorted cultural resources that are used in an integrative manner, is particularly useful when designing new strategic actions requiring the adaptation of culture.

2.3.5. The image-culture equilibrium

Fiol (2001) found the notion that a functional identity constitutes a balance between culture and image problematic. He observed that strong member identification with the prominent identity notions tend to yield stronger needs to preserve the current identity, which can be a liability under changing circumstances that require identity change. Moreover, culture has been argued to be a constantly negotiated and ever changing construct guided by the needs of organisational players (Schein, 1990). Therefore, the idea of organisational culture being a stable backbone that stabilises organisational identity under changing organisational images is inconsistent with the established understanding of culture as an adaptable construct.

According to Ravasi and Schultz (2006), organisational culture has the potential to be adaptable to changing organisational needs, and organisations can attempt to alter members' strong identity identifications by gradually altering the individual elements that make up the concept of identity. This was evidenced empirically in a longitudinal case study designed to describe how organisations respond to identity threats. The study concluded that, under a changing environment that is affecting organisational image negatively, the organisation dug deeper into their culture to find beliefs and values that had initially made the organisation unique. In this instance, Ravasi and Schultz (2006) found that over the years, the company studied (i.e. Bang & Olufsen) had evolved to embrace an exclusivity strategy, which was far from the original simplicity, excellence and modest tradition that was found in the company heritage represented by the motto 'better products for better future'. As a result, the organisational leadership made a conscious effort to draw from this heritage and revise the formal identity claims to incorporate this refined understanding of the organisational values.

However, Ravasi and Schultz (2006) emphasise that the success of these new claims depended on the notion that they were not fundamentally new discoveries but rather rediscoveries of the authentic core values based on inherited core traditions that were part of the organisation. This was designed to embed the claims in organisational culture to

produce the idea of sameness in the face of a changing environment, which for these authors is important because change in identity claims is likely to cause anxiety. Thus, it is important to develop narratives that have a constant reference to history and traditions of the organisation (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006).

The recent study by Hatch et al. (2015) supports this observation as they show that neglecting to reassure employees about what will not change when introducing change in the organisation has a devastating impact. They studied a transformation journey introduced at Carlsberg Group aimed at transforming the organisational identity into a more FMCG type of identity. Since the organisational culture was strongly associated with Carlsberg's heritage of passion for beer and brewing, organisational members experienced the presented organisational identity change as a threat. The transformation journey concept was introduced and presented as a change of the Carlsberg organisational identity but organisational members interpreted it to imply a change in Carlsberg's organisational culture and rejected it. Ultimately, the transformation journey idea collapsed and it was abandoned.

However, this view gives the impression that culture is simply a created notion or an illusion to serve a specific managerial purpose, rather than a tangible object. According to Dennis A Gioia, Schultz, and Corley (2000), change and adaptability are necessary to ensure continuity of the organisation and that organisational identity is fluid and dependant on the interpretations and definitions of organisational members. Hatch and Schultz (2002) share the sentiments that the core features of the organisation are resistant to temporary alterations. They assert that under threats, organisations tend to maintain their identity.

This is understandable considering that organisational identity is a blend of culture and image and as illustrated above, organisations use culture to respond to external images. Schein (1984) maintains that cultural elements are learned solutions to problems and organisations either learn positive problem-solving solutions that inculcate critical thinking or anxiety avoidance solutions that work well in reducing anxiety but may not necessarily solve the

problem. Since these solutions work well in reducing anxiety, they are likely to be repeated indefinitely because the learner will not take the chance to explore other possible solutions that may be effective in solving the problem rather than avoid anxiety (Schein, 1984). These organisations need to unlearn these anxiety avoidance solutions because Hatch et al. (2015) emphasise that an enduring identity is one that changes its interpretations and meaning while maintaining its core values and assumptions that extend over time and context.

2.3.6. Individual members' role in the formulation of organisational identity

According to D.A. Gioia (1998), individual members are not passively consuming the narratives told by organisational leaders. Rather they actively interpret these narratives and they interact with external others who share their views about the organisation as feedback (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). These interpretations, and others' feedback, subsequently influence the members' meaning that they attach to the identity (D.A. Gioia, 1998). Therefore, the process of identity development involves the blending of organisational leaders' vision for the organisation, the narratives they choose to drive that vision and the organisational members' interpretations of the vision influenced by the feedback from external others (Dennis A Gioia et al., 2000). D.A. Gioia (1998) introduces the role of individual members in the formulation of organisational identity, and positions individuals as active participants in the process.

Yet, Dennis A Gioia et al. (2000) point out that there are common labels and meanings of identity at a given time, which suggest that the composites of identity (i.e. culture and image) do not all change at the same time. Rather, incremental shifts occur at different composites and thus keep identity in a state of equilibrium, suggesting stability. This was observed in Nag et al. (2007)'s study where although the attempts at overhauling the TEKMAR strategy failed, incremental changes were observed in the use of knowledge in everyday practice. The everyday practices were adapted to incorporate the new knowledge even though the old labels were maintained. Thus, Nag et al. (2007) maintain that the adaptation of practices

linked with those labels can expedite changes in their meanings and thus provide a way to remain the same while changing. Fiol (2001) and Dennis A Gioia et al. (2000) argued that instability is what ensures the adaptability of the organisation to both internal and external changes.

Ravasi and Phillips (2011) challenged the notion of adaptive instability that gives the impression that continuity is achieved by preserving formal claims and retrospectively revising history to account for the current history. They argue that, through a complimentary process, organisational members attempt to preserve a sense of continuity by using reformulated claims to acknowledge promising and dormant capabilities and product features. Thus, adaptability of organisational identities is a process of discovery instead of a process of invention. It is achieved by acknowledging developing changes in the environment and leveraging past investments that may have regained relevance for the constituents that the strategy seeks to address (Ravasi & Phillips, 2011). Leaders facilitate change within continuity by selecting or reselecting subcategories of the organisational features that could credibly be claimed as central and distinctive but meeting current organisational needs (Ravasi & Phillips, 2011).

This theory illustrates that historical facts cannot be changed, but need to be reinterpreted to produce alternative meanings to be incorporated into current identity. However, it is not clear which historical facts should be chosen for reinterpretation over which others. Furthermore, the procedure that determines those parts of history that are incorporated into the current identity and those that are rejected without losing sincerity, is not clear. For instance, in the case of transforming South African organisations that were established in the context of racial prejudice and racial stereotypes, embracing historical facts in the transformation journey may be tricky. It may be essential to decide which historical facts to discard while remaining relevant to all stakeholders. This is especially important to understand because it has been evidenced that creating an inclusive culture in an environment that was previously discriminatory is complex, requiring continuous reflections by both leaders and members of the organisation (Wasserman, Gallegos, & Ferdman, 2008).

Schultz and Hernes (2013) shed some light on this as they assert that the past is open to interpretation because it is not there in itself. Rather it is invited in memory through its relationship to the developing future. They propose the notion of temporality to explain the processes involved in calling upon relevant historical facts to be reinterpreted. They define temporality as the on-going relationships between past, present and future when organisational members make claims about who they are or who they are becoming.

Schultz and Hernes (2013) studied the LEGO group between 2000 and 2009 at a time when the LEGO Group was searching for answers to their organisational problems and had chosen to use memory to revitalise their organisational identity. Organisational members were encouraged to look back to their past for inspiration to solve their current challenges. The study reveals that evoking organisational memory by reaching far back in time empowered organisational members with a wider future time horizon for the identity reconstruction process. When organisational members looked back at most recent identity reconstruction, they were more likely to propose incremental changes for the future.

Organisational members frequently used oral and material memory forms, suggesting that physically sensing artefacts may have been more effective in evoking memory and stimulating imagination for the expression of future solutions. Central artefacts such as product features, museums and emblems encouraged managers to evoke other memory forms such as storytelling as they listened more carefully to employees' stories about the past. This strategy worked for the LEGO Group and Schultz and Hernes (2013) argue that the success was possibly due to the involvement of the CEO in the process and the looming financial crisis. The involvement of the CEO indicated to all participants in the process that the process was important and thus encouraged them to be dedicated to the solution (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). Leadership involvement as a critical component of the process is consistent with the suggestions that Wasserman et al. (2008) made on how to create an inclusive culture that promotes diversity. They assert that leaders are framers and shapers of the organisation. Thus, leaders need to both articulate and represent the new narrative that conveys a process and structure for engagement (Wasserman et al., 2008).

The inherent assumption in the organisational identity theory is that leaders and their own sense of identity influence what they presume to be important historical moments to evoke and reinterpret. This is especially worrisome in cases promoting inclusion and diversity because it has been shown that the emphasis assigned to cultural and ethnic diversity vary depending on the leadership. Depending on leadership ideologies regarding fairness and ideas about how differences should be handled in the workplace, diversity and inclusion may not feature as part of the organisation's key organisational strategies (Ferdman, 1992).

Thus, Hatch and Schultz (2002) argue that power also plays a critical role in the organisational identity development process as those with power and influence can decide which identity the organisation should shape. However, power need not be restricted to position or leadership because subordinates also exhibit a kind of power that interacts with leadership power to produce the specific organisational identity (Ashforth et al., 2008). This was evident in Nag et al. (2007) who discovered that although power dynamics were involved at TEKMAR, they did not emerge as the central explanation for the outcomes of the change attempt. They concluded that power should not only be viewed as people controlling others. The manner in which members enacted on-the-job practices gives them the power to counter the power of others who might want to influence them to do something they otherwise would not do (Nag et al., 2007).

Lawrence, Mauws, Dyck, and Kleysen (2005) refer to this phenomenon as systemic power. Systemic power works through the daily practices and routines in the organisation and are disseminated throughout the social systems that make up the organisation. The power of the leader lies in recognising systemic power and working with it rather than against it as the above studies have illustrated. Leaders bring credibility and authority to the process, which, when it interacts with the systemic power, it has potential to yield successful results for the organisation.

2.4. Racial transformation

The Oxford dictionary regards transformation as a noun derived from the verb 'transform'. 'Transform' is defined as 'change' or 'be changed in nature, appearance or form'. As indicated in the problem statement, all sectors in South Africa are legislated to change in nature to be representative of the country's peoples. The challenge to change in nature is not unique to the market research industry. As illustrated above, issues of racial transformation have been well documented (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Cupido, 2015; Walker, 2005a). However, these studies have tended to focus on black people as a group largely because the policies driving the transformation agenda have been understandably designed for the purposes of racial (group) transformation rather than the individual experience (Human, 1996b; A. Thomas, 2002). The issue of racial transformation has been a sensitive one, resulting in debates about the relevance of using race as a measure of change and development in the country because it potentially reinforces race based stereotypes (Alexander, 2007; Maré, 2001).

Researchers such as Maré (2001), note the importance of the continuation of the apartheid race classification in the contemporary South Africa as they serve as a measure to determine progress made against the racial discrimination of the past. Maré (2001) acknowledges that race based affirmative action is crucial as it confronts the effects of race based discrimination. Thus, race based affirmative action serves to encourage the dignity of those previously discriminated against because race is more than a description in this context. Race is rather a created sense of being, which if ignored, would be creating a false sense of ordinariness. However, Maré (2001) and authors such as Alexander (2007), warn against the continued usage of apartheid race classification in contemporary South Africa because it defeats the purpose of the vision of non-racialism and national identity building (Alexander, 1995). Maré (2001) argues that the process of racial classification does not only label the obvious but the racial categories are constructed through the process. Thus, race categorisation cannot be escaped and it continues to shape the everyday life in the country.

Alexander (2007) argues, based on social constructionism theory, for the construction of a different society that is based on empowering the poor rather than the previously discriminated groups. According to this view, affirmative action measures simply perpetuate racial identities without necessarily empowering the intended groups because the principle of affirmative action is based on affirming a designated individual who has the same skills or experience as the non-designated individual. This means that firstly, the societal barriers that hinder the economic participation of the previously disadvantaged groups need to be removed before the groups can enjoy the benefits of inclusion. Thus only those individuals who are already at an advantage will benefit from affirmative action while those who sincerely need to benefit cannot benefit because they may not have the requisite skills, for instance, to be affirmed. This is because affirmative action states that suitably skilled and or qualified members of the designated groups must be preferred over non designated groups (Dti, 2007a; Ndletyana, 2008).

Consequently, affirmative action largely benefits those middle class black individuals who are in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities while leaving the poor majority behind since they have more barriers to economic success, such as access to appropriate living conditions and a good education. According to Alexander (2007), placing focus on the poor would still mostly benefit black individuals as they constitute the majority of the poor in the country, but it would play a bigger role of reconstructing society to move away from the derogatory apartheid racial categories into the non-racial society envisioned.

However, the South African racial issues appear to be more complex than argued by the two authors. This complexity is illustrated in a study conducted by Walker (2005a). Walker (2005a) used the concept of 'the official discourse' (the South African legislation and the so called rainbow nation concept), the 'formal discourse' (the racial policies upheld by institutions) and the 'informal discourse' (the personal relationships amongst students) to establish the role of each in the construction of race at a South African university. Her study revealed that race was invisible yet visible in the university as the above three discourses collided. The official discourse of a non-racial society fostered an inclusive culture that embraced diversity in the

university reflected in the composition of staff members and the use of language within the university. The formal discourse or the racial policies upheld by the institution promoted the removal of discomfort with race as the students demonstrated positive racial interactions within the university. Race seemed to be nowhere as students interacted positively and lived side by side with various racial groups. However, race was also everywhere as the institution allowed that Afrikaans speaking students could attend Afrikaans lectures. This ensured that the Afrikaans students maintained their separateness by avoiding the interaction with other racial groups. Thus race was nowhere and everywhere at the same time as, in essence, two universities divided by language and race, operated side by side on the same campus (Walker, 2005a).

On the informal discourse, students navigated the personal relationships strategically by opening up to new experiences while maintaining aspects of their identity that they hold dear (Walker, 2005a, 2005b). This was reflected by three students in this Walker (2005a) study. One black male student from a rural part of South Africa had never been exposed to whites in his earlier life. He appreciated the exposure at the university residence where he lived with white students. This allowed him to enjoy a new experience such as speaking English regularly, yet he emphasised the importance of still speaking his own language and sticking to his roots. Another black female student with a Coloured friend appreciated the friendship and found it useful at times as she enjoyed preferential treatment amongst university staff members because of her association with an Afrikaans speaking friend. However, the Afrikaans language is also at times used to exclude her as some other Afrikaans speaking friends of her Coloured friend speak the language in social gatherings even while knowing that she cannot speak it and thus exclude her in the conversation. This is contrary to her black friends who speak English in social gatherings to accommodate her Coloured friend (Walker, 2005a).

A white female Afrikaner student has maintained the same friends she has always had, who share the same values as her despite describing herself as a “people’s person”. According to Walker (2005a), she has been able in her own life to undermine the formal discourse (the

racial policies upheld by the institution) of transformation, ignore the official (the South African legislation and the so called rainbow nation concept) in some ways as blacks remain invisible to her on campus. In so doing she has maintained her gendered, cultural and racial identity and she is able to say that after 1994 “her life has remained the same” (Walker, 2005a).

Walker (2005a), illustrates the potential dangers of ignoring race descriptions in policies designed to monitor progress in the current South African environment. There are still individuals in this country who can afford to live a life that completely ignores the existence of other race groups and racial issues. This group of individuals appear to need stronger incidences in their lives, beyond legislation, to drive them to take note of and live the vision of a non-racial South Africa. Similarly, there are marginalised groups in this country such as those living in remote rural areas or squatter camps who may not be aware of realities beyond their own. Ignoring this fact and advocating for a class-based transformation focus rather than a race-based focus, as argued by Alexander (2007) might be visionary, yet inappropriate at this stage to address both the racialised economy and separate living conditions in the country.

For instance, Ndletyana (2014) illustrated that the black middle class has grown post 1994. However, this black middle class still associates more with the black working class than their white middle class counterparts because of the racial tensions and exclusion that still exist, despite class similarities (Ndletyana, 2014). According to Ndletyana (2014), the very growth in the middle class could not have happened organically without state intervention, judging from the resistance to racial redress amongst white South Africans.

Race matters in South Africa and it will matter for years to come because the old racial patterns remain firmly in place (Kiguwa & Langa, 2015; MacDonald, 2006). For instance, according to Friedman (2012), it takes three months for a black graduate to find employment after a degree, while a white graduate with the same degree finds employment straight away.

It is still not easy for black individuals to properly slot into the economy (Friedman, 2012). To make matters worse, Friedman (2014a) is of the view that South Africans do not acknowledge that race matters and start having proper conversations about it. Instead utterances involving race and race wars observed in social media platforms often involve confirming group attitudes and yelling at each other rather than hearing and focusing on what the one group needs to do to change (Friedman, 2014a; Kiguwa & Langa, 2015). Friedman (2014b) is of the view that there is a desperate need to talk about race in order to move beyond it because it continues to hamper economic and social progress. This desperate need is evidenced by the incidences of racial intolerance reported daily (Kiguwa & Langa, 2015) and the notion that whites are smarter than blacks which still persists and hamper the success of black individuals in the various spheres of society (Friedman, 2014b).

Therefore, rather than shying away from the current race based transformation policy measures it may be more valuable to encourage ways to improve the effectiveness of the racial policies and ensure that they benefit individuals beyond middle class backgrounds because race is still engraved in the minds of many South Africans and it influences the many daily choices made. The Democratic Alliance (DA) party has also acknowledged the importance of race in the collective psyche of South Africans by electing a black individual to lead the party (Ndletyana, 2015). The denial of racialised experiences has seen the DA unable to grow to potential levels and it appears that embracing the role of race in decision making has finally caught up with the party (Ndletyana, 2015).

Mangcu (2015) has noted that the issue of racial transformation is more of a mind-set issue when distinguished black academics such as Graca Machel and Mamokgethi Setati put forward arguments that the academia should focus more on quality education and less on racial transformation. They debate that racial transformation will happen organically as more black individuals are well educated and take an interest in becoming professors themselves. Mangcu (2015) disagrees with such arguments because for him it matters who is teaching as the teacher influences what is taught, how it is taught. Black professors also become role models for black students as they show them that being a professor is reachable. What is even

more unacceptable to Mangcu (2015) is the mind-set that associates the increased presence of black academics with lowered quality standards disguised in these arguments. However, Adam Habib (Vice Chancellor at Wits University) and Jimmy Manyi (President of Progressive Professionals Forum) openly debated this issue. In this debate, Adam Habib was of the opinion that racial transformation in academia is rather a practical issue than a mind-set issue because the reality for many black individuals is that they come from working class families with pressures to earn big salaries. They cannot afford to spend the 10 years required to study for a career in academia and the additional 10 years required to prepare to become a full professor, which is less rewarding financially compared to other career options. Jimmy Manyi, on the other hand, was of the view that rationalising the slow pace of transformation in the country was simply an excuse and no longer acceptable (Smallhorne, 2014).

Mangcu (2014b) insists that transformation is a mind-set issue and the process is used as an excuse not to affirm black scholars as very few of them get invited to professorship and those who do apply get humiliated and discouraged by the process while white scholars with even fewer credentials get invited. Mangcu (2014a) is of the view that black academics with exceptional talent should be affirmed immediately and not have to wait for the 10 years golden rule. For Mangcu (2014a), this is talent management and it is practised in many distinguished academic institutions globally, such as Harvard and Columbia Universities.

These debates highlight that racial transformation in South Africa may involve challenging mind-sets by boldly naming these mind-sets rather than circumventing them because they are uncomfortable and possibly not in the interest of reconstructing a non-racial reality. According to Henrard (2002), reconciliation involves not only telling the truth about the past and forgiveness, but the restoration of past wrongs and creating conditions that will ensure that similar wrongs do not reoccur. Modulating the fact that discrimination was race based and thus poverty is raced based would be opening potential conditions of the reoccurrence of race-based abuses because race may not be openly approached despite its impact.

In the South African context, transformation is understood to be the structural economic and societal changes to recognise those individuals who were marginalised pre the democratic dispensation (Henrard, 2002). Various concepts and laws have been designed to bring about transformation, such as Affirmative Action, the Employment Equity Act, the Disability Act, the Skills Development Act the Public Service Act and the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment legislation (B-BBEE) (Duffett, Van der Heever, & Bell, 2009). Below is a discussion of the most relevant concepts to this study that are aimed at encouraging racial transformation in the South African society as a whole and specifically in the workplace. These are Employment Equity and B-BBEE. Affirmative Action is the foundational base on which Employment Equity and B-BBEE are leveraged. As a concept, Affirmative Action has had its fair of challenges and developments, which are discussed below.

2.4.1. Affirmative Action

South Africa introduced Affirmative Action post 1994 to respond to the need to reconstruct and develop the country. Amongst the measures identified to reconstruct the country included acknowledging the racial imbalances in opportunities created by the Apartheid system (Bentley & Habib, 2008). Affirmative Action was thus introduced as an attempt to correct these imbalances by opening opportunities to the previously disadvantaged groups. Previously disadvantaged groups include black individuals, women and individuals living with disabilities (Dti, 2007a). This meant that priority in terms of resources such as education, skills development and economic opportunities is reserved for these groups over white males (Dti, 2007b).

Affirmative Action as a concept, dates back to the Civil Rights Act of 1963 in the United States of America. According to Thomas (1990), the Affirmative Action policy had been designed to respond to the following premises:

- White adult males dominated the business mainstream in the USA.

- The US economic structure was a solid, unchanging institution that could accommodate everyone in the country.
- Women, blacks, immigrants and other minority groups should be allowed in as a matter of public policy and common decency.
- Widespread racial, gender and ethnic prejudice kept them out.
- Legal and social cohesion were necessary to bring about the change.

Because of these assumptions, Affirmative Action policy was designed to create opportunities for people of colour, women and minority groups in the workplace by discouraging discrimination. This included ensuring equal remuneration for individuals performing the same job responsibilities, regardless of race or gender (A. Thomas, 2002).

At the core of the policy was to create fairness in the workplace and the main reason was because 'it was the decent thing to do' (A. Thomas, 2002). Penalties were attached to those organisations who did not comply with the policy. Thus, organisations were driven to increase the numbers of beneficiaries in the organisations. The unintended consequences of these attitudes were the drive towards increased representation of minority groups in organisations rather than the productivity of these individuals. It was soon evident that the policy was not being successful at demolishing the prejudice and stereotypes associated with race and gender (Strachan, Burgess, & Sullivan, 2004).

Although the policy succeeded in creating fairness in remuneration (as this could be verified), it did not succeed in changing negative stereotypical attitudes. On the contrary, these attitudes became more subtle. For instance, in some cases the beneficiaries of Affirmative Action were presumed incompetent (Coate & Loury, 1993). Consequently, achievement standards for specific roles were dropped due to attitudes that minority groups could not achieve higher standards. In other cases, minority groups were not offered challenging roles within the organisations or unqualified individuals for specific positions were appointed, thus perpetuating the expectation that minority groups could not succeed in these positions (Coate & Loury, 1993; Strachan et al., 2004).

According to Coate and Loury (1993), these behaviours and subtle attitudes resulted in self-fulfilling prophecies as the minority groups realised that they could get ahead without acquiring the necessary skills for the role and thus perform at a minimal requirement. For Coate and Loury (1993), the best way to influence a sustainable change of negative stereotypes in the work place is to reward individuals directly for achieving success in the workplace rather than coercing organisations to enforce workplace representation. According to this view, Affirmative Action only succeeds in creating workplace representation but not individual success in the workplace. R. R. Thomas (1990) is of the view that this is an unfair criticism directed at affirmative action because the purpose of Affirmative Action is not to ensure individual success in the workplace but rather to bring a new workforce through the door. 'Something else' is needed to get this new workforce into the driving seats. According to him, this 'something else' consists of enabling the new workforce to perform at their fullest potential, which is termed 'managing diversity'.

Although the concept of Affirmative Action in South Africa is similar to that applied in the USA, the major differences are the conditions that necessitated the introduction of the concept in each country. In South Africa, Affirmative Action was introduced because of the admission that segregation and racial discrimination was legislated during the Apartheid era and thus a corrective measure needed to also be legislated (A. Thomas, 2002). Unlike in the USA where racial prejudice was attitudinal, racial segregation in South Africa went beyond attitudinal. Specific laws were in place to ensure that a black individual existed to serve and remained inferior to a white individual (A. Thomas, 2002).

During the negotiations in 1991, both the ANC and the NP concluded that a model had to be introduced to correct these wrongful acts of the apartheid system. The ANC led government subsequently introduced a plan for the reconstruction and development of the "new" South Africa (Van Jaarsveld, 2000) and Affirmative Action was central to that plan. Although morally, both the NP and the ANC recognised that Affirmative Action was 'the right thing to do', the fundamental basis for the introduction of the concept in South Africa was justice and equality

in order to 'correct past wrongs'(Van Jaarsveld, 2000). This distinction is important because it shapes how the concept is applied and experienced in each of the different countries.

Similar to the USA, Affirmative Action is South Africa has been severely criticised. However, unlike in the USA where the concept is largely criticised for being ineffective in achieving the desired attitude changes, in South Africa it has been largely criticised for being a reverse discrimination and perpetuating Apartheid's racial identities (Adam, 1997; Alexander, 2007). Some white South Africans feel punished by Affirmative Action for sins of their fathers, which in their view is unfair (Adam, 2000; Dolby, 2001; Franchi, 2003). These attitudes tend to result in unco-operativeness amongst some white individuals as they feel insecure of their place in South Africa (Booysen, 2007). Although these white individuals are concerned for their survival, which they perceive to be under threat as they constitute a minority in the country, they also harbour attitudes that blacks are generally incompetent (Dolby, 2001; Human, 1996b; Mangcu, 2015). These emotional and attitudinal issues complicate the South African experience of Affirmative Action.

In South Africa, Affirmative Action goes beyond the workplace, but applies to all sectors of the country as a corrective measure for the past segregation practices. Thus, the experiences of the concept vary depending on the sector that one is observing. In the education sector for instance, post 1994 emphasis was placed on black access to formal education and institutions of higher learning (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007). Access to education was seen as a critical place to start redress efforts since education had been used strategically during the segregation system to empower white individuals and to disempower black individuals (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Chisholm & Bhorat, 2004; Kallaway, 1984). It thus made perfect sense that corrective measures should pay the most emphasis on access to quality education. This was envisioned to have a snowballing effect where, as more black people had good education, they could start occupying the previously white reserved occupations and thus gradually achieve racial balances in the workplace and the economy (Chisholm & Bhorat, 2004; Wolpe, 1995).

Since the emphasis was on access to education, all institutions of higher learning, especially previously white reserved institutions, opened their gates to black student intakes. They gradually increased the black student representation (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). However, it soon became evident that this application of Affirmative Action would be complicated. The observed representation was superficial because the intake was not translating into completion as more black students were dropping out. Thus the strategic focus was subsequently shifted from 'access to participate' to 'access to succeed' (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007). This shift redirected policies to encourage a holistic approach, where it was interrogated why the black students were not completing their degrees and a strategic intervention was designed. More emphasis was placed on the quality of those students eligible for higher learning. The strategy was to improve this quality by focusing on high school learning preparatory methods. For instance, career guidance and teaching methods were to be designed to prepare scholars to cope better with higher learning challenges (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007).

In addition, the institutional culture was challenged to put all measures within their control to ensure that those black students in their 'care' did not fail to succeed as a result of any institutional errors. Since pre 1994, the learning institutions had been designed to drive the apartheid pro white agenda, the institutions were challenged to reflect on their teaching philosophies and to transform so as to accommodate the needs of the new democratic order (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Wolpe, 1995).

The Affirmative Action has not had an easy ride in both South Africa and other countries that have implemented it. It has seen a lot of resistance but as illustrated in the experiences in the education system, the South African government has been committed to implementing it to direct transformation in this country.

2.4.2. Employment Equity

The Employment Equity Act is based on the affirmative action concept but applies specifically to the workplace (Agocs & Burr, 1996). It is one of the legislations enforceable by law and designed to promote the fair demographic representation of the South African population in the workplace. The aim of the Employment Equity Act of 1998 is to promote the fair representation of the South African demographics in the workplace without removing individuals from the non-designated groups from existing positions (Agocs & Burr, 1996; Duffett et al., 2009; McGregor, 2014; Nkomo, 2011).

The Act places emphasis on creating an equal opportunity environment by removing barriers in the workplace for the career advancement of individuals from the designated groups (Laetoli, 2013; McGregor, 2014; A. Thomas & Jain, 2004). This act is a replica of the Canadian Employment Equity Act introduced in 1986 by the Progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroni (Agocs, 2002; A. Thomas & Jain, 2004). In Canada, the Act was introduced to create opportunities for women, people with disability, aboriginals and racial minority groups to access the workplace (Agocs & Burr, 1996).

In South Africa, the Act applies to organisations that employ a minimum of 50 employees or organisations with a specified turnover, dependant on the industry (A. Thomas, 2002). These are referred to as designated employers in the Act. Similarly, the Canadian Act also has designated employers defined as those employing a minimum of 100 employees and those that do business of a minimum of $200 000 with the federal government (Agocs, 2002). The contextual differences between South Africa and Canada are that in Canada the Act was introduced to respond to the high poverty rates observed amongst these designated groups. This status quo was attributed to systemic employment discrimination that prevented these groups from accessing critical and decision-making positions or equitable remuneration in the workplace (Agocs & Burr, 1996; Leck & Saunders, 1992; A. Thomas & Jain, 2004). Access to

these positions or privileges, often reserved for white males, were seen as a stepping stone out of poverty (Leck & Saunders, 1992).

The Canadian government had noticed that a state intervention was necessary to enforce the representation of these groups in the workplace since a natural process had not been successful (Leck & Saunders, 1992). Thus, the Employment Equity Act was introduced to remove barriers in the workplace that prevent these designated groups from entering (Leck, St. Onge, & Lalancette, 1995; A. Thomas & Jain, 2004). Organisations were expected to create an Employment Equity Program (EEP) or a plan to meet their specific demographical representation needs (Leck et al., 1995; McGregor, 2014). This implies that each organisation, based on their own assessment, would prioritise those designated groups that are least represented in their organisation to increase the representation. This concept of an EEP is in essence similar to that of the South African Affirmative Action, where previously disadvantaged groups are prioritised in order to level the imbalances created by the apartheid system.

Similar to Canada, the South African Employment Equity Act does not enforce any quotas but organisations are required to assess their own situation and to develop plans and targets as necessary and applicable in the specific organisations (Duffett et al., 2009; Laetoli, 2013). This implies that, for instance, it is possible for an organisation to have an overrepresentation of black or female individuals. These organisations would need to put plans in place to recruit more white males so as to increase their representation.

However, South Africa learned from the shortfalls of the Canadian approach of entrusting the implementation of the Act to the goodness and freewill of employers by not having an effective monitoring and enforceable capability (Agocs, 2002). The South African Employment Equity Act is monitored and enforceable by law (Van Jaarsveld, 2000). Those organisations that are caught not implementing the Act are fined (Laetoli, 2013). Some companies have attributed a number of factors to the failure to implement the Act. Specifically in South Africa,

organisational culture has been identified as one of the biggest barriers to implementation (Booysen, 2007; Nkomo, 2011). Although the policies and frameworks may be in place, the organisational culture has often been found to be impenetrable by the designated groups and resistant to adaptation to accommodate the diversity introduced by Employment Equity (Booysen, 2007; Nkomo, 2011).

This resistance has often manifested in various ways for both the organisation and the workers. For instance, the term tokenism and window dressing were coined as a result of organisations employing individuals from designated groups into positions of power but without the power associated with the position (Booysen, 1999; Human, 1996b).

Some of the reasons for such organisational behaviours have been concluded to be white fears of being extinct or difficulties to change mind-sets of those employees in these organisations to recognise the true value of diversity (Booysen, 2007; Human & Bowmaker-Falconer, 1992; Nkomo, 2011). In some cases, organisations employ less qualified individuals into skilled positions in the quest to appear to be transforming and meet the employment equity targets, while in reality they continue to exercise control of those individuals in these positions or they refuse to believe that the individuals are capable of doing the job competently (Booysen, 2007; Nkomo, 2011).

Some members of designated groups have often responded to the hostilities by manifesting what has been termed 'job hopping' tendencies (Duffett et al., 2009). Some observers have attributed these tendencies to greed amongst black managers as they move from one job to another for better salaries and perks due to their high demand in the workplace (Duffett et al., 2009). Yet studies (Booysen, 2007; Human, 1993, 1996a; Nkomo, 2011) have indicated that at the heart of these job hopping tendencies is the problems with integration and acquiring a sense of belonging in these organisations due to the impermeable organisational cultures.

Organisations often neglect the benefits of a diverse workforce (Booysen, 1999; Human, 1996b; Nkomo, 2011) and expect black individuals to assimilate into often racialised and gendered organisational cultures (Duffett et al., 2009; Nkomo, 2011). This often results in job dissatisfaction on the part of those black individuals who cannot assimilate (Agocs & Burr, 1996; Hinks, 2010). Job dissatisfaction has been consistently correlated with low commitment to the organisation, absenteeism and high turnover (Mobley, 1977; Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulian, 1974; Tett & Meyer, 1993). Therefore, the experiences of black managers that are creating job dissatisfaction possibly explain the so-called job hopping tendencies.

Evidence from both South Africa and other countries that have implemented mandatory corrective measures indicate that despite some challenges faced regarding the implementation process of these mandatory programs, the programs have made great strides in improving the employment and earnings of the designated groups (Jain, Sloane, & Horwitz, 2003). There is little doubt that proactive, legislated, monitored and mandatory policy responses to employment discrimination are more effective in achieving results rather than complaint based systems that encourage the individual victims of discrimination to pursue justice (Jain et al., 2003; Ndletyana, 2014; A. Thomas & Jain, 2004).

The presence of the previously excluded demographic profile of employees has also seen to bring new advantages to companies. Specifically those companies who have capitalised on the diverse workforce by creating an inclusive climate (Jayne & Dipboye, 2004; McKay & Avery, 2015; F. G. Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008) have been shown to gain competitiveness because the diverse human resource produces creative and innovative solutions for untapped markets, thus gaining new markets and profits (Cox & Blake, 1991; Herring, 2009). Companies, such as Pepsico in the USA, introduced new products in the market inspired by employees from minority groups and saw turnover growths as a result of those products (F. G. Stevens et al., 2008).

2.4.3. Black Economic Empowerment

Although this study places more emphasis on the Employment Equity than the Black Economic Empowerment Act, the Market Research Industry tends to understand issues of transformation through the language of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). The BEE Act and associated BEE scorecard is one of the more tangible blueprints widely used by both government and private companies to monitor transformation progress (Jack & Harris, 2007; Ponte, Roberts, & Van Sittert, 2007). The BEE Act is aimed at promoting the economic participation of black South Africans and the broader sustainability of communities (BBBEEACT, 2012; Dti, 2007b).

However, studies that monitor the progress of BEE have suggested that while there is progress in the implementation in South African organisations, there is yet much work to be done with regards to the transformation of mind sets to perceive BEE as a business imperative with economic benefits (Duffett et al., 2009). A BEE survey conducted annually by KPMG to monitor the BEE landscape amongst various organisations operating in different industries in South Africa, suggests that while some progress has been made in the implementation of BEE, challenges regarding the implementation remain and these challenges are similar throughout the different industries (KPMG, 2012, 2013). In the 2013 report it was observed that overall the various sectors regressed on most of the seven pillars when compared to the 2012 report (KPMG, 2013).

Of the organisations surveyed in this BEE study, 62% indicated that they do not measure the economic value that BEE contributes to the organisation (KPMG, 2012, 2013). These organisations largely perceive the implementation of BEE as a cost to the organisation rather than a benefit. Those organisations who accept the economic value of BEE, largely refer to the competitive advantage in Preferential Procurement from potential clients (Duffett et al., 2009; KPMG, 2012).

Since the challenges with the implementation of BEE have been viewed to be largely attitudinal, the Department of Trade and Industry has recently revised the BBE codes to include penalties in certain areas because thus far the compliance has been on voluntary bases (Dti, 2013; WerksmansAttorneys, 2014). Monitoring and evaluation studies highlighted that there was a need to strengthen the tone that government had been using to force businesses to comply since they were reluctant to comply voluntarily. Imposing legal obligations to companies has been considered (Dti, 2013; WerksmansAttorneys, 2014). As such, the adjustments to the BEE Act suggest that government wants to take a more actively interventionist and prescriptive approach to the implementation of BBBEE and introduce a number of new measures where government will play a much more authoritative role in the process of monitoring compliance. The scorecard has also been adapted and the codes reviewed (L. Steyn, 2015).

2.5. Conclusion of Literature Review

This study seeks to bring the individual identity and organisational identity constructs into a conversation in order to understand the issues surrounding racial transformation in the market research industry. The literature review has illustrated that both these constructs can be best understood by taking into cognisance the lived experiences of individuals because they are social constructs rooted in a socio-historical context. As such, the research methodology chosen for this study will take this observation into consideration and the data collection methods and analysis will seek to garner rich data that highlight the lived experiences of all the research participants in order to first establish the individual and organisational identity as they have individually experienced it and subsequently establish how the interplay between these two constructs impact the racial transformation efforts in the industry.

The literature review also suggests that there are minimal individual and organisational studies conducted in the South African context and therefore this study will contribute by highlighting aspects of each of the constructs that are shaped by the South African context. The next chapter will discuss the research methodology and research approach in detail.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research paradigm

The ontological assumptions that were followed in this study are that reality is made up of rules that are decided upon or created by individuals within a group. In order to understand reality, one has to observe such rules and understand the context in which they are created and the purposes for which they are created (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Edley, 2001). These assumptions fall within an interpretive paradigm (Abdel-Fattah, 2015; Aram & Salipante, 2003). The interpretive paradigm is of the view that social reality is a product of a subjective and inter-subjective experience of individuals (Edley, 2001). Knowledge is understood from the viewpoint of the actor rather than the observer and the focus of an interpretive social researcher is to understand how shared realities are created, maintained and changed.

According to Klein and Myers (1999), a study is considered interpretive if it assumes that only through social constructions such as language, shared meanings and consciousness can knowledge be gained. Interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independents variables, but attempts to understand the phenomena through the meaning assigned to it (Abdel-Fattah, 2015). The aim for interpretive research is to produce an understanding of the context and the process where a phenomenon is influenced and influences the context (Klein & Myers, 1999). Thus for an interpretive paradigm, social realities are interpreted through a 'sense making' process since they are deeply entrenched within their social setting (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Klein & Myers, 1999) and the different perspectives held by different participants are taken into consideration (Abdel-Fattah, 2015).

The interpretive paradigm is different from the positivist paradigm and the critical paradigm in that the positivist paradigm emphasises formal propositions, quantifiable measures of variables, hypothesis testing and generalisation from the sample to the population (R. B. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), while the critical paradigm is concerned with criticising society and bringing limiting and oppressive conditions to light (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The

critical paradigm makes the assumption that individuals can consciously behave in ways to change their social and economic conditions but may be inhibited by various forms of social, political, cultural domination as well as natural laws and resource limitations (Klein & Myers, 1999). In summary, the positivist paradigm seeks absolute answers that can be validated, while the critical paradigm seeks to challenge the status quo and consequently change it. the interpretive paradigm on the other hand seeks to understand and unpack the status quo.

According to Bhattacherjee (2012), the interpretive paradigm is useful for studying social environments that are complex with various hidden reasons and interrelated or multi-layered processes, such as the interplay between organisational identity and individual identity intended in this study. Hence, this paradigm was adopted in this study.

3.2. Research design

Within the interpretive paradigm, a qualitative methodology in the form of in-depth interviews was applied and a phenomenological design adopted. A phenomenological design was suitable in this instance because phenomenology is concerned with the study of individual experience and the manner in which things are perceived as they appear to one's consciousness (Honer & Hitzler, 2015; Langdridge, 2007; Schutz, 1967) For instance, phenomenology asks the question: what does it mean to be in the world as a woman, a man or a child, considering the socio-cultural and the historical traditions that have given meaning to our ways of being in the world (Lydall, Pretorius, & Stuart, 2005)?

According to James (2011), phenomenology is based on the idea that most of the everyday knowledge and experience is expressed as 'fact'. However, the very appearance of something we label 'fact' or phenomenon is supported in consciousness by a deeper lying structure of sense and meaning that humans routinely understand intuitively, both individually and collectively (James, 2011; Lee, Saunders, & Goulding, 2005). For instance, the understanding of the phenomenon 'wind' is taken as fact. However, 'wind' is more than a phenomenon but

a phenomenal characteristic of weather. Weather cannot be seen in physical form but it makes itself known through characteristics such as wind or rain (James, 2011). Furthermore, the meaning attached to these characteristics may differ from one individual to another. For instance, to a farmer whose agriculture is dependent on a certain amount of rain, the meaning of rain is different to that of a tourist who wishes to explore the surroundings in time before the holiday ends (Smith et al., 2009). Thus, phenomenology is the assumption that the source of all knowledge is to be found from individual experience (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Hegel & Baillie, 2009; Schutz, 1967).

The basis for phenomenology originates from Franz Brentano (1838-1917) who first emphasised the 'intentional nature of consciousness' or 'the internal experience of being conscious of something' (Groenewald, 2004; Wertz et al., 2011). Intentionality or the intentional nature of consciousness refers to the conclusion that whenever we are aware of something, there is always an object of awareness and that object could be anything from a paper, an idea or another person (Langdridge, 2007). Husserl (1970) took the concept further by rejecting the belief that objects in the outside world exist independently and that the information about objects can be trusted.

Husserl (1970) was of the view that individuals can only be certain about how things appear in or present themselves to their consciousness. To reach certainty therefore, anything outside immediate experience has to be ignored and thus the external world is reduced to only the contents of personal consciousness (Hegel & Baillie, 2009; Wertz et al., 2011). Therefore realities are considered as pure 'phenomena' and the only pure data from where to begin (James, 2011). Husserl (1970) termed this philosophical method 'phenomenology'.

However, according to Langdridge (2007), in order to clearly understand the concept of intentionality, it is crucial to understand the distinction between what is experienced (noema) and how it is experienced (noesis). Langdridge (2007) asserts that in traditional psychology and everyday thinking, there is a distinction made between an object and a subject. The

subject being the person that comes to know an object or one who thinks, acts and perceives, while an object is the thing that can be perceived or acted upon. However, Husserl (1970) argued that all experience is experience of something and this attempts to alter the distinction between subjects and objects into a relationship between what is experienced and the way it is experienced (James, 2011).

Heidegger (1970) took a more existential turn when he asserted that the 'I' remains embedded in the intentional relationship between what is experienced and how it is experienced. For him, it is impossible to separate our being and the world. Therefore all perception of the world is grounded in our body in relation to the environment in which we live (Heidegger, Barton, Deutsch, & Gendlin, 1967).

A phenomenological design was considered appropriate for this study because of the research objective to explore the lived experiences of both individuals and organisation in racial transformation efforts in the market research industry. Existing racial transformation studies (as discussed above) tend to focus exclusively on the experiences of the race group (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Cupido, 2015; Walker, 2005a) with less account of the unique individual experiences and capabilities. This study is focusing on the individual and his or her unique talents and experiences. A phenomenological design appears to be adequate to meet this objective because the focus of phenomenology is the individual experience and how experience appears to consciousness (James, 2011; Lee et al., 2005).

3.3. Sampling strategy

Non-probability sampling was implemented to select the participants. Non-probability sampling occurs when in a specific population, the probability of including some units cannot be accurately determined (De Vos, Delport, Fouché, & Strydom, 2011). Units are selected based on non-random criteria, which reduces the probability to generalise back to the

population. Sampling errors cannot be established using non-probability sampling techniques as is the case in probability sampling techniques (Bhattacherjee, 2012). This sampling method is implemented when a deeper understanding of the subject is the desired goal rather than the generalisability of the findings (Tansey, 2007)

Within non-probability sampling methods, purposive sampling (De Vos et al., 2011) was used. Purposive sampling is when the researcher predetermines the data sources and consciously seeks out respondents who meet the predetermined criteria (De Vos et al., 2011) via referrals from various gatekeepers, opportunities based on researchers' own contacts or referrals from research participants (i.e. snowballing)(Smith et al., 2009). This sampling method was applicable in this study because the nature of the study was such that a sample frame was predetermined. The intention was to study a homogeneous group (Smith et al., 2009) of black market researchers and the managing executives in the organisations they worked for who were presumed to be white. The objectives of the study predetermined the interest in this group of respondents. Furthermore, the topic is sensitive in that it exposes attitudes and behaviours that some organisations may not be proud of showing to external parties. There was therefore the likelihood that some organisations would feel exposed and refuse to participate in the study. Consequently, it was important to implement a sampling method that was flexible enough to accommodate potential sampling challenges.

Black market researchers from all client-servicing levels (e.g., Junior Research Executive up to Business Unit Director) of the selected organisations were targeted and interviewed about their life stories and experiences of the market research industry. Executive managers were interviewed to establish the upheld organisational identity for the particular organisation.

According to Smith et al. (2009), there is no correct or incorrect answer to the question of sample size in a phenomenological study because phenomenology is concerned primarily with the detailed account of an individual experience. The emphasis is on quality rather than quantity (Morse, 1991). Sample size depends on (1) the extent of commitment to the case

study level of analysis and reporting, (2) the richness of the individual cases and (3) the organisational restriction that one is operating under (Lee et al., 2005; Morse, 1991; Smith et al., 2009). For Smith et al. (2009), a phenomenological study benefits from smaller sample sizes of between three and eight participants as they limit the danger of being overwhelmed by the amount of data collected since the analysis is reflective, interpretative and requires that each case is represented in a form of verbatim in any thematic conclusion reached.

In this study, organisations that are members of SAMRA based in the Gauteng area were targeted to participate in the study. SAMRA affiliated organisations were targeted because they function within the rules and regulations standardised by the industry body (SAMRA, 2015a), which provided a common basis of understanding. The focus was the Gauteng area because most market research organisations have a head office in Gauteng and smaller branches in other regions (SAMRA, 2015b). It was important that a spread of organisations with unique characteristics that are typical of the South African market research industry were sampled. The South African market research industry is typically composed of the following categories of organisations (SAMRA, 2015b):

1. Established organisations with a long history in the industry,
2. Newly established organisations that are still building a name for themselves,
3. Organisations that have carved a strong niche or differentiation in the type of research that they offer,
4. Emerging organisations that specialise in emerging research methodologies and new markets,
5. Organisations owned by multinationals and enjoying access to global research tools, resources and databases.

A list of all the SAMRA affiliated organisations was obtained from the SAMRA website dated 01 June 2012. A total of 36 organisations were affiliated with SAMRA at a time. This list was used to draw the sampling from.

The author took advantage of her contacts in the industry since she works with research suppliers as a client in her current employment. She approached some of the research houses where she had a relationship through her day-to-day work responsibilities and those who were not a research supplier but wished to be a research supplier with her employer. To minimise potential bias, it was important to target those suppliers that the author had not personally worked with directly (even though her other team members may have worked with them). This approach enabled rapport building between the author and the managing executives as they seemed to speak freely about their experiences, although they did try to position themselves favourably unless asked directly to be critical, which was expected considering that the author was a potential client to them. They used the opportunity to sell their organisation.

Upon establishing contact, a letter of request was emailed to the CEOs or MDs of the companies requesting their permission to participate in the study (See annexure 2. The letter of request included a detailed information guide of what the study entailed, that their participation was voluntary and that participation would not benefit them individually but would potentially benefit the industry as a whole once the findings had been written up. A letter of support for the study from SAMRA signed by the SAMRA CEO accompanied the letter of request. This letter informed potential participants that SAMRA was aware of and supported the study. The email was sent to the first six organisations that were selected based on their unique characteristics that fell within the categories making up the industry. The invitation was sent to the first six organisations because the desired sample size was five organisations. It was important not to send the invite to more organisations than required in case more than five organisations expressed an interest to participate in the study.

Four CEOs responded promptly with a keen interest to participate in the study, while two organisations did not respond to the invitation even after repeated attempts. The four organisations that responded, met all the desired characteristics and as a result, no further effort was made to send additional requests for participation. Interviews were scheduled with the CEOs who were keen to participate in the study. The interviews with the CEOs were

scheduled based on available dates of the CEOs. One CEO was available immediately and the author met her at her offices for the interview, while the others were either travelling or had prior engagements in diaries that the author had to wait for to clear. The interviews were held as soon as the diaries cleared. The following were the characteristics of the interviewed organisations:

Table 3: categories and characteristics of organisations interviewed

#	Categories of organisations in Market Research Industry	Unique characteristics of organisations interviewed
1.	• Established organisations with a long history in the industry, • Specialise in emerging research methodologies and new markets,	• Black founded, owned and managed organisation. • Specialising in both traditional qualitative and quantitative research and been in existence for more than 15 years.
2.	• Organisations owned by multinationals and enjoying access to global research tools, resources and databases	• Internationally owned research agency. An amalgamation of two previously prominent South African organisations, • Specialising in both traditional qualitative and quantitative research. • Each organisation had been in existence for more than 15 years before the merger and acquisition.
3.	• Emerging organisations that specialise in emerging research methodologies and new markets, • Newly established organisations that are still building a name for themselves	• A small sized niche research agency providing specialised research service. • Owned by generation Y white South Africans and in existence for less than five years.
4.	• Organisations that have carved a strong niche or differentiation in the type of research that they offer,	• White founded and managed research house that had recently been acquired by a black partner and transferred ownership to black owned. • Specialist in traditional qualitative research and have been in existence for more than 15 years.

To explore the upheld organisational identity, the CEOs of the selected organisations were interviewed as representatives of the organisations. The CEOs were probed on the formal organisational identity claims and transformation experiences the organisation had gone through. It was important to interview the CEOs prior to approaching the researchers in the organisation in order to request them in person to approach their staff members in the organisation and be certain that they were comfortable with the approach.

As soon as the interviews with the CEOs were completed, and after they were familiar with the purpose of the study, a request was made to approach the black researchers in the

organisation. All the CEOs were comfortable that the researchers were approached. The author proceeded as planned, and they offered further assistance with recruitment in case the author needed assistance. To minimise potential bias, the author declined the CEOs' offer to assist and opted to invite researchers in the organisations based on referrals from other researchers in the industry and in the organisations targeted. Respondents from all levels in the organisations were targeted, such as Junior Research Executives, Research Executives, Senior Research Executives, Account Managers and Account Directors or Business Unit Directors.

Since the study was based on the assumption that there would be limited penetration of black researchers at senior levels, all those that were found within the sampled organisation were targeted. The structures differed from one organisation to another. Some were hierarchical while others had a much flatter structure. However, the above structure (see Fig 1, p. 27) was typical for most of the organisations even though the labels of the positions may have differed. For instance, some organisations titled a position with the same responsibilities as a research executive a 'project manager'.

Colleagues in the industry were used to identify the black researchers in the desired positions in the selected organisations. These black researchers were approached and invited to participate in the study. An email invitation was sent accompanied by a detailed information letter informing them about the objectives of the study and what they could expect from the interview. The information letter emphasised that their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw participation at any stage if they wished to do so (refer to annexure 3). A snowballing sampling method was used where the interviewed individuals were asked to refer another black researcher in the organisation.

Generally, the individuals referred were eager to participate and immediately arranged time to meet the author for the interview. However, some of the referred researchers refused to

participate. The reasons provided were unavailability due to deadlines, travelling or time constraints as two hours appeared too long for them to dedicate to an interview.

In one of the four interviewed organisations, it was discovered that there were no black researchers in any of the desired positions. This was expected to some extent because it was one of the reasons that motivated the study (i.e. the limited presence of black researchers at certain levels of the organisations). However, since this reality became a potential threat to the research, individuals outside the identified organisations who occupied the desired positions were also sourced. This is referred to as elite interviewing where select influential members of a targeted group are interviewed to assess their views on an identified issue (Honer & Hitzler, 2015). Elite interviewing can be implemented to boost insights for triangulation purposes (Honer & Hitzler, 2015). A total of three elite interviews were conducted.

For instance, a Business Unit Director (BUD) from a small research organisation providing specialist research solutions was scouted and included in the sample even though his organisation was not part of the sample because this level was not represented in the interviewed organisations. These interviews were labelled in the sample design as 'additional' because their insights were used to mainly crosscheck those from researchers in interviewed organisations rather than as part of those organisations.

Furthermore, an HR representative from an organisation not sampled was also approached for feedback into her experiences as an HR representative dealing with all the people related issues in her organisation on a daily basis. The interview with the HR representative probed her thoughts and experiences regarding the subject interest. Her insights were used to cross check those presented by both the CEOs and the researchers. This was also included in the 'additional' sample design. The HR representative insights were particularly valued because she is not a South African and came to study and work in South Africa. She does not have the legacy issues that often burden South Africans when it comes to racial issues. She offered a

much more objective view from an outsider perspective, which was important for triangulation purposes (Flick, 2004; Golafshani, 2003).

Table 4: Sample Breakdown

Unit of analysis	Organisation 1	Organisation 2	Organisation 3	Organisation 4	Total number
Organisational representative (CEO)					
CEO/Managing Director	White, female	White, male	Black, male	White male and female partners	4
Black researchers					
Junior Research Executive	0	1	0	0	1
Research Executive	1	2	1	0	4
Senior Research Executive	2	0	0	0	2
Account Manager	0	0	1	0	1
Business Unit Director	1	0	1	0	2
Research Director	0	0	1	0	1
Additional participants					
Human Resource officer					1
Account Manager					1
Business Unit Director					1
Total sample size	4	3	4	0	18

This sample size was sufficient to ensure that no premature assumptions as a result of too little data were reached, while it was adequate to produce data that was manageable by the researcher since data based on an interpretive paradigm is time consuming and resource intensive which can overwhelm the researcher (Bhattacherjee, 2012). The purpose of qualitative research methods is to reach saturation rather than to be generalisable (Mason, 2010).

It was apparent during the third organisation that the narrative from the different participants was becoming repetitive. Each of the individuals interpreted the experiences differently but the story was similar. It was decided at this phase that saturation had been reached. The fourth organisation was included for confirmation purposes especially because it was black owned in an industry that was white dominated. Its story confirmed the rest of the stories but the CEO attributed different meaning and approached the same issues differently compared to his counterparts.

At this point the interview process was concluded as saturation had been reached. Saturation occurs when new data no longer yields new information on the issues under investigation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and a case for representation and to conclude the interviews can be made. This sample size met the expectations of saturation on the key research questions.

3.4. Data collection process

Request letters were sent out to potential participants to invite them to participate in the study. Those potential participants who were interested to participate in the study were encouraged to indicate via email with the possible dates and time that would suit them to have the interview. The email response also served as proof of consent to participate in the study.

The data collection techniques implemented were individual interviews (including the observations of body language) and web content analysis in the form of browsing communication by and about the organisations selected. Individual interviews, however, were the main data collection tool (De Vos et al., 2011) as they allow for a personalised and empathetic conversation with the participants (Langdridge, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). Empathy was important in this study to build rapport with participants because the participants were requested to provide a substantial amount of 'personal' information about themselves and their lives, which may be difficult to divulge to a stranger.

To establish rapport the author explained the background to the study and the motivations for the topic, how the findings could contribute to knowledge and potentially assist the industry in the transformation journey. This approach appeared to be effective in getting the participants to trust the researcher and the research process. The participants appeared relaxed and they opened up and shared their life experiences with the author. For instance, interviews were scheduled for two hours but they ran over time by an hour to two hours because respondents were excited for the opportunity to share their stories. However, in

some areas of the stories the body language suggested that the participant might have been uncomfortable to share certain elements of the experience. In those instances, the author did not probe further but allowed the silence and change of subject by the participant in cases where they did change the subject. These instances were noted and incorporated during the analysis stage as background context.

The CEOs were more complex to build rapport with because the author was conscious of the position she was in as a potential client interviewing a supplier. It was conceivable that some of the CEOs had an agenda to impress the author and put themselves in a favourable position to influence the awarding of potential projects. The first interview was particularly challenging in this regard as it often digressed into what appeared to be a sales pitch by the CEO. The author had anticipated this, was mindful of it, and allowed the CEOs to digress within reason while steering the conversation back to the core topic.

Semi-structured interviews were favoured over structured or unstructured interviews because they allow for both open ended and probing questions in the interview process (Smith et al., 2009). The open-ended questions enabled the participants to narrate their stories in an uninterrupted way, while the probing questions are necessary to follow up on specific elements of the stories that relate to the study objectives. Interview guides were developed for both the CEOs and the researchers. The interview guides were only used as prompts in the research process. As the interviews progressed, it became evident that the participants' narratives would guide the process more than the interview guides because all the individual stories were so unique that they led the probing to different directions. However, the broad research themes were maintained. These themes were as follows for the CEOs (See annexure 4):

- What the organisation stands for in terms of both the desired reputation and actual reputation
- The history of the organisation and the important events that have shaped the organisation

- The activities and rituals in the organisation that have come to identify the culture of the organisation
- The organisation's stance and practices regarding employee career growth and development path
- The stance and experiences of the organisation with BEE and Employment Equity,
- Racial integration in the organisation and internal initiatives geared towards improved race relations and racial integration.

A separate interview guide was developed for the researchers. Similar to the interviews with the CEOs the guide was used as a prompt because the individual narratives shaped the structure and probing questions for each interview. However, broad themes were maintained, which were as follows (see annexure 5):

- A chronological description of the participants' life experiences from as early as they can remember in childhood and the life events and decisions that have led them to the current moment and time in their lives.
- A description of life as a market researcher. The role they occupy and responsibilities associated with the role, growth and development in their roles and how they feel about these roles and responsibilities.
- Experiences in the organisations for which they work. The environment, the rituals and patterns that define the organisation and their overall feelings towards the organisation.

As soon as the participants accepted the invitation to participate in the study, an appointment for the interview was scheduled with them. The appointment included the date, time and place of the interview. Most of the interviews were conducted at the place of work of the participants, while others were held at the place of employment of the researcher. The participants indicated where they were most comfortable to meet when they responded to the request for participation. All the interviews were scheduled for two hours. The interviews with CEOs lasted for the duration of two hours, while many of those of researchers went over the allocated time.

The maximum time that the interviews with researchers lasted was four hours. A few of the researchers were confronting and talking about some of the issues for the first time and therefore used the sessions to think through and make sense of some of the experiences that they had not come to terms with. As a result, the sessions became therapeutic for many of them as they got to open up about issues that they had never verbalised before and they confessed that they started thinking differently about those issues as they were verbalising them (Participant A, Participant B).

South Africa has a diverse number of languages spoken, which can at times create problems in the research process if the researcher speaks a different language to that of the research participant. Wa Thiongo (1994) addressed the role of language in self-identification and the importance of mother tongue in individual identity development. Polkinghorne (2005) and Schober, Conrad, and Fricker (2004) also emphasise the role of language in conveying meaning in interviews and how meaning could be lost if attention is not paid to the spoken language. The author was sensitive to this reality in this study. Although English was used as the main mode of communication during all the interviews, respondents were encouraged to fall back to their native language to express themselves better where necessary and to use the relevant metaphors better expressed in their native languages to communicate a point. Such metaphors were translated accordingly in preparation for the analysis. However, the default language for all the participants was English and minimal use of mother tongue. Only one respondent spoke Xhosa extensively while describing her childhood background (P3 RE).

A voice recorder was used to record all the interviews. Participants were made aware of such a recording and issues of confidentiality were thoroughly explained to keep participants at ease regarding the use of their information (Ramenyi, 2011). The recording of information and issues of confidentiality were not a problem for all the participants since they are all researchers who were familiar with the research process. They all gave consent to be recorded and they were excited to be on the other side of the interview process since most of the time they interview participants (P9 BUD and P8 AM). Post interview notes were also

made to reflect on the interview process and make note of body language that seemed striking during the interview process.

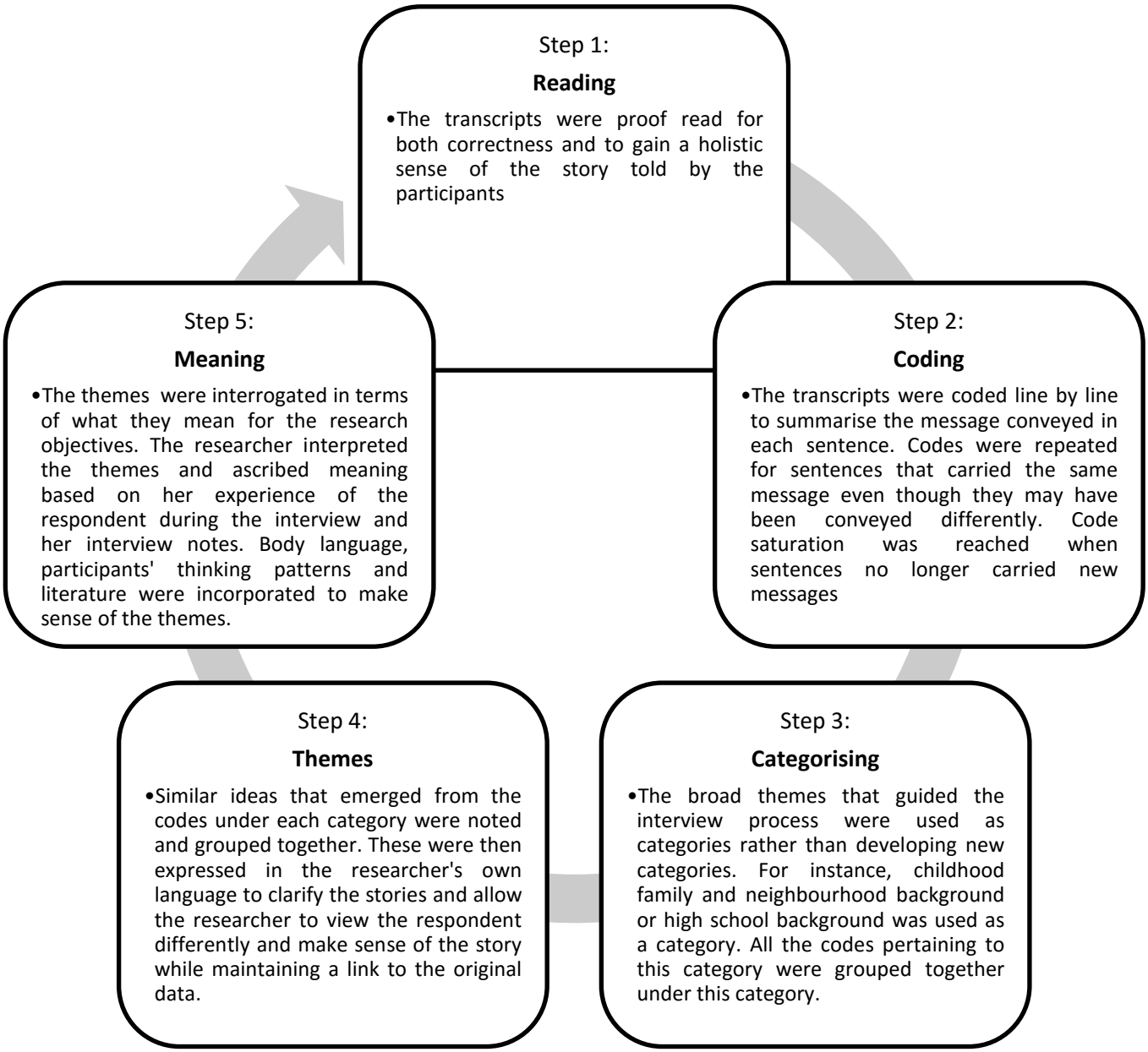
Each recorded interview was transcribed in preparation for the analysis process. The services of a transcription company were utilised for transcription purposes since the interviews were so long and the author had limited resources regarding time. The audio recordings were sent in batches to the transcriber and an instruction was given that the transcriber should also be conversant in vernacular languages since in some of the interviews participants did express themselves in some vernacular terms. As soon as the transcripts were delivered to the author they were checked for correctness before the analysis process could commence.

3.5. Data analysis process

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Aram & Salipante, 2003) was applied to analyse the data. IPA is concerned with exploring the individual's lived experience and how the individual makes sense of that experience (Aram & Salipante, 2003; Langdridge, 2007; Smith et al., 2009) The analysis process involves going through the participants' narrative with empathy and detail (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith, 2004). The role of the researcher is highlighted in the process of making sense of the individual making sense of their own experience (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2009). According to Smith (2004), IPA is distinguished from other analysis methods by its ideographic, inductive and probing characteristics. Each of these characteristics is described as follows:

The Ideographic characteristic indicates that IPA treats each interview as a case, where each case is analysed in great detail until saturation is achieved before moving on to the next case. The process for each interview analysis involved the following steps, which were borrowed from Smith et al. (2009).

FIG 4: DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS (SMITH ET AL., 2009)



The above process was repeated for each individual interview until all the cases were analysed individually. A cross analysis of the cases was implemented as soon as the individual cases were exhausted. Cross analysis is where the themes from each case are cross checked in search for similarities and deviations (Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Smith, 2004). Convergent as well as divergent elements of the themes for each cases were noted, interrogated and subsequently reported as findings from the study (Smith, 2004). These were reported under broad themes as findings from the study.

The Inductive characteristic of IPA indicates that the researcher is not in search to prove or disprove specific hypotheses in the data collection (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2009). Rather flexible data collection tools are used that allow for unanticipated themes to emerge in the data. Broader research questions are formulated so as to allow the participants to paint their own picture that will lead the analysis to rich and unexpected details (Smith, 2004). Semi-structured interviews were used for data collection leading up to this phase. These allowed for the inclusion of broader research questions as well as specific probing or follow up questions (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). The respondents were encouraged to lead the conversation and to tell their story chronologically uninterrupted. The interview guide was kept to the broader research themes and probing customised for each respondent to obtain further clarity on their specific story.

The Probing characteristic of IPA indicates that the findings from the cases do not stand alone but are interrogated, taking into consideration existing related literature (Smith, 2004). This questioning and literature consultation minimises the probability of bias, either driven by participants' political agendas or researcher biases in the analysis of data. It also enhances soundness of the interpretations made (Shinebourne, 2011). The relevant literature is used to position the study and it is common that the discussion would include literature that was not referenced in the introduction of the study (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith et al., 2009). The themes that emerged from the ideographic phase of the analysis were interrogated and made sense of using relevant literature. Since the themes emerged from the data, most of the literature was introduced for the first time as it had not been anticipated during the literature review stages of the research process. This literature was largely borrowed from social and organisational psychology discipline as the identity concepts are largely studied in these disciplines.

3.6. Ensuring validity and quality

The need to conform to the quantitative criteria of validity and quality motivated the development of the following constructs in qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003; Kitto, Chesters, & Grbich, 2008):

- *Credibility* – an alternative for internal validity. This is where the researcher demonstrates that the research participant was accurately described and identified.
- *Transferability* – an alternative for generalisability or external validity. This is where the researcher demonstrates the applicability of one set of findings to another context.
- *Dependability* – an alternative for reliability. This is where the researcher accounts for changing circumstances in the phenomena under study in order to conform to the assumptions of quantitative research of an unchanging social world where a study can be replicated.
- *Confirmability* – an alternative for objectivity. This is where the researcher demonstrates that the findings of the study can be confirmed by another in order to remove researcher bias and let the data speak for itself.

These constructs are applied to establish soundness of a qualitative study and are recognised in qualitative literature (De Vos et al., 2011; Golafshani, 2003). However, for IPA studies Smith et al. (2009) recommend the criteria developed by Yardley (2000) which involve the following:

1. *Sensitivity to context*

This criterion is often met very early in the research process as the very choice of implementing an IPA study often rests on the recognition of the need to be sensitive to context (Smith et al., 2009). The researcher is considered the main data collection tool with biases that are expected to intrude in the research to produce interpretations that weave both the researcher's expectations and beliefs and the respondent's story. Thus multiple interpretations are allowed and considered all valid in this kind of design (Lydall et al., 2005). However, the researcher is expected to have good IPA interviewing skills, awareness and dedication as the analysis is as good as the data collected (Smith et al., 2009), thus demonstrating sensitivity to the raw data such as including verbatim extracts in the written report and demonstrating awareness of applicable literature contribute towards being sensitive to context (Smith et al., 2009; Yardley, 2000).

Commitment to sensitivity to the context was demonstrated starting from the sampling strategy of the organisations to be studied. It was important to sample organisations that exhibited the characteristics of the organisations typically comprising the industry in order to be true to the context of the various organisations and the unique challenges typical for each context. Furthermore, all respondents were encouraged to tell their stories as they wished to tell them by using broader research questions that respondents could respond to in ways that were specific to their lives and thus lead the data gathering process rather than following a rigid interview guide.

2. *Commitment and rigour*

According to Smith et al. (2009), commitment is demonstrated in various ways in an IPA study, such as the extent of attentiveness to respondents during the data collection and the sensitivity with which the data analysis is undertaken. For Lydall et al. (2005), commitment and rigour may be satisfied by ensuring the following:

- Participants' descriptions and reflection of their actual experience is not altered in any way
- The transcriptions are a true reflection of the interview.
- All possible alternative conclusions are explored and the supremacy of the selected conclusion is demonstrated
- The structural descriptions maintain their relationship to the respondent's reflection of the experience
- The general structural descriptions are transferable to others in similar situations

Rigour also refers to the attentiveness of the study, such as ensuring that the sample is appropriate to the question at hand, conducting a good quality interview and providing a reflective and interpretative analysis that moves beyond descriptions of what is observable to an interpretation of what it all means (Smith et al., 2009). The author demonstrated commitment and rigour during the interview process by allowing respondents to speak as much as they needed to speak without strict adherence to the scheduled time. As long as the respondent had the additional time, the author was completely guided and willing to listen to what they had to say. A detailed account of respondents' lives as they remembered was

encouraged. Probing questions were asked to encourage clarity rather than guiding questions.

As a result, some of the interviews lasted for more than four hours. Transcripts were proofread and some corrected, as an independent transcriber transcribed the audio recordings. This was to ensure that the transcripts were a true reflection of the interview. The data presentation and discussion sections include the verbatim account of the participants' experiences in order to reflect their voice in the data and thus maintain rigour and transparency. The body language recorded in the post interview notes was incorporated in the interpretation and making sense of the results.

3. Transparency and coherence

Transparency and coherence refer to the clarity with which the written report demonstrates all the stages that the research process underwent. This may include a careful description of how respondents were selected, the interview schedule and how the schedule was constructed, how the interview was conducted and the steps involved in the analysis process (Smith et al., 2009). For Smith et al. (2009), coherence extends to the coherence of arguments made and the fit between the underlying assumption of the approach being implemented and the research that has been completed. For Lydall et al. (2005), transparency and coherence refers to whether the research participants or the community which the study is about can confirm the interpretations when these are presented to them. The study should be based on conclusions that have the power to persuade the reader of their 'truthfulness' because of their clear, logical and well supported structural descriptions. The presentation of data chapter in the report was sent to the research participants for verification of how they were presented. The respondents have reacted positively to the study and appreciative that their stories and experiences have been told and potentially will form part of the discussions and debates. Participants expressed that they were accurately represented and that the process of talking and opening up has enabled them to start being aware of some of the experiences in the organisations that they had taken for granted prior to the interview.

4. Impact and importance

The final criterion and the test of the authentic validity of a phenomenological study lie in whether it exposes the reader to noteworthy and important or useful content (Smith et al., 2009; Yardley, 2000). For Smith et al. (2009), all IPA researchers should aim to satisfy this criterion because the extent to which the study is impactful is the true test of an IPA study since the very choice of such a design is often motivated by the expectation to bring to surface underlying and (at times) unconscious structures of lived experiences.

Post the interviews some of the participants expressed gratitude to the process as it was impactful in allowing them to reflect and make sense of and come to terms with some of the experiences that they had never reflected on. A paper based on the preliminary findings from the study was compiled and presented at the 2013 annual SAMRA conference. This paper highlighted some realities that the industry either was not aware of or had never openly discussed for various reasons. The paper was titled: *The challenge to change: Racial Transformation in the Marketing Research Industry* and it highlighted the lived experiences of black market researchers in the industry.

The industry leaders who constitute the audience of the conference were hearing about these experiences for the first time and many appeared to be embarrassed by the stories. The resolution from that conference was a commitment from SAMRA to create an industry transformation forum to discuss issues of transformation and monitor transformation progress in the industry.

This transformation forum was launched in June 2015 driven by individual CEOs and key client stakeholders. A journal article was also published in the 2015 SAMRA Journal titled: *Changing the face of the market research industry: a three-legged challenge.* The article showed how the organisations, clients and the black researchers were potentially contributing to the challenge of transformation. It also provided potential solutions that each party could

contribute to solve the challenge. This is an example of how the study lives up to the expectation of being impactful and important.

3.7. Ethical considerations

Prior to implementing the study, ethical clearance was applied for and obtained from the Wits Ethics Committee. SAMRA was informed about the study and they expressed an interest in the final report and issued a letter of support for the study, which accompanied the letter of request to participants. The SAMRA affiliated organisations were approached for permission to participate in the study (see Annexure 3). Participation was voluntary and participants were made aware of this before they accepted the invitation. A few participants accepted the invitation and made an appointment for the interview only to change their minds a few minutes before the scheduled interview. Their cancellation was accepted with no questions asked. The study only included those participants who showed interest to participate in the study. Those who showed discomfort or doubt were not pursued even though they may have accepted the invitation out of politeness.

Participants responded via email to give consent to their voluntary participation in the study and a Microsoft Outlook calendar appointment was scheduled in their calendars. All the participants were assured of confidentiality, and accordingly, measures have been taken to ensure that such confidentiality is maintained at all times. Participants' stories will only be used for the purposes of this research. Permission for any additional use will be requested from them. For the paper presented at SAMRA 2014 Conference based on the preliminary findings, respondents were requested for permission and they indicated their support for the paper via email.

The identity of participants was protected at all times during the write up of the findings and in the final report. The transcripts and recordings will be stored securely for the duration of

five years as prescribed by the Wits Human Research Ethics Committee and will be destroyed post this duration.

3.8. Limitations to the study

The nature of the study is delimited to the market research industry and to black researchers in the industry. Thus, the theoretical contributions are confined to this target audience. The sampling design applied was non-probability purposive sampling, which is a sampling design that is not conducive to generalisability. Thus, findings from this study cannot be generalised to wider populations outside those individuals interviewed.

The qualitative research methods applied in the study open the study to researcher biases because they rely on the researcher's maturity to 'read between the lines', as the interviews are conducted and probed appropriately. The phenomenological research design can be limited by bias because it emphasises the interpretations of realities from the viewpoint of the participants. Some participants may be biased or harbour hidden agendas, which calls for an experienced and mature researcher who is able to see through these hidden agendas to influence the study (Bhattacherjee, 2012).

Some of these agendas such as the need to present oneself positively or as a victim in their lived experiences were pre-empted and allowed during the interview but bracketed to form part of the analysis and interpretation process. For instance, some of the CEOs had an agenda to present their organisation favourably potentially in the hope of influencing the author to be kind to them during future business tender prospects. Since this had been anticipated, it was bracketed during the interview process.

Furthermore, the experiences of black researchers from the selected organisations were cross referenced with experiences of individuals from organisations that were not part of the sampled organisations in an attempt to triangulate the findings and thus minimise bias.

Since the researcher was the main data collection tool it was important to introspect and make own biases known upfront because remaining neutral for the researcher can be potentially more difficult to achieve in practice as researchers often hold their own biases and agendas for conducting specific research projects (Goulding, 1999). The author's biases and motives for pursuing the study were made explicit at proposal stages of the study in order to be transparent. These have been included in the annexure section for reference. The author also attended closely to participants' choice of words and language in order to ensure that the focus was on the individual experiences and how it was experienced, to be careful not to impose the author's assumptions to the data (Smith et al., 2009).

According to Smith et al. (2009), an interview schedule should not be used as a rigid map but rather as a useful guide. The process of developing a schedule requires the researcher to think explicitly about the expectations of the interview and to plan for the potential difficulties that may be confronted, which builds confidence to deal appropriately with such difficulties in the interview setting. The interview guide was confined to the main themes but the probing questions were adapted to each participant as they told their unique stories.

Self-selection bias may have been the main limitation to the study. Self-selection bias is when individuals systematically volunteer to participate in the study because of a stake in the study. This leads to the selection process, either the sampling design or the nature of the phenomenon being studied resulting in conclusions that have a systematic error (Collier & Mahoney, 1996). The organisations that accepted the invitation for participation were those that either wanted to be seen to be participating in transformation conversations or were genuinely concerned about transformation and hoping that their views would yield a positive contribution.

Organisations that did not share these invested interests simply did not respond to the invitation. Similarly, the researchers who accepted the invitation were those who were either concerned about the transformation status quo and had something to say about it or those

who were simply curious about participation in a PhD study and wanted to be a part of it. Those who were not as curious simply declined the invitation. However, the richness of the stories told and the rigor with which the stories were told outweigh this limitation because new and rich information was obtained during the data collection process.

Life stories were relied upon to explore individual's identities. This is a potential limitation because the stories individuals chose to tell were dependent on memory and what the individual considered to be relevant at the time of telling the story. This limitation was easy to accept because the motivation for the study was precisely to offer an opportunity for the respondents to tell their stories and contribute towards a better understanding of some of the untold issues.

The fact that the author's background is in the industry, both as a previous employee in one of the research supplier organisations and as a current potential client to the research suppliers, presented a major bias for this study. The author had inside information that an outsider would not have easily known. However, it was because of this insider knowledge that this study was possible. In the absence of literature about the industry, the author used insider knowledge to formulate the problem statement and research objectives. It is also possible that being a potential client to the organisations studied made it possible for the CEO's to be willing to participate in the study in hopes of using the opportunity to position themselves favourably.

4. Presentation of Research Findings

This chapter presents the data from the research to respond to the research objectives. The main research objective for this study was *to explore the interplay between individual identity and organisational identity in transformation efforts in the market research industry.* This objective came about because of an observation that racial transformation at senior levels in the market research industry was slow. However, despite the slow pace, there are those few individuals who made it to senior positions and those who remained in junior positions but stayed in the organisations despite not being promoted. Thus, a question was raised about the individual traits that distinguished these individuals together with the organisational traits that enabled this occurrence. The following were the research objectives guiding this study:

1. To describe the life experiences of black market researchers and the values defining them as individuals.
2. To identify the individuality and unique qualities amongst the black market researchers
3. To describe the organisational identity of the market research industry as espoused by management, with reference to racial transformation
4. To describe the organisational identity of the market research industry as lived by black market researchers
5. To explore how the black market researchers' individuality shapes their experience of the organisations
6. To describe the elements of individual identity and organisational identity that inspire or stifles transformation efforts in the market research industry.

This chapter presents the research findings responding to research objectives 1 to 4. These objectives are descriptive in nature and do not require interpretation and discussion of the data. The research objective 5 and 6 are presented as a discussion in chapter 5 because these objectives require the interpretation of the data and exploration of literature in order to respond to them. The structure of this chapter follows the order of the research objectives, starting with objective 1 up to objective 4.

4.1. The life experiences of the black market researchers

Erikson (1959)'s psychosocial developmental theory was influential in this part of the study to explore the individual identity of the researchers. Erikson (1959) maintained that individual identity is derived from the interaction between the psychological, social, developmental factors and historical factors of an individual. Erikson (1968) identified that an individual meets conflicts to master at each developmental stage and these are essential for the adjustment into the next stage. In this study, it was found that these conflicts may occur at any stage of the individual's life and different environments may trigger different conflicts and provide opportunities to master conflicts that may not have been mastered in previous stages. For instance, what the family environment did not provide (e.g. 'trust'), the neighbourhood environment provided and thus the crucial development continued.

Erikson (1966) reckoned that the journey towards the stage where one can respond to the question 'who am I?' involves individuals asking 'who do I want to make of myself?' and 'what do I have to work with?'. In this section, the historical factors of the participants, which include the psychosocial development, are expressed in order to present an idea of what these participants had to work with in order to get to where they are at this point of their lives. The narrative begins with the family structure, followed by the neighbourhood environment they grew up in and lastly their university experience.

The narratives are based on moments or situations that the individuals were willing to share or could remember since some of these experiences happened in their childhood some years ago.

4.1.1. Family structure

The participants were all black market researchers aged between 25 and 40 years old, holding various positions in the organisations from junior management to executive management positions. Despite the different levels in the organisations, the researchers shared similarities in the progression of events that have made them who they are and brought them to the

market research industry. One of those shared histories was the family structures that the researchers came from. There were six types of family structures identified that the participants were brought up in. These were the following:

1. married mother and father home (middle class)
2. a teenage mother with an absent father (working class)
3. a stepfather and mother home (working class)
4. single uneducated mother and absent father home (working class),
5. divorced single educated mother and absent father home (middle class).
6. late father, single educated mother home (middle class)

Each one of these family structures presented a specific context that was fundamental in developing and shaping the black researcher's sense of self. These are discussed below.

4.1.1.1. Married mother and father, middle class home

The majority of the participants came from two married parents, middle class homes. The parents typically model traditional gender roles in this kind of family. The father was often the main decision maker and provider while the mother stayed at home to look after the children. Even though the mothers in two of these cases were stay at home mothers, they were educated professionals who chose to stay at home and raised the children while their husbands worked for the family.

> *My dad used to work at Home Affairs. He was, what was that man doing there? Ja he was running a department there at Home Affairs but he has always been the bread winner and my mother has always been a housewife and I think that's really what I, to a large extent, admire about my mother. You know the type of person that she is. Being a housewife, it's a very difficult job. You know like taking care of the kids, it's not easy you know. It's like keeping the family together so that's the type of person that my mother was. I never saw her as 'oh you don't work and therefore it means you are not equivalent'. It was, I love this woman, I admire this woman and the strength that she has to have made a decision to actually stay home with her children because she is a qualified nurse actually but she just never worked. Once they had my sister (first-born), she just never worked. It was, I've got the qualification but I'm going to stay home, raise my kids and I just love her for that reason you know. It's not; it's not an easy thing to choose (P1 JRE, p40).*

In another instance both the mother and father were not educated beyond matric but the father had a good job working for government and being sent to different countries on duty

and the family often having to travel and relocate with him. The mother was the grounding force for the family and for instance, at some point, the family hit a financial crisis and the mother worked as a domestic worker for their neighbour in order to assist her husband financially.

> *They balance each other off well. My dad is the type who loves education, academic, although he does not have qualifications beyond matric. The amount of information he picks up just from reading is phenomenal and his wisdom is like… I'm like 'whoa, okay'. Then my mother is the street-smart girl from Katlehong who… She's just one of those who thought she was just too clever for teachers in Form two. So they balance each other out very well. They balance each other out very, very well and I think that balance has created what we have now (P2 RE, p54).*

> *There were Americans living next door to us. When we lived in a flat there was Americans living next door to us and because things were so hard my mother actually used to clean for them, and ja, that would help us get by on a daily basis so my dad could do other things. You know, pay school fees and that kind of stuff, the bond and… (P2 RE, p59).*

In one instance, the father ran a business while the mother stayed at home to take care of the children until the father got into an accident and was admitted into and stayed in hospital for months. The mother had to learn the business and start running. The mother continued to work even after the father was back from hospital and working again. They started running the businesses together ever since.

> *My mom was not working and then when I was in, I think it was grade 4, she did sewing and she started running a shop. She was selling things like a, people would come and order things to come and sell here in South Africa so she then started running that shop. Things got tough. Before then my father had a terrible accident some years back. Then my mother had to start knowing how to run the business. Because he actually stayed in hospital for some time to heal. I think it was 3 months while he was in hospital. So my mother then started helping and ever since then they worked together to run their business. So they actually run their business together my mom and dad. So my whole entire life I lived with mom and dad, they are still alive (P11 RD, p7)*

In five other instances both parents were qualified professionals who both worked and contributed equally in the decision-making in the household. The participants who came from such families experienced their parents as having personalities that complemented each other, which paved the way for the successful family environments they grew up in.

> *My dad was a Social Worker and then my mum, she was actually a Unionist. Well, I think most decisions they made together and I'm still living with them, I see how they make their decisions. They'll sit down. Each of them has a notebook. It's like not even a notebook. It's like these old diaries. You see 2001, what are you doing with a diary from 2001? They take notes and they're like, "Yes, so how are we going to do this?" Then they'll debate a little bit*

and then, eventually they come to some decision. Once they've come to that decision, you know you are not going to play games with them. It is their decision, the two of them (P8 AM, p56).

So, I mean, I was very fortunate in that I started school early because both my parents are teachers. So when everybody else started at 6 I started at 4 purely because of my siblings. My mother has a firm belief, my mother has a PhD in what she calls Developmental Pedagogy, it's basically like teaching little kids… Also the school I went to was the school where my dad was a principal at so who was gonna kick out the principal's child… (P9 BUD, p29).

I'm from the Free state, I'm from Welkom, a small little town. So I came from a family of academics. My dad is a doctor in education and is trying to get a professorship and my mom is a teacher but she also studied so I've also just always wanted to study. So I came to Joburg in varsity (P13 AM, p1).

In all these families, the children felt sheltered and allowed to be children as the parents made all the decisions that kept the children away from harm's way. The mother often provided for the children's emotional needs, such as being there to talk to them, while the father provided for their financial needs and being the disciplinarian in the household. All the participants from this family set-up felt that they were in privileged positions because their parents provided them with better opportunities, such as a better education compared to other families in the neighbourhood in which they grew up.

My parents made sure that, you know what, we got what we needed to get education wise, and that you know we were comfortable, but not comfortable in the sense of luxury, but just that we had what we needed. I mean, there was a time when things were really, really hard. My mother stayed, like she was there for us. My dad would do whatever he can like you know, like to make things seem like it was okay. There was a time we didn't have a car and we'd catch the bus and my dad he would catch the bus with us. He made it seem like it's okay, it's normal, you know? (P2 RE, p50).

My childhood, my childhood but I think I was, I grew up in a stable family. I think that's one of the things that really, if I had to sum up my childhood, it's that stability that I had. The stability of siblings, the stability of two parents who were both grounded who both did everything that they could to make sure that their kids have the best education, the best of everything and ja that was really that, it was pure stability. I don't know hardships of maybe going to bed without eating, no, I actually grew up, I had a soft childhood if I could use the word. You know one of those families that were quite wealthy at that time, used to shop at Pick 'n Pay with two trolleys. I had a comfortable childhood, no hardships, none whatsoever (P1 JRE, p43).

I think I come from a family of very good values. My mother is probably the most snobbish person I know and I always tell people that Afrikaans people and black people are the snobbish people. We are very similar so my mother is very snobbish, but having said that she has very exact standards that she expects her kids to behave and she has exact expectations of where to land up so all nine of us have graduated with degrees. We all have post degrees, so whether it's an honours or whatever, actually all 9 of us have masters

> degrees. My mother has a Doctorate; my dad has a Masters so that's her expectation (P9 BUD, p30).

4.1.1.2. A teenage mother, absent father and supportive grandmother

The next common family structure was that of a teenage mother and a father who was completely absent from their lives. In this type of family set-up the role of grandparents, aunts and uncles were more pronounced as the researchers were raised in the household as one of the children including their teenage mother. The extended family members often played roles of both the mother and the father as the mothers left the home to either work or study further to improve their lives. The families that had adults in the household were characterised by warmth and the researchers felt protected as children by the adults in their lives. While those families with fewer adults in the household, the researchers had to grow up before their years and learn to take care of themselves.

> My mom had myself at seventeen, and she had my sister at nineteen. Obviously the family wasn't too happy about that, so after she had my sister, she stayed at home for two years, and you know how it goes when the child has a child you know, that the child's child goes away. I didn't grow up with my mom, she lived almost all over the place because she had to work, but I remember the first time she started living with us was '97, that was in Port Shepstone (P3 RE, p3).

> Gosh, lots of fun, I just remember my aunt, I grew up with my aunt, because my mom was here working. So, her younger sister took care of me, but she was in high school at the time, so when I went to crèche and grade one and grade two. I remember she was in high school and she used to take me to the beauty contests where I first heard Bob Marley, No Woman No Cry. And now I forget, but I became an adult at a very young age because I was exposed to these things, she'd take me to her parties, because she couldn't leave me by myself (P6 SRE, p17)

Yet, there is an emotional difficulty shared by the researchers from these environments. For instance, the absence of their fathers in their lives was a sore issue that they still carry with them. They felt rejected and regretted not having their fathers in their lives while growing up. However, they seem to have made peace with it at this point in their lives as something they had no control over.

> *He (Father) was not present, and then he passed away in 2004, when things were sort of getting better between us, but as a child, I was a bit of a diva, and I didn't want anything to do with him. But initially I did … but it was hard to adjust to him wanting to be a part of my life, because even him wanting to be a part of my life, was a call once every three months sort of thing. So he wasn't really involved in my life. That is the story of all of the five of us,*

the kids that I grew up with, my cousins. The dads … eish … each one has got its own story and that is another story for another day (P3 RE, p12).

When I was doing my first year, I tried to get in touch with him, and we'd make an appointment, and I would leave here, and he lives in Rustenburg. He's since remarried, and got children, I don't know how many, gosh I wish I knew. I would like to have a relationship with my siblings. Anyway, we'd make an appointment, and then I'd get into a taxi and go there, and then I'd get there, and then he's not answering his phone, he's just like AWOL. and then I'd come back crying in the taxi, and then I'd get over it, and then after a couple of weeks or months, we'd try again and I'd do it, and then he doesn't pitch. So from that, I have had to conclude that he doesn't want a relationship with me. There are only so many times you can be rejected. I had to make up my mind and say, I don't want to be heartbroken anymore, and therefore I made that decision, then, in 2009, okay, guy, you clearly don't want me in your life, I will stop bothering you (P6 SRE, p41).

For two of the researchers their relationship with their mothers was difficult because the mothers were teenagers still being raised, as they were also growing up. There was little space for the teenage mothers to play the mother role. Although both participants have tried to make peace with this over the years, one participant's relationship with her mother has been estranged because her mother left her as a child in the village to work in Gauteng and they never seemed to connect as her mother always seemed distanced to her. As a child the researcher experienced her mother to be physically too clean and well groomed whenever she came to visit her in the dusty village, which made it difficult to reach out to her. However, her grandmother filled the mother void. According to the researcher, her grandmother was and still is the only person who really knows her. As such, she considers and refers to her grandmother as mama [mother].

I didn't have a mom, I was just a person, I had gogos (grandmas)… Umama (my mom) was anybody that I saw you know, but the concept of a mother, this is the person who gave birth to you; they are responsible for you, that didn't click in my mind for a lot of times. And I was very aloof for a while, and I think my mom picked it up at some stage, and I don't know, I think to a certain extent she thinks I distance myself from her, but like I don't see her as my mother. I see people… (P3 RE, p10).

My mum was working, so my mum has... I call her like a migrant labourer, because that's what she was, you know, she had to be away from me in order to put food on my table, my dad has never been involved, I think he left when I was like two, or something silly, but he's never been involved in my life. So my mom was a single mother in Jo'burg, working. I think she'd come home like once every three months. so she was just this lady that I saw once every three months, and most of the time when she came through I'd be too scared to wrap my arms around her, because I felt like I'm making her dirty because I'd be coming from playing in the streets and she's all prim and proper… Financial support is not enough. I don't know her. To this day I don't know my mother, she doesn't know me, and that's the price she had to pay, that's the price we both had to pay. (P6 SRE, p17).

4.1.1.3. A stepfather and mother, working class home

One researcher was raised by a stepfather but he considers him as his real father because he always treated him and his three siblings as his own children. His step father married their mother after she divorced his biological father and was there for them as though he was the biological father. The researcher only found out about his biological father in his teenage years. His biological father passed away soon after he found out about him and during the funeral, he was exposed to his father's family. He has decided that he does not wish to associate with his father's family because of the kind of people they are and has chosen his stepfather as the only father he wants exposed because he has never given him a reason to doubt that he was his biological father. His stepfather, for being such a good father to them regardless that they are not his biological children, inspires him.

> My step-dad is a remarkable character who has been with us for like the last twenty two … no wait … twenty five, twenty six years … he has been married to my mom for like twenty … twenty four … twenty two of those or something like that. I don't know … like in the whole thing of dissing black dads and he was the one who took a family that is not his, which was quite insane. I look up to that guy. So, my dad I knew, but it was more of like from a distance and I think with him, I thought he was my uncle for a long time until I was twelve when my aunt told me the secret that he was my dad (P14 BUD, p35).

His mother is retired now due to chronic illness but she had worked her way up from an office administrator to HR manager at her place of work while his stepfather was a truck driver who paid specific attention to his family's emotional needs. Although his family is modern, they are firmly grounded in culture and there are certain traditions that they hold dear and practice as a family.

> *As much as I try to be worldly and modern and Westernised in my ways, like I will never ever forsake cultural traditions. I will never forsake that. My son will definitely go to the bush. We will definitely have ceremonies where we thank… I mean like last year, with my mom's condition it is some brain condition she has, it is a virus that is supposed to live for a year, which she had for three, so you know… so, we did something last year, a function just to thank our ancestors for like good health. You know, she is getting stronger slowly but surely. But yeah we are very much into that, as much as we are very Western at home in the day to day living, but we do acknowledge that you know, we have our heritage and our culture to actually like you know uphold as well (P14 BUD, p39).*

As a child attending an Indian school, the Indian families often assisted him with essentials when he did not have them. Later on white families assisted him when he went to white schools and his family could not afford certain necessities. As a result, he appears to be truly

multiracial at heart and sees people as either good or bad regardless of their race. He easily makes relationships across the colour and cultural lines.

> *So it was my first experience of being invited to like Muslim homes and experiencing curry and all those nice things, but at the same time, like trying to respect the cultures and learning about other cultures and I think that was the catalyst to where I am now as well. Yeah, so that was my first experience and I enjoyed it, and it was the love I received from them because I am not from a well-off family at all… at all… I remember once we were supposed to go for the grade 7 weekend away, and as head boy I was like to my teacher, like dude I cannot afford this, and she paid for it and she was like you have got to go, I was like wow… there are some cool people out here. So, it was more of like I really wanted to experience other cultures because I have received so much love in return. I have never been in a discriminatory position and for some reason. I have experienced less discrimination than what most people say is or exists in Cape Town (P14 BUD, p41).*

4.1.1.4. Single uneducated working class mother and absent father

One researcher was raised by a single mother who worked as a domestic worker for a white family and lived in the domestic quarters with her two children. Both the researcher and his younger sister grew up in this tiny one bedroom domestic quarter until his teenage years when he earned a scholarship and moved out to live in boarding school. Thinking about his childhood brings him painful memories, as he was ashamed of his mother for most of his life. She worked for a family that in his eyes treated her abusively and as a result, he spent most of his childhood being angry at his situation and his mother for putting them in that situation.

> My mother was a domestic worker. We were in the backroom. The white people wanted me to call them missus and bass, so white people were missus and bass to me. That was my reality. I've had a lot of underlying issues from where I came from and how that was, my mother being the domestic worker, and no father figure, and whatever. For a very long time I was angry with my mother, especially when I started seeing other women her age that have done so well. 'Why did she not do this'? I was angry with her (P4 RE, p44).

He received a scholarship from Crown Mines and moved to a private boarding school. He is very proud of this achievement. Although this was an improvement from his life at the staff quarters, most of the learners at his new school came from well off families. They had better clothes and brought good food when they visited home over weekends, while he always only brought from home cookies that his mother baked and he only had one pair of every clothing item, which made him feel self-conscious.

> *I got a bursary from Crown Mines that took me to St Bernard's College, in Bosmont, a private school, where at that time; the country had just come out of 1994. St Bernard's College was*

even older than 1994, and how St Bernard's College came about was there was a guy, the Headmaster, then the founder of the school, Michael Core got an idea that black kids from previously disadvantaged backgrounds also deserve good, quality education, at the same level of the St Cyprian's, and your Michael Houses and so on. He managed to get funding from the Anglican Church, from overseas, the Kellogg Foundations and so on, and sponsored and built St Bernard's College. A beautiful school, so I got a very decent education. I had a decent education and I never paid a single cent for it. I had a bursary throughout my entire career (P4 RE, p5).

Since he had very little to brag about amongst his well off colleagues, he developed his personality and he matched his grades to theirs. According to him, his colleagues were very smart so he had to work very hard to be on par with them, which won him many friends and in his mind they overlooked his lack of material possessions because of his personality and academic abilities.

High school was difficult, not academically. I had to work. Those guys were smart and they were rich. I wanted to be with them and the only way I could get social acceptance with them and fit, I had to get the same grades as they did, and I was accepted because I was a funny guy and I was a smart guy (P4 RE, p43).

4.1.1.5. Divorced middle class mother and absent father home

One researcher came from a divorced home. After their parents got divorced, she lived with her mother while her grandmother helped to take care of her younger sister until her younger sister was independent enough to come live with her and their mother. Life was simple for them and consisted of going to school, doing homework and attending to the household chores. Her younger sister joined them after three years and they lived simply just the three of them. Fun activities consisted of visiting their grandmother during school holidays.

Growing up… we moved… my dad comes from Thaba Nchu so we moved to Mafikeng I don't remember like from five years downwards, I don't remember how it was… I am just assuming that it was just a happy childhood. I don't remember much, so from then, then we came to Mafikeng and as soon as I think we came, they divorced. So it was just my mom and me … because then my younger sister was staying with my grandmother in Lepeng. My mother is from Lepeng. So that whole mother, grandmother taking care of you… it was always the case. So it was just my mom and I and it was quite okay… I mean, I went to a good school. Then my sister came through two, three years after that and then it was just the three of us. My mother was a teacher at that time, so she went to school, so it was quite … we didn't have a lot … holidays we would go to my mother's home, because at least from their side, they came from a sort of a rich kind of family so …

Her mother left the country to study in the UK and left her and her younger sister with their aunt. Her mother was on a bursary and could not come home to visit for 3 years until she

finished her studies. During this time, they were not properly looked after despite the fact that her mother sent money for them. Her aunt neglected them, which caused a rift when the rest of the family members found out about it.

> She left and went to school in London. yeah and then we stayed with my aunt, the sad thing about that was that she was not allowed… she [mother] could not come back home, whether it was school holidays that side or whatever. So it was like you go to school and you were on bursary or whatever, that kind of thing, but then you don't have the money, your actual money to pay for your flight to come back. So she had to stay the duration… like she left I think for three years… my aunt then moved to Mafikeng also and she stayed just the street behind us, so we moved to her house. It was okay in most parts, but you know some things, when you are kids you think that is not fair… it can't be that you got a new dress, when did we go shopping? But, I mean… I think we kind of knew or learned that at that time that life is not fair. I mean it is five kids; all we have to do is to sort of hang in there until our mother comes back and then all of these things will be over. And I think, I think when she came back and heard all those stories; I mean she was so sad. She sort of cut her [aunt] out of our lives (P7 SRE, p60).

Their lives improved when her mother completed her studies and came home. During the difficult period without their mother, they learned to be accepting of situations in life and to complain less about them.

> We sort of learnt at that age that you know what, some of the things… life is not going to be fair. Some of the things are going to happen this way and we just need to make sure that we go to school; we pass so that when she comes back that she is not disappointed in us also. Because then… if she comes back then we are in trouble, then it is going to hurt her even more you know. But then at least we quickly went… when she came back, then we quickly went back to our house and everything went back to normal. At least things got better because then she earned a little bit more money. She was no longer now a teacher. She was a lecturer at the University of North West and she went into other things. Then… so it was… I mean we went to the best school. We went to boarding school (P7 SRE, p61).

Her mother was strict and showed very little affection towards her and her younger sister. It was more important to her mother to ensure that they were fed and disciplined children. She insisted on order around the house. She encouraged her children to express themselves intellectually and rationally. There was no time for emotional bonding in the family. As a result, the researcher does not know how to express her emotions. She tends to brush them off and only pays attention to logical arguments.

> So that is the relationship we have. It is not like a… because she was very strict, it was never a lovey dovey kind of relationship. She is not that kind of person. So it is a reasoning kind of relationship where if I needed to go somewhere, my story must be straight, you need to rehearse your story. Okay so you are going to a party. Okay who is going to bring you home? 'What are you going to do … what … so how are you going to get there… what…'. So you

> need to have a plan. If you do not have a plan, you are not going anywhere. That was quite simple. She was very strict, she didn't say no, but you would see for yourself (P7 SRE, p46).

The participant was very close to her father as a child, closer than she was to her mother and the family seemed happy until her parents got divorced. Her father left her and the family and moved in with another woman in the same area as her home. He stopped talking to them and wanted nothing to do with her. She kept going to see him and he kept asking her to leave until she stopped going to him. She felt extremely rejected by her father and to cope with the rejection she developed extreme anger towards him. She wanted and still wants nothing that will associate her to him despite him having asked for forgiveness in recent years.

> He decided whatever it is that they were fighting about; I am not too sure what it was… I still do not know the story, all I know is that he left and part of the reason he left was he found someone else. He got married to that lady and yeah… and it is not like he moved somewhere far. He moved two blocks away. They had one or two children, I am not too sure how many they eventually had, but we didn't have a relationship. I mean I… for me, it was even a sad thing because I grew up with him. I mean I stayed with him before we moved to Mafikeng. My sister on the other hand, when she was born, I think immediately she moved, she was left with my grandmother, so she actually didn't have any kind of connection. So I stayed with him and then we moved, we all moved from there. I think I was about eight or something… and then he came here and then he disappeared. I don't have a relationship with him. I tried, I tried to… when my mother was not there, when she was in school, I tried, I sort of tried to involve him in some way, because then as an older child, feeling that I am actually not getting the love or whatever from my aunt. I tried to involve him you know. I would involve him… probably I involved him in… I chose the wrong way of you know asking for money… we need this… because that was the only way that he could sort of be part of us. So he was not actually part of our lives, because I think… I mean he had a new family, so what made me angry about it was because it was… you can't leave your two kids, you go and marry somebody who has got like ten kids and then you have more kids and then what do we expect you to do? How do you expect to do this thing? Like how? It is not possible. So you chose to raise another man's kids when yours are struggling and what have you… so that was my anger… but even then, I tried. Then I remember when I started working, in middle school… once in a while I would pop into where he was working, you know… okay sometimes I didn't get away with anything, it was just to say hi, we are fine and what have you not and then are you fine? Cool… you know mamma is still not back and what have you not, you know … but he was not interested (P7 SRE, p66).

4.1.1.6. Late father, single mother home

One researcher came from a family of four siblings, raised by their single mother who was an educator. Her father passed away when she was 11 years old and she does not have many memories of him. Those memories she has of him, however, are fond memories characterised by laughter.

> I just saw my father, whom I just played cards with. I always felt that I'm his favourite because when his friends came over he wanted to play Craze8, I mean I loved Craze8. He would be like, 'no no come, me and my daughter are playing together'. And we would always cheat together (giggle). So that's all I remember. Those are the only memories I have of him. But not of this man who's open. My dad was very private. So when I hear all these things I'm like, 'ooh wow', because he was very private (P5 RE, p11).

Her mother who stepped up to raise four young children after their father passed away inspires her. She finds her to be remarkable and big picture oriented, which has also rubbed off her. She is not afraid to make difficult decisions because she watched her mother succeed by making difficult decisions and being resolute in her vision.

> …I don't know. I also ask her, I mean with my salary I can't take care of myself and I find that, ooh my God, it doesn't stretch the whole month. But she did it, I mean 4 kids and your husband is just gone and now you just step up for all these kids. So ja, so I think watching her and watching all her successes for me it's just been the most amazing thing. One thing that I also remember was after my dad passed away we had two vehicles, which she then sold. And she was like 'you know what right now I don't have time for these vehicles' and she promised herself that there's gonna come a time where she's gonna buy herself a brand new vehicle that nobody has ever seen and she did. Her vehicle came out in the books and she looked at the magazine and she was like, 'this is the car I'm gonna buy'. She literally went to the shops and the people were saying 'but what car is this, we've never seen it before'. I think in Stenga if not the first, she's probably the 3rd or 2nd person to drive the car. So there's a thing of she had a goal, she said I'm gonna do it, I'm gonna get it and she did it. And I think because of the ways she's always managed her life made me feel that I don't need to get married to be successful. I don't need all of these things that society says you need to do in order to be successful. I think that's why it's always been easy for me to make the decisions that I've made. Like for instance saying, aah I'll rather go from client side to supplier side because I understand what's missing. I'm also one of those people who understood the bigger picture rather than seeing the thing now, what do I want in the bigger picture. So imagine selling the cars in your yard because you've got a bigger picture. So I think a lot of the staff I've learnt I owe it to her (P5 RE, p10).

Church was a great source of support for the family and church members became extended family members as the family and church relationships merged.

> My mom instilled that we must always pray together. Even now, she would conference call everyone and we would pray. Even if you are not talking to each but you must always pray together. Church is a big deal, we go to church every Sunday. Our pastor at church I call her my second mom. Although they are Indian they phone me and ask, 'how are you doing our child, we are praying for you'. When I go home, that's one family I must go and see before I leave. I'm like no, I need to go and see my mom and my dad. So again, it's very very close relationship and their son a very good family friend. In fact, even if you take a picture of him and my brother they almost look like brothers. You'd swear they are brothers. That's how we've integrated. So I think over and above the fact that every Sunday my mom would say let's go to church but because we were such good friends and such a close knit thing, we would even go to holidays together. We were like, 'ooh let's go to Sun Coast' and we all jump in one car or get three cars and we all just drive and go and have a holiday together. So there was almost never a distinction point between church and family. It just all became one thing (P5 RE, p11).

4.1.2. Neighbourhood environment

The researchers were raised in three types of environments. They came from a rural environment, an urban environment and the suburbs in a small town. They all subsequently moved to the city for further education and employment. In the urban environments, the researchers grew up in the townships. The following were experiences associated with the rural, the urban environment or the small town suburbs:

4.1.2.1. Rural environment

The rural environments provided the most shelter for the researchers as the community life offered them some form of extended family experience because of the close living typical of these communities. For instance, what participants did not receive at home, such as inspiration for a better life, they received from their community. Although there was extreme poverty in some of the areas, the communities tended to be safe and closed knitted.

> Like I said, it's in the rural areas, the kids play outside until the sun is down. I was very safe, very relaxed, it was a nice neighbourhood. You knew who the teachers were, because they had lawn in their house, they had lawn and their houses were painted green or yellow, some of them, their houses were tiled, you're like, okay, you know. I've always been aware of class, from a very young age; I knew that I was poor from a very young age, when I could see there were things that at our home we don't have like green grass. When my grandmother came to live with us we would go into the woods to fetch wood. So I grew up making fire outside, cooking outside, and because I had that contrast of us cooking outside, us not having electricity, and a few houses down I can see they have electricity and they have green grass. And I always knew that people are different and because they are teachers, it means they went to school, and that is how they got to where they are. So I always knew education had something to do with your level in life, from that, just from seeing those, and therefore I wanted to be educated (P6 SRE, p30).

Rural environments also sheltered the researchers from the developments that were happening in the country, such as the last moments of the apartheid system and the ushering in of the democratic dispensation. These moments were often characterised by violence, which occurred in urban areas more than in rural areas. Thus, the innocence of those living in rural areas was often preserved. However, coming to urban areas was experienced as a culture shock by the researchers and they found it difficult to adjust to the multiplicity of cultures and ways of living in urban areas that in the researcher's view were often not authentic ways of life. In order to adjust to the new environments they often relied on the grounding provided by the rural life as reminders of their authenticity and thus not get lost in the new urban environment.

> Another thing that shocked me was that black people spoke English to each other, even if really ba Tswana, like... and I couldn't... just culturally that was just a shocker, because it was kids who went to model C schools. But I didn't know that, I didn't even know that there were model C schools until Wits, until my first year. I didn't know there was a model C school. When they asked me, literally we would be sitting like this, so where did you go, a person literally looks away. Where did you go, St. Mary's, oh, really, I went to whatever, whatever, and I'm like, what the hell, I just got dismissed, you know, because I come from a certain school. That was... (P6 SRE, p36).

> ….there is a goldmine that I walked away with from Wits University. It was an experience that had me on my knees because for the first time I failed at something, but it also made me so tough, because I, from interacting with the snobs, I had to learn that I'm not a snob, I didn't go to the best school, but I'm going to finish my degree. I remember when we were doing our second year, we got smaller and smaller. When you do your final year, you look around and there are very few people (P6 SRE, p36).

4.1.2.2. Urban environment

The majority of the researchers grew up in urban environments in the townships. These environments were great for providing resources and opening their minds as a lot was happening in the country at the time that the researchers were growing up. The researchers' parents were middle class parents exposed to post matric education and thus they also sent their children to good schools in urban areas. However, good schools were white schools in the suburbs, which meant that the researchers had to commute from the townships to the suburbs, which was not always a pleasant experience.

> *I'm from the township environment… if I can describe a typical day, I think that I would best describe it, a typical day when I went to school. So, I would wake up at about 5:30 am, do things and then make sure I was ready for school. And then in township I never used to wear the khaki. I didn't buy the shorts and the long socks that they had, it is long blue socks and these khaki shorts. I never used to wear those. I wore long grey pants all year long, because firstly you get a lot of people who would ridicule you in the township, because now you are more of a model C or coconut... So, you wake up, go to school for an hour. You ride that bus for an hour, you read your book, you intentionally distance yourself from the people in the bus from other schools, because they are causing trouble or making a noise or really like… you know, in the morning, I was like no I am tired. I am reading a book, so obviously for them it is like don't talk to that guy. So, and then I get to the station, and have to wait for my other friends, and have to walk another thirty minutes to school and if it is raining, you get there drenched and so forth (P14 BUD, p28-29).*

Going to white schools in the suburbs often isolated the researchers from the community as they were seen to be different from everyone else or snobs in some instances because they often had to speak English while the rest of the community spoke a local African language. The researchers' parents were generally amongst the few in the township who had done well from a social standing perspective, as they were educated or professionals with a steady

income. This often perpetuated the idea that the researchers and their families were different from everyone else or snobbish in some instances.

> *Monday to Thursday you never saw me on the streets… you never ever saw me there. Maybe on Friday I would go around and… and hang around with some of the guys there. And even in high school, in Khayelitsha, most of the guys were like so far removed in terms of our experiences and our lifestyles, that we didn't have much to talk about. There was only one guy who is still my best friend now, because we were the only people who spoke English extensively, and he was heavy into hip hop, and I was too. So we met up for play stations, and like became good friends. I mean we are still friends now. So it was mostly him and me, like who hung around all the time and we brought trends to the township all the time (P14 BUD, p30).*

> *It was really uncomfortable because you know most kids, generally play together on the weekends because during the week you are doing homework or whatever. At least that's what kids in a model-C setting would do. During the week, after hours, you play your little sport and then you get home and you do your homework. But that is not really the case when it comes to township schools because you have; people get let out of school at like 14:00, and then they just go to the streets. They splay outside for endless hours and not much homework is done, so it was one of those actual separations. The act of doing homework separated me from the kids I was playing with just a few years before, because they weren't doing extra homework for random reasons, meanwhile I have to. I have to because the school stipulates that my parents have to sign the register that I did my homework. Whereas their parents just don't care, so there was that separation for years (P8 AM, p51).*

Being viewed as different or better by the community also had positive spin offs as one was often seen as the positive example that others could emulate and a pioneer for progress that others in the community could learn from. In some instances the researchers became the bearers of knowledge and others in the community came to them to learn.

> *I was very different from most others, and I think I was the first person in my section of Khayelitsha to go to a boy's school. So, they were asking how Sbu is doing. You know, he is going to be a millionaire one day, you know… no pressure at all. So yeah like… and it started off as a good thing, because when a lot of others you know. I think in grade 11 and grade 12, a few people who were in grade 8, grade 9 came through like to see if I could teach them accounting and math. And just like extra classes for the exams, so I had four or five people coming through to my place to like learn a few things and it was pretty cool (P14 BUD, p31).*

> But interestingly once more and more of the kids, my age, went to these model-C schools, all of a sudden their parents were asking my parents for extra information like, "How does a P.T.A. meeting actually work?" And things like that, and then I was being asked to give lessons. Bizarrely English lessons and I thought this was the most, crazy thing in the world. like what is this about, but there are those sorts of things because I swear to you for a few years it was really uncomfortable, based on the fact that obviously now your school, in your school life you've been taught to speak English, so it becomes your default main language.

> So even if you are going to speak isiZulu or whatever, it is going to come with some funky, twangy little accent, so now, you are being teased specifically on that one point, (P8 AM, p51).

Commuting from townships to the suburbs provided the participants with both the inspiration to dream for a better life to that lived in the townships, which was often a life of stagnation and a cycle of poverty compared to the life in the suburbs which was that of progress and access to better resources. However, in some instances commuting placed the researchers in potential danger to be harmed during the violent apartheid struggles that often happened in taxis and trains that the researchers would have had to travel in. To mitigate the danger families moved closer to school in the suburbs, which further aliened the researchers from the life in the township.

> *It was tough because I didn't go to… I mean I didn't grow up in just any old township. I grew up in Thokoza and Thokoza was violent, so my dad, did interestingly changed jobs from when I was in pre-school to grade-one and grade-two. He was working for the Johannesburg Child Welfare, so they made an arrangement where, to avoid all the violence that I might have to encounter on the way to and from school. They actually had these homes that were disused, so they actually said, "If you and your family want to stay there, or you just want to stay there with your child, so that she can go to school, then that's fine. You can have it for as long as you need" (P8 AM, p48).*

4.1.2.3. Suburb in a small town environment

Coming from a small town the researchers, felt protected and cocooned by their environments. Very little happened in town and the neighbourhoods were safe with very little exposure.

> *ja, we used to live there and then we moved to a bigger house somewhere in block 7. It was the newer kind of developments. Ja, I think a few years after living in block 7 we moved to the suburbs in '92. So I think it was actually concurrent with all the political stuff that was going on. Like us also progressing and as soon as things were improved and as soon as black people were allowed to access we would always be the ones to also benefit from that. Ja, then we've been living there. Ja, since '92 until, my parents are still living there. It's a nice suburb. Like at the time that we moved there it was one of those that you know…. Mostly white people. There were very few black families living there and you know them, kind of thing. In our street I think we were the second or 3rd black family to move in. and it was nice. I think after we moved in I made friends with some white kids that lived opposite and there was another one at the corner of our street and we used to… they were welcoming hle, which was nice and I think I was of a different mind-set because I was used to the environment and I wasn't really having very close white friends when I was younger but I was having coloureds. Ja, I don't think that race really featured in my life. I just connected with whom I connected and it didn't matter what race they were. I think my first boyfriend, you know when you are like in standard 2, when you are looking at someone and thinking, you know… was like a white boy. You know it was really… it was a blissful life like I said.*

There was really nothing earth shuttering except for those 2 family incidences that happened. But after that it was like… I was just oblivious really. Basically ignorant of much that was going on (P13 AM, p4).

Community life was strong, as everyone knew everyone in the neighbourhood and they formed genuine friendships across the racial lines, as they tended to be the first black families to join the neighbourhood.

But I think even with that we were such a close type of group where you would find in high school that there was only that boys sit and the girls sit there and there was always that clusters. With us there were never clusters, there was just all one big group and the only cluster you would find at that age was that obviously people started having boyfriends and girlfriends. So you would find a couple here and a couple there but when things came it was a very united front type of thing. And I think maybe it's also the element of being from a small town. That everybody knows everybody, I know your mother, I know what you had for supper last night. So you almost build those types of relationships so that even now sometimes I go home and I haven't seen someone for 5 years, like I've got this friend who's inviting me for a wedding now, the last time I saw her it could be while I was still in varsity. And I mean I've been working for what now, 6/7 years. Yet she still remembered me for a wedding, she said my friend please come. You know, so I think those are the types of relationships we built where although we don't see each other, when the big moments and things happen in our lives we still remember each other. I really enjoyed that about high school because it was a thing of even I could go to someone's house, I could sleep over and they just tell my mom, ooh you know your daughter is here. So it was always a close-knit type of high school that we were in. So I really really loved it (P5 RE, p9).

These environments shielded them from the realities of South Africa such that they had a harder time adjusting emotionally to life outside home and the small town environment.

it's not even that people treated me differently, I think I was just… like I had some bad experiences that were really just… I think they happened as a result of not being streetwise. Ja, I think… for me that just mud the whole thing and I was like, you know what I don't want to be here anymore. And I was like I don't want to be in that space anymore. It's that thing of not being aware that this can happen or this can happen in this kind of space. Being ignorant and I think had I not being ignorant I could have saved myself a lot of trouble. So in my second year I was like I'm not going back there because I don't want to be in that space anymore. Then I went to RAU and that was better because my friends were also there. So it was a much better move for me socially, psychologically and I would still go and visit my other friends because I'd made really good relationships back in MAMELODI. Like part of me was ok to have experienced a different side of things because I grew up sort of like 'purist' or protected. So seeing the other side of things was a bit of a wakeup call but I was like there's no reason why I need to be there all the time. Like, I've see it, ok, let me get away. Then I was at RAU from 2002 until I think 2007 full time (P13 AM, p7).

It took them longer to warm up to new experiences but they eventually did adjust to being out of home.

Also interesting experience at varsity. Again coming from a small town and coming in and getting exposed to all these different things you know. And one story I always remember is that I walked in and one of the tutorials they were talking about birth control and I'm like, what? What are you saying! What is that you know, again it was a whole culture shock. So

I think at varsity for the first 2 years I was very underground, nobody saw me. I didn't really interact until my last year. Which then I was like ooh damn, you know, if only I'd got that exposure first year I might have actually enjoyed my first two years at varsity because my first 2 years were horrible. My last year was the most amazing year and I was like ooh my gosh it's my last year. So I really didn't enjoy varsity the first two years. So yes, in terms of the people the whole lifestyle change was like wow! Like in my first year, I spent probably my first month crying. I just wanted to go home, I can't be here you know. (P5 RE, p7).

4.1.3. Post matric education

All the researchers went to university immediately post matriculation. For all of them university was a huge step and proud occasion for the family. It was the researchers' first taste at independence. The experience was both liberating and overwhelming as the researchers found themselves in an unfamiliar environment outside the family's protection. It was liberating because it was an opportunity to define themselves outside their family and old friends' values and ideas. It was a chance to experiment with new friendships and experiences and thus develop individualised interests in their own space and pace. For most of the researchers, the progression to university was an expected next step from the family. Their parents valued education and expected their children to be educated as far as possible.

I think I'm the type of person who does well in the things that I'm interested in. Unlike in high school, where you have to go through a whole bunch of subjects you really don't care about, home economics or something. In varsity, you are able to pick your subjects, so that was great for me. I think I did best in history and in politics and in sociology and, bizarrely enough, those things actually help me do the work I do now (P8 AM, p32).

I loved varsity. First time being independent and being away from home and doing my own thing. And also first time being around boys was quite an interesting experience for me (laugh). Because obviously I'd been to a girl school since I was 8. And also being able to control when and how I'm around boys. That was a huge learning for me. So school was easy as it always has been. School was never an issue for me and in actual fact I took up additional credits, like I took up music theory and I also took up music practical. I took up classical civilisation and learning Latin as additional credits because school has always come generally very easy. So it was more the social aspects of it for me that was very challenging. You know like your first boyfriend, first sexual experience (giggle) and things like that. Those were the kind of things that were the milestones rather than the graduating and things like that. And also being so far away from home and having to make my own decisions. I got to be a lot more independent and also I got to be a lot more myself. You know, and I got to explore the different facets of who I am (P9 BUD, p36).

It was my first time being away from home and not being with family you know, and just like everything was big for the mind, what happens to it, and then it is up to me. You know like I have to buy groceries, pay the bills what what what you know… So, that... like I was pushed into being an adult very quickly you know, and what I appreciated… you know, I was responsible for me, that is the nice thing you know. Like I am always counting my blessings,

I am so grateful that I don't have to raise somebody's kid right now, you know, I don't have to raise my sister or my cousin or my whatever. But it is allowing me to become who I am and who I want to be, you know, I am a blank canvas, I am painting my own thing. I think that is the beautiful part about my life (P3 RE, p30).

The university experience was overwhelming for some of the researchers because it exposed them to new and wider experiences and cultures that they had never knew existed. The abundance of time to themselves, parties, drugs, the opposite sex and individuals of diverse characters was too overwhelming for some and made adjusting and keeping focus crucial skills to master.

So I go to 'Varsity and then first year was fine, so integrating in 'Varsity was a little bit different, just because the dynamics were totally different. Here I am, a small town girl, Christian school, you know here at 'Varsity. It was a big thing in 'Varsity, I had never had sex in my life, and I am like how, what is going on you know. Like, oh but the worst moment for me, I will never forget, it was during our orientation week, so every day there was a schedule and on one of the days there was sex education and so now they whip out this big ass penis… YUUU, YUUU, YUUU… I am like what is going on? So I am sitting at my desk and I am like oh my gosh … I am dark, but I am sure I looked pink that day, yoh … yoh, it was … gosh I am still like …yoh, I couldn't handle it. Some of the kids are like oh yeah this is what happens … it was so scary. But yeah, it was… I am like oh how things … are like I never knew how much to open up to my mom when she asked how I was doing (P3 RE, p32).

I was not attending my classes. I was enjoying being with the social sciences students. Chilling there on the library lawns with the guys that are doing philosophy and we'd sit and philosophise. Listening to the guys that are doing open mikes on the thing. I was exploring different parts of my brain. I found the curriculum there, at civil engineering so rigid and SRC's Secretary General, I was now serving on the Senior Selection Committee. I was appointing Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellor, the Registrars, and stuff. I was sitting on that Committee. I was sitting on Senate. I loved the Senate meetings (P4 RE, p44).

Two of the researchers could not cope with university life and left before finishing their degrees. One researcher decided that he did not like the environment and the course he had chosen and dropped out of university to try his luck in employment while he decided what he wanted to do with his life. Another researcher was overwhelmed by the demands of the university environment with little support structure from home because he was the first one in the family to come to university. He failed most of his subjects and was academically excluded and lost his bursary. He had to drop out and find work to sustain himself and his family.

I was close to finishing, but I was bored and the one thing about me, I cannot be in something that I know I would be bored in. Like if I had finished that degree, I would have gone to auditing for another two or three years and so that means instead of finding out

what I enjoy now, I have the next five years that I am really just like … you know and I believe like I make my own choices and decisions. I really do… so, I left and I worked for an online gaming company, which was then the customer service thing. And I worked there for about a year, and that is when I got retrenched for the second time in my life. After a year, because they moved… they moved their offices to Sweden and they went away (P14 BUD, p23).

I failed in my second. I passed everything first year. I failed some courses in my second year. I tried to go work a bit and then I went back and I was doing some courses in third year, and whatever but I had lost my mojo. I just flunked out. I was only to appreciate my failures now, with my friends, when I saw their grades. When they showed me their transcripts, their grades were horrible in their second year. My one friend failed everything. He never passed maths. I had failed one or two courses and that dented me. I was not used to failing and I couldn't handle it and I didn't have the tools and the resources around me to deal with failure. There was my mom… no, but I don't blame her. She didn't have a thing. If I were another kid in a different home, maybe they would have told me, 'don't worry, we'll support you'. In third year, when it was so horrible, then I lost my bursary. Everything else just unravelled (P4 RE, p47).

The rest of the researchers relied on the strength of their upbringing and expectations from back home to remind themselves of who they were, what they represented and why they were at the university in the first place. For these researchers finishing university represented self-reliance and progress from the life they grew up in as children. They wanted to prove to themselves that they could do it on their own. They wanted to prove that they could make the right choices for themselves by themselves and thus make their families proud. The encouragement talk that they had with their parents when they left home helped to sustain most of them through the moments when faced with difficult choices and decisions. Supportive friends made at university further helped to sustain them through the difficult moments when it seemed impossible to continue.

I've always had this thing of, my dad is a man from the rural of Venda, my grandmother lives in rondavels, you know, and a lot of people look at me and think oh coconut, good life…and that's not how my life has been. But I ask myself, if my dad can get out of that situation, how much more can I achieve. With a matric and education from life, how much more can I do with all the sacrifices that he made to put me in good schools, to expose me to different things? For me it's about that, it's like there's so much more than I can do (P2 RE, p42).

I went through my phase you know, where you are making up for lost time, but I think it depends when the freedom comes, because for me it came in 'Varsity, but because I had been groomed long enough, I knew whatever I do, I need to do, I need to be responsible. My mom sent me to be at school here, I don't have time for boys. I can befriend them all I want, but I don't have a boyfriend here at school you know. I don't have time to be getting drunk every weekend you know, and because more than that… I had my own dreams you know. My mom inspired us to dream bigger and better for ourselves. She was like what I have done this roof that you have, this must become your floor, you know, my high achievement must become your minimum. You must just graduate in life. So, I remember

> when I was seventeen, and then turning eighteen, I am like I don't have a baby… I don't have a baby… I don't have a baby… (P3 RE, p23)

> You look around and you're like, yes, only the real people are here, the snobs are nowhere to be found. So it was that. The fact that I had to learn where I come from, or remember, rather, I had to remember where I come from, I had to remember what my life was about. I had to remember where I've been, to be there (University), and I had to remind myself that we all had the opportunity to make the best out of being there, and it didn't matter where I came from, a four roomed house in a village, and someone came from some big mansion in Sandhurst. It didn't matter. We were there, level playgrounds, and we could do with our lives what we wanted to. So that was the biggest thing for me, that was the biggest lesson, the fact that at the end, in 2005, when you look around, those kids from mansions and whatever, are not there, you're the one man standing. I mean kudos (P6 SRE, p37).

This sub section outlined the biographies and life experiences of the black researchers that inform their individual identity. Aspects of the researchers' biographies have been narrated to give an idea of what the families, communities and social environments provided for these researchers to develop into the individuals that they have become. The researchers came from varied family backgrounds, ranging from traditional family setup to single parent family setup, and those that could be termed 'broken family' structures. Each family structure coupled with the neighbourhood environment they were raised in provided a unique crisis that the individual researchers had to overcome for the purposes of identity development.

It appears that the university environment provided the opportunity for an integrated self-concept to develop. The researchers were able to integrate aspects of the developments from their family structures and social environments to formulate an enduring sense of self in the midst of new and wild experiences. Key values gained along the development process appear to have sustained them throughout the university experience and these have advanced into core values that they live by. These are discussed in the next sub section.

4.2. The values defining black market researchers as individuals

A sense of identity enables individuals to feel that they are similar to others as much as they are different from them (Côté, 1996). It is moulded in the context of others based on the framework that a specific society has provided for those individuals (Côté, 2009; Erikson,

1966). The recurring topic based on the life histories of the black market researchers is that they seem to have incorporated certain values that are central to how they approach situations in their lives. These values appear to have contributed to them getting to the point where they are in their careers considering everything that they have gone through in their lives. Values are understood to be the guiding principles in the life of an individual or community that transcend situations (Hitlin, 2003). The black researchers appear to share two fundamental values. These were observed throughout the life stories of each researcher interviewed. They presented themselves in different ways and at different parts of the biographies but they were the common thread amongst the researchers. As such they were labelled as the emerging themes. These values are discussed below:

4.2.1. Adaptability

From as early as childhood, the black researchers lived in dual environments. The ability to navigate seamlessly in each environment was crucial for their development. Most of these individuals grew up between the year 1990 and 1995. These were the most turbulent years in South Africa with heightened racial tensions (Mandela, 1994). The project of the time was to initiate racial integration and most of these researchers were experiments of that project. Their parents were in a position to send them to white schools in the suburbs for a better education. The white schools had only recently opened to black learners and some were often not sure how to deal with black learners.

> *So primary school was really where you could see the differences and I think, when was I in primary? I even forgot but it was like 1990-whatever. So really things by then were not that easy for people. For black people to be getting into white schools, it was really not easy. The only reason that I got into Sunnyside Primary was for my father to actually buy a place around Arcadia for me to use that address because originally I am from Mabopane so for me to have applied with that address they will be like 'huh you from that far and now you coming' and you see. So he had to get a flat, poor man, had to get a flat for me to get into primary. So that's really where I could see that okay I don't really belong here but because things have changed and now we allowed into white schools. Hence I'm here but if things were still the same I don't think now black people would actually be allowed in white schools (P1 JRE, p32).*

> High school was awesome, I went to Rondebosch Boy's, I was part of 3% of black people in that school. Basically my mom sent me to that school and said you are going to go here, I don't care if we eat bread and tea for supper. So, I was obviously not having that, so I got a scholarship, I managed to crack a scholarship somehow in the first three months, while studying there (P14 BUD, p25).

> You know even with my white friend that I had. Her mother was, she was very old, she was just one of those 'why you with this person' you like, you could see that when I'm with her she was a little bit, not free, not comfortable like 'eish my child let's go home now this black person is probably going to eat you alive'. But you could see such things. You could really feel that you know what, somehow, this is not home, you know but ja, it was really more evident in primary compared to high school (P1 JRE, p32).

These researchers often bore the brunt of that navigation. The expectation was for them to assimilate into the white ways of life, which were often thought to be better and abandon the familiar black ways of life.

> And for me it was also the fact that I was surrounded by black people only where I was and now I'm seeing white faces and 'yo there are actually white people in this world, they actually do exist'. Where I grew up, I never got to see them. You know, I grew up in a location and did not spot the white person really. So I was like 'yo, okay' and it was difficult to adjust, adjusting to the fact that, okay there's white people in the world, let's adjust to that, adjusting to now have to speak English all the way, now have to do maths and English and, so it was a lot of adjustment that came with it. So you just had to do what you had to do. Whether it's taking extra classes you know. Taking the extra English, the extra maths, extra, extra everything but just to really get in the mix of things. So ja it was a different adjustment, a big adjustment. I think I adjusted better to varsity compared to primary because by then I was, ja I knew that whites exist in this world but then I had no idea. I just saw them on TV like 'oh why are these people so light in complexion', then you get to primary you like 'yo, I actually get to speak to these light in complexion people' (P1 JRE, p34).

> I started at my grandfather's farm school. When I was 5. And then I went to a township school when I was about 6, a year later or something. And when I was about 7 in grade 2 my dad moved me to Saint Andrews. And then I went back 2 years [Two grades lower] because I was just… I wasn't [at right level]… you know township education and I think…. I couldn't speak English but also I was…[not well prepared] I don't know, you know how it happens that you just progress without even really doing much or knowing what's going on. And ja so I started off, I think I started off in the preceding year going to afternoon classes to learn English and to assimilate into the school. And then the following year I tried to go and obviously start at grade 2, where I was and they were like, 'there's no way… this just is like a level B child'. And that's when I went back [two grades lower]… you know, I was too small to notice anything and I think, I just appreciate that I didn't know anything. I just kind of thought it's a better education and it was. It felt better even if I think back on my small whatever, unaware state of being young and being oblivious. I just remember that for example in class there were like 12 of us in this new school and the teacher could give me attention whereas in my previous class in township, I was in class with boys who were like 17 or 18 years old and we were packed in class like…. You know when you were sitting at the back of the classroom the whole… everything can just go passed you (P13 AM, p2).

This process of assimilation often isolated them from both their own people in the townships and the white people in the suburbs, as they could never completely fit into any one of the

two worlds. They had to learn how to be partly black and partly white at the same time as a critical step of their development.

> Exactly, you wear khaki shorts in summer, which I never did, because you get ridiculed… you get ridiculed with your long socks and your khaki shorts in Khayelitsha. I took the bus to school. It was an hour long trip to school and an hour long trip back, and I think that is where my nerd tendencies came out, because instead of… I was very quiet and introvert so I wasn't part of the guys who hang around at the back of the bus and cause havoc. I used to either eat some of my lunch or… and always have a book (P14 BUD, 26).

Thus, they are able to adapt to multiple contexts and to live in these contexts concurrently by channelling the expected behaviour for each context while downplaying another only to be channelled later in another context.

> *It is definitely, down to this day it is one of those almost special, emotional types of shifts, from being [her Zulu name] and being [her English name]. Like it is almost like a personality shift. Even when my mum calls me at work, I'll be saying whatever it is to somebody and then like, "Whoa...hi ma, kunjani (How are you)." That type of thing. I think it is one of those things that maybe not only just affects me and my situation but maybe, not even the people just in market research, but just South African working environment, the shift from your white or professional life to maybe your other life, it is. You even feel it driving past the city – I'm losing some of the [her English name] now (P8 AM, p47).*

For some researchers learning to adapt came in their families in the form of having to adapt to family changing conditions such as parents' divorce and loss of financial stability,

> He got married to that lady and yeah… and it is not like he moved somewhere… he moved two blocks away. I don't have a relationship with him. I tried, I tried to involve him you know but he wasn't interested. We didn't have a relationship. I mean I… for me, it was even a sad thing because I grew up with him. I mean I stayed with him before we moved. I stayed with him and then we moved, we all moved from there. I think I was about eight or something… and then he came here and then he disappeared. (P7 SRE, p65).

> And ja… varsity… varsity started getting more tough. My parents started going through financial problems and I think it was… I was in varsity and my brother and sister were still in school. Although we have such gaps between us… or my dad's illness, I think that's what caused it. Because they… at that time when he was sick they went through everything that was possible to try because western medicine had said, 'no there's nothing we can do, this thing is just…' So I think they went into my education savings plan and all of those things. So by the time I was in university, they basically had to maintain all three of us with just their salaries and all of that. I mean living where we were living and staff. So… by then… then I started working and getting peace jobs and staff and then I even got a bursary for my second year. I actually started at the Vista because there was no money. My father was a lecturer at the Vista so if I went to Vista University I wouldn't need to pay anything. So my first year was there and it was horrific! (P13 AM, p5-6)

For another it was living without parental care when parents were living away from them

> *I became an adult at a very young age because I was exposed to these things, she'd take me to her parties, because she couldn't leave me by myself. I had to learn to be independent because she just came and went. You know what I mean. She was young, I can't blame her, so I had to learn to cook very early, just look after myself, that sort of thing* (P6 SRE, p17).

For another researcher, learning to adapt was through sharing a small home and limited resources with adopted siblings.

> I come from a family of 6 but then I've got 3 'adopted', I say in inverted commas because they are not really adopted but I've got 3 people who came to stay with us through various means. So there's six of us but we're 9. I'm the baby of the family and there's only two of us girls. So there's 7 boys and only two girls. I suppose a lot of my learning around team dynamics and how what I like to call a team ecosystem is driven a lot by that. I think by the time I came my mother was just tired so I had to fend for myself a lot. And I think team dynamics and learning how to function within that kind of environment comes a lot from growing up in a very small house with about 12 people (P9 BUD, p28).

For others, adaptability came in the form of moving from the rural areas and small towns to urban, big city areas and experiencing racial and cultural integration for the first time as an adult and having to learn how to adapt to that in order to successfully integrate into the new environment

> Home is Rustenburg, rural, rural Rustenburg. That's where I grew up, I was there, studied there until standard seven and then went away to boarding school in Zeerust. And then when I went to Wits, so here I am in my Psychology 101 lecture, I was surrounded by a flood of white people, and my lecturer white, this has never happened before in my life, like I've always been just in one community, aba Tswana even, you know, like I've never been outside that cocoon. So here I am, Wits University, first of all, is a community of all the languages, and then just a flood of cultures and races, and I had this American lecturer, and I could never ever hear a thing he was saying, and I really struggled, I failed my first year because my English wasn't that good. I was doing BA, first of all, lots of essays, I had never done anything as challenging in my life. Now, for the first time in my life I have to start thinking in a language that is new to me. Like, yes, I did English in school, and I actually did well, but I've never ever had to use it that much in my life. Now, here I am, I have a psychology paper, and I have to do it, as standard reviews, you know. That had never happened before in my life, and I didn't know how to ask for help, so I failed my first year. I had to repeat it (P6 SRE, p12).

The one researcher had a family that moved a lot due to her father's work that required him to be based at different countries at certain times. She grew used to constant change and as a result, she does not fear change but actually craves it. Growing up she was always in a diversity of cultural environments, including mixed races. This helped to open her mind to

diversity and multiple ways of living. These environments were always supportive and accepting to her. As a result, in group settings she tends to be secure in who she is as an individual and accepting of other individuals and their differences.

> *I think I was fortunate as well though, I was able to go to mixed race schools. I was exposed to different ways of thinking culturally as well. I don't know what happened to my parents but they… my mother is half Sotho half Venda, my dad's Venda, but for some reason they just embrace cultures in a way that I find phenomenal you know. It's… and they've exposed us, they've imposed that on us as well, that you know what just be open to people and their differences, because that's how you're going to learn (P2 RE, p26).*

Therefore, adaptability to unpleasant and unfamiliar conditions was a critical attribute in the identity development for all the researchers observed.

4.2.2. Determination

The desire and drive to push for more in their lives was a defining attribute for all the black researchers. Due to the challenging times in which these researchers were brought up, pushing through the challenges was the only option towards a better life. For some of the researchers parents who moved through all the obstacles of their time to see their children have a better life modelled this attribute.

> *I mean, things were really, really hard. There was a time we didn't have a car and we'd catch the bus and my dad he would catch the bus with us. He made it seem like it's okay, it's normal, you know, because we used to live in Joburg and go to school in Pretoria. So we had a car. In fact, we still have that car, it's years old. Then it broke down. We couldn't afford to fix it so, so ja, we'd catch the bus. Like 4.30 in the morning we'd be up to go and catch the bus. It would be dark but he would walk us to the bus stop and then he'd catch the bus into town and then we would catch another bus to go to Hatfield Christian School. So he just made it seem like it's okay, you know (P2 RE, 60)*

Another family sold their possessions and lived on bare minimal materials in order to take their daughter to a private boarding school. They could not afford this private school but their daughter needed it in order to stand a better chance in life because of a rare condition she had that only that specific school could deal with.

> *I struggled with expressing myself, for a very long time. So my parents, at that time my mother had just started studying and she recognised the disability in me being able to express myself. So I went to a private school. I was the only person in my family who went to a private school. So my brother before me was the only person who went to model C but I was the only person who went to private school, so the pressure of that is huge. So basically they sold all the furniture in the house. They slept on the floor, sold the one car, ate very little so that I could go to that private school (P9 BUD, p31).*

Another family chose to live apart as a family where the father had to move to the suburbs with his daughter and leave the mother and siblings back in the township. This was in order to give their daughter a chance to a better education while protecting her from the threat of violence in the township when commuting to school.

> I grew up in Katlehong and Katlehong was violent, so my dad, did interestingly changed jobs from when I was in pre-school to grade-one and grade-two. He was working for the Johannesburg Child Welfare, so they made an arrangement where, to avoid all the violence that I might have to encounter on the way to and from school. They actually had these homes that were disused, so they actually said, "If you and your family want to stay there, or you just want to stay there with your child, so that she can go to school, then that's fine. You can have it for as long as you need." And it worked out basically, for about three years or so, and the thing is we came back on weekends. So during the week we were living in Norwood, of all places, and then over the weekends I went home (P8 AM, p48).

Another researcher was determined to pursue a better life than the one she grew up in. A life she had never seen but her intuition led her to believe that her life could be better than it had been for her family and she was determined to be the first one in the family to achieve that life by seeking a university education. Indeed, she became the first one in the history of the family to graduate from university.

> *I started reading about Wits, and they were the only varsity I applied to in my matric year, because I wanted to go there. I wanted to look like that guy I saw when I was fifteen, and I got accepted. and then I remember in 2001 my mum coming home with ... so she was staying here, right, she was staying in the CBD in a flat, and she came home with pamphlets. A distance learning thing, and she said, approach these, it looks affordable, and I was like, huh, what is this, and then I read there, and they were talking about, they send you videos and then you send your assignment. I was like, yo! ha, Mama, I don't know what this is, but me, I'm going to Wits, they've accepted me. And she said, but I can't afford it, and I was like, you don't have to afford it. You just need to give me money for registration, I'll do the rest. And she went and she spoke to her employer, and I remember a couple of days later she came home with a Nedbank cheque, written R1,500, that was the registration fee. and I took it to Wits and I registered, and then I applied for TEFSA then and I got it, and TEFSA put me through school (P6 SRE, p26-27).*

One researcher was determined to fit into a school where he felt he did not belong because his family could not afford to have him in the school and to buy him the nice clothes that everyone wore at a time. He used his personality to compensate for the material possessions he did not have and thus got by.

> *High school was interesting and difficult, at the same time because it was a private school. Private school, with kids that came from wealthy backgrounds. And I'm talking wealthy backgrounds. Kids are awful. High school, my mother's employers would drop me off at the gate. I asked them to drop me off here, and then I'd walk to the stairs because I was ashamed, and he'd insist, "Nee, ek gaan jou by die hek los." I was always so ashamed but*

my mother begged me. It was hard and I couldn't even afford the fancy clothes. I thought I was the funny guy, making everyone laugh. I was always talking, I've got the gift of the gab. I was involved in everything. I had to be a superstar to fit in. People had to want to belong with me. I had to flip the damn scripts; I ain't got no 'Beemer' [BMW] but you know what, I'm fun to be around (P4 RE, p57).

Another researcher was so determined to follow a career path that was in harmony with his authentic self that he chose to dishonour his bursary contract and drop out of university. He chose to pursue risky odd jobs that would potentially bring him closer to the career that would satisfy him.

My first year was at Varsity College. I actually aced my first year, which is why I got a scholarship to UCT, but I have always disliked UCT in terms of its culture. It has always been this… well the reason I liked Varsity College is because it was small classes, I could ask whatever I want, I could engage with the lecturer, I could engage … I could work … I could work at the same time. I didn't want to just study for three years, because I would… I was scared of getting bored. So with Varsity College what it did, I studied through UNISA, B.Com Accounting something, and it used to be like three hour classes then you could go home or do whatever, so I used to work in that time. I used to do freelance projects for other people in accounting, I used to do like bookkeeping and so forth, that is when I found out that I did not like auditing. But yeah, like I studied there for a year and then on the basis of my first year marks I got a scholarship to UCT. I stayed there for six months, I paid back their money, I said no thanks. I want to go work and I basically worked. Like if I had finished that degree, I would have gone to auditing for another two or three years and so that means instead of finding out what I enjoy now, I have the next five years that I am really just like … you know and I believe like I make my own choices and decisions. I really do… so, I left and I worked for an online gaming company, which was then the customer service thing and I worked there for about a year (P14 BUD, p23).

For all the researchers, determination to overcome challenging circumstances and to pursue their dreams was a common attribute that manifested in different ways for each one of them. It was an integral part of their formative years and they have all mastered the skill of how to do what the situation requires to push beyond boundaries. Thus, adaptability and determination are values that put these researchers at an advantage to succeed in most environment. This is contrary to some beliefs that black researchers come from disadvantaged backgrounds and are therefore disadvantaged. Their backgrounds may be disadvantaged but that equipped them with values that give them an edge in unfamiliar situations because they will find a way to adapt to it and push to conquer the situation if the situation is in the way of their dreams. In addition to these shared attributes, there were

unique personality attributes that distinguished the researchers from each other. These are discussed below.

Table5: Summary of biographies and life stories

	Features	Characteristics of the environment	Key values integrated
Family structure	• Married mother and father • Middle class home	• Traditional gender roles, father as the main provider for the family and mother was supportive, especially emotionally towards the children • Predictable routines and stable • Always felt protected as children.	• Trust and that hard work leads to success
	• Teenage mother • Absent father and supportive grandmother • Working class home	• More pronounced role of grandmother, aunts and uncles • Growing up with teenage mother as sister and grandmother as their mother • No sense of belonging to a parent but to everyone in the family • Potential to be neglected in some instances	• Determination to make a better life
	• Married stepfather and mother • Working class home,	• Emotionally available and nurturing stepfather • Modern lifestyle but grounded in culture • Predictable routines and stable • Always felt protected as a child	• Self-acceptance and determination to succeed
	• Single uneducated mother • Absent father • Working class home	• No place to call home, living with mother's employers • Demeaning and emotionally abusive • Goodness and mercy of strangers	• Adaptation and determination to survive
	• Divorced single educated mother • Absent father • Middle class home	• Basic and simple life • Connected to extended family • Felt abandoned and rejected • Unpredictable for the most part	• Adaptation and determination to survive
	• Late father • Single educated mother • Middle class home	• Connected to everyone in the neighbourhood • Church as the family support structure • Felt loved, inspired and protected by everyone	• Goal setting and determination to meet those goals • Building authentic relationships
Neighbourhood environment	• Rural environment	• Sheltered community life • Extreme poverty but safe and protective • Basic and authentic lifestyle	• Determination to succeed
	• Urban, Township environment	• New developments and fast paced lifestyle • Commuting from township to suburbs for schooling • Felt isolated from community • Idolized by community	• Adaptation
	• Suburb, Small town environment	• Peaceful and cocooned, limited exposure • Racial mixing and genuine friendships across racial lines	• Trust and that hard work leads to success
Post matric	• University away from home	• First taste of independence • Eye opening and exposure • Real opportunity to define themselves • Family grounding as the anchor	• Adaptation and determination to succeed

4.3. The unique individual qualities of black market researchers

This study was motivated by an observation in the market research industry that certain individuals seemed to be promoted despite the common trend that black researchers did not move to senior levels. A question was then asked about the individual traits that distinguished these groups of individuals from each other. Thus objective 2 of this study was to identify the individuality and unique qualities amongst the black market researchers. This section addresses this research objective.

Individual identity is understood as the core aspects of an individual that make him or her feel the same as others, yet unique and distinguished from them (Erikson, 1959). The observable behaviours such as goals, beliefs and values are referred to as personal identity (Schwartz, 2005). Hitlin (2003) maintains that personal identity should not be viewed as distinctive personal attributes that are unique to each individual but rather as core to the individual, experienced as unique but subject to social influence through the concept of values. Personal identity involves personality traits used to refer to an individual's character or temperament (Caughey, 1980).

Although personality traits are not widely supported in individual identity theory, there is consensus that they do have a role to play in predicting individual responses and success in situations (McAdams & Pals, 2006). In this study, the black market researchers could be grouped into three distinct categories, described as follows:

1. Those who were promised a promotion to a senior level position but have not been promoted within the promised timeframe
2. Those who have been in the same position for longer periods than would have been expected based on the industry norms
3. Those who have been promoted to senior levels and have moved up the organisational ladder.

Each of these categories exhibited some distinct traits in their approach to situations in the organisations. These traits differentiated them from each other and helped to qualify their situations. Below is a discussion of these categories and the personality traits that characterise them.

4.3.1. Not promoted within promised timeframe

These researchers have been in the positions they currently hold for approximately two years. They had been promised a promotion by a specific period but the promise has not been honoured. The companies have missed their own deadlines and the researchers are disappointed but they are too proud to confront the issue with their line managers. Instead, the researchers are currently in the market, planning to leave the organisations.

> *Initially it was a thing of the number of projects that you run end to end. There was a point where in fact one of my managers said to me there is no other research exec in this building who is running 4 projects at the same time. And then it was a thing of, okay so now it's a thing of how many end to end and I am like ok I have got that. Presented to clients because presenting is a big thing, it's a big thing here. So it was during the second one it was like yes, just one more, just one more and then I was given August as a deadline and August came and went and I was like, oh okay… So that is the thing. They will tell you, wow, fantastic, brilliant job and then it ends there. So I know there are people in the organisation who fight for promotions and that kind of stuff but I am not that type of person. I expect that if you recognise that I am delivering and you make promises to me, I expect you to follow through on those promises. Otherwise, you've just given me a reason to move elsewhere or to seek other opportunities because I know why I am there in the first place. I am there to learn and unless you really understand that, you will… and I think this is for a lot of people. There are a lot of people who will come in with their own objectives or reasons why they are joining an organisation and it's for that certain time in their life where they can. Where you know there is something that they are looking for and once they find that thing, if you are not fighting to keep them then why should they stay because it is a thing of they need to continuously find themselves growing and progressing with life. So yes, we will see how that goes (P2 RE, p17).*

They do not want to wait too long because they know they are marketable. They have observed how other researchers in similar situations have been treated by the organisations, where they remain in a position until they give up and start being complacent in their deliverables. They are not willing to suffer the same fate and thus they have made up their minds to leave the organisation as soon as the right opportunity opens up.

So what I'm trying to say is, yes, I have looked, and I have been offered stuff, but it hasn't felt right, so I'm not just going to move for the sake of moving, I'm waiting for something that feels right. No, I am not about settling. I've paid my dues in life, I'm not about settling, I'm very choosy, because I want to say, I've been here two and a half years, I was at […] three and a half years, I'm a stayer, like you said. I find an environment that I feel I am going to thrive, and I throw myself in there and I give it all I have (P6 SRE, p11).

So yes, it was like oh okay fine and then when you get told, it's in the works, it's in the works and I am like but I think people miss the point and very often we hear stories about how people get complacent in their roles. And often it's not because people don't want to work, it's because they have worked so hard to prove themselves and nothing has come to fruit. So it's like I might as well deliver on this level and I think that's the reality of what's going on. I think people who are supposed to deliver on the other end, people get complacent but now you're waiting for people to become complacent and that is when people stop delivering and then you find you've got a lot of dead weight in the company and you don't understand how you get to this point (P2 RE, p19).

These researchers exhibited specific character traits that seem to be unique from the other categories. The following are the characteristics that these researchers share:

4.3.1.1. High sense of responsibility and expectations from life

A high sense of responsibility for oneself and high expectations from life were a common quality for these researchers. For one researcher, this quality manifested in a feeling of wanting to outdo and impress her own parents. This researcher feels that she was exposed to many opportunities that her parents made sacrifices for. Consequently she feels dutiful to do well in her life to reward her parents for all the sacrifices they made for her.

It's like there's so much more than I can do and should be expected of me, because so many people have done so much to… like they sacrificed so much of their own lives so that I could actually, you know, be able to do certain things. So I think that's the other thing that drives me, that you can't allow yourself to settle, when other people have done so much for yourself, they have done so much for you. I think that would be a very hard pill to swallow (P2 RE, p43).

As a young girl growing up in the dusty rural areas with limited positive role models, the one researcher's intuition and exposure to books gave her the idea that there was a better life out there and it was up to her to go out and find it. Despite the lack of positive role models in her family, she took it upon herself to get herself educated and qualified from Wits University against all odds. She has always believed that her life was hers to drive and improve, that it

was up to her to change the things she was not happy about in her life. She is completely self-reliant and self-motivated.

> *I just wanted to do well. So I read a lot, so a good part of my mom's life she worked for CNA and she used to get these books. I remember I had a whole series about these teenagers in the US. They were twins, I cannot remember what the series was called, but I read about them from when they were in primary school and then they went to high school and then tertiary. I was obsessed with their lives and I wanted my life to be that way, I wanted to finish school and go to tertiary and meet a nice boy, so I always read from a very young age. And as a result, my horizon has always been bigger. I always knew that if I study and I get education I can live a different life to what I am living now. So that's always been the angle, I always knew that, I have always known that with education I can be exposed to a bigger life, I always knew that there was a bigger life, and I wanted it (P6 SRE, p21).*

4.3.1.2. Willingness to challenge authority

These researchers are the kinds of individuals who are willing to question and challenge authority, which those in authority positions did not always welcome or understand about them and as a result, they were labelled as difficult individuals to work with.

> *You do not know how many times I was told at *** that ... I do not know, they have these English terms, I cannot remember, but basically it was something about how my strong personality was overshadowing my work, something like that. Like when people are telling you that you have personality issues, but it's because you are saying no to authority, you're challenging authority (P6 SRE, p53).*

> It was racist. That place was just disgusting. Black people were nothing basically and I was coming in, remember I was coming from the environment where you could say what you want. And they found me abrasive, aggressive, you know I was called all of these things and they just wanted to get rid of me. Like not just want to get rid of me, to kill me. To kill my spirit. You know, to make sure that this one must just shut up you know (P13 AM, p12).

One researcher passively challenged authority by being sarcastic when line managers asked for her opinion on general matters. This behaviour was triggered by a feeling of being invisible in the presence of some white colleagues whom she experienced as ignorant and did not appreciate her opinion or contribution in discussions.

> Perfect example, someone asks me a question, I answer it. They don't feel that they've got the…an answer enough, so they pick up the phone and they call somebody else… Yes, and I'm still sitting there next to them. That person confirms the exact thing… the same thing that I said. So now I'm thinking, so what does it take for you to actually believe what I'm telling you. So much so that it is gotten to the point where I just say, 'Did you Google it'? Because I am not going to waste my time answering questions when you're not going to believe anything that I'm saying. Or if you're going to question what I'm putting out to you…I am, I'm not saying I'm like the most knowledgeable person around, but I read a lot. There are certain things I know about, especially like about black people that white people

> won't know. Because what I found, is that if you have been in research for a very long time, especially… I do not know… as a white person you've been, and you develop this type of thinking that is very stereotypical and it's very hard to break away from that. So you almost expect that to come out of your research, and the moment I come in and say no but… oh no I was away this weekend I went biking, they are like oh bicycle. I am like no my motorbike. They will be like huh? You know, and I am like we do these things because we can you know. It is those kinds of things (P2 RE, p25).

Another researcher actively challenged the CEO of the organisation when she felt that the CEO was being unfair towards her and being dishonest about the promises that had been made to her.

> And then I went to speak to ### [CEO] myself and jho! That woman is appalling! Like even up to today I can't stand her. And I remember I actually left her office crying that day because she was telling me things like, "I can't give you more money just because you used your money, she was giving an example about this girl who had a party for her mother, and she was like " for example, ### just left now she wanted an advance because it was her mom's birthday and she overspent". I was like, ' listen here woman, I'm not coming here saying I overspent last month, I am saying my expenses are such that I need the money that I came here under the guise that I would be getting. Otherwise, I'm not gonna be able to manage. And that's why I joined this company because you had promised me that I was gonna get this much and now it's not. So that is a problem for me going forward. It's not a problem for this month, it's a problem for as long as I'm here'. Jho! It was like… she was like, "you know people have given up their lives for this company, people have sold their houses". I'm like, 'I don't understand what you are talking about because firstly I'm sure those people have shares in this company' (P13 AM, p10).

4.3.1.3. Pride in being black

The racial identity is a pronounced part of these researchers that they want to uphold. They are proud of where they have come from and what they have achieved thus far in their lives. They are motivated to preserve black identity and they are not willing to assimilate to what they perceive to be a white culture in the organisations.

> *No, I turned things around, I was like, no, I refuse. If I can hear your Zulu, and you can hear my Tswana, then let's speak it to each other. But if you can't, that was the only reason I would speak English to another black person, if you can't hear me, other than that, no! Because I thought, we were trading who we were to this environment. 'Why? Why do you feel like English is a better language than your Venda? Why is that?' I just felt like we were trading something, and for much, much less. It was just such a major thing for me, and kids from Jo'burg did not understand it. I was like, what is wrong with you? I'm a rural girl. I had never ... I have always worn my identity with pride, I am very proud of where I come from (P6 SRE, p36).*

These researchers are determined to define themselves in their own terms and to live lives that express their passions in ways that celebrate being a black individual.

> *But a lot of black people are changing, I mean black people have changed full stop. They are doing what they enjoy doing… not because they… there's that thing about new money,*

it's not because of that. It is because they genuinely enjoy what they do. It is… people always ask me but how did you leave a job in IT to do something like this, you know obviously, there was a salary cut… I am like, 'no but you need to understand it's part of a long term goal'. Also there's a thing of self-fulfilment, can't we also want that in life you know. It seems like only certain people are expected to search for that, whereas the rest of us are expected to work for a salary (P2 RE, 23).

4.3.1.4. Sense of control over their career and future

These researchers pursued and successfully joined the market research industry coming from unrelated work backgrounds. These researchers calculated the decision to leave their previous careers to join the market research industry because the industry offered a specific path that was critical in their career plans. As a result of this success, they are confident that they can make a successful career move anytime they decide to do so. They feel that their career is within their control and they will only move for the right opportunity rather than be pressured to take a job that they are not happy with.

*I am the type of person who everything I do, there is a reason why I am doing it. I left a big corporate to go into market research because it's part of my ultimate goal and I did that because I was at a point in the corporate world where everybody had these plans for who or what I was going to become. Up the corporate ladder, young black woman, you know you work so hard and I am like nobody has actually asked if I want to climb up the corporate ladder, you know. Nobody has really asked what I want to do. My reason for being there in the first place was to understand how a business works and I guess *** was the right place (P2 RE, p8).*

Even with the previous job, I read about them, phoned them, they were like, yes, we are actually looking for someone, and I came in for an interview that was it. That is the thing, though, and I always say this to my friends, I do not just... I never just go to interviews, because when I do go... I get it. So that is why I'm very choosy about where I'm going to go, and whatever I'll do (P6 SRE, p12).

Actually when I left I'd gotten another offer from the ***, so it was another social research organisation and its funded. It's an NGO, which now [looking back] I think it would be nicer to be there but I… I went. I declined their offer and took *** offer. And *** was offering me less money but they were offering me 4 months' probation and then a full time job. And I left the option from *** and they were like... They really wanted me to join and a part of me also wanted to join but I also felt like because it's an NGO it wasn't as stable. And also I felt like I also wanted to spread my wings off from ### because I felt like ### also had a lot to do with why I got appointed in that position and I just wanted to spread my horizons outside of that. They tried to convince me for a while to join but I was just like, you know what I've decided. Part of me really felt like there was something here that I must do in this place and see because also I was faced with a situation where I had done a stint in government, I had done a stint in academia. I didn't know what the corporate world was really about and I was curious if 'is that where I must end up'. I was young and it was something different so… I was like who knows maybe that's where I would make my home (P13 AM, p10).

4.3.2. Same position for longer than would have been expected

These researchers typically found themselves in the same position in the organisation for three or more years. They have been promised a promotion but each time the goal post keeps moving. Their managers have given them areas of development but each time they work on the area and master it the manager seems to raise another development area on which to start working. They feel out of control now but are still willing to try one more time to convince their managers that they could improve.

They talk about wanting to leave the organisation but they have not made up their minds about the next steps and the next move. The following were the characteristics that these researchers had in common:

4.3.2.1. Double mindedness

Besides their research jobs, these researchers were occupied by other aspects in their lives that seemed to equally take priority to their research jobs. For one researcher, her studies had been keeping her occupied for the past three years. She had just graduated with a Master Degree a few months before the interview.

> *…and a year later or a year and a couple of months later, we are still fighting about the same thing. Like now I have, I graduated with my Masters last year in May. So for me I felt like okay, I've got this nice degree and yet I am stagnant in one place (P1 JRE, p3).*

The one researcher had a farm back in her rural home that she was nurturing in partnership with her ex-husband and a property rental business that she was managing with the help of her mother.

> *I still have that house. Now I have extended it, I have added on more rooms. Now what I have done is turned it into sort of a business so I have added like cottages, so people are renting this. So she [mother] is very supportive, when I call her and then there is a problem, this is what is going on. These people need this and she goes and sees to whatever it is that I need to be done (P7 SRE, p46).*

Another researcher had started writing academic research papers, which was earning him a reputation in the industry. He was since exploring academia as a potential career path.

I'm excited about these things [academic writing] because my identity has shifted and I think that maybe that's why I don't moan about promotion, or getting promoted. For me, a senior research executive doesn't have value for me anymore. I managed to find an identity for myself beyond the corporate boundaries that were there (P4 RE, p15).

4.3.2.2. Want to have the final word

These researchers are firm on their principles and will not compromise on them. They refuse to be moulded by the organisations to meet the expected standards in the organisations. They want to remain authentic to themselves and are trying to get the organisations to accept them for who they are instead of attempting to fit into the organisation. They would like to have the last word on these principles and are hoping to win over the organisations to their side, which sometimes causes a standoff in situations where the organisation is also not willing to bend.

I do not want to get ahead in life because I kissed the boss' ass. It is just not me you know. I call it pride, ja like some people would call it like 'no but you know what needs to be done so just be nice make them feel important'. I am like no, it is not me. It's just not me. I am a hard worker and that is where it ends. I do a good job, if you cannot see that, that is your problem not mine. Yes I know that my mentality is not going to get me to that position that I want but at the end of the day I still have my integrity, I still have my dignity and that's what I'm happy with (P1 JRE, p28).

For the one researcher, her employer has been trying to get her to resign because according to the employer the relationship between her and the organisation has not worked out. She refuses to resign because she is convinced that she is not at fault but the organisation is abusing her. To prove that she is not at fault she wants the organisation to fire her instead or pay her out since she is convinced that she has done nothing wrong to deserve such a treatment. She is determined to make the organisation to produce proof and own whatever decisions they make because she is convinced that at the moment they are trying to get her to make the decision on their behalf by asking her to resign.

So that is where I am at right now. So I am waiting for them to decide, because then… I cannot … the other thing is that I am also militant in a sense that I do not want to make this thing easy for them. They must sort it out … I mean really … they came with redeployment. It was… they called it even before redeployment it was… maybe it was job fit. 'You don't fit with the job requirements'. 'I don't fit how?' I have been doing this for so long. 'I don't fit how?' (P7 SRE, p16).

Another researcher identified an opportunity to present papers at Market Research conferences. The organisation did not want to support him and he decided to pursue it in his

personal capacity. His paper won best paper and now the organisation wants to get involved and co-brand his next papers.

> *I said, 'you are not going to touch a single element of this paper'. If you are going to change it then you go and present it. I am not interested any more, this was the conversation that I was having with Kate and she is the graphic designer within the organisation. She ran back to my boss, and she said, "Pat said he is not going to change his colours and he's not going to change how the thing is." I just think that it is what what...and she came back to me and she said, "###, you can go and present your paper, the way you like it. I just advise you, don't use red because red sometimes doesn't show on some power point projectors." I said, "Thank you ###." (P4 RE, p15).*

4.3.2.3. At cross roads but undecided

For these researchers the working relationship with their managers has broken down and become unpleasant.

> *I even took it up with HR to say this is how I feel and HR spoke to him and he just, for him he is sticking to 'you don't have a [drivers] licence yet'. So I'm at a point where I'm like you know what, if for you, me having a [drivers] licence is such a big deal for you, it's fine I will get it and probably by the time I get it, I also won't be here as well (P1 JRE, p4).*

They know they have overstayed their time in these organisations and that it is time to move but they cannot make up their minds about their next move.

> *I am at that cross road, maybe to… to go into business, because right now I have been thinking a lot about maybe to start my own thing because maybe I am not cut out to be working for people. I do not know… I do not have the answers. Maybe I am not cut out to be working for people. I need to start my own business. So I am thinking along those lines… going back home… and doing… my problem is now that I have to deal with him [ex-husband] somehow … (P7 SRE, p39).*

Another researcher is sending her CV to every job advertisement she comes across with no specific aim at what she wants to do next. She is waiting for an opportunity to come by but she is also hoping for her promotion because she loves what she is currently doing if only she had the tittle to go with it.

> *Ja I am actually looking, I'm in the market, you know, posting my CV, applying and stuff like that. That is the only reason that I am still there. If I actually was married to a millionaire I would probably just sit at home and not even continue working but its circumstances that you know make me work and ja, it's for the love of my job. In all fairness like I said, I love my job, yes circumstances are not pleasant but I love what I'm doing you know (P1 JRE, p5).*

Another researcher cannot decide between going to academia as an academic researcher or to client side as a research user for his next career move.

> *Yes, for me, professionally that is how I have seen it and, of course, I've got ambitions from here. I believe that in every career there is a cycle, you know. I've been on the agency side. I think that eventually I want to evolve then to client side. I want that exposure. Of course, I am also doing some things on the side, to prepare for my ultimate career, which is in academia but academia does not pay (P4 RE, p4).*

These researchers find themselves in a difficult space in their lives because the present environment is not desirable but possibly predictable. This predictability may be offering the researchers some form of comfort they desire. They are finding it difficult to make up their minds about the career move to make and consequently, they keep procrastinating the decision to move, while the environment remains frustrating but predictable for them as they have established that they cannot see eye to eye with their managers.

4.3.3. Promoted and moved up the ladder to occupy senior level positions

These researchers have enjoyed a number of promotions in the organisations. They have been encouraged and trusted by the leadership of these organisations to explore their individual talents and passions within the organisation. They are grateful to the leadership for the opportunities provided to them and motivated to learn as much as possible and contribute positively to the success of the organisation. They want to play a significant role in growing the organisation.

> *So I feel like *** allows me to do that. It's not necessarily about being promoted. It's about the ability to grow your skill. So in a space where your skill, your thinking capability can be allowed to grow and to flourish, I find that I function very well in that kind of environment. But I also think that I work with people who allow me to do that. I mean *** and I have known each other since I started working. *** and I have known each other since I started working so the fact that they allow me to do that and they can recognise some of the core skills that I bring, for me is a huge pat on the back. Because I think, as I said earlier on sometimes you tend to forget what you're really good at and you do need places and people to remind you of what you can do (P9 BUD, p17).*

> I report to the directors. The only time I would report to them is … not report but more bounce ideas. I mean their mandate to me when I moved here, was that they don't want to baby me at all. I have learned enough and I mean like in terms of … the only thing that I would ask them for approval is if I already have an idea, not to go to them for an idea or for a … let's say I am doing a proposal for a client, and I would do it on my own. I would raise ideas with the team, I am here and I construct the proposal and I send it off to the bosses, just to … just for them to know what is going on, and that is it. I think I report to clients. I

think I report to clients. That is about it, yeah. So there is a lot of freedom because we… we… Yeah so, I basically ride my own horse there at ***, which is great, which is great … I am mostly left alone to my own devices and it is great to have that trust … it is very great to have that trust (P14 BUD, P18-19).

4.3.3.1. High emotional intelligence

These researchers profess being good at reading other people's emotions and then responding to those emotional needs. They are easy going and do not like to be in confrontational situations with other people. They have learned that when they give people what they need emotionally, they in turn, get what they want from these people. They use this approach to get their way with people and to get ahead in the organisations.

And I was the anomaly in the system of Insights [Consumer Insights Team] because I socialised with everybody. People from brand, people from HR because I'm quite a social person and I enjoy being with people so I made a lot of friends in brand. So what happened was that I started, in the brands that I worked with, and this had never been done before. Is that I started to get invites to meetings that actually had nothing to do with consumer insights but like things like if they were planning different chapters for the brands to do throughout the year, I'd get invited from inception. From ideation, whereas normally Insights [Consumer Insights Team] would be invited towards the end when the ideas had been developed and they need to be tested, so I'd get invited right from inception and be able to input into refining the ideas better, what to take into consideration. They'd take me to trade; they'd involve me right from the beginning, which made a huge difference in the delivery of my work (P9 BUD, p13).

… It is what you make of it. Like for me, I know people in just about every department, because I have made it my job to know… it wasn't a mission, but the person that I am, I interact easily with people…(P3 RE, p58).
…. you know, if you keep fighting with someone, you are going to be miserable. But if you do as they say, then it is just easier you know, and once you trust them you are able to say to that person this doesn't work so well or I don't think so. They [other researchers] didn't get that at the time, so they would always fight, even in the office now, you find somebody, they are like yoh these white people won't give us an increase. I am thinking it is not because they are white; it is because that is how business is right now. Business isn't good, you know (P3 RE, p21).

4.3.3.2. Trusting attitude towards others

These researchers generally saw the good in other people. They believed people have good intentions and gave them the benefit of doubt to develop to be better at what they do. They were particularly trusting of their managers.

I am not blind, what is the word? Naïve… I am not objective, because you know I look at the world through rose coloured lenses. That is the truth, I have come to accept that about myself and but because Shaun [her manager] is so good at what she does, I don't really tend to question her (P3 RE, p55).

They believed their managers have their best interest and are supportive of their career development. They believe that their managers have seen in them what they have not seen in themselves and offered the appropriate development and support they needed to succeed.

> **** and *** who were MDs at the time, *** used to say to me, you have a natural ability with people and I'd be like "what does she mean?" so I didn't know this at the time, I'd be like what does she mean? She says you have a natural ability with people, and I went home crying one day. I think it was 6 months after I'd taken over the team and I was like, she said I had a natural ability with people, I don't see it instead my team members hate me and all they ever do is gossip about me (P9 BUD, p19).*

4.3.3.3. Predisposition to group dynamics

Managing group politics seems to come naturally for these researchers. They are possibly advantaged by the fact that they uniquely come from large families where they grew up amongst cousins and siblings and having to fight for their place. Growing up they had to share limited resources and fight for adult attention around the house. They possibly learned about group dynamics very early in their childhood, which may have enabled them to function well in the current group settings.

> *All the Mepazane people moved there actually and so yeah … everybody lived there, so it was Uzamegade's kids, Lungisa's kids and Longwaze's kids, yeah and that came to a total of five, because my mom had two, my other aunt had two and Uzamegade only had the one (P3 RE,10).*

> *So there are six of us but we're 9. I'm the baby of the family and there's only two of us girls. So there's 7 boys and only two girls. I suppose a lot of my learning around team dynamics and how what I like to call a team ecosystem is driven a lot by that. I think by the time I came my mother was just tired so I had to fend for myself a lot. And I think team dynamics and learning how to function within that kind of environment comes a lot from growing up in a very small house with about 12 people (P9 BUD, p29).*

4.3.3.4. Sharing and serving attitude

These researchers are motivated to give of themselves and to do for others and serve them. The one researcher is always willing to help around the office if others need extra help even though she doesn't always get credit for it, which upsets her at times but she will not let it change her good intentions.

No, like I wasn't moved, like the thing is the project happened and I helped out a lot… and the project ended, so now at the end of the project people's hard work was acknowledged and I wasn't acknowledged. Yoh, I was upset… I was so hurt because and like people are like ha ha it is a joke, I am like it is not funny guys, like I stayed here until 7 for your project? …Because my family… we were raised to be very good people, I will be very honest, you know, to be considerate and all the rest of it, you know, we were labelled as butt kissers (P3 RE, p21).

Another researcher sees herself as a leader who is supposed to develop other researchers and help them with their career growth. For her success is when subordinates are happy in the workplace and are working well together with her.

The feedback that I get is that I'm the best boss they'd ever had. Purely because I don't see myself, I mean we play together, so it's not about me telling you what to do. It's about us playing together. You bring your portion, I'll bring my portion and I'm not afraid to do the dog work. You know because sometimes what is needed is for people to see you do the dog work so they can believe that you can (P9 BUD, P20).

4.3.3.5. Atypical passions

These researchers are the kinds of individuals who look out for and find joy in situations that are different from the ordinary experiences. They are constantly on the lookout for and stimulated by new experiences.

I am a workaholic and I like new things. I am like 'pig farm'? That sounds interesting. Let's go buy some pigs. He [his father] is like so yeah… a pig is R600 that is cheap… so like and then it gives you like piglets and you can grow them and each are R600 and like ten piglets each, that is R6000 and I am like wow… and I bought cows as well in the Eastern Cape. That is purely for labola sake, whenever I do get married. I bought two female cows… as well as a bulls, but like I bought two cows and now it was like just after I came back from the bush, eight years ago and now I have eleven… after eight years… I have eleven cows (P14 BUD, p38).

They have interesting hobbies and additional skills that are unrelated to their jobs that they bring to the jobs to add value.

Well, with me personally, because also I have a design background, it is extremely important for me to be producing presentations, PowerPoint presentations that aren't just 'run of the mill'. That seem, just on their own, to tell a story and to also then be usable later on for different parties. My PowerPoint presentations aren't necessarily just those that are to be shown on presentation day and then we forget about them. What I try to do is make them these living bodies where if a particular department wants to just, isolate their inquiry into a certain section they can just click and see just that (P8 AM, p12).

4.3.3.6. High motivation to pursue their passions

These researchers have the courage to pursue their passions irrespective of how irrational they may seem to outsiders. For instance, the one researcher majored in History at University with no prospect for a career option in the field but she pursued it because it was her passion. She is currently using it in her research field, which she never would have known when she studied it.

> *I changed my degree a few times. Then I ended up getting an Honour's in History, so, yes, like I said before, history is my passion but it is also one of the least, paying jobs if you are just going to be a historian. Unless you are going to be an academic at some point, then maybe but it is one of those subjects where a lot of people ask you, "So what are you going to do with that?" What's great, was that my parents never asked that question (P8 AM, p27).*

The other researcher decided to quit University as he was nearing graduation because he realised that he was in the wrong field. He did not enjoy what he was doing and decided to go try his luck with odd jobs to pay the bills. Those odd jobs have led him to his current role that he enjoys.

> *I have worked in call centres, I worked for online gaming, I worked tracing, I mean… I used to study and work at the same time. I used to work at a twenty-four hour poker place and playing poker on twelve tables. Really fun jobs… I have been… I have done a lot of stuff like TV presenting and radio (P14 BUD, p5).*

This sub-section outlined the categories of black market researchers found in the market research industry. Their personality traits that distinguish them from each other were presented.

4.4. Section summary and conclusion

This section addressed sub objective 1 of the study, which was to *describe the life experiences of black market researchers and the values defining them as individuals.* Key aspects of the researcher's biographies were narrated centring around their family backgrounds and the characteristics of the types of family the researchers come from, the neighbourhood environment they grew up in and their experiences after leaving home post matric. All the researchers went to university directly after completing matric.

The narrative focused on aspects of their histories that have contributed to their identity development. The core values that developed through their life experiences were identified as adaptability and determination. These values were developed through different life challenges and experiences that propelled them to adapt to uncomfortable situations and to push through to overcome uncomfortable situations in order to achieve their goals. The values addressed the aspects of the black researchers' identity that they share with each other that enable them to identify with each other. It was shown that the black researchers come from diverse family and environmental backgrounds, which have shaped their self-concept in different ways. However, what is common amongst them is their adaptability and determination to succeed, which their various environments inculcated. These attributes may give the researchers an edge in new environments that demand flexibility.

The section also addressed sub objective 2 of the research, which was *to identify the individuality and unique qualities amongst the black market researchers.* Identity also includes unique aspects of the individual, such as talents and skills that distinguish him or her from others. Based on these unique skills and talents a trend was observed that there were three categories of the black researchers in the industry, namely: (1). Those who have not been promoted within a promised timeframe, (2). Those who have been with the organisation on the same level for longer than would have been expected and (3). Those who have been promoted and moved up the ladder. Each of these categories were found to exhibit some distinct individual qualities that potentially shed light into their unique experiences.

4.5. Organisational identity espoused by management

This section addresses objective 3 of the research study, which is to describe *the organisational identity espoused by management with reference to racial transformation.* In answering this question, the section will outline the core issues, challenges and experiences that are characteristic of the market research industry and the values that shape the culture of the organisations.

Organisational identity exists both at organisational level and at individual or employee level. At an organisational level, organisational identity refers to the shared collective beliefs and understanding of the central, enduring and distinct features of the organisation. At an individual level organisational identity refers to the individual employee's beliefs and understanding of the central, enduring and distinct features of the organisation (Dutton & Penner, 1993). The findings below are reported at an organisational level from the perspective of the CEO and at an individual level from the perspective of the black researchers.

This distinction was especially important in this study because of the findings from Cole and Bruch (2007) that demographics, such as tenure and position in the organisation, do affect the beliefs that individual employees hold about the central, enduring and distinct attributes of the organisation. Those employees who have been with the organisation for a longer tenure or who are more exposed in the organisation tend to have more positive beliefs about the organisational identity than their counterparts (Cole & Bruch, 2007). Below is the outline of the issues concerned.

4.5.1. Central issues and challenges characteristic of the market research organisations

Organisational identity is understood to be the most central, enduring and distinctive attributes of an organisation (Albert & Whetten, 1985). These enable the organisation to answer the question 'who are we'? (Balmer, Harris, et al., 2001). The relationship between organisational identity and organisational culture has been established to be much closer

than acknowledged by some researchers in the field of organisational identity (Hatch et al., 2015). As discussed in the literature review chapter, organisational culture is deeply loaded in meaning, assumptions and values of the organisation that are commonly understood in the organisation without being spoken of and provide grounding from where behaviours are interpreted (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Organisational culture is ingrained in the organisation's basic assumptions about nature, human relationships, time and space that are often taken for granted (Schein, 1984). In this study, Hatch and Schultz (2002)'s understanding of organisational identity as a construct composed of a dynamic blend of organisational culture and organisational image has been adopted. This section addresses the cultural aspects of organisational identity.

Chapter 2.1. discussed that the South African market research industry is comprised of diverse types of research organisations. Each organisation survives by providing research and insights to research users (SAMRA, 2015b). Consequently, each supplier positions itself favourably to research users/clients in order to maximise appeal and win the preferred supplier status, which ensures sustainable repeat business from clients (TNS, 2012). As discussed in the methodology chapter, it was important when pursuing this study to sample organisations that reflected the diverse types of organisations making up the industry, in order to establish some of the dynamics and nuances that may be specific to a type of organisation. Below is the presentation of these dynamics and nuances observed.

4.5.1.1. Performance orientation

All the executives consistently described the culture of their organisations to be performance based and favouring high performers who are naturally inquisitive individuals. The pace of work is very fast with long hours and thus it is important for one to be dedicated to what they are doing. Good quality research and meeting client expectations are fundamental to the success of employees.

> The philosophy was… was basically based on quality. We have defined what quality means to us. We have a statement, which is on different walls in the office. You may have seen it. It says that quality to us is most important. That it is equal to, or above client expectations and at the same time, to go above industry norms. Which means that if you deliver

> something that is below expectations, it doesn't matter how good it is in your own eyes. The client will be disappointed. If you deliver something that is above expectations, even if it is not the best that can be delivered, the client will be pleased. And therefore, it is important to know what the expectations are. But also to know what the industry norms are, because if you deliver something that is above client expectations but below industry norms, you will eventually be caught out. So you have to keep up. So our philosophy then is based on that. We recruit people that can deliver above client expectations and can deliver above industry norms (CEO3 BOM, p8).

> I think our culture is emm, is… is very performance based. So non-performers have a very hard time. and the problem though with that culture is that we are very driven. We are very customer oriented, and we're very into the work. We love good work… emm, so we all work very hard and the problem is to manage that a little bit, because otherwise there's terrible burnout like Seth. So, as much as I tried to say to Seth, Seth pull back, push it down, push down, say no to the client, say no to the job. He couldn't do it (CEO1 BAWM, p13).

> When new people come into the business I always tell them that its three things that drive you as a person here: its curiosity because research is linked to curiosity, it's kind of engagement or being involved, which means that you work longer than 8 hours. I know that may be difficult, and its empowerment. I always tell people that, come on… you need, as a manager you need to give empowerment; and as an employee you need to accept empowerment so it's a balance of both sides and please raise your hand and your voice and mention your point of view and live empowerment. So, this is my triangle that I give to all people here in the business when they join us. Therefore, this is my management philosophy linked to a very open communication culture (CEO2 IAWM, p10).

4.5.1.2. Business of market research in the 21st century has been challenging

All the executives expressed that the research environment has changed in the last few years. Business is getting more difficult to sustain because clients have become more and more research educated and thus demanding more insights from the research and less data. The markets have also changed. Businesses are focusing on growing market share amongst non-traditional markets.

> So our clients value change. They value growth and many of them even value expansion into Africa. Dominating African markets, becoming much larger. So I did say that you have those two categories. You have those people that want to control and maintain what is already there. Those we do not work well with. You have those people that are not happy with what is there. They are looking for new horizons. Those are the people that we work best with. Because what we do provide is always challenging you. It is always challenging you to go to the next level. And many businesses in South Africa, unfortunately, are in a stage where there is this dichotomy between those who want to maintain them as they were, and those that accept that they are changing but they mustn't change so fast. And those that are not happy with the fact that there is no change. They want change but they are not sure exactly what the change should look like (CEO3 BOM, p21).

The strategy for some of the research suppliers is to collaborate with clients and position themselves as strategic partners who offer insights and consultation during the research

insights implementation process. For some clients, these strategies are effective while for others, they are not so effective mainly because of the level of trust and kind of relationships that exist between the research supplier and their client.

> *What we are seeing more and more though is that our vision is to actually say to clients… is to make sense. That's our vision. Is to make sense. And that means, not just to make sense on a piece of research but to make sense of the question you are presenting. So we are doing more and more of saying… so this is the client question… what are the trends in the market...what other information exists to help the client answer the question… Because our vision is that, there is more data than ever before. There is more information than ever before. Historically, customers and brands needed the information and research houses to get the information. Research houses were the gateway. That is no longer the case. That's gone. So but what we have found is that clients still need to make sense out of the information because too much information is just as crippling as having no information (CEO1 BAWM, p5).*

4.5.1.3. Challenge to unearth talented researchers

Unearthing and keeping talented researchers was a common challenge expressed by all the executives interviewed. According to the executives, very few individuals choose research as a career option mainly because it is a relatively new career option compared to other traditional careers, such as law, medicine, engineering and so on. Many of the researchers under their employ stumbled into research and they trained them from scratch.

> *I guess it's a general skills issue across the board, we are finding it difficult due to the unique nature of our business to get people who have experience because a lot of them have been trained to… say for instance, telephonic research, they do things slightly differently. I mean we've had a bad experience in the past where we had to let an employee go for instance, because it just didn't work out. For a number of reasons unfortunately but one of them was that I don't think that employee was up to speed with online research even though she had some experience in traditional stuff so… (CEO4 EWOM, p1).*

This challenge is compounded where black talent is concerned because of a number of reasons. For instance, there is limited black talent pool that is coming out of university exposed to research as a career option. This is exacerbated by the reality that a career in research is demanding and less rewarding financially, which may discourage potential black researchers who may still have extended family financial demands.

> It is a two edged sword. One is black people are in demand and therefore, especially the ones with good qualifications, many of them end up being snatched from Wits or UCT or University of Pretoria or wherever before they even finish. The bright ones. And they get fancy jobs at big companies like Coca Cola, Unilever and so on. Even before, they have done much. And research is not the best paying industry. And very few people say "You know I

> want to be in research". Our industry is still frowned upon. It is like a default choice rather than a first choice for many people. Many people would have wanted to be something else, like maybe a Chartered Accountant or a Doctor or a Lawyer or something else. But somehow they find themselves in research. One thing just led to another. So we have a very limited number of people who go to Varsity specifically to work for a market research company. Very few… (CEO3 BOM, p15).

Some of the strategies that research suppliers employ include recruiting directly from the university to offer students internships as they are about to complete their degrees. These executives have found that it is better to recruit inexperienced individuals with the aptitude to learn and train them for the desired role than to seek experienced researchers because they are difficult to access. In cases where they find researchers with the desired skills and experience, they tend to be a misfit with the culture of the organisation. Thus, the strategy of recruiting directly from the universities has proven effective because the individual is introduced to the values of the organisation before they would have been exposed to other organisations' values and cultures. This often makes for a good foundation for synergy between the individual and the organisation.

> So, we actually found that the best way to go forward now is that we take people directly from the university as they come out as intern. It's a bit of a resource impact because you have to invest so much in terms of training and hope you can keep them. We've actually employed two people from the university; we've got a girl with us now from Cape Town, a coloured girl. She's stunning and we've got such high hopes for her. We are going with attitude now and see if there's potential and then try to develop them ourselves. Just because of our past experience, it's been really difficult to find people. And also because people leave the industry in a couple of years or they decide that that's not what they want to do. They will do an internship and after a year or two they will actually leave (CEO4 EWOM, p1).

4.5.1.4. Racial transformation challenges at senior levels

The issue of racial transformation at senior levels was experienced as a challenge by all but one of the organisations interviewed. The executives cited the difficulty with retaining talent because of the scarcity and competition with their own clients who are in a position to offer better remuneration and lucrative career prospects that talented researchers cannot resist.

> [Employment Equity] is the hardest…. Because there is no retention, you know and also because on the research side of things, there are very few people, black or white, who stay in research. So you kind of take what you can get at the senior, senior levels because most people go to client side. It is easier; it's less hours and its more money (CEO1 BAWM, p17).

Executives apply various strategies to mitigate this challenge with black talent such as reserving recruitment for all junior positions to black researchers and to open up opportunities for them to grow within the organisation. Others focus on recruiting individuals who share the organisational values. They have found that individuals who are aligned with the organisational values tend to stay longer.

> It's stressful for us because at the moment I would say taking the first and second management level of this company I would say that it's 80% or 75% white but all other levels in our hierarchy is kind of 75% black so we have started with change. We give young black people an opportunity and we also push them to move up and to climb the hierarchy up and up but this will take us another 5 to 10 years to really get black people empowered to senior leadership roles but we are on the right track. We are improving (CEO2 IAWM, p2).

> You mentioned identity as an example, in terms of sharing what we stand for and so on, I think that is something we look for. I think everyone that works for us has the same drive and the values... I think we also make it clear when we employ someone and also I guess because it's two way interview, at the end of the interview we give them a very good understanding of what we do, who we are and I think it's also very important for them to have the option of saying maybe not. We have had it with some of the interns who afterwards say that this is too fast for them or they do not prefer the corporate, they would rather work for an NGO on social (CEO4 EWOM, p2).

Other proposed strategies include working on the organisational environment to make it attractive and conducive to diversity management and thus retain black talent.

> It is not straightforward. It is not straightforward at all. So what my partners and I generally say is that we need to find BEE candidates but at the same time when we get them in here it's also not good to just leave them there, you know. We need to retain them. But to retain them we need to train them up, we need to treat them like equals. We need to work with diversity, like everyone included and invested in the diversity, you know. But it's been hard because there are so many different types of people, people with different minds working in the company you know, it's not that easy…(P12 HR, p4).

However, for the Black founded, owned and managed organisation the racial ratio in the organisation was 90% black and the rest of the race groups making up the 10% depending on the regions. For instance, according to the CEO, their Durban office was mostly Indian occupied while the Cape Town office was mostly Coloured occupied and the Johannesburg head office was largely black and some white employees. The CEO attributed this racial split to the organisational culture, which celebrated diversity and promoted black pride in particular. All researchers are nurtured and groomed to take up senior positions and they all

know that anyone who is willing to work hard for the CEO position could earn it. According to the CEO, this attitude makes success achievable for anyone in the organisation and thus they all work hard for the possibility of senior positions.

> We have Indians. We have Whites. I think everyone is represented. Ninety percent of our staff is Black, so we are more black than we should be given the demographics of the country, but we do have every race in South Africa and our Cape Town office all coloured, for example. And that is because the majority of the people in Cape Town are coloured. An Indian lady runs our Durban office…. It is nice to be a leader because you can tell people exactly what to think. And I think we have a lot less of that. I don't know why our leaders are afraid to say what they think. Maybe there is a cost attached to it. But I tell people. One, it doesn't matter to me whether you are black, white or Indian. As long as you understand what you have to do and that whatever you are, does not mean you are better or worse than another person. So that is who you are. You didn't choose it. Unless you can convince me that you selected, I will hold you responsible for it. But if you didn't select it and you are just like me, then you just find yourself here, then it is fine. We can just go along on that basis. We do not tolerate any kind of discrimination based on any criteria. Some of our senior managers are actually young like under thirty, but they are doing a great job. Very effective and they get promoted even to Director Level like Research Director Level. So, we don't discriminate and I don't like discrimination. If there is any discrimination, I deal with it immediately (CEO3 BOM, p12).

4.5.2. Organisational values that shape organisational culture

The relationship between organisational identity and organisational culture has been argued to be closely related (see literature review chapter). As such, one cannot fully address organisational identity without touching on organisational culture. Organisational culture is said to be loaded in the meanings, values and assumptions that are commonly understood by organisational members (N. Martins & Naidoo, 2014). The founder or the leadership of the organisation shapes organisational culture through his or her own ideas and philosophies of how to succeed, that are based on the cultural standards of their upbringing (Schein, 2010). The leader has the responsibility of communicating and modelling what is acceptable behaviour in the organisation (Schein, 1983). This subsection addresses the values that are communicated by the CEO in their organisations that shape how things are done in these organisations.

It is difficult to observe meaning and assumptions that are taken for granted but drive behaviour in organisations (Schein, 1984). However, values are observable, and they also guide meaning and behaviours (Hitlin, 2003). As such, an observation of the organisational

values associated with each of the organisations investigated in the study was made. The organisations did not all project the same values, but a trend of projecting competing values was observed. For instance, one organisation would place emphasis on a specific positive value while the next organisation would reflect the opposing value. The findings show that the leadership may have been influential in the kinds of values projected by the organisations as the values seemed to be close to the CEOs personally. It is possible that the rest of the organisation subsequently adopted these values. The following were the competing values projected:

4.5.2.1. Integrity vs. manipulation

For the organisations investigated, honesty or integrity were the common values highlighted. The emerging research organisation particularly mentioned, and held in high esteem, the quality of being genuine in all business endeavours. The founders model and encourage these values in the organisation in various ways such as insisting on a two-way approach to interviewing potential staff members. They encourage the interviewee to interview them to decide for himself or herself if they want to be part of the organisation or not. They hold the same value for their BEE plans as they insist that BEE has to be an authentic business decision for them and for the individual they bring on board rather than fronting.

> *Just to give you an idea, from the beginning when we started the company, we were very mindful of the fact that we are both white. So we sit with a 50/50 white shareholding and we did get BEE type issues but we said from the beginning that we don't want it to be artificial. So we don't want like equity and then you have a silent partner. We want it to be very organic and we would go with it as we find the right people (CEO4 EWOM, p1).*

Manipulation was reflected through fronting, where the organisations brought partners on-board to manipulate their BEE credentials to obtain the benefits associated with the demographics of the individuals in the organisation more than the value that the individuals personally add to the organisation. For instance, fronting was attempted by the black owned organisation during the early stages of establishing the organisation when they thought that being black was somewhat a disadvantage for them because of the negative stereotypical associations with blackness, such as poor quality and low standards. The management brought in a white female partner partly because they believed in the idea of a progressive

and racially representative organisation but mostly to neutralise their majority black owned status and thus appear favourable to prospective clients.

However, this attempt was unsuccessful and it is the CEO's view that the reason for the breakdown in the partnership was because the idea of the partnership was not authentic and organic. The CEO is of the view that the dynamics in the partnership proved to be disastrous as they simply replicated the superior-inferior dynamic that characterised black and white relations at the time. According to the CEO, the white partner had tendencies of assuming that her views and ideas were above those of his and his other black partner. Thus, they dissolved her partnership and remained a fully black owned organisation.

> *Then we even decided at the beginning we must have a white partner because we believe in what we are saying by this ***. So we invited a woman that I had worked with at Research International, because I knew her. We actually gave her 20% share in the business. She did not pay for it. I said to her, ja I know you do good work. So here's 20%. It did not work very well. It was a bundle up. And again I think the difference is, was, our view, our vision was different. So we learnt a bitter lesson that it is important to want and try to integrate. But South Africa is still divided philosophically, fundamentally (CEO3 BOM, P5).*

Manipulation was also observed in one of the organisations where, although the CEO is opening herself up to perceive differently about race differences and relations in the organisation and to be corrected where she has gone wrong, she is not ready to confront her race related anxieties. For instance, she has recognised that the organisation lacks senior black executives to become role models to junior black executives by showing them that it is possible to occupy senior roles in the organisation and thus encourage them to aspire for those senior roles. She has headhunted and recruited a specific black senior manager for this purpose.

> What I also realised from ### was that well, he said where is the black role model in this business? You know, the role model in this business is me. Well, I said to him, you know ### 'I feel like I have more in common with black women in this organisation than I do with Afrikaans men for instance. I don't feel much difference'. He said, well that's your perspective, that's not necessarily the whole world's perspective. You know, you've lived differently, been educated differently, you've lived in the suburbs, and you've got a very different life. You've been educated. So… I think that there's a naivety in South Africa around the fact that there's a difference. There's a difference between me and a black woman who's a role model and I've always tried to say that there isn't one, but there is… (CEO1 BAWM, p2).

> I mean I was there for 18 months and after that ### [CEO] called me and offered me the position I have now, which I took up and that's how I landed up back here for the 3rd time (P9 BUD, p16).

It is possible that the reason that this black senior manager is the right candidate in the CEO's mind is because they started in the company together and this individual worked in the organisation for many years, growing into mid-senior level before she left the organisation. She is well known to the organisation. She was head hunted and brought back to the organisation and a new title was created to elevate her to senior manager level. The CEO hopes to elevate her further into executive position. In this instance, the position could have been opened to any interested black candidate if it was based on the spirit of sincere transformation. Instead, a position was moulded with a particular individual in mind possibly based on the familiarity they have with her. This act serves the purpose of appearing transformed at face value but possibly maintaining control in the background as they manipulate this individual's decision-making processes.

> *You know what I mean? Particularly to keep people is hard. ### who has come back because she said the client side is not for her. So there's hope. We hope to groom her into being deputy MD. We are grooming her because I think, I think it's critical… But I do find it hard… (CEO1 BAWM, p17).*

This is reflected in the different understandings between the researcher concerned and the CEO about the reasons for the creation of the role and the long term intentions of the CEO. The researcher was frank about the reasons for the creation of the role, which were resulting from BEE compliance pressures. The CEO gave the impression that the intention for the role was to create role models for black employees in the organisation. The researcher did not appear to be aware of the plans for her to be groomed to be deputy managing director and it was not clear if these plans were part of her contractual agreements with the organisation or if it was an idea that the CEO decided to throw in during the interview to give the impression that the organisation was committed to transformation.

> So I'm a Business Unit Director here at ***. Essentially, the role was recently created because *** was… The thing was that, we recognised that the changing dynamics of doing business in South Africa… not that they don't cater to family owned businesses, but that family businesses are faced with additional challenges over and above money, profit generation and all that. I think that what we started to notice was that (a). BEE compliance is becoming a huge issue. It's forcing businesses to face up to the reality of the fact that they need to be representative of the South African population from top to bottom. And one of the drivers behind the changing of ownership of *** was that main prompt, over and above the family moving (P9 BUD, p1).

In this organisation, manipulation also manifested when there was a race related dispute in the organisation. To address the dispute, every black researcher was called to a meeting room to talk about their grievances, open up about the situation in the organisation, and recommend solutions. Firstly, the CEO was upset with the black researchers for labelling the organisation racist and wanted them to name and shame those who were racist to them. Such a reaction from the CEO on its own could have intimidated the black researchers from opening up again. Secondly, after the researchers spoke up and suggested solutions as they were encouraged, an impression was created that the dispute would be handled with high urgency. However, there was no follow up with the suggestions made by the researchers. The CEO admitted that this issue could have been handled better and it was her weakness not to follow through and communicate progress to all staff members properly.

> *I got every single black person in the building and I put them in a room and said you know this makes me fundamentally uncomfortable and this is the first time in 15 years ever having to have a conversation with black people. And for me to even think of you as black, I'd never done that. I've got my young bright things and some of them are black and some of them are white. And I love them equally and I'd look after them equally. Because I can't afford, because of the nature of my work I can't afford to give clients a token individual, I mean they would just kick me out in a minute. And so I was very open and honest about it and I resented it. And I got very cross and then I had an open session with them and I said, you'd better say it to my face. And they were like no it's not you Max, its other people, its line managers, which I recognise could exist (CEO1 BAWM, p22).*

4.5.2.2. Transparency vs. insecurity

Being open and direct were values shared by the three organisations investigated. These values manifested in various ways in these organisations, from the CEO getting involved in the day to day work and being part of the research process, to recognising every employee's effort equally. These organisations had transparent and clearly defined performance appraisal processes in place, sufficiently communicated to employees and it was important that each employee was aware of their growth path in the organisation. In these organisations, employees are encouraged to express their growth desires and wishes in order to bake them into the organisation's plans. For instance, in one organisation because of their small size and limited bureaucracy, they are able to tailor make a growth path for the individual employees based on their interests.

> *So when we are small we can say well, it seems you are much more interested in qualitative or a specific aspect or you like working with clients or you don't like to be client facing. so everybody has got their little niche and we can help them and we want to help them*

develop. Obviously, with our strategy in mind, it is not free for all… (giggle) but it's nice. We are very lucky. We have people that are very like-minded and quite diverse. It worked out well like that, I guess (CEO4 EWOM, p4).

In another organisation, transparency manifested in the form of the CEO creating communication platforms in the form of a newsletter and feedback mail address, in order to give and seek constant feedback from employees. The newsletter comes out monthly and he shares what is important to him and how the organisation is preforming each month. He wants employees to be involved and aware of senior executive decisions, including how well or not so well the organisation is doing. In this organisation, there is also a clearly defined and transparent performance management process in place, where both staff and line managers know what is expected of them and the periods of performance assessments and rewards. There is a development plan in place for each staff member and performing staff members are rewarded through salary increases and/or promotions

So for me it's very important that people get the feeling that they know about what's going on here. I'm quite open about telling people which are our biggest clients, which are the clients that are loss making, where is our turnover standing this month, are we doing good in profitability, so I'm quite open and give that kind of transparency to people that they also feel kind of involved in senior management issues or numbers. I have a monthly issue called Herald's headlines and I have a topic every month where I tell people that this is what we gained and this is what we lost. We lost these people and I'm feeling very sad. I'm trying to involve people in my thinking and in my world and I'm issuing these months headlines to create some transparency (CEO2 IAWM, p6).

However, one organisation reflected amounts of insecurity. For instance, the organisation has limited internal performance management criteria. The management relies largely on external feedback from clients to gauge how their employees are performing. In this organisation, client opinion and feedback on projects is used as the yardstick for performance and performance management. As a result, the limited performance management systems in place are not implemented effectively. In most instances, there is no system in place and this is attributed to the constant pressure to deliver to clients, which leaves the organisation no time to properly audit performance and design development plans for employees. The CEO suggested that there were proposals in place to rectify this situation as it has been recognised as a threat to the development of employees.

So we've battled with that. We've really really battled with that so now we've introduced, we've been through a whole process of KPIs and articulating each step of the way and

*putting out an online system and trying to do post project reviews. The only problem is that it always falls apart because what happens is that everybody is too busy so they forget to do the project reviews and its KPI time and everybody does their KPIs, as the execs say; you know it depends on your last 2 jobs. You get a great PI if you did well and bad if you did badly, so we are trying to change that. So the first step has been to try and be very clear about the job specification, as clear as we can be because there's always been this, well it's the *** way and nobody has understood what the *** way is because you know it's very difficult. It is very difficult to teach good research (CEO1 BAWM, p15).*

4.5.2.3. Harmony vs. competition

Collaboration or working together was a quality valued by all the organisations. However, the motivations for valuing this quality differed for each organisation. The emerging, white owned organisation had a family-like style of relating amongst employees and the leadership, grounded by the focus on delivering efficiently on client needs. This approach was crucial to the survival of the organisation because it ensured that when one individual is absent from work, the work would continue and the client would not be compromised as everyone is aware of what goes on in the various projects.

I think it is a function of being small, we had to do everything but it is also I think a great thing because you get to understand the process so well. There is nothing on a project that someone does in our company, you can ask any person any single thing about a project and they will know about it. We have found it is much better for the client. It is efficient and unfortunately, you do not get a lot of people that can do that (CEO4 EWOM, p3).

At the black owned organisation, harmony manifested through the reinforcement of black pride through conducting themselves from a position of knowing and strength. It is important to the CEO that the staff members are convinced of their worth when they meet condescending clients. The organisation is composed of largely black staff members who were trained from raw talent and grew to occupy the positions of authority that they occupy.

Our black staffs have decision-making power. They have authority, they can tell you where to get off, and they do not care. I always surprise people because the other day we were looking for space for a new call centre and we have a call centre down the road, which is quite big. I mean eighty or ninety people sitting there and we needed another one hundred. That gives you an idea of what we do. So I said to the guy, "We want"… there was some other space in the building so we want this other space. So he came back with a suggestion that we move our call centre to the new space. What he wanted to do was the new space was bigger. He wanted to fill that space and take the space we have and give it to somebody else. Then I was not happy with that because I said to him, "That doesn't suit us". He said "No but that is my suggestion". I did not say to him "We didn't ask you for advice". We said that we want the space; can you give it to us? Now here you are giving us advice. Do you realise that you are asking us to move our existing business to here. I need a Board decision to move that business to here. So he said "No I thought I would give you business the way

it can work for us". So I said "Ja, but it doesn't work for us". So people get very surprised at the level of engagement, direct engagement. Simply because for us we do not hold back because someone is a different race to us, we say it as it is (CEO3 BOM, p14).

Although the staff composition is largely black, the organisation is diverse in terms of nationality, age, gender and race. Thus, it is important to the CEO to encourage harmony through inclusivity (CEO3 BOM, p12). The CEO has also ensured that he communicates strongly against all forms of discrimination in the organisation. According to this CEO, discrimination is not tolerated in the organisation and is punishable by dismissal. Everyone in the organisation has an equal chance of rising to his position if willing to work for it, and they all know it.

So there is no organisation which is devoid of a certain social culture and once an organisation has a social culture, it also has a political culture. An organisation cannot have a social culture without having a political culture because of the relationship between the two in this country. And that is why you walk into these organisations and you know that you are not going to be the MD because you can feel it. It is written everywhere and you know. People working here know that they can run this company, because I tell them "You can run this company". I always tell people, "If you can do what I do, you can start today. I will sit there in the boardroom. I actually don't have to work here. I am a Director. I can just run the Board." So that is as high as it gets. It is open (CEO3 BOM, p19).

However, in one organisation, valuing competition manifested through the need to appease clients, which was greater than the need to protect staff members. According to the CEO, their clients value great ideas and thinking that advances their own business strategies and thus recognition from clients drive the success of individuals in the organisation. Consequently, the culture in the organisation is highly competitive and outshining peers is crucial for one's own recognition. Clear rules of success become blurred as individuals and leadership singles out their individual skills. Based on the CEO's language, it appears that being the best amongst peers is highly valued in the organisation and rewarded by promotions as those who quickly outshine their peers are often quickly promoted.

[Intelligence is recognised] Through the jobs, it's quite easy. You know Mark took 18 months to show his stripes because it takes time. Then you know once you are doing, once a client recognises you, once your work is good. Tammy, who also works a bit in the Nedbank account, took us 5 minutes. You know she is just extraordinary (CEO1 BAWM, p13-14).

4.5.3. Racial differences and attitude towards the differences

Racial transformation has been an emotive and sensitive issue to deal with in South Africa (Ndletyana, 2015). The continuous debates about whether or not transformation efforts based on the apartheid racial categories should be continued is evidence that the issue of race is still unsettling to some (Nkomo, 2011). The formal discourse represented by the policies and laws on racial transformation is firmly in place. However, the informal discourse represented by the relationships amongst the different race groups is still questionable because some groups can still navigate their daily life activities without having to integrate with other races (Walker, 2005a).

In this study, most of the CEOs were somewhat uncomfortable with the subject of race. This discomfort was evident in their body language where they would look away and be hesitant before making a statement concerning race. They appeared to be unsure how to approach the subject, possibly because they wanted to be politically correct. The discomfort was also evident in the manner in which they spoke about race as some attempted to deny its existence. Others were more frank about some of their anxieties and experiences with race relations in their organisations. The various attitudes manifested in the different actions and meanings that they attached to the subject of race. These are discussed below:

4.5.3.1. Sameness vs. difference

In two organisations, the dominant attitude towards the various race groups was to treat them with sameness. The leadership was adamant that the black researchers are the same as everyone else in the organisation and everyone in the organisation was treated the same.

> *So I said to them, you've got to be careful because you are smearing a whole lot of other people who are not involved in it. And then I got every single black person in the building and I put them in a room and said, you know this makes me fundamentally uncomfortable and this is the first time in 15 years ever having to have a conversation with black people. And for me to even think of you as black, I'd never done that. I've got my young bright things and some of them are black and some of them are white. And I love them equally and I'd look after them equally (CEO1 BAWM, p22).*

In one organisation, there was an insistence that talent was scarce in the industry and the candidates they had come across were unimpressive, both black and white candidates. There

was a concerted effort not to mention any racial differences that they may have come across. The racial differences mentioned were in relation to the type of research that black candidates seem to be pursuing.

> *But that's proving to be very difficult and we've like, was it last year that we put out recruitment for a new researcher and we got a 100 people that applied of which we couldn't take even one, across the board. It seems like there's a general lack of skill in the industry first of all. And then what we also find is that the young black talent they are interested more in the social research. A lot of them we interviewed but they come with a wealth of social research experience (CEO4 EWOM, p1).*

In another organisation, the attitude that the different race groups are the same manifested in the feeling of betrayal when the black employees complained of different treatment for white employees versus black employees in the organisation. The CEO felt betrayed because in her view she had always treated all her employees the same.

> The business was accused of being racist. And you know what was so interesting was that they… I actually wrote a whole long letter and I sat the entire business down and I said, here's my view, and it was interesting you know because they were… they… I had a couple of troublemakers. I had an individual who was actually dishonest; she has left the building, thank God! She had a real victim mentality, so she got a whole lot of people to feel sorry for her. And emm, then I started being told that but the parking goes to white people and white people get better computers and I was like, hang on a second, and I read it out. And I said listen here, white people do not get parking, people with long service and seniority get parking and here is actually the calculations of points for parking. White people do not get better computers, the quantitative people who need bigger screens get better computers, so anyways, but I addressed it and I did also say, you know the danger with that is that if you lay the conflict at the door of racism, you often mask the real issue. Because you know what, I do not believe in my heart, I may be completely wrong, but I am always very open to be told that I am wrong. I do not believe that racism is at the core of most things. It is an easier target (CEO1 BAWM, p21).

However, in the black owned organisation the demographic differences amongst employees were made salient and celebrated rather than treated the same or avoided. Instead, discrimination based on difference was frowned upon and punished by dismissal

> *But I tell people. One, it does not matter to me whether you are black, white or Indian. As long as you understand, what you have to do and that whatever you are, does not mean you are better or worse than another person is. So that is who you are. You did not choose it. Unless you can convince me that you selected, I will hold you responsible for it. But if you didn't select it and you are just like me, then you just find yourself here, then it is fine. We can just go along on that basis. We do not tolerate any kind of discrimination based on any criteria. Some of our senior managers are actually young like, under thirty, but they are doing a great job. Very effective and they get promoted even to Director level like Research Director level. So we don't discriminate and I don't like discrimination. If there is any*

> *discrimination I deal with it immediately and usually it hasn't happened before, but I tell people, if there is proof of prejudice based on any criteria, I can't work with you and if you can't work with me basically you can't work here (CEO3 BOM, p13).*

According to the CEO, they did not experience racial dynamics in the organisation partly because of this approach, together with the fact that the white staff members had self-selected to come work for a black CEO and a largely black research organisation. In his view, the white candidates had plenty of opportunities to choose a different research organisation but they chose his because they wanted to be there. In addition, most of the staff members were young and the CEO concluded that they have less of the race baggage or legacy of racial stereotyping.

> We fortunately hire young people from different races, and I think younger people do not have those strongholds. The oldest person that we have who is white is, he is from Boksburg, he is an Afrikaner. He is fine. We do not have an issue. He understands I think everything. And they all understand that. Now we do say that we are actually a black business, a black owned business. And I think if someone is prepared to work here, that means they are prepared, and because we are not a business just like fronting for someone. We are actually a black business. We are not a black business owned by white people (CEO3 BOM, p14).

In one organisation, the differences noticed from the junior black researchers were acknowledged privately amongst the leadership and they problematised them. The black junior researchers were labelled as shy and lacking confidence to compete with white counterparts. As a result, an intervention was introduced with the aim to orient new graduates and junior staff members to the research process and the organisation. Although all junior staff members were expected to go through the orientation, the intended audience were the black staff members. The intervention required that the staff members compete in a research project and subsequently be judged by a panel of judges based on predetermined criteria of desired behaviours. The judges gave the staff members feedback on what they did right and what they needed to work on from both a technical and personality perspective. According to the CEO, the intervention was designed to boost the confidence of particularly black researchers, as they needed it the most.

> No, it's everyone. Young graduates, black and white graduates who join us coming from the university. We have something similar for the what we call Junior Execs, of course you know the hierarchy, so these junior are normal researchers but not senior researchers so they have to run through this programme and its more blacks than whites because we only hire black people but no no, it's for both. It's not an exception. They love it. But this is

> something that helps the young people black and white but like I said blacks probably need it a bit more, to grow. To get feedback and also to see that they develop step by step. They have a lot to tell and they have a good education but they need to build and to grow as a personality (CEO2 IAWM, p5).

4.5.3.2. Inherently superior vs. inherently inferior

The black owner was forthcoming about his early experiences of starting the agency. He indicated that during those early years he felt that he had to distance himself from being a black research organisation partly because, at a time, black was associated with inferior quality and substandard work. Although he claimed that these insecurities no longer obsess him, it appears that they may still do because he insists on positioning himself as hardworking, all-rounder researcher researching all consumers rather than only black consumers. It is important to him to communicate that his organisation caters for all consumers rather than only black consumers. He emphasises quality of research and research outputs and his is one of the only research organisations that has a dedicated Quality Department focusing on checking errors on outputs before sending them to clients. It is important to him to be excellent and thus viewed to be achieving on merit rather than riding on BEE.

> I also personally check everyone's work. I may not check everything but I will selectively choose something like a questionnaire they did, or a report or proposal or presentation that they did, just to make sure that it is competitive. And because we, I think, are the only research company that has a quality checking department, people whose job is only to check quality (CEO3 BOM, p9).

In one organisation, the CEO admitted that black researchers were useful in the research process for their ability to speak and understand many of the languages spoken by the black consumers they often research. This was useful as they were able to decode some of the black consumer nuances that white researchers are often unable to decode due to language and/or cultural barriers. However, she insisted that with experience, the white researchers are also able to gain an understanding of these black consumer nuances that the black researchers tend to be advantaged with at the beginning of their careers.

> I cannot have a business that does not look like South Africa. You know… how can I … you know, I look at my research groups. I have a black exec working on my groups. I want a black exec. If I am working on a job I want to work with ### or ### or with ### because I know that they understand every word, while I am dependent on the translator and I'm missing out half of it. They can listen to my tapes. I have to wait for the vernac to be translated and I have to wait for the transcripts. They can access that information so much

> more. They understand when somebody says… ooh that's got standards that it doesn't mean its standard but it means it's got something else. In my business, to understand a black consumer, I think that a black exec, does not necessarily do it better, but they have an orientation that can assist me certainly as a white South African to understand nuances that I might not have gotten. So… I do not think that a white South African cannot understand a black South African because I think I can, but I think that I get nuance from my black execs, which I sometimes miss. And I don't miss it with my experience and my experienced white executives know what's going on, but my new whites miss it. They are clueless. A new white exec does not understand a lot of what is going on in a group, for example (CEO1 BAWM, p3).

The Human Resource (HR) Practitioner was frank about the existence of racial tensions in the organisations. She attributed the racial tensions to cultural differences as a result of upbringings and ways of relating that were fundamentally different and misunderstood.

> You know sometimes if you look at emmm social development, you know it is different, because a lot of people that are BEE people [non-whites] did not have access to computers, if you know what I mean. We did not grow up watching Cinderela and all that sort of staff you know… our social structure are so different, you know what I mean. You are playing different kind of games. We are not like videogame savvy. Because our way of playing and interacting with people is so different. So sometimes, I think that is what is happening at work as well. Because you are like, the interactions are very very different at work. I could be wrong but you know this is my view. I am just giving you my honest view. I do not want you to have a wrong image especially because you are doing research it has to be honest. Sometimes it is a cultural thing you know. The way we interact is very different. Sometimes you see BEE candidates [non-whites] and the way they are interacting that they are limiting themselves. They are not being professional. You see them sitting there in their cliques with that I do not care attitude you know. At work, you know acting rowdy, shouting from one into another. And then people [black individuals] at work speaking their own languages and people [white individuals] are like "what's that", you know. People [black individuals] will be sitting there talking and you cannot hear what is going on, you know. So people [white individuals] automatically link that with your competences. When it is the way, we present ourselves. And so the way we do things is part of who we are and our upbringing and our society and where we come from you know. But in South Africa it could also hamper your growth, you know as a race (P12 HR, p7-8).

4.5.4. Leadership actions to facilitate employee integration

All the CEOs expressed a general expectation for new researchers to adapt to the environment in the organisations. One CEO noted that the environment in their organisation is difficult and there are various reasons for such difficulties, such as the nature of the work produced and the commitment expected from the researchers to clients who are sometimes difficult to delight. Yet, there were limited measures in place in the organisations to prepare the new researchers for adaptation in this environment. One CEO tried to mentor junior staff members informally, but there were no formal mentorship programs to orient new researchers to the environment.

So what I'm also trying to do, I'm trying to build EQ [emotional intelligence] because IQ [cognitive intelligence], ok, you need a certain level to get to anywhere and if you don't have IQ I can't help you, but once you've got the IQ, it's not all that you need. Once you've got the basic IQ then you've got to develop the skill to navigate. You've got to develop the skill to, how do you have a conversation with your manager? How do you manage up? How do you? emm, so I try and mentor them enormously in that and that's probably what ### felt loyal to me for. because I did a lot of mentoring, because I'm not particularly clever but I've got a very good EQ. so if you are a particularly difficult client, I will manage to get your defences down generally speaking and I will manage to have a truthful conversation with you and an authentic conversation with you. Not all the time, but most of the time. I can take tricky situation and I can turn it into a constructive conversation that benefits you and benefits me because that is the only way that we gonna move forward. And I try to teach that to my juniors (CEO1 BAWM, p20).

Although the CEO indicated that she personally mentored researchers and imparted emotional intelligence skills to handle difficult clients, little was expressed regarding how the leadership took responsibility for improper behaviours internally towards the junior researchers. There was an admission that racist behaviours could exist in the organisation but little mention of how the junior researchers were protected by leadership in such cases. In the CEO's view, leadership could only act if properly alerted by the junior researchers of improper conduct from their managers otherwise their hands were tied.

They can go to ### and say, ### I think that ### is racist. These are my reasons. ### can say, fantastic, I'm gonna monitor it. Do you want to have a conversation with her? Do you want to raise it? Do you want to park it and wait for a next occasion? It can be dealt with. And often when people walk into my office because I do have an open door policy and I say to them, are you letting off steam or do you want me to do something? Because I understand that sometimes you want to come and tell me that your manager is an asshole and that you just want to tell me that (CEO1 BAWM, p23).

Similar reactionary expectations were observed at another organisation where instead of attempting to understand the seemingly odd behaviour exhibited by black researchers, programmes were designed to assist them to alter these undesirable behaviours and thus fit into the expected behaviours in the organisation.

We have an evaluation form. How was the PowerPoint visual, how was the personality, was she making a connection with the people, was the behaviour very nervous, playing with the hands, so we give feedback on personality, on structure of the presentation, and on the visualisation of the presentation. It's not that much formalised but the evaluators that get appointed for these sessions have the kind of guidelines on what to look for (CEO2 IAWM, p5).

In two organisations, the leadership was proactive in assisting new researchers, both black and white, with the integration into the environment. In one organisation, the CEO was hands-on in identifying both promising researchers and those who may be struggling to cope in the organisation.

> *Obviously, we have a quality assessment department. We also just generally look at performance levels, in terms of… we watch how somebody is performing. Somebody comes in early, leaves early or someone comes in late and leaves early. Somebody looks a bit depressed or whatever they are disoriented, we try and intervene (CEO3 BOM, p11).*

While in the other organisation, large emphasis was placed on training and development to help new employees to adapt to the environment.

> *We place a big focus on training so training for instance we have spaces on the server where you can go educate yourself on how we do proposals for instance, to review questionnaire designs because at the moment there a big focus for us, the way we do analysis. When an intern starts the idea is that they as soon as possible get up to speed with how we do things. We've got specific handbooks that we recommend that they read, so it's a continuation of education, it's not like they come in and start working. We put a lot of things in place. There are a couple of sources that we refer them to. We also expect them at the end of their internship to do a little bit of training themselves. To go and read up on something that they are not very good at and to come back and report to the business and say this is a new solution, this is what we should do and this is the way in which we should be doing it (CEO4 EWOM, p5).*

4.5.5. BEE compliance as a catalyst for transformation

Organisations exist in a social web of stakeholders, from policy makers to the markets that constantly give feedback to the organisation. Hatch and Schultz (2002) refer to this phenomenon of stakeholder opinions on the organisation as organisational image. Organisational image functions as a mirror held up to the organisation reflecting how the organisation comes across to external others (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). Organisations reflect on this mirror and chose to maintain the image if they like it. They employ rectifying actions if they do not like the image and thus embed organisational images into culture and 'who we are' or organisational identity.

One of the images that have shaped the industry comes from policy makers who put in place expectations about the racial inclusion of these organisations. The Black Economic

Empowerment (BEE) policy appeared to be the most influential policy and the various organisations have responded to it in different ways.

Amongst all the organisations interviewed, transformation was immediately associated with BEE compliance. It appeared that BEE compliance was the major catalyst to racial inclusivity. However, each of the organisations experienced the pressure associated with compliance differently. Although all the organisations saw the importance of complying with the BEE Act, the meaning attached to the process was either positive or negative depending on each organisation. The different organisations attached the following meanings to BEE compliance.

4.5.5.1. Urgency vs. delay

All the organisations investigated experienced BEE compliance to make common business sense. They all expressed that BEE compliance is a business imperative and there are no doubts that it has to be done. One executive expressed the idea of BEE as a creative and peaceful way of promoting racial redress in South African economy. However, the level of swiftness with which organisations are engaging with BEE varies from organisation to organisation. One CEO expressed that although they support BEE, it is forced on companies and as could be expected, at times they resent the fact that they have to comply, especially when it comes with recruiting employees. Some individuals in the leadership would prefer that the pace of transformation was slower.

> I think doing it with BEE legacy, this is really a very intelligent way of really changing a society and changing an economic participation and empowerment by forcing companies to change by having BEE levels as a business application but doing it in a peaceful and the country is peaceful…(CEO2 IAWM, p1).

> …BEE for us, it means that we are forced to do something that otherwise we will not do. So if you force a company to do something that they won't do, of course it's limiting our degree of freedom. So, therefore there's a… it's limiting our possibilities in terms of what we would like to do in terms of hiring the person, I mean if we have the choice between a white and a black person we always take the black person now if they are the same level. So yes, it is a business imperative like I said but there are situations where we say ooh God, why do we have to consider BEE now… (CEO2 IAWM, p6).

> …I have not had any negative, conservative, or critical comment so I think in this… of course they are all quite well educated and they are all well monied so it is easier for them to say

> I support the transformation, compared to other white people who are not in that good shape. But people like to support this change from my perspective. I might be wrong because probably they do not tell me the truth, you never know. There might be a few, of course we have them here, white people who still think that change shouldn't go that quickly, of course you have them. You have them everywhere, but all in all, all the people support the change, so I am quite happy to see that (CEO2 IAWM, p6).

Those who can delay the process of compliance due to immunity reasons such as the company size or minimal coercion from clients to comply have been able to delay it. However, one CEO is thinking about the near future when it will become critical for the organisation to be BEE compliant because the company is showing year on year growth.

> At the moment we are still, this will be the last year we are exempted micro enterprise. Then you are like guaranteed level 4 by default. So we've been audited out since we started, we've done that. I mean we've got our certificate, we go through this company that we use, what's it called? BEE online. One of the companies we work for is actually Old Mutual. They ask for quite specific companies that we need to be accredited with and obviously, we are exempt, we just need to bring proof and so we've got the certificate for the last couple of years. It is definitely something that in terms of our strategy is at the back of our minds, actually front of our minds at the moment. Because this is the last year that we will be exempt because we've grown quite a bit. And our fiscal year ends February 2013 and then from that year going forward we won't be exempt (CEO4 EWOM, p5).

Another CEO attributed the reasons for the slow racial transformation to poaching of black talent by their own clients, exacerbated by inflexible clients who insist on doing business the old ways rather than adapt to changes.

> ….So it is very hard for my team who are experts and you've got non experts, because they are the client they think that they must boss us. And the truth is they are not coming to us because we are doff, they are coming to us because we are the experts but they don't allow us to behave like that. It is incredibly frustrating…
> …. in terms of transformation, I think it would help if they (clients) did not poach. But you know what, they are… (CEO1 BAWM, p20).

4.5.5.2. Business advantage vs. survival

For most of the organisations, BEE compliance is considered a business advantage as it often is the difference between winning a project and losing it because their clients request the certification. The black owned organisation used to shy away from being labelled black owned at the beginning stages of developing the company. They used to strategically emphasise their global partnerships more and downplay being a black company when pitching for business because they did not want to be associated with black consumer research but rather with

globally competitive research. However, they have recently started emphasising the fact that they are wholly black owned and managed. Ironically, they have found that more opportunities have been opened because of this positioning and it has become a competitive edge for them.

> Interestingly we never called ourselves a black business. We were so obsessed with this idea of global competitiveness, that we wanted people to actually say "But you guys should try and sell the fact that you are also black". So we, for the first like ten years we never mentioned it. We never put it in any of our proposals. We just delivered. We were so focused on this global competitiveness thing, and we thought that if we going to take on the world, by the time we leave South Africa if we wanted to do business in another country Asia, do they care that you are black? The world is bigger than South Africa, so that was our thinking. So we were thinking maybe too big for that time. Maybe we could have grown faster if we were taking advantage of certain things (CEO3 BOM, p5).

For those organisations that do not meet the desired BEE level they have compensated by buying shares and partnering with companies who are Level one BEE status in order to ensure that they do not miss out on deals awarded specifically to black owned companies. This strategy ensures that they keep themselves exposed to projects from clients who insist on working with agencies with high BEE levels, while they are still working on improving their own BEE status. Some organisations have sold the majority shares to black investing partners to improve the BEE status while they maintain the day-to-day management of the organisations.

> We have two sectaries, *** and *** who do or specialize in parts of our work. They are both BEE level 1. They have dropped to three or so with the new model but we try to push these businesses into getting into contact with those clients but it is a challenge for us. It is a challenge and we try to cope with that. We try to change management styles… (CEO2 IAWM, p3).

> Well, our easiest is our ownership, because we are black owned. *** owns us. But that wasn't actually a BEE deal. It was a strategic acquisition for them. They want to own "making sense" and they believe that nobody else does it better than we do (CEO1 BAWM, p17).

4.5.5.3. Challenges vs. commitment

All the CEOs were articulate at pointing out the reasons why it is difficult for the organisations to transform racially. They all mentioned the fact that the pool of suitably qualified black individuals is small, which make it difficult to recruit the rights candidates. According to these

CEOs, the industry faces unique dynamics concerning attracting black talent because it is not a glamorous or lucrative industry. Success is difficult since multiple skills (e.g. writing, communication, presentation and technical skills) are required to succeed in this industry.

> It is a two edged sword. One is black people are in demand and therefore, especially the ones with good qualifications, many of them end up being snatched from Wits or UCT or University of Pretoria or wherever before they even finish. The bright ones, and they get fancy jobs at big companies like Coca Cola, Unilever and so on, even before they have done much. And research is not the best paying industry. And very few people say "You know I want to be in research". Our industry is still frowned upon. It is like a default choice rather than a first choice for many people. Many people would have wanted to be something else, like maybe a Chartered Accountant or a Doctor or a Lawyer or something else. But somehow they find themselves in research. One thing just led to another. So we have a very limited number of people who go to Varsity specifically to work for a market research company (CEO3 BOM, p15).

One CEO pointed out that from the talent that comes through to their organisation, it appears that the black junior researchers are reluctant to take advantage of the opportunities they are given. They are shy and they will not aggressively raise their hand to lead projects. While another CEO highlighted that, they have been extremely disappointed by the calibre of potential candidates. The lack of professionalism in how they present themselves in CVs and the amount of self-misrepresentation has left them disillusioned by the talent pool.

> So we are open to empower them and to really to push them and educate them and to help them grow but they also have to or need to take control of their own development. They are quite shy, they don't raise their hand if some work has to be allocated. I think we need to tell these young black women that they have to be… what should I say…. More self-confident and more self-conscious and more fighting for getting their part of the business and getting their part of the recognition and exposure. I am struggling with these young black girls (CEO2 IAWM, p3).

> We also get a lot of people who seem good on paper and some of the CVs that have come my way, or sometimes it seems like they are not interested. Like they would send their CVs from blackberries or the spelling is atrocious and that's part of that identity that comes across. I think yes that is very important. To give you an idea about the 100 people then we screened for that application, what we did was that we sent out a survey and we asked all the questions because we didn't want them to send a CV so we have to go through all those CVs because they might put information that may be irrelevant to us. So we asked all the questions we wanted to know, which would ask for qualifications and everything and then what we would do is we would go to the relevant question and say out of a 100 how many of them fulfil these criteria and unfortunately very few of them did. But those that sent cold CVs for example, you get such a sense of a person's professionalism (CEO4 EWOM, p3).

Another CEO added that there is also competition with clients when it comes to the talented candidates as they often eventually move away from research into other roles on the client side. Furthermore, black research executives are difficult to keep in the organisations as they have options to move to an easier and financially lucrative client side. This was a source of resentment as one CEO highlighted that clients and suppliers are both in competition for black candidates as the pool of talent is limited but clients behave as though they have the right to simply poach the best black candidates from suppliers by offering them benefits that suppliers could not afford to offer them. This is resented because suppliers train raw talent and groom only to be snatched by clients as soon as the individuals are competent.

> …Because what do I do to keep people? I try to offer flexibility, I try to be fair and live all the values of fairness. I try but I could never compete with the pay from the client side, so I try and pay very well in terms of my industry but I can't compete with Nedbank or Kellogg's… I just cannot, emm so my strategy is around fairness, recognition, fair incentivizing but I cannot play as hard as most. So it is a difficult industry to incentivise. Every now and then I find a quali and then I get frustrated, like ###, I don't know if you have met her? She was fantastic. She needed two more years to be really fantastic but she was poached (CEO1 BAWM, p18).

As much as these difficulties were pointed out, one organisation has managed to see past them and launched programmes to overcome the situation. The CEO introduced a programme to orient new graduates and junior staff members to the research process where they take on a research project and work on it from start to finish and then present to a panel of judges to be judged transparently on a set of performance criteria. This programme is aimed at boosting the junior staff's confidence while they also make themselves and their talents known in the organisation. Although all new junior staff members are exposed to the programme, the majority have been black staff members, mainly because the focus in the organisation has been on recruiting black candidates. The CEO's focus has been on advancing black females in the organisation.

> When I came I implemented a programme that we call 'RACE' because they have to race their skills and they have to race their personality so we call it race. All the young people that come into our businesses, it's mainly black 80% of the team is black. They have to race through this programme. They have to give a series of 5 presentations to a forum of people. We give them some issue that they should deal with for some hours and then they have to present their thoughts and the results and their conclusions and recommendations to a forum of 20 to 30 people. We then give feedback how they made it and we tell them, come on, when you speak to people, look into their eyes, your presentation was nice but you should change a bit here. We really give them a critical but positive feedback and people love it. They love it (CEO2 IAWM, p4).

Another one of this CEO's strategies to improve their BEE level is to launch a graduate programme for unemployed youth. This is aimed at exposing unemployed youth to a work environment and research in particular in order to give them skills that they otherwise would not have had and an opportunity to choose research if they want to.

> We also are about to launch a graduate programme only for black people, so that we say unemployed or if there are unemployed graduates who show an interest to enter market research. We will offer them a graduate education for a year and they run through a graduate programme jumping from one unit to another and after a year they then either get a job here or they look for something else I don't know, but we'll kick this up now in October (CEO2 IAWM, p5).

In addition, this CEO is particularly strict on his vendors' BEE status. He is encouraging those vendors with low BEE levels to increase their level because it also boosts their own status, despite the fact that he recognises the potential risk of losing these entrenched suppliers if they choose not to yield to his demands. For instance, he has stopped working with some racially untransformed suppliers where there are alternative black owned suppliers who can provide the service. He has also given an ultimatum to those other suppliers who are not BEE compliant but are critical to the survival of the organisation. He is of the view that these actions are a business risk he is willing to take because he is convinced that all of it has to be done. He hopes to be succeeded by a black female CEO when his term ends. He is also working on the attitude change of some senior executives who are not in full support of the changes. Transformation has been directly linked to their performance and is not compromised. He has made it a rule that all new candidates have to be black and HR has to be uncompromising on this element.

> First thing they said (laugh) well, from their perspective, all good IT companies are not compliant. This is not true I know. There are fully black owned IT companies who have experience of 5, 6, 7 already who should be able to cope with our needs. So I think they try to manipulate me. Then we came back to them and we asked our procurement manager that she goes through all our vendors and really ask them, especially the top 15, that they really have to change and drop to BEE level 2 or 3 or we have to stop working with them. Meanwhile, they have accepted that this is our strategy and I don't change that. We have a contract until end of August, which means we can't change until then but then we'll change and they are prepared but this is the challenge for the company and the management risk for us but we will take the risk. We will manage that (CEO2 IAWM, p7).

4.5.6. The relationship with clients

The opinions of clients also play a crucial role in shaping the organisational identity of this industry. All the organisations care about the image clients have about them and they engage in actions to influence how clients view them. Amongst all the organisations interviewed, it was conclusive that messages from clients have the most influence on these organisations, particularly how the organisations conduct their daily operations. Satisfying clients appears to be the sole purpose and reason for the existence for the organisations. Ensuring that a client is happy was the highest priority, which influenced how the organisations are structured and the values adopted in the organisations. For instance, the kinds of researchers who succeeded in some of these organisations are those who have managed to distinguish themselves as far as clients are concerned. It is either those researchers who met client expectations, such as coming up with the best solutions to client business challenges or those researchers who are presentable and approved of by clients.

> Yes, but listen some people have been here for five or more years but they are not client facing because they are not good enough. You know you get different levels of execs. You get people who are great workers but they are never going to be able to articulate themselves clearly. And some of my more statsie people are like that. I am never gonna put them in front of a client. The information is great but they cannot deliver. My client facing people are articulate, they are presentable and they are clever (CEO1 BAWM, p14).

> We recruit people that can deliver above client expectations and can deliver above industry norms. In other words people that are interested in finding out what is the competition doing about not just here, in emerging markets, what is the competition doing? What is current best practise in market research? (CEO3 BOM, p8).

However, the fact that clients are so influential in how the organisations are run and operate internally is not always experienced positively by the organisations. Some organisations resent this reality as they sometimes come across clients who they find to be difficult to satisfy or clients who make it explicit that they are in charge of the process because of the amount of business they bring to the organisations. They often experience some of these clients as too demanding and condescending. The following were the positive and negative ways in which clients are experienced by these organisations.

4.5.6.1. Relationship characterised by partnership

The relationship between clients and the organisation was synonymous with that of an employer and employee. The clients bring business challenges to the organisations and they have expectations that the organisations will find solutions for their business challenges through research. The organisations work extremely hard to generate answers to these business challenges and to meet the client expectations. In most instances, it is a partnership relationship between the clients and the organisations.

For instance, the black owned organisation indicated that they generally enjoy positive relationships with their clients that are based on mutual trust. Integrity is very important to the organisation because the pressures to satisfy clients can sometimes tempt organisations to bend the truth if the results are not too pleasing. According to the CEO, it is a principle for his organisation to never lie to a client but to convey the message as discovered in the data collection, regardless of how bad the news may be. The CEO asserts that they have found that most clients appreciate this quality about his organisation and they do not use it against them. For instance, if they report to the client that a sample size was not reached due to specific reasons that they state rather than fabricating data, clients are often impressed by it.

> Well, we work hard. We work hard but we don't lie to them. You see. If they say go and interview Sibongile Vilakazi, we will speak to Sibongile Vilakazi without going to speak to her mate. Which is what other people do. That is not hard work. That is fraud. So we don't commit that fraud. We work hard. Hard if not harder. But if we are asked to find a person that drinks coke light, we don't interview a person that drinks Coke Zero and say that We have done the sample. So I think there has to be a distinction between the integrity that we pursue and some people. My clients obviously get it. But if you show them why it didn't work, the sample, it is better than if you just show them why you didn't make the sample. And they actually like it because then it empowers them. It becomes part of the framing. So you are asked "Go and talk to one hundred sick people". Another company comes back with one hundred sick people. That is when we come back and say "we spoke to seventy five because they are already out of hospital. In fact we called this guy. This guy as actually playing football on the beach. This guy was in the gym" (CEO3 BOM, p22).

The CEO expressed that most of their new business comes from clients who want to do business differently and are moving away from the usual research houses that were used in the past or those clients who want to conquer African markets. These clients typically want change and they come to them because they are different from the dominant research

houses. Thus, the relationship is often that of partnership between his organisation and the client as they walk through the research process.

> We'd like to think our clients value growth, business growth. Our clients are obsessed with success and conquering markets and entering new markets and dominating where they are played. Most of our clients tend to be people that want to grow. We don't do very well with clients who want to maintain the status quo. We are not very successful when it is just like a merry go round of blessing each other. When... In most cases when people want real change, cause we don't beat around the bush hey! We don't lie. We tell it exactly as it is. We go in there. We go in. Where we do research we go in there. We go sit there. We take pictures. We take videos. We show it. So our clients value change. They value growth and many of them even value expansion into Africa. Dominating African markets. Becoming much larger (CEO3 BOM, p23).

However, they have also come across some clients who are forced to come to them because of BEE or transformation requirements in their own organisations. According to this CEO, typically those clients often give them problems because they are looking for something wrong. They tend to create problems where there is none. However, they have learnt how to deal with these clients. They do not get too emotionally involved with them because they realise where their issues originate from.

> That is very good. It is very good. We maintain cordial, professional, ethical relationships with our clients founded on mutual respect. Some clients, lately you find that maybe there are clients because of transformation and they did not want to be clients. Ja. The relationships can be strained. There is no respect, especially if they are a new client. They have not seen what you can do. So they come in already unhappy. And you know no matter what you do, you will never make them happy. There are clients like that. Remember I spoke about Darwinian pre-selection? There is a client that believes a pre-selected care and consultant. Now you try in your mind. They do not know it is Darwinism pre-selection and you try and say "There is a company called ***" and it is like okay, it is terrible. For them it does not fit in, and they cannot explain. So when they come here, they come with a sour face, and a very uncooperative attitude. But it doesn't help. It is a few cases though. Very few… (CEO3 BOM, p23).

4.5.6.2. Relationship characterised by competition

At times, the organisations find themselves in competition with their clients. This is often where clients feel more superior, want to direct suppliers to specific directions, and research conclusions with little respect for their expert opinion or they wants to catch research suppliers out on mistakes. In these types of interactions, the clients would also compete with the research suppliers on employees, where they recruit good employees from the research supplier pool of employees for their own organisations. These kinds of relationships appear to be dysfunctional as research suppliers tend to be resentful of them.

For instance, one CEO expressed unhappiness with clients in general. She resented the power dynamics between clients and suppliers because she felt that clients have more power over research suppliers. She felt that clients dictate all the rules of engagement to them and at times clients do not seem to adequately recognise the value of research supplier expertise and treat them as commodities. She felt abused and undermined sometimes by clients and she attributed this abuse to the fact that clients were aware that they pay suppliers' bills and thus take advantage of it.

> Do you know how clients could help? It is by recognising, treating suppliers less as suppliers and more as partners… To say this is great and thanks so much for this work that you've done but I would also love for you to delve a little bit more… Just before I came down for this meeting, she [researcher] said to me, well she does not want to budge, so I said ok, let us do it her way. No, we will do it her way. We will watch the first group and then we will say we do not like this, and this is why not. Emm, so it's very hard for my team who are experts and you've got non experts, because they are the client they think that they must boss us. And the truth is they are not coming to us because we are doff, they are coming to us because we are the experts but they don't allow us to behave like that. It is incredibly frustrating… (CEO1 BAWM, p20).

4.6. Organisational identity as lived by black market researchers

This subsection addresses the research objective 4, which is *to describe the organisational identity of the market research industry as lived by black market researchers*

The researchers were encouraged during the interview process to relate their lived experiences in the market research industry, starting from the situations that introduced them to the industry, to the kind of daily work that they do and what life as a market researcher was. The narrative of how the researchers were introduced to the industry, the dynamics of the industry and the key issues that they face in the workplace on a daily basis, follows.

4.6.1. Central issues characteristic of life in the market research organisations

According to the black market researchers, there are consistent realities and experiences that are characteristic of the market research industry. These are the manner in which researchers are introduced to the industry and the value attached to positions and levels in the industry. These are discussed below.

4.6.1.1. Stumbling into the research industry

All the researchers interviewed went to university to study towards varying professions such as Auditing, Civil Engineering, Teaching, Law and the Social Sciences. After qualifying with an university degree, the intention for all of them was to work in their respective field of study. They did not plan to work as market researchers. Some of the researchers were introduced to research as a subject during one of the modules required for the degrees chosen at university.

> Oh, in my honours year, I had to do an elective, so one of the modules in the elective was… what was it? Market research and like I liked this, because especially like in terms of skills, it was exactly the same process that you have in your social research, except you know the wording was slightly different, and the objectives were slightly different. So that is how I… I came into marketing… market research, and there was a course, I wanted to do a post-grad diploma in marketing management, but it was too expensive, so my mom was like this one I can't afford (P3 RE, p42).

These researchers indicate that they found the research module interesting but did not think of it as a possible career options at the time. They were more focused on working directly within the field of study in which they had qualified. However, due to difficulties in finding employment in the field of study, they started looking for other options and then came across research as a possible alternative.

> I was online and I was googling marketing, because I knew about something called research, but I didn't understand about what shape or forms it comes in, because I only did my research course when I was already at ***. Then on BizCom, there were these adverts that they need researchers and whatnot. Then I gave this guy the idea of how we can conduct research in differently. That I'm well versed with travelling on taxis and I can collect data on taxis and whatnot. I got the job (P4 RE, p53).

> So I've been doing research since the year 2000, so it's about 13 years now. I've only ever done research. So I graduated with a Masters in Law. I couldn't find a job because there's so many of us who do Law so I couldn't find a job and the one afternoon a friend of mine who used to work here called me and said you know we have a space, my boss is looking for someone come for lunch I just wanna explain to you. So I got dressed up in jeans, a t-shirt and sneakers and I arrived, and it turned into an interview. And an hour later I was sitting at my desk working (P9 BUD, p3).

Other researchers did start in the fields they had studied but discovered that they did not enjoy the work as much as they thought they would. Then they started looking for other options and came across market research as a viable option. They were willing to start from

the bottom in research in order to learn and master the craft despite having reasonable previous work experience.

> I started at University of Johannesburg as a tutor. Ja, so I was there for like a year when I was doing my honours. I tutored as well and then from there I moved to perinatal HIV research unit, which is in Baragwaneth. So I did social research for like I think one year, six months and then I moved to *** which was then *** as an intern for intern research executive. I did that for a year and then I moved to public affairs, which are really quantitative research. So I was there for a year. After a year I got bored with the politics and the numbers, or was it two years, two years actually (P1 JRE, p1).

> To be quite honest, because I had done media studies as well. I did three majors, so I had done media studies, and I remembered that for six months, there was a time when we were just talking about brands. And that really ignited something in me as like, wow, so these prints that we see in magazines, there are people who actually put them there. So I remember that I was like, no man, when I was at varsity I actually loved Brand studies so maybe I should look into that, and then I went on the internet and ***, I went to biz community and *** popped out, and I phoned them, they called me for an interview and that was that (P6 SRE, p6).

Others discovered research as a career when they started applying for internships after finishing their degrees. They took the research internship when it became available thinking that it would only be temporary to gain work experience since there were no other options at the time. They have since fallen in love with the market research work and they are dedicated to what they are currently doing.

> In 2009 I did my honours and then … then by half way through 2009, I was an intern at the institute for justice and reconciliation and I was in the political analysis unit. I worked on my internship for a year, and then this is from June 2009 … then June 2010 my internship ended and then luckily for me, I got a job as an assistant research manager. I don't know why they gave it such a fancy title, because all I was, was a research assistant (P3 RE, p1).

4.6.1.2. High value attached to the positions and levels

Amongst all the researchers there was strong meaning attached to the positions that they occupied. There was a lot of prestige associated with middle and senior management positions. Most of the researchers were unhappy with the positions they held and associated salaries they earned. They felt deserving of the next position but delayed by the organisation because of unfair processes. The lowest position that one could occupy in each of the organisations was a research assistant followed by a research intern, followed by a junior research executive, followed by research executive and a senior research executive, then an

account manager and a business unit director and a managing director and lastly, the CEO at the top of the organogram.

Key to the unhappiness with the positions and salaries was that, in their view, the progression from one level to another was not always transparent but dependent on the structure of the department or the organisation and the quality of work delivered by the individual.

> The promotion process is not cast in stone, it is a general guideline, it is all about the individual experience about how well you do… (P3 RE, 52)

> I think there have been some elements where we haven't clearly defined, and that's what causing, I think, a lot of frustration because it's not defined. I feel I'm ready to become a senior research executive and your boss will say, 'no, I don't think that you are ready to become a senior research executive'. Or someone will say, 'I feel I'm ready to become an account manager', where then, there's an expectation that you need to first, become a senior research executive, then an account manager. I actually think they should be streams that you can go into if you want to. A person, like myself, I don't think I'm a senior research exec, nor am I account management material. I think I'll mostly go into the specialist route because I never want to let go of the research. I enjoy it. It's a passion point for me. I don't like dealing with people, as much as I've got the gift of the gab, I don't want to deal with angry clients or whatever (P4 RE, p9).

> Yes, I applied for the research executive role. So now, but when I get there, they deliberated and they decided I am now going to start off as JRE because they don't think I am skilled enough to be in RE and then I… I am like it is fine, I want to move out of this job, because I would rather move into a bigger company and be stable. Then I get there, only to find that my take home was R500.00 more. I was so upset, I was like… Like on paper, they will say for example you know I will be earning R2000.00 more, but then they have got all these other deductions that happen, and then like take home the difference between the money I had at my old job and this … it is the same thing (P3 RE, p5).

Some researchers started as research interns while others started as research assistants and others as junior research executives or research executives. Although the researchers admit that the tittle is often meaningless because the responsibilities do not always correspond with it, it is important what title they hold because either the title opens doors for them at other companies or it could close them if the title is perceived to be too junior by prospective employers. It makes it difficult for prospective employers to believe the level at which the researchers are functioning if it is not reflected by the title.

> …I went for this one interview, they looked at me and they are like you have been an RE now for a year and some time, why? You know, so it is like for me like I wanted them to promote me because I remember in this interview. it must have been around August/September and then November, that is when we discussed about me getting promoted. And I wanted it to be the 31st of December, because now it was bad on my CV the more it took for me to become an RE. The worst it reflected on my side, and I didn't realise until I had gone to the interview and they asked, but like you have been a JRE now for like a year and a half, what is going on? (P3 RE, 36)

There was minimal consistency across the roles and responsibilities associated with the different positions. This could be supported by the broadness of the responsibilities and overlaps amongst the different roles reflected in the SAMRA Salary Survey as well (see table 7 above). The responsibilities associated with the different roles are generic and open to interpretation. For instance, in some organisations a research executive role is the most junior role consisting of assisting responsibilities to the senior research executive, while in other organisations, individuals who occupied the research executive role were involved in more responsibilities than would have been expected.

It appeared that the longer the participant remained in a position the more the lines got blurred between the different positions because the individual's responsibilities increased as they gained more experience and the ability to handle more responsibilities but the level or title and associated salary did not change. Thus, there are situations where a research executive is performing the same responsibilities as a senior research executive or even an account manager in some instances.

> I do a lot. I write reports, I write proposals, I attend client briefings, write discussions guides, liaise with clients giving them day-to-day updates on the project, I run the project up to presentation stage. Ja, that's me on daily basis. Just managing my own projects and managing my own clients (P1 JRE, p1).

> You know, the whole set up of a project of a senior research manager, which is getting a brief, writing a proposal… liaising with clients, you know making sure that everything goes well out in the field work and then from there, getting your transcripts, starting your analysis and then report writing and then next project (P7 SRE, p2).

In these instances, the senior manager and account manager positions lose their prestige and are seen as mere administrative roles by the researchers reporting into them because they see themselves doing more work and being more competent than their line managers.

> I'm finding that with the senior research executives they don't even want to do the charting. They want to look over and edit your work, and that's the wrong approach. I also believe as a senior research executive you are supposed to be writing and publishing because that's the only way, like I say, once you become an account manager, you are no longer a researcher. Yes, you must have an idea of what methodologies we are going to use so that you can convince the client to buy, but then an account manager is a glorified secretary, for me I believe. They are there to manage the client, to make sure that the pipeline is active, to write proposals, with the help of the senior research executive, just to make sure that there's a flow of work coming in. Basically, they're the valve. If there's not a lot of work then they should bring in the work, and go and look for more business. If there is too much work in the system, they need to control that valve and say 'okay fine', and also manage expectations with the client. 'When are we going to deliver for client' and so on, so your account manager also then plays in the realm of a project manager (P4 RE, p8).

A Business Unit Director role is distinct because it is a clearly defined senior leadership position where one is responsible for a business unit and sitting in the organisation's executive meetings. In some but not all organisations, Business Unit Directors report directly to the CEO and they are expected to hunt for business and manage clients at a senior level.

> I report to the directors. The only time I would report to them is… not report but more bounce ideas. I mean their mandate to me when I moved here, was that they don't want to baby me at all. I have learned enough and I mean like in terms of… the only thing that I would ask them for approval is if I already have an idea, not to go to them for an idea or for a… let's say I am doing a proposal for you guys, and I would do it on my own. I would raise them with the team, I am here and I construct the proposal and I send it off to the bosses, just to … just for them to know what is going on, and that is it. (P14 BUD, p18-19).

Similarly, the Research Director role is clearly defined as an executive position directly reporting to the CEO in the structures of all the organisations. The individual is responsible for teams that work across the organisation. Very few black researchers occupy this position in the industry.

> I head up the statistical analytical unit. I am a statistician by profession. I studied mathematical statistics up until master's level. and so… So I head up a team of statisticians. I have five statisticians that report to me. Project Director, Senior Project Manager and Project Managers. Then I am also responsible for running Field. So I am more in the analytical side. But I do project management as well because I was groomed as a project manager up until I became a research director (P11 RD, p3).

4.6.2. The black researchers' lived workplace experiences

Some differences were observed in how the researchers experienced the industry depending on the position and the specific organisation for which they worked. The researchers occupying junior research executive, research executive and senior research executive positions tended to experience the organisations they worked for negatively as they felt exploited, while those occupying senior positions such as Business Unit Director (BUD) tended to experience the organisations positively because they felt part of the decision making process. The following were the sentiments.

4.6.2.1. The remuneration processes

Most of the researchers were frustrated by the amount of hard work that they put into their daily job responsibilities that has not paid dividends. Being promoted to the next level in the hierarchy of the organisation was the main desire and main cause of frustration since it appeared to them that it was either not happening or will not happen for them in the organisations that they were in.

> I mean that is the one thing about this industry that I think is… that they were offending us financially, as researchers. I am sorry… I don't know about the manager and whatever, but as a researcher like… I don't know… the researcher in a research firm, there is no incentive, honestly, because now, especially if you follow the hierarchy, you know you are JRE, then you become an RE, then you become an SRE, and now… so SRE is research manager. To get to research manager will take you years you know, and regardless of whether you have got the skill or you don't. Somebody has to die; somebody has to leave before you get promoted. Otherwise, you are stuck forever, you know and at this age, it is one of those things. I want to try as many things as possible, and like for me, I know … because I am not the brightest you know… the sharpest tool in the shed, but I know I work hard, you know, if I don't get it, I will work so hard until I get it and I get good at it. That is just my motive (P3 RE, p46).

They felt out of control of their situation because they could not understand the reasons why they were not being promoted. In their minds, they were competent and ready for the promotions. Yet, they witnessed other colleagues whom they viewed as less competent and less ready than them being promoted. Thus, they concluded that the organisations they worked for were not fair in how they treated their employees.

> So it could be that maybe he feels insecure somewhere, somehow, I don't know that much or maybe that thing of, I don't know it could be a personal thing, he doesn't like me, I have no idea but for me I just feel that it's ridiculous, you know, it's, there's really no excuse. I even took it up with HR to say this is how I feel and HR spoke to him and he just, for him he

> is sticking to you don't have a drivers licence yet. So I'm at a point where I'm like you know what if for you, me having a drivers licence is such a big deal for you, it's fine I will get it and probably by the time I get it, I also won't be here as well. So you know it's just one of those things that it's, it just makes working a bit difficult because I love my job, I'm passionate about research but also you think of circumstances that are actually keeping you in this one place is a bit of ey ja, a downside to it, you know (P1 JRE, p4).

Interestingly, some of the junior research executives and research executive were striving to become senior research executives because they viewed it as a management position. While the senior research executives viewed the position as a meaningless level and were striving to move to the next position or leave the organisation.

> In a sense that I've been feeling that I need to now move from being a research executive because I think I've overworked it. I look at my approach to problem solving. I look at the fact that my inputs to proposal writing or even writing proposals. Now research is publishing and writing. There are a lot of research executives or even senior research executives that are not operating at that level. So when you feel that you've outgrown a role, but you'll never understand with the powers that be because they could be getting out of you a senior research executive output, at a salary of a research exec or as a resource (P4 RE, p10).

However, with this said, one Research Executive who had just been promoted from Junior Research Executive at the time of the interview after a year of talking about the promotion with her Business Unit Director had a positive view of her organisation and Business Unit Director specifically. In her view, the reason some researchers are not promoted is that they are not ready for the promotion despite that they may think they are ready. In her experience, some individual researchers have the wrong attitude that is working against them even though they may be competent in their work.

> The promotion process is not cast in stone, it is a general guideline, it is all about the individual experience about how well you do… there is this one girl who was a JRE. She joined before I did, and she was a JRE, and she was still stuck there just because her quality… her outputs aren't great, you know … even I can say as my peer, I look at her work and I am like no … like her work needs to be checked three times before we issue them. Just because we know we will find something wrong, and a task that is supposed to take two days, will take two weeks with her. And I am not lying when I say two days, two weeks… so it is things like that that have held her back and in her mind, she is thinking oh no, they don't like me… and they are side lining me… like it is not the case you know, and it is hard to comfort her. Because she will talk to you and it is hard to comfort her when you know it is not the boss being mean. It is you not living up to the standard, whereas so and so has been diligent, she deserves the promotion that she has gotten you know, where instead of you, you have to prove yourself (P3 RE, p52)

This researcher believes that the organisation is fair because in her case, she was promised a promotion because of her outstanding work, but it was delayed because the company had not performed well financially. As soon as there was budget, she was promoted to Research Executive as promised.

> It was because I was told that there is no budget. We can't afford to give anyone promotions at the moment, but then when the budget came again that is when it was made official. So, yeah like my boss said, it is all about how you prove yourself, and the CEO is German, and I am sorry, but there is something about German people, European people that makes things happen, you know (P3 RE, p53).

However, she acknowledges that some individuals' promotions appear questionable; including her line manager who was recently promoted from Research Executive to Account Manager with less experience and qualifications than some in the organisation. She does not understand how this happened but she trusts that her Business Unit Director must have had a good reason to make such a decision because she believes in her integrity.

> …It [promotion process] is very transparent, it is very very transparent. There are a few people though that I have questions about, like there is this one girl who has… she doesn't have a degree, nor research experience, she joined the company as an RA, research assistant, and she became an RE… I mean a JRE, and then now she is account manager (P3 RE, p51).

4.6.2.2. Bias towards white researchers

Since all the researchers who were being promoted were white and the black researchers had never witnessed a black researcher being promoted during their duration in the organisations they worked for, they concluded that only white researchers get promoted by their white managers. Black researchers do not get promoted and have to live with that reality. To substantiate this conclusion they assert that the black senior researchers in the organisations were hired in those senior positions rather than promoted from within the organisation. Thus, they have concluded that a black researcher has to leave the organisations to work externally for a while and then come back to negotiate a senior position in order to move up the hierarchy.

> In all fairness, like I said, I love my job, yes circumstances are not pleasant but I love what I'm doing you know. So the thing that makes it a bit difficult for particularly black people in the workplace is that discrimination or, ja, the fact that you know you black and therefore you sort of like don't deserve to move up because… I'm going to make an example - I've got a friend when she started at [company name] she was a junior researcher. This was last

> year some time and now she got promoted to a research executive. So it's like okay fine, I'm black, my skin is darker than yours and you are white so it's stuff like that. That they are so visible and you actually get to see such things on a daily basis. Like okay this person when I started she was a junior, now all of a sudden, she is an accounts manager, and we get this person's background. Well, ja, you know it's, they probably have like a matric or something. So there's a lot of discrimination, a lot of racial discrimination to be specific that actually make people not to move in their position. So the only way for me that a person can actually move up in our company is you coming from wherever in that position. Like as an accounts manager and for you to be in the company and somehow hope that you going to climb the ladder and you black, there is not a very good chance of that happening, you know. So its things like that that are, they are in your face, you acknowledge it, you see it, it's oh well… (P1 JRE, p4).

One researcher has a personal experience where a fellow white counterpart whom they had started together was promoted ahead of her for no tangible reasons.

> Just, for example, at *** I joined at the same time with this white girl, a practical example, we were both research execs, she came from a PR background, I came from HR, so she already had a bit of advantage in terms of just the industry and the knowledge and all of that. We started off in the same position. We got promoted at the same time as project managers, or to project managers, and then eight months later she got promoted to project director. And I was on leave, and I remember the MD phoning me, telling me that they have decided to promote the girl and they've... 'like she's worked really hard, and she knows the language, and she's really earned it', and I'm still lagging behind. Like she practically phoned me to justify why they were promoting the white girl. And she said something like, 'I haven't quite gotten the language right, the branding language, and there's just a bit of word smiting', I remember the conversation like it happened yesterday, because it was the most mind blowing thing that ever happened in my life (P6 SRE, p14).

The white counterparts who get promoted are perceived to be less skilled than the black researchers, yet they get promoted within a short space of time ahead of the black researchers and the organisations subsequently spend resources to fast-track their skills to reach the level into which they are promoted.

> There is a lot of racial tension. There is a lot of… there is a lot of black people who are feeling that they are hiring these white people who do not know anything and they are… they get promoted so quickly and we are just left behind. There was that… last year there was, I think it almost exploded where I think this girl came from… was a temp… now six months down the line she is Account Manager. Seriously… I promise you. They like having people who don't know anything, because they are cheap, I guess. So, and then because then they are white, a lot of energy gets spent… you know they invest a lot of money, they invest a lot of everything into that person, to get them up to whatever level. Yeah they need to. But even then, if you don't know anything, you don't know anything, it will take you time until you get it, you know. But then even… whereas with the black people or whoever, you know, gets employed. Black or coloured or whatever, we are just left to swim. We are put into… you know what, thrown there, swim or sink (P7 SRE, p21).

Black researchers talk about the bias towards white researchers amongst each other. Some black researchers wish to work for black owned research organisations and those who are already in black owned organisations do not wish to leave since they have heard about the biases.

> I know that a lot of people move around. And I think it's much more difficult for black people in the industry. *** is one of the black owned companies and I would never work for a white owned research company. Never! I've never been there but I don't think I want to be there because they want the black face of me. I want to be there because they appreciate my value. Because they see what I can add to them, and that's what I appreciate more here. I don't want to be... what do you call those people who are just like a picture frame. You know when people come they see that you are decorating the room nicely. I don't want to be like that. I want to be a person of value. I want to add value and I don't think I can add value to those organisations. They are still too white. They might even acknowledge someone who's white and not doing anything while me the black person who's working very hard is just there and not acknowledged and that I cannot take (P11 RD, p1).

However, one researcher challenged the conclusion that the bias in the industry was racially motivated and that white managers exploited black researchers. His reasons were that he had started his research career at a small black owned research agency and moved to a middle-sized white owned research agency. He had a very bad experience at the white owned research agency but he presumed it was because he was not that strong in research, as he did not have enough research experience when he joined them. The white research agency taught him a lot about research but he could never deliver enough in their view. They always had something to falter him on concerning his deliverables. He eventually could not take the constant criticism and left to join his current organisation and team, which is headed by a black Managing Director. He pursued the team precisely because it was black managed to avoid his previous experience, which he had concluded was because he was black in a white organisation.

He presumed that things would be different and he would grow in this organisation since it was black managed. However, he has not grown from his Research Executive position despite what he views as good work and deliverables in the organisation. He has since befriended an HR director from the previous white organisation he worked for and has learned that other white researchers in that organisation went through similar experiences as he did in the

organisation because of the quality of their work. He has since realised it was not because of his blackness that he was constantly being criticised but because they were not impressed by his outputs.

> *…There was no creativity [previous company]. For me that was research as I knew it, and when I went to *** it was a mind shift and *** is the Mecca of qualitative research. I do not care what people say. I might have had some bad experiences there but these guys; they've understood how to distil information. They are good at it, and I was struggling. It was not catching on and I was not latching on, and I wanted to latch on. My work was slow and people were not happy with my analysis. Eventually I started feeling my analysis was improving because I was spending long hours, over two or three hours at night, just to appease people. I would be tired at work. It was just a painful year for me (P4 RE, p24).*

> *…No, a white guy and then there was a lady also, ### She was an Afrikaner and they told her how shocking, in a very ugly manner, that her reports suck. Her English was pathetic. She is Afrikaans, yes and *** wanted to be the 'Real Madrid' of research. If you've got shortcomings they are going to kick you out very quickly, and there were other researchers that were also just booted out very painfully. So that way I started realising that, my experiences were not unique. Sometimes because we do not talk we tend to suffer in isolation and we think it is just us that these things are happening to me, you know. Then I came out there, "Oh white people…" with a fowl taste in my mouth and I went to work for black people again (P4 RE, p26).*

Rather than concluding that it is about race, he has concluded that the exploitation of junior researchers is bigger than simply a racial phenomenon. It may be an effective business strategy to keep the best performers doing research work for longer while paying them less, since a promotion often means that the role becomes administration and client management focused rather than the actual research focused. Keeping researchers in a junior position for long is effective because it makes leaving the organisation difficult as the next employer questions their competence if they have been in a junior position for too long. Thus, they are trapped in the organisation doing all the work at a low cost to the organisation.

> I think it was a deeper thing. When I look at the history of the organisation, and when I speak to people that have been in the organisation, and now we have a lady that's leaving. I see how the events around her are unfolding, there is a great insecurity; when people get promoted, and they get headhunted by other organisations or they just move to other organisations. Nobody wants to hire a research exec that they do not know at what level they are operating at, to see a research executive. It is very hard. Somebody wants to hire another person's senior research exec. You have cut that timber, you have grown it, you have shaped it, thank you very much...can I have it? I think, even at a bigger level, as the organisations have become wary now of how people move, at what level people move. Treasuring or retention is very low at the senior research executive. They can keep you at a JRE level for as long as they want, you will grow. You will be punching at the level of a senior research executive. JRE you will be punching at the level of an RE or SRE, and they will be getting the value for money out of it. That is my hypothesis of how I have seen the system (P4 RE, p48).

According to this theory, those who talk a lot but do little actual research tend to be promoted to the client service positions, which are typically senior positions, where they do not need to do the work but rather to manage the process. This is a rather interesting theory and was somewhat corroborated by two other researchers who were questioned in an interview process for a prospective job why they had been in a junior position for that long. This question made them realise the real cost to their careers if they stay in the same position in the organisation for too long.

> You know, so it is like for me like I wanted them to promote me because I remember in this interview. It must have been around August/September and then November, that is when we discussed about me getting promoted. And I wanted it to be the 31st of December, because now it was bad on my CV the more it took for me to become an RE. The worst it reflected on my side, and I didn't realise until I had gone to the interview and they asked, but like you have been a JRE now for like a year and a half, what is going on? (P3 RE, p53)

> Funny enough I went for an interview, so the question that they asked me was 'okay you've got your masters, you're a junior, explain that'? and I thought to myself well it's just one of those things that I cannot explain because I can't say it's the unfairness of the company, you don't want to bad-mouth but at the same time those are the circumstances that you are faced with (P1 JRE, p15).

4.6.2.3. Empowering leadership

The participants holding Business Unit Director level positions experienced the organisations they worked for positively and they were committed to driving the organisation's vision. They felt supported by the leadership to do what they do well and recognised for all their efforts by being offered the senior leadership positions.

> So I feel like *** allows me to do that. It is not necessarily about being promoted. It is about the ability to grow your skill. So in a space where your skill, your thinking capability can be allowed to grow and to flourish, I find that I function very well in that kind of environment. But I also think that I work with people who allow me to do that. I mean ### and I have known each other since I started working so the fact that they allow me to do that and they can recognise some of the core skills that I bring, for me is a huge pat on the back. Because I think, as I said earlier on sometimes you tend to forget what you're really good at and you do need places and people to remind you of what you can do (P9 BUD, p17).

> Basically being in the right place at the right time, and so I took it … I mean it was a fantastic opportunity, I was always hanging around the office anyways. so I became the coastal grass manager for South Africa, for *** and also I was in charge of the African networks and the Middle East ones that we had at the time, we were working with Nokia. We started in a few communities or consumers in Tanzania, Sierra Leone, and some other countries that I… I have never been to. Yeah, I mean other people got to travel and do the strategy and now you have to find the community, so that was not that great. I managed that

> community for about a year and a half, up until last year June. And then with a few resignations a business manager role became available and my director at the time, he championed that I become business manager. He taught me a few… he introduced me to a few of the clients and I project managed a few of those jobs (P14 BUD, p2).

One researcher had been headhunted from another company and the position was created especially for her in the organisation. She had started her research career in the same organisation and left numerous times before but always came back to this organisation. She left again to explore the client side of research and that is where she was headhunted by the CEO of the current organisation she works for.

> I was there for 18 months and after that ### [CEO] called me and offered me the position I have now, which I took up and that's how I landed up back here for the 3rd time. So I am a Business Unit Director here at ***. Essentially, the role was recently created because ***, I think that what we started to notice was that (a). BEE compliance is becoming a huge issue. It is forcing businesses to face up to the reality of the fact that they need to be representative of the South African population from top to bottom. And one of the drivers behind the changing of ownership of *** was that main prompt, over and above the family moving to Australia (P9 BUD, p16).

Being headhunted made her feel appreciated for her hard work and previous commitment to the organisation. She feels part of the leadership team.

> … And as a result and for me that feels like it's recognition from the business. We work in teams so none of the work I do is completely mine. ### feeds in and ### feeds in and all of that, because we work in that kind of collaborative ecosystem it allows, like I said if people provide you with the right support, it allows you to shine and it allows them to shine as well, so it's kind of, it's a reciprocal relationship. What is it called in research? It's a symbiotic relationship (P9 BUD, p18).

This Business Unit Director measured success by the kind of leadership she modelled to everyone in the organisation, specifically her juniors. She was determined to be the best leader she could be and help junior researchers to realise their potential and grow their careers, whether in or outside the organisation.

> Obviously, there is the cold hard element to it, which is about money. Obviously growing and making sure that targets are met and profits and all of that, I think that is the one hard cash. It is almost as a result of the other things that we do. I also think the second facet of it is about the people. I think success is if the people that you work with are, I'm not saying ecstatically happy but if the people that work here are still able to get up in the morning and be like, hey I'm going to work, you know. And not get to the point where they are like… I don't know if you've been in that situation where you are sitting in the car and actually your tummy is going and you are actually like, I can't do this… or what I do I know when I'm unhappy at work is I sleep a lot because I'm trying to escape my reality. Or you get sick a lot. I have seen that my best friend gets sick a lot when she is unhappy at work. So if we

> can still make sure that people are feeling great about coming to work and are feeling energised and passionate but more importantly feeling like they are growing, looked after and that their careers are developing in the path that they would like them to. You know because there is a lot to be said about up-skilling people but I also think there's a lot to be said for helping people guide their careers in a way that they were able to grow (P9 BUD, P27).

The other Business Unit Director measured success by how much he will grow the Johannesburg office, which he was tasked to grow. He was brought from Cape Town head office to grow the Johannesburg office and that is his measure of success. He plans to personally grow as much as he can in Johannesburg and then move back to Cape Town because for him Johannesburg is a practical city rather than a city to live life in. His home is Cape Town.

> So, they wanted someone to be the face of *** on the business side and more… and less of the culture side and the cool side with the grass and the consumers we engage with. They wanted someone to head up the new business side here [Johannesburg]. So meeting clients, project managing, travelling around and doing PR and all that for *** that we are more business focused here more than just culture focused. I came here and so I have been here for six months now and I am working on finding new clients and project managing, entertaining, and the whole driving the business forward, so that is what I am here to do, to drive it forward (P14 BUD, p3).

The Account Manager or Senior Project Manager and the Research Director also experienced their work and organisation positively. They started working in the organisation as an intern and Project Manager respectively. They have grown to Senior Project Manager and Research Director reporting directly to the CEO. They feel that they have been given many opportunities and have carved their roles based on their interests. They started taking on challenging and important projects based on their interests. Because of the importance of the projects that the Senior Project Manager undertakes, she has had to report directly to the CEO, of which she is proud. She is comfortable in the organisation and feels in control of her career.

> I'm a Senior Project Manager and that would entail leading a lot of the more major projects that we have. We don't really have a strict hierarchy as such, in that, I suppose almost anyone can really go into anyone else's office and have a quick chat about whatever it happens to be and be involved in other peoples' projects. Also, there aren't these sort of strict divisions as to a particular team that does more financial type of projects, or more social and so on but just by luck of the draw and I just think personal interest, I tend to do a lot of Government projects. I suppose by luck, I just end up doing a lot of Government and parastatal type of studies. I do have a growing team under me, so that's quite nice. It has elements of mentorship in it and I like that because, I suppose, having started up in this company actually. I was fresh out of varsity and I started as an intern for about three

> months. It was meant to last, I think, about six months but after three months, they were like, "No, its fine, we want you on-board here." I was given a really, nice boss who I think himself he has that spirit of mentorship, so whenever I got stuck, or whenever I need clarity, he was there. He was there to even sit down and give a breakdown of how the company works because I think sometimes people lose that. They just care about whatever their job is and they do not really know how the company functions, so he was really, great at that sort of thing (P8 AM, p2).

Similarly, the Research Director is happy being in the organisation and is planning to remain in the organisation until she reaches retirement age.

> I am not going to move actually. I will leave on my retirement. I do not want to explore. I am happy. I think I am happy. I love the challenge; it is not the same every day. I experience different things. And… I think we are a family here. We do not live like the corporate world. I think that is what I love. I know people would love to go to the corporate world but I do not want to be in a world where we are not a small family. I love families. I love unity. I love the challenge that we face. You work on a different project each and every time, which gives you different challenges. So I am exposed to different things, that is what I can say. So it will never be boring for me because I'll keep on exploring with the new challenges that I face. I think all I need is a retirement plan. As long as the company is in existence. I think that is all I need (P11 RD, p1).

The Business Unit Directors were both new in their roles at the time of the interview. Thus, they were both excited and looking forward to the new roles. Both of them wanted to prove to themselves that they could make these roles a success. They appreciated the opportunity to make a difference in these organisations and eager to start making an impact.

4.6.2.4. An enabling organisational environment

Some researchers experienced their organisations to be flexible and enabling. These organisations are open to take chances with different methodologies and markets. As a result, they have provided the space for the researchers to use their talents and find their passions in the organisations. Since they have shown ambition and zeal, the organisations have made opportunities available to them and the organisations have in turn, benefitted from providing those opportunities to them from the new business that they generate.

> *I remember, clearly saying, "Oh, I love history. I love politics." On my first meeting with the CEO, he asked me a similar type of question and we seemed to have shared interests in that space, politics, things that affect society, I suppose also economic, historical as well. I think in his mind he was able to say, "Okay, if we do have a project that requires that type of person who has that interest or vision, let's include her." I was slowly just included, in minor roles in a few of the more 'high-profile' projects, dealing with Government over the years (P8 AM, p5).*

I mean their mandate to me when I moved here, was that they don't want to baby me at all. I have learned enough and I mean like in terms of… the only thing that I would ask them [Directors] for approval is if I already have an idea. Not to go to them for an idea or for a… let's say I am doing a proposal for you guys, and I would do it on my own (P14 BUD, p18).

For one researcher, an opportunity was opened for her after she joined the organisation that she would not have identified it on her own. She was employed for one position but given an opportunity to perform different responsibilities on a project. She excelled in the responsibilities and her true talent was discovered and she moved to that position. She has since grown from strength to strength.

> Emmm, let me tell you my journey. At the time they were looking for a data processing manager. Then I applied. They wanted to hire a friend of mine. Then that friend of mine was lucky to get a graduate training at Standard Bank. So he then said to them look you can hire this lady she is equally good. So I came in with the intention of taking up that position. And there was a project, a project for FNB that was happening at the time that I joined. And I was put onto that project and I did very well in terms of project management and the output that was delivered. And [CEO] decided that I am actually better as a project manager than as a data processing manager. So it didn't even take me a month before the person went and I was appointed. They started looking for this other person's role. Then in that position, I think I was a project manager for 2 years if I'm not mistaken then I was appointed as senior project manager. Then another 2 years I was appointed project director and then there that's when it took the long stretch to Research Director, which I was appointed, I think it's almost 2 years now (P11 RD, p3).

Another researcher was frank about her development needs when she joined the organisation. The CEO has taken her under his arm to help her to grow in those areas and monitor her growth closely before she can fly on her own.

> Yes, so my case is actually an interesting one [Reporting directly to CEO at her level] but I think it's just the way things worked out, where when I joined there wasn't a team specific because as I said in the beginning, I didn't want to do any specific quantitative work. So there is a quantitative team so fitting me into that was just out of the question because I wanted to do qual. I think it was also the thing of him [CEO] wanting to see me grow as well because I did, when I joined I said to him 'this is what I really want to do. I feel like I'm lacking in this space'. So for him I think it was also the thing that ok, I'll keep you closer. So that you know, it's almost a mentorship type of relationship. (P5 RE, p2).

4.7. Section summary and conclusion

In this section, the sub objectives 3 of the study, which was to describe *the organisational identity espoused by management with reference to racial transformation* and the sub objective 4 of the study, which was to *describe the organisational identity of the market research industry as lived by black market researchers* were outlined.

The findings show that there are core issues that all the organisations find challenging about the industry, such as finding talent, racial transformation at senior levels and the fact that the business of market research has changed, with more demands for clients that are, at times, difficult to meet. While these challenges and realities are faced by the industry at large, the organisations appear to not have been doing themselves favours because of the inconsistencies in how the organisations are run. The competing values that are characteristic of the organisations, the inconsistencies in their attitudes towards race, racial transformation and the implementation of the BEE act. These internal inconsistencies are coupled with the inconsistencies in the relationships with clients that are either supportive or competitive, depending on the client.

The experiences of black researchers also suggests that there are core issues about the industry such as stumbling into the industry instead of actively planning to join the industry, and the importance placed on the positions and levels in the organisations. As a result of this importance, being promoted from one position to another becomes a constant preoccupation for the researchers and a symbol of recognition and success in the organisations. As such, the researchers pay special attention to the remuneration process and they have their views about the fairness of this process. Some are convinced that the industry is biased towards white researchers, while others consider the industry to be exploitative to maximise profits rather than motivated by a linear racial bias.

Yet, others were positive about the environments and leadership in the organisations for which they worked. They expressed satisfaction with the support received from their

leadership and organisational environments that have enabled them to achieve their goals and success.

Table 6: Summary of Organisational Identity in relation to racial transformation process

Organisational Culture + (*shared beliefs, meaning and understanding of how things are done in the organisation)*	**Organisational Image** = *(how the organisation comes across externally)*	**Organisational Identity** *(shared beliefs and understanding about who we are as an organisation)*
Central aspects of the organisations • Productivity orientation • Business of market research in the 21st century has been challenging • Challenge to unearth talent • Racial transformation challenges at senior levels	Relationships with clients • Partnership relationships • Competitive relationships	Organisational hyper-adaptive Identity • Deep racial divisions • Mistrust and blame
Organisational values that shape organisational culture • Integrity vs. manipulation • Transparency vs. insecurity • Harmony vs. competition Racial differences and attitude towards the differences • Sameness vs. difference • Inherently advantaged vs. inherently disadvantaged Leadership actions to facilitate employee integration	BEE compliance as a catalyst for racial transformation • Urgency vs. Delay • Advantage vs. survival • Challenges vs. commitment	
Central issues characteristic of life in the market research organisations • Stumbling into the research industry • High value attached to the levels and positions Black researchers' lived workplace experiences • The remuneration process • Bias towards white researchers • Empowering leadership • An enabling environment		

5. Discussion of results

The main objective for this study was to explore the interplay between individual identity and organisational identity in racial transformation efforts in the market research industry. The presentation of findings chapter (Chapter 4) attempted to describe the individual identity of the black market researchers that make them both unique as a race group and distinguished amongst each other. This description was explored by looking at the upbringing of these black researchers to understand the biographies and life moments that significantly shaped who they are as individuals. The presentation of findings chapter also explored the organisational identity, both as espoused by management and as lived by the black market researchers.

In this chapter, the sub objectives 5 and 6 of the research study are addressed. Sub objective 5 is *to explore how the black market researchers' individuality shapes their experience of the organisations* and sub objective 6 is *to explore the elements of individual identity and organisational identity that inspire or stifles transformation efforts in the market research industry*. Both these sub objectives require that the data already presented is interpreted in order to make inferences from it. Thus literature is used to make sense of the data in order to place the experiences in context.

The data shows that the biggest dynamic that the black researchers grappled with was the question of being promoted to senior level positions in the organisations for which they worked. This dynamic was central to how they experienced the market research industry because being promoted or the lack of a promotion made them feel either in control or out of control of their destinies in this industry. This chapter addresses how the researchers react to the ideas of a promotion or lack of, which ultimately illustrates the interplay between individual identity and organisational identity in racial transformation efforts in the market research industry.

5.1. The categories of black researchers and their experience of the industry

This section aims *to explore how the black market researchers' individuality shapes their experience of the organisations.*

There are three categories of black researchers identified in the study. These are those researchers who have not been promoted within the promised timeframe, those who have been in the same position for longer periods than would have been expected and those researchers who have been promoted and have moved up the ladder to occupy senior positions. All three categories have been identified to possess traits that are distinct from each other. These traits may possibly explain the researchers' responses to the situations and environments in which they find themselves.

It was also observed that there was a pattern in how black researchers experienced the market research organisations. There were those researchers who experienced the organisations to have unfair criteria to promotions and to be white biased, while others experienced the industry to be fair but the attitude from some of the researchers to be the problem and others who experienced the organisations to have supportive leadership and an enabling environment. This pattern is explained by equity theory (J. S. Adams, 1965; Ambrose & Cropanzano, 2003; Greenberg, 1986; Lemons & Jones, 2001), which asserts that people assess if they have been treated fairly by evaluating the ratio of their input, which may be their time, effort or cognitive resources relevant to their outcome, which may be a promotion or opportunities for professional development.

According to this theory, people subsequently compare this input to outcome ratio with that of a fellow colleague. Based on these types of comparisons, employees conclude the extent to which outcomes are fair or not fair (Greenberg, 1986). If a fellow colleague is seen to be putting in the same amount as them but is rewarded more than them, they judge their own treatment as unfair (Lemons & Jones, 2001). This phenomenon was observed in the study where those black researchers who have not been promoted tended to conclude that the market research industry was unfair and favoured white researchers. The reason that led to

this conclusion was their disappointment in the leadership that had promised to promote them at a specific date and time but had failed to keep their promise. While they observed fellow white colleagues, who they did not consider to be performing better than themselves and who were less qualified than them, being promoted ahead of them.

The researchers who had been promoted, on the other hand, tended to view the organisations they worked for to be fair and particularly their leaders to be supportive. They attributed the fact that some of their fellow black colleagues had not enjoyed the same promotions as they enjoyed despite being better qualified than many in the organisations, to individual differences in attitude and effort put into the work. The referent cognitive theory, also referred to as the fairness theory (Ambrose & Cropanzano, 2003; Cropanzano, Byrne, Bobocel, & Rupp, 2001; Folger & Cropanzano, 2001), sheds some light into this kind of rationale. The theory maintains that an unfair judgment will result from a situation when an individual believes that a more favourable outcome would have been attained if an alternative procedure had been used.

For instance, according to this theory, a negative outcome will not produce injustice sentiments if it is assigned by a fair process or when a favourable outcome is likely to be assigned in future or when a sufficient explanation is provided (Folger & Cropanzano, 2001). The black researchers who had been promoted maintained that they too had had to wait for their promotions because of limited budget and structure in their department. However, as soon as there was budget available, they were offered the promotions as promised. Therefore, the black researchers who had not been promoted needed to wait their turn and ensure that they were producing quality work since in their view, some of the researchers who were not promoted were not producing quality work, which was the real reason behind their delayed promotion.

While studying ostracism as a phenomenon and the power of being ignored, K. D Williams (2002) discovered that there were four basic human needs that motivated behaviour in

interpersonal relationships. These human needs are the need for control of one's environment, the need for self-esteem, the need to belong and the need for meaningful existence. K. D Williams (2002) discovered that ostracism directly threatened these core needs and hence being ostracised consistently triggered strong emotional reactions. He realised that although the needs overlap, when belonging and self-esteem needs were threatened, the reaction triggered was overcompensation or the need to please, while when the need for control and meaningful existence were threatened, they triggered an aggressive reaction. Ostracism is defined as being ignored and excluded, and often without an explanation (K. D Williams, 2002; Williams, 2007; Williams & Zadro, 2001).

Considering the biographical information of the black market researchers, the defining traits that they all share are adaptability and determination. These traits were developed through circumstances that required that they maintain control of their situations, adapt to new situations and rise above their environments. They have all been successful at this. Thus, being in control is a big part of who the black market researchers are. Finding themselves in an environment where they cannot control their progress is likely to impact their core need for control. Considering their aspirations as well, all the researchers maintained that they wanted a meaningful life and to do something meaningful with their lives and careers.

> I do not think market research is something I want to do forever. It is … I do not know if it is because of who I am or it is the industry itself … like eventually, I want to move into the client side. You know, where I am making the decisions, like where I am reading the data or presenting the report and making it work you know. Because the theory is nice, you know, and that is who I am … I will spend the first year working happily with theory, but I will need to upgrade, and be in a position whereby I need to make the theory work for me (P3 RE, p77)

Holding the same position for a number of years with little promise of progress in the market research industry is not perceived as meaningful. This explains the aspirations to leave the industry by those researchers who were not promoted, as soon as they could find the next exciting opportunity to grow and develop their careers outside the industry.

Since being promoted is such an important achievement for the market researchers, the promise of a promotion and failure to deliver on it can be likened to being ostracised for them. They feel rejected by the leadership and it causes them to lose faith in the leadership. According to social exchange theory (J. S. Adams, 1965; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Janssen, 2000), there are two types of exchange characteristics of employee behaviour. These are economic and social exchange. Economic exchange is defined as the formal transactional contract, which specifies in detail the conditions of employment and the precise nature of what is exchanged on a justifiable basis (Emerson, 1976; Janssen, 2000). Social exchange is defined as relationships that encompass unspecified future obligations (J. L. Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003). The exact nature of the future obligation is not specified and the exact nature of future returns for contributions is based on the individual trusting that the exchange parties will fairly distribute their obligations in the long run and allow exchange parties to reciprocate through discretionary exchange acts (J. S. Adams, 1965; Cropanzano et al., 2001; J. L. Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003; Kamdar & Van Dyne, 2007).

Janssen (2000) is of the view that employees prefer to define their relationships with employers through social exchange rather than economic exchange. In a social exchange relationship, when efforts are fairly rewarded, employees are willing to reciprocate by discretionary behaviour such as getting involved in activities that go beyond the contractual obligations (J. L. Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003; Kamdar & Van Dyne, 2007; Konovsky & Pugh, 1994).

The empirical data from the current study suggests that the opposite is also true when a social exchange relationship is broken, employees may retaliate. For instance, it was observed that the black market researchers were not the same towards their leadership after the disappointment of not being promoted. According to J. L. Johnson and O'Leary-Kelly (2003), when a promise has been made to an employee a psychological contract is formulated. A psychological contract is defined as the obligations that an individual expects to be fulfilled that exist between the organisation and the employee (J. L. Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003; Lester, Turnley, Bloodgood, & Bolino, 2002).

When the promise or parts of the promise are not kept, the employee may experience it as a psychological contract breach (Robinson & Morrison, 2000). According to Robinson and Morrison (2000), employees and employers often disagree on what constituted a promise because a promise could be either perceived by the employee or directly communicated by the employer. As a result, it could be difficult for the employer to ascertain when the promise has been broken and is developing into a psychological contract breach.

Nonetheless, a psychological contract breach has been observed to have significant consequences for employee attitudes such as job performance (Gakovic & Tetrick, 2003; Lester et al., 2002) and organisational cynicism, where organisational cynicism is defined as a generalised belief that their organisation lacks integrity (J. L. Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003).

Organisational cynicism may develop as a result of wide unmet needs that an employee may have experienced in the organisation or prior to the organisation and a psychological breach may be but one of those unmet needs (J. L. Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003). For instance, unmet expectations with a line manager may trigger an individual's cynicism about the entire organisation or unmet expectations with an organisation may trigger cynicism about the entire industry. However, in their study to explore the effects of psychological breach and organisational cynicism, J. L. Johnson and O'Leary-Kelly (2003), found that organisational cynicism did not affect the work related behaviours of those employees who were cynical.

These employees continued to perform in the jobs as obligated and participated in citizenship behaviours with colleagues but remained indifferent to the organisation. Psychological contract breach on the other hand was directly correlated to job performance and retaliatory actions such as absenteeism. A possible explanation for this is the level of trust invested in a psychological contract which triggers a strong emotional reaction when broken (Robinson, 1996). Yet, psychological contract breach was not correlated to personality traits, suggesting that psychological contract breach is shaped in the context of the organisation rather than

brought into the organisation by certain negative employee personality traits (J. L. Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003).

In the current study, it was observed that the black market researchers tended to retaliate because of the psychological contract breach and the method of retaliation was mainly directed at an attempt to regain control of their lives. This reaction is expected considering how significant being in control of their lives is to these researchers. Either they removed themselves emotionally from the organisation while focusing on other aspects of their lives or they looked for other opportunities outside the organisations and subsequently resigned from the organisations.

> I went to this other company and they were offering me Group Accounts Director, because that is the level where I am. But we couldn't agree on money, and just the structure, there was just something wrong. I could not put my finger to it… and then three months later my friend says, I resigned. She had recommended me to go there after she joined. I am like, what do you mean, not even three, two months? She said, no, they do not know what they are doing. And it was the thing that appeared during the interview, the person that I was going to be reporting to, she didn't really answer my questions the way that I wanted her to. There was a bit of… more she could have said I do not know, but white people do not usually say I do not know to a black person. So she just beat about the bush and it was just like, no this doesn't feel right. So what I'm trying to say is, yes, I have looked, and I have been offered stuff, but it hasn't felt right, so I'm not just going to move for the sake of moving, I'm waiting for something that feels right (P6 SRE, p12).

Those who removed themselves emotionally but remained in the organisations had different character traits to those who left the organisations. The following is a closer look at the categories of black researchers and how each one of them typically responded to situations.

5.1.1. Not promoted within the promised timeframe

Those researchers who have not been promoted within the promised timeframe were found to have a high sense of responsibility for themselves, pride in being black, willingness to challenge authority and a sense of control over their careers and future. These researchers seem to exhibit character traits of black consciousness as articulated by Steve Biko (1978). Black consciousness is described as being aware of the creator's intention to create various race groups, including a black man. The awareness that being black is not a mistake and the

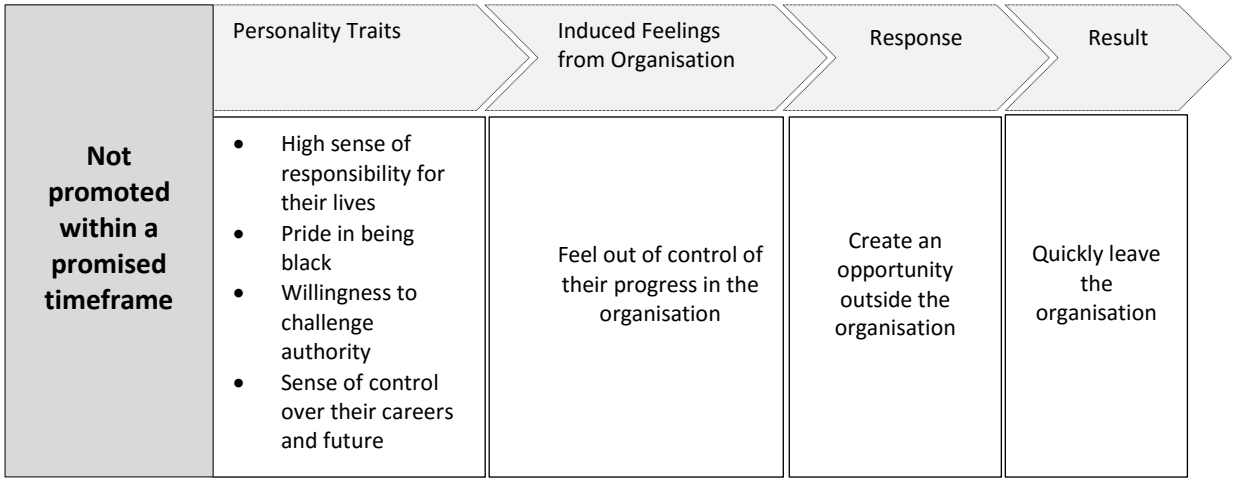
denunciation of a servitude attitude on the basis of being black (Steve Biko, 1978). According to Steve Biko (1978), black consciousness seeks to infuse pride in the uniqueness of being black, black culture, value systems, religion and outlook in life. These researchers seem to epitomise the kind of black person, who is self-reliant, in charge of his or her future and confident in his or her abilities that Stephen Biko (1978) was advocating for.

> No, I turned things around, I was like, no, I refuse. If I can hear your Zulu, and you can hear my Tswana, then speak your Zulu to me and I'll speak my Tswana to you. But if you can't, that was the only excuse. That was the only reason I would speak English to another black person, if you cannot hear me, other than that, no. Because I thought, we were trading who we were to this environment. Why? Why do you feel like English is a better language than your Venda? Why is that? I just felt like we were trading something, and for much, much less. If we are sitting here, as a group of black friends, why speak English? Where are we from? It was just such a major thing for me, and kids from Jo'burg did not understand it. I was like, what is wrong with you? I am a rural girl. I had never... I have always worn my identity with pride, I am very proud of where I come from (P6 SRE, p.37).

> I was like listen here woman, I'm not coming here saying I overspent last month, I am saying my expenses are such that I need the money that I came here under the guise that I would be getting. Otherwise, I am not gonna be able to manage. And that's why I joined this company because you had promised me that I was gonna get this much and now it's not. So that is a problem for me going forward. It is not a problem for this month; it is a problem for as long as I am here. Jho!... And I was fuming because I was thinking 'how dare this woman'. You know the other thing that she said, she said, wow! for a project manager that's quite a lot. That is more than what some of our project directors are getting. And I could almost see that she was like how the hell did they hire this black woman who's getting more money than some of my white project directors. She was like, 'what is this as a project manager?' And I have to prove myself and all of these things. Jho! I was stressed, I was so stressed. And that for me was the turning curve for me (P13 AM, p12).

This could possibly explain why it is difficult for these researchers to remain in the organisations after they have felt disappointed by the leadership, which in their minds represents white supremacy. Since they are proud individuals, they exercise control by leaving the organisation for better opportunities. They are the types of researchers that the organisations would like to retain because of their confidence and resourcefulness but find it difficult to retain possibly because the organisations do not know how to relate to these kinds of black researchers. They often have the abilities to create their own opportunities and are thus less reliant on the organisation for growth opportunities. These researchers tend to calculate their next move quickly and subsequently leave the organisations at the earliest opportunity that arises externally.

FIG 5: THOSE NOT PROMOTED WITHIN THE PROMISED TIMEFRAME



5.1.2. Same position for longer periods than would be expected

The researchers who have been in the same position for longer periods than would have been expected tended to be occupied by other aspects of their lives, which possibly removed their attention from the daily experiences in the organisations. It is not clear however, whether they occupied themselves with other aspects of their lives before or after the disappointment or psychological contract breach. They want to have the last word and found themselves at cross roads yet not ready to take any action. These researchers appear not to be as committed to a particular direction or cause in their lives. Kanter (1968) described commitment as the process through which one's interests become integrated to the carrying out of socially organised patterns of behaviour, which are viewed as fulfilling those interests and as expressing the nature and needs of the person.

According to Kanter (1972), there are three fundamental issues with commitment to a group or a cause. These are (1) continuance, which involves the perception that the individual's interests are protected by group membership, (2) cohesion, which is the individual's solidarity with the group and (3) control, which involves the individual forming a positive orientation to group authority. Here the individual views the demands made by the group to be just, moral and expressive of one's own values such that obedience to the demands is customary and regarded as appropriate (Hall, 1988; Kanter, 1968, 1972). According to Kanter (1968), successful groups are those who are able to reconcile all three issues for the individual

members such that they feel protected by the group membership, are in solidarity with the group and they are obedient to the group rules.

The researchers appear to be failing to reconcile these commitment issues for any one of the aspects in their lives. For instance, they are cynical about the organisations they work for and thus they cannot accept the organisation's control as they are continuously at loggerheads with the organisation's authority.

> Sometimes I think, you know what, even with ### when we had the chat, it is just about personality issues, at that time maybe they clash. It is about maybe they want somebody that they can push around and I am not that kind of a personality. I am a bit stern in terms of, no we can't, you know, we can't do this … we can only do this. Yes, I am flexible in terms of okay let me see how that would work out. I get your point, but I am not one to do something to please. Anyway, I am compromising my end of the whole thing at the end because I am going to be the one sitting at this programme and analysing and trying to figure it out. You know, it is just that kind of thing. So yeah … (P7 SRE, p3)

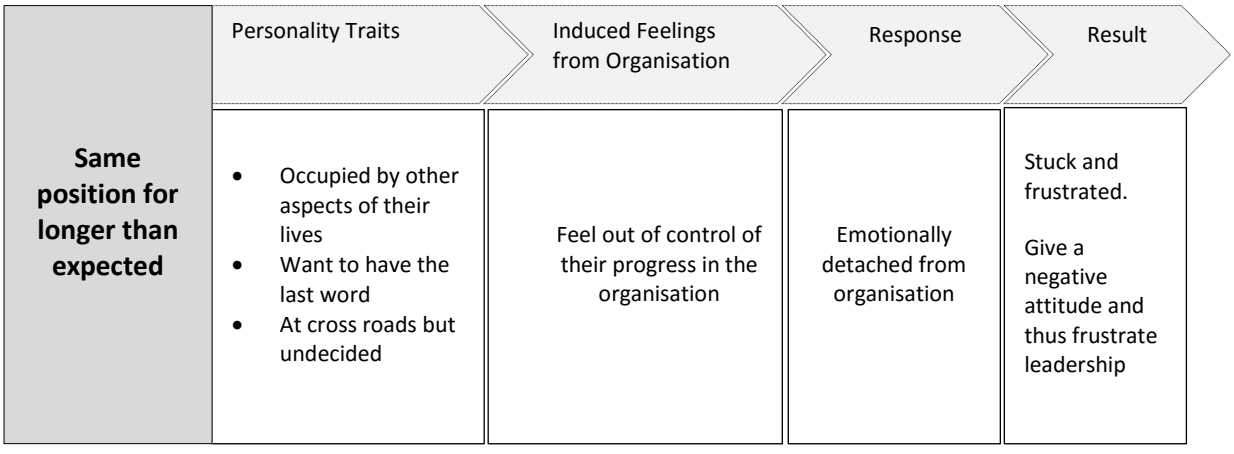
Yet, they are willing to continue being members of the organisation. This is possibly because continuance, as articulated by Kanter (1968), involves a cognitive assessment of the cost of leaving versus the cost of remaining a member of the organisation. Leaving the organisation may be associated with a higher cost than the researchers are willing to bear. Thus, they stay in the organisation and procrastinate the decision to leave. They also cannot seem to decide whether they should pursue the other aspects of their lives (e.g., small business, further education and marriage) that seem to be bringing them joy. Thus, they hold on to both their market research positions and the other aspects of their lives without fully committing to either of them.

> It has been a struggle and as much as I love research and I enjoy doing the work, right now I am at a point where I am feeling that it is not worth it. Right now I am at a point where I'm like… it is okay now, this is not about research anymore. It has got nothing to do with research, it is just about me now. I think I am… maybe I have over-stayed… I think I have over-stayed my welcome, I think I should have just left maybe last year when they started with this, with all the other stories. I am at that cross road, maybe to… to go into business, because right now I have been thinking a lot about maybe to start my own thing because maybe I am not cut out to be working for people. I don't know … I don't have the answers. Maybe I am not cut out to be working for people. I need to start my own business. So I am thinking along those… going back home… and doing farming… my problem is now that I have to deal with him [ex-husband] somehow…(P7 SRE, p39)

This tendency not to commit possibly explains why these researchers typically remain in the organisations despite the psychological contract breach experienced and organisational cynicism they hold towards the organisations. It appears that they somewhat remove themselves emotionally from the organisations. However, they are frustrated by the situation as evidenced by their rejection of leadership control, which tends to, in turn, frustrate the leadership. They remain in the same conditions in the organisations and seem unwilling to change the status quo. Although some of the researchers may change teams within the organisation frequently as they keep trying different research methodologies, the conditions remain unpleasant for them.

> *You know what, that's a very interesting story, like it's a, I've been there for like for three years right. The reason that I actually moved from quantitative research to qualitative was for growth, in all fairness to say okay, maybe if I move from this department to go to the next department something will change. and I got to qualitative department, they like okay, since you started with qual this is your first time doing qual, start on a junior level and you can just work your way up. And then after six months I spoke to my manager and I said okay I think I have done pretty much well, now it's time to, like where's my next move? And he said well I'm just putting a few things together, the budget. You know the usual stories, we need to make you part of the budget and, and, and, okay. So after six months they actually appointed a research executive, some other lady from Cape Town. So she came, was a Research Executive and I told my manager but that's the position that I wanted? And he said, no we are working on yours as you can see with… what do you call that thing? the company structure or the unit structure rather, that okay we are going to have two research executives and all that so you are still in the picture and a year later or a year and a couple of months later we are still fighting about the same thing (P1 JRE, p4).*

FIG 6: SAME POSITION FOR LONGER PERIODS THAN WOULD BE EXPECTED



5.1.3. Promoted to higher level positions

Not surprisingly, those researchers who had been promoted to senior positions experienced the organisations to be fair and attributed the lack of progress of some fellow black colleagues

to their attitude rather than malpractice on the part of the organisations. They experienced the organisational leadership to be supportive and willing to back their careers. These researchers appeared to be trusting of others and predisposed to group dynamics from their family backgrounds. They seemed to understand people dynamics and have high emotional intelligence combined with an attitude to share and serve others. These researchers seem to have agreeable and conscientious personality traits (Kamdar & Van Dyne, 2007; Witt, Burke, Barrick, & Mount, 2002).

According to Kamdar and Van Dyne (2007), individuals who are agreeable tend to be co-operative, flexible, caring and tolerant. They are predisposed to be helpful and trusting and often predict task performance on jobs. Those who are conscientious are dependable, thorough, responsible, organised, and achievement oriented (Witt et al., 2002). These individuals are predisposed to helping others and supervisors (Kamdar & Van Dyne, 2007).

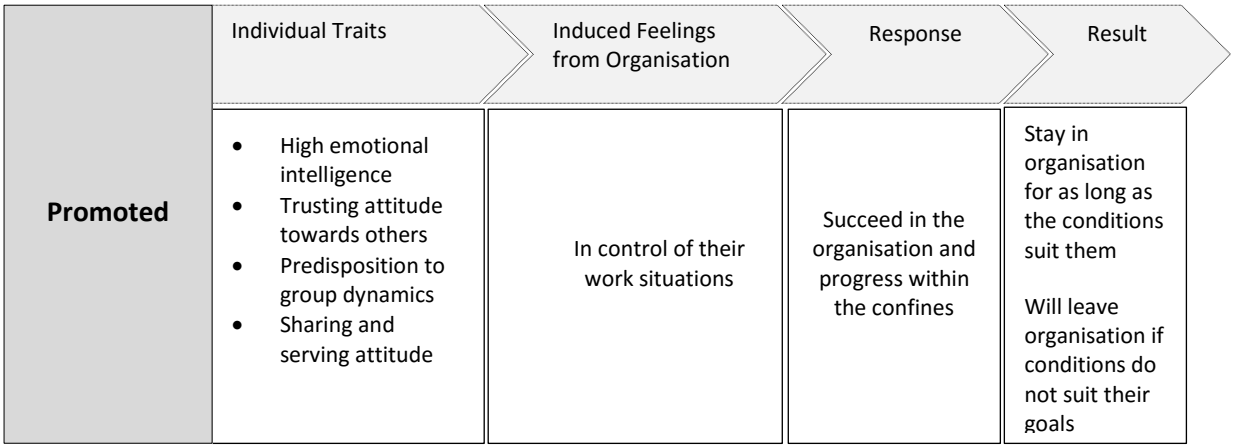
While trying to understand the joint effects of personality and workplace social exchange relationships on task performance, Kamdar and Van Dyne (2007) discovered that employees with high conscientiousness were not affected by social exchange relationships because they are inherently motivated to perform above expectations. Those employees with high agreeableness were more tolerant of annoyances from others and negative interpersonal treatment. Employees with low conscientiousness and agreeableness, on the other hand, were influenced by social exchange relationships. They tended to respond positively to supervisors if the quality of relationship was high, suggesting that strong social exchange relationships had a stronger effect on workplace performance and helpful behaviours in the organisation than personality traits.

However, personality traits may predict if an employee may be involved in organisational retaliatory behaviour or not because of weak social exchange relationships. For instance, while studying personality as a moderator in the relationship between fairness and retaliation, Skarlicki, Folger, and Tesluk (1999) found that individuals with high negative

affectivity tended to retaliate to perceived unfairness while those with high agreeableness did not retaliate under the same conditions.

The black researchers who have been promoted seem to have a combination of the character traits that would enable them to succeed in any environment in which they find themselves. They have an inherent predisposition to give more of themselves than expected, which may explain why they have had the positive experiences and success that they have achieved in these organisations. These character traits have also been associated with happiness, physical and psychological wellbeing (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006) and academic success (Komarraju, Karau, & Schmeck, 2009). These market researchers appear to be in control of their situations and they direct their environments according to their goals. However, this also suggests that they will leave the environment if it does not serve their goals because they are goal driven.

FIG 7: PROMOTED TO HIGHER LEVEL POSITIONS



5.1.4. Enabling individual traits and supportive organisations

A different observation was made in the organisations that were either specialising in emerging research methodologies or emerging markets. These organisations were flexible in their management style and allowed the interests and talents of the employees to shape the direction of the organisation. They also seemed to attract black researchers who have atypical

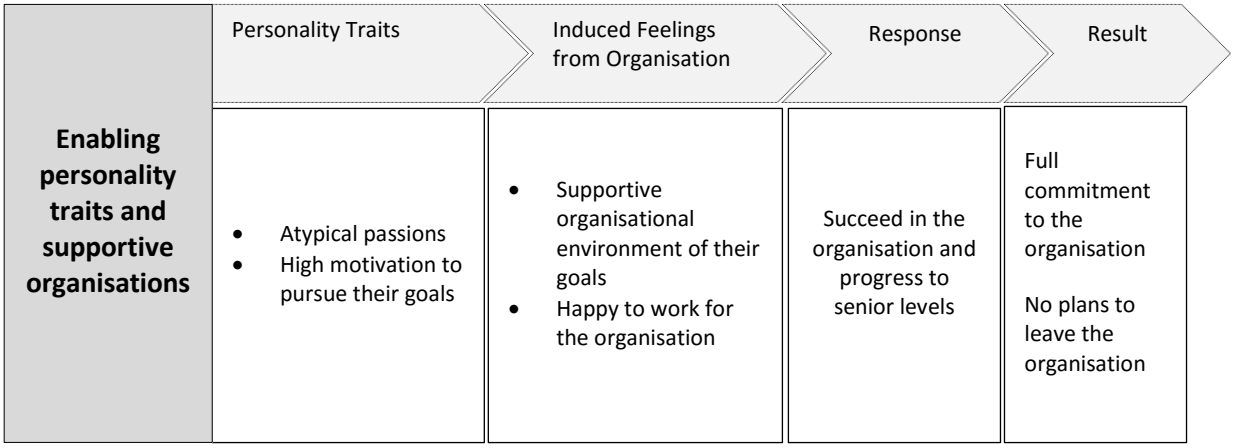
passions and a high motivation to pursue those passions in the organisations. It is possible that the fact that these organisations were founded on the notion of doing the business of market research differently predisposed them to be more embracing of peculiarity. Thus, the management styles are flexible and accommodating. According to Bakker and Schaufeli (2008), these types of organisations are modern in that they focus on managing human capital rather than traditional organisations that focus on management control or managing the jobs that individuals occupy and the economic principles such as the cash flow, cost reduction and efficiency. Managing human capital is particularly beneficial in knowledge based organisations (Lepak & Snell, 2002) such as the market research industry. Knowledge based organisations are those organisations where their core deliverables are dependent on employees using their heads rather than their hands (Lepak & Snell, 2002).

According to Lepak, Takeuchi, and Snell (2003), to encourage participation and long-term commitment, knowledge based organisations are likely to empower employees with decision-making power and discretion on the job (Spreitzer, Sutcliffe, Dutton, Sonenshein, & Grant, 2005). They reward employees for accumulating multiple skills and they protect their human capital by rewarding and reinforcing long-term commitment to the organisation through long-term compensation offers, such as shares in the company (Lepak et al., 2003).

The black market researchers also exhibited positive psychological states and human strengths that seem to have enabled their success (Luthans, 2002). They are passionate, have a unique approach to life and are driven to succeed in their area of passion. The combination between these researchers' traits and the dynamic organisations they worked for seemed to be the magical combination that enabled success (Spreitzer et al., 2005). These organisations have an open and willing culture to create the environments ideal for these researchers to succeed. The researchers are courageous and ambitious enough to create their own opportunities while the environments in the organisations they work for nurture such courage and ambitions. Such a symbiotic combination creates the platform for both the individuals and the organisations to flourish as the researchers personally grow and consequently grow the organisations with them (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008).

This symbiotic organisational phenomenon is new in organisational psychology studies and it is attracting interest because of the focus on positive aspects of organisational behaviour (Lepak & Snell, 2002; Lepak et al., 2003). Psychology has been criticised that it tends to focus more on negative behaviour or pathology than positive behaviour (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008). This organisational phenomenon has been termed positive organisational behaviour (POB) and perceived organisational support (POS). POB is defined as those individual behaviours that are positive and life giving in the organisation. It is concerned with the positive psychological state and human strengths of individuals (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008). POS on the other hand is defined as the positive aspects of the organisational context that influence the thriving of the employee (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008) or the quality of the relationships between the organisation and the employee by assessing the extent to which employees believe that the organisation values their contribution and cares for their general well-being (Masterson, Lewis, Goldman, & Taylor, 2000). Emerging studies in this field suggest that a strong correlation between POS and POB yields reciprocal relationships which result in harmonious and successful organisations (Eisenberger, Armeli, Rexwinkel, Lynch, & Rhoades, 2001; Masterson et al., 2000; Spreitzer et al., 2005).

FIG 8: ENABLING PERSONALITY TRAITS AND SUPPORTIVE ORGANISATIONS

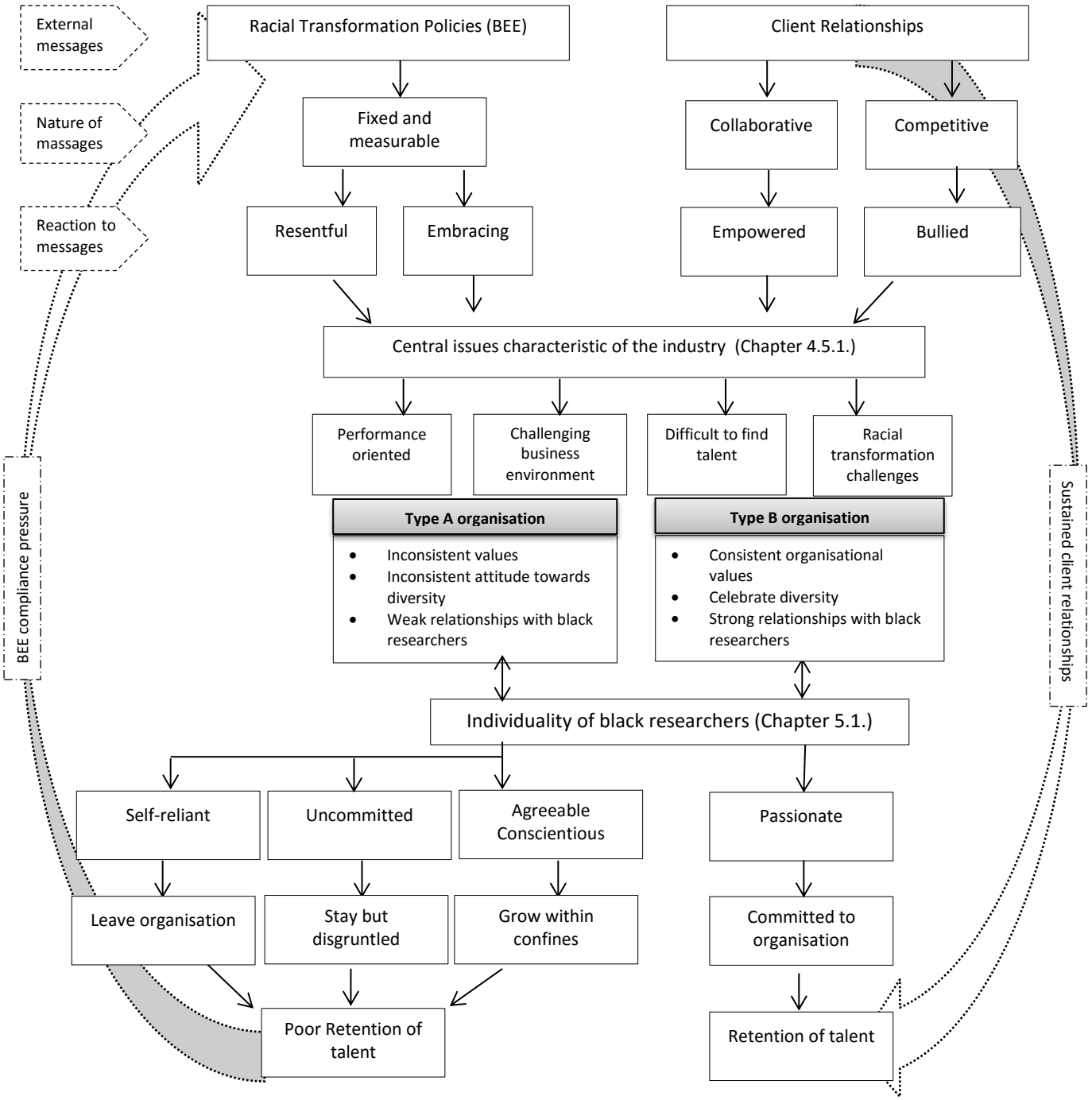


5.2. The interplay between individual identity, organisational identity and racial transformation

This sections aims to identify the elements of individual identity and organisational identity that inspire or stifle transformation efforts in the market research industry. This objective speaks to the main research objective. To arrive to this objective, it was necessary to respond to the sub research objectives and identify the parts separately before they could be understood holistically.

It is the primary objective of this research study to identify and explain the elements in the market research industry that interact to inspire or stifle racial transformation efforts. These are illustrated in the figure below, followed by a discussion of the elements and how they interact with each other.

FIG 9: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN RACIAL TRANSFORMATION, INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY AND ORGANISATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE MARKET RESEARCH INDUSTRY (AUTHOR: SIBONGILE VILAKAZI, 2015)



5.2.1. Racial transformation

Racial transformation is a challenging topic in the South African context, characterised by mostly resisting mind-sets (Friedman, 2014a; Mangcu, 2014b). It appears that some white led organisations do not grasp the spirit of racial transformation and they perceive the policies aimed at promoting racial transformation as forced upon them and thus they resent them (Nkomo, 2011). Consequently, some of them focus on obtaining the correct numbers to be compliant to the policies and look good to policy makers (Nkomo, 2011). However, the relationships within the organisations remain tense with limited racial integration (Nkomo, 2011; Walker, 2005b). This phenomenon was also observed in the market research industry where there was incoherence in the stance on racial transformation. The CEOs were mindful to express politically correct views on the subject. However, one CEO was frank and mentioned the following on the subject:

> *Ja, for me coming from… of course in Europe this is impossible because this is discrimination of white people, come on… it's like that. But taking your history in consideration here in SA, I support that because this is the way compared to other African countries, who did their change or their transformation in a very radical way. You look at Zimbabwe or other countries, I think doing it with BEE legacy, this is really a very intelligent way of really changing a society and changing an economic participation and empowerment by forcing companies to change by having BEE levels as a business application but doing it in a peaceful and the country is peaceful. So taking that and the way I experience SA being here now for a little over a year. I would say the pressure that we as companies get from the government via BEE is on the other side the right way of having this peaceful or this smooth transformation of society that is urgently needed. But BEE for us, it means that we are forced to do something that otherwise we won't do. So if you force a company to do something that they won't do, of course it's limiting our degree of freedom so therefore there's a… it's limiting our possibilities in terms of what we would like to do in terms of hiring the person. I mean if we have the choice between a white and a black person we always take the black person now if they are the same level. So yes, it is a business imperative like I said but there are situations where we say ooh God, why do we have to consider BEE now and of course BEE is also money. Of course, we support small companies and we give donations to social organisations. We may invest into a small black company to help them to grow but of course for us to fit into the scorecard. So there are certain limits where we say we don't have the money now and we have to look at our profitability and we have to grow. We have to look at France, the headquarter France knows about BEE, they are happy that we comply, they are happy that we put it in our strategy but also they ask for profitability and efficiency. So we are coming here to our limits where we say, no we can't now support this activity because we don't have the money at the moment… (CEO2 IAWM, p1-2).*

The HR practitioner articulated her observations on the issue as follows:

> The thing is, now is the time for BEE candidates to find a job and get a job, you know, and the people are paying premiums for that, you know. Whether they are qualified or not,

> whether they can do the job or not they are doing it. Which is also not right because they also don't want to train them up, which is not good because it creates a very foul taste for everybody. And it's not good for the business you are gonna lose money because you are relying on their competence to bring in more business or to get the job done or to make the system process slicker, which they fail to do. But then they are also not training them up because it's costing them a lot of time and effort to train. And sometimes the problem is that somebody that needs to provide the training for the people are sitting non-BEE people and you know… there's tension also between them. Like they do not want sometimes to teach the skills and sometimes they [BEE candidate] do not want to learn because they feel like 'I don't want to learn from this person'. 'No this person is never gonna teach me', you know what I mean. There is always that suspicion and doubt, you know. So it's a bit problematic (P12 HR, p4).

A possible explanation for these attitudes comes from Dolby (2001) as he maintains that whiteness in South Africa is going through an identity crises because of the loss of political and cultural power, while they still hold the economic power gained during the past dispensation. They fear that whiteness is losing control in South Africa, which is expressed through resentment towards black people who seem to be doing well and racial transformation efforts (Stein et al., 2008). Many white people are struggling to reconcile the past with the present (McKinney & Pletzen, 2004).

Thus, racial transformation remains a touchy subject that is, however, not going away in the South African context. Businesses will have to find a way to embrace it, starting by acknowledging that a prosperous South Africa includes equal participation of all its citizens. The longer it takes businesses to embrace racial transformation, the longer the pressure to transform will remain.

5.2.2. The role of clients in the racial transformation process

Clients appear to be held at such high regard in this industry that the organisations are often at the mercy of their clients because they are willing to do as clients dictate. It appears that because of their huge influence, clients could exacerbate the problems of inconsistent values in the industry. For instance, the manner in which clients interact with the research suppliers was also characterised by inconsistencies. In some instances, clients collaborate with the supplier and they treat suppliers reverently while in other instances they compete with them and poach their talented employees.

The instances where clients form partnership relationships with suppliers, the relationships seem to create a positive working environment. These environments encourage suppliers to be confident and they feel empowered to challenge their clients and thus produce valuable insights for the clients' business challenges. On the occasions where there was competition between clients and the research suppliers, clients seemed eager to find faults from suppliers and are known to head hunt the supplier's black talented researchers after the supplier has invested in developing and enhancing the talent. This is largely because suppliers and clients are faced with the same racial transformation requirements and a limited pool to fish from. Clients are said to offer the researchers higher salaries and remuneration that suppliers often cannot compete with. This often leaves suppliers feeling bullied and defensive (CEO1 BAWM, p20).

According to Liljander and Strandvik (1995), the quality of a relationship between a service provider and a customer is based on the commitment and the bonds shared by the service provider and the customer. For Liljander and Strandvik (1995), there are ten identified bonds that may exist between the service provider and the customer. These are described as follows:

Table 7: Types of relationships between a customer and a supplier (Liljander & Strandvik, 1995)

#	Bond	Description
1.	Legal bond	This bond is contract based, where both parties have signed legally binding contracts
2.	Economic bond	This is based on affordability or pricing that is within the customer budget
3.	Geographical bond	This is based on the distance between the customer and the service provider, where the customer is forced to use the service provider because of locality
4.	Time bond	This is based on the service provider having suitable business hours or flexible appointment systems
5.	Technological bond	This is where a specific brand requires the use of a specific dealer for maintenance and repairs
6.	Social bond	This is where the customer and the service personnel know each other very well. The bond is based on mutual trust and it is easy to communicate
7.	Knowledge bond	This bond is established based on history where the service provider has known the customer for a long time and can thus better service the customer because of the intimate knowledge

8.	Cultural bond	Here customers may identify themselves with the subculture of the service provider, such as language and relate to each other on those basis
9.	Ideological bond	Here the customer may be inclined to prefer certain service providers because of certain personal values (e.g. Green products or products that are not harmful to nature)
10.	Psychological bond	This is where the customer is convinced of the superiority of a certain service provider or the brand image

Liljander and Strandvik (1995) are of the view that the strength of these bonds and commitment of the customer may create one of the following relations:

1. valued relations, where the relationship between the service provider and the customer is based on interdependence and mutual commitment to keeping the relationship alive or
2. indifferent relations, where the customer may use the services of the service provider out of habit but believe that there is no additional value added by the service provider, or
3. forced relations where the customer would like to end the relationship with the service provider but due to certain bonds, such as legal bonds, they are forced to continue using the services.

These kinds of relationships seem to manifest in the market research industry where they fluctuate from valued relations to indifferent relations to forced relations, depending on the client and the circumstances.

Since the very existence of research suppliers appears to be to serve clients, it is understandable that the quality of relationships between the leadership of the organisation and the clients would have reverberating effects throughout the organisation and thus affect the quality of relationships between the leadership and the researchers. An empowering client and supplier relationship creates an environment for an empowering leadership and researcher relationship, while a defensive client and supplier relationship creates an environment for a defensive leadership and researcher relationship.

It is critical therefore, that research suppliers invest in valued relations with their clients that are based on mutual trust and mutual commitment to making the relationships work. These kinds of relationships have the potential to be empowering for both parties and thus create empowering work environments for all involved. This is especially important because the kinds of relationships enjoyed by researcher suppliers with their clients seem to have implications for the identity of the organisations and the industry at large

5.2.3. The interface between the organisational values and the racial dynamics

The market research industry is made up of various organisations that are each run as separate and independent entities. What was common across the organisations studied was the reason for the existence of these organisations and the industry. The industry seems to exist for executing research methodologies in the service of clients and to successfully find solutions to clients' business challenges. Clients refer to any business entity that is willing to allocate a budget for the purposes of conducting market research. All the organisations observed were SAMRA members and they all upheld the SAMRA codes of research practice.

Although the SAMRA codes of research practice could easily fall in the realm of industry values, they are not values but standards of good practice for the industry. According to Pendleton and King (2002), the difference between values and standards of good practice is that standards of good practice provide guidance in what is good and acceptable and these may vary from time to time, while values are constant and provide guidance in what is important. Therefore, while all the organisations were consistent in adhering to the standards of good practice governing the industry, there was a pattern of inconsistency in the organisational values upheld within each of the organisations. Each organisation reflected a dominant value system, mostly advocated by the leader based largely on what seemed to be important to the leader.

This tendency for the leadership to influence organisational values was not surprising considering that a number of studies have shown the interconnectedness between leadership

values and organisational values (Pendleton & King, 2002; Rivera, 2015; Van Knippenberg & Van Leeuwen, 2001) and the role of leadership in influencing and driving organisational values and organisational culture (Erickson et al., 2015; Gold, 2003; Wright, Ferris, Hiller, & Kroll, 1995). These observations influenced the decision to interview CEOs in this study on behalf of the organisations they lead.

According to Pendleton and King (2002), having clear organisational values and adhering to them is critical to the stability of the organisation. The following is what they had to say about the importance of having clear values:

> "*Values are deeply held views that act as guiding principles for individuals and organisations. When they are declared and followed they are the basis of trust. When they are left unstated they are inferred from observable behaviour. When they are stated and not followed trust is broken" (pg. 1352).*

This suggests that clearly articulated and lived organisational values may contribute towards stronger relationships between employees and the leadership of the organisation because of the trust that they inculcate. However, a pattern of competing values was observed in the organisations in the current study. For instance, the organisations moved from honesty and integrity in one instance and manipulation in another instance. Transparency was observed in one instance and insecurity in another, harmony in one instance and competition in another.

These competing values manifested themselves in different contexts in each organisation where each value was either dominant in one organisation or dimmed in another organisation, yet some semblances of it were still present. In essence, there was indecisiveness in what the organisations, individually and collectively, considered to be important over and above being research methodology specialists and client service experts. With that said, the organisations specialising in emerging markets and emerging methodologies seemed to formulate their core values around being flexible enough to promptly respond to changing environmental needs and innovative thinking. This flexibility

seemed to be characteristic of how the organisation conducted itself, including the employee management style in the organisations.

The pattern of competing values observed amongst these organisations is concerning because organisational values have been shown to play a significant role in shaping the organisational culture or behaviours in the organisation that are considered acceptable or not acceptable within the organisation (E. Martins & Terblanche, 2003; Myhre, 2014; Wallace, Hunt, & Richards, 1999). Organisational culture has been considered to be a series of shared multifaceted organisational values and beliefs that shape how the organisation conducts its business (Bhasin, 2015; Wallace et al., 1999).

Based on the indecisiveness regarding the organisational values and what has been shown to be the significance of values in guiding organisational behaviour, it is not surprising that this hesitant pattern was further observed in the meaning attached to experiences with different race groups and how emerging race related tensions were handled in the organisations in this study. Some organisations expressed a denial attitude towards race differences, where they claimed that all the researchers in the organisation were the same and insisted that they treated all researchers the same regardless of their race (CEO1 BAWM, p22).

Studies on child development have shown, for instance, that each individual child is unique in how they develop and mature and therefore it is advisable for parents and educators to not treat individual children the same but to pay special attention to each child's developmental needs (Granger & Kivlighan, 2003; Pajares & Schunk, 2001; Rothbart, 1981; Ulrich, 2000; Yuen, 2015). If individual children cannot be treated the same due to their individuality, it is possible that the same logic can be deduced to the various South African race groups because of the cultural differences that each one brings into the workplace. Based on the cultural beliefs and practices of each race group and the South African history of segregation, which emphasised separate development, it is plausible that there will be race related differences amongst the researchers, coupled with individual differences within the race groups as a

result of individuality. Refusal to recognise the differences amongst the race groups and individuals within the race groups may be due to political correctness or denialism.

The black owned and managed (BOM) organisation however, seemed to be cognisant of the differences brought into the organisation by each race group and they celebrated the different qualities and the value they added in the organisation. The CEO also highlighted that he demanded tolerance and integration from all his employees and those who could not live up to the demand stood a chance of being asked to leave the organisation (CEO3 BOM, p12).

Furthermore, the attitudes towards new black researchers and how they are initiated into the organisations and industry were incoherent. On the one hand, there was an admission that the industry environment is difficult, even for the most experienced researchers, because of the demanding nature of the work produced. However, there were limited initiatives aimed at assisting new entrants with the process of adapting to the industry. In the one organisation where an initiative was in place to orient new entrants into the organisation and the market research environment, the initiative was rigged with insinuations that black researchers needed assistance, more than their counterparts did because they needed to adopt certain behavioural habits that they did not have, such as assertiveness and self-confidence (CEO2 IAWM, p5). This suggests a possible intolerance for difference and an expectation to assimilate into the dominant culture because these expectations may be culturally specific and relevant for the dominant white organisational members. These kinds of expectations have been referred to as assimilation in studies addressing power dynamics, where the group with lesser power is expected to adopt the norms and values of the more powerful group in order to enjoy similar benefits as the powerful group (Bielefeld, 2015; Healy, Campbell, & Campbell, 2015; Tayob, 2015).

It appears the programs were designed and geared towards imparting the organisationally acceptable kinds of habits and ‘personality’ traits to the new entrants while those they came with into the organisation were problematised. The black researchers were labelled as “shy

and will not aggressively raise their hand to lead projects" (CEO2 IAWM, P14). These behaviours were not evaluated to understand why they were common amongst the black researchers in particular, what they meant culturally and how they could be integrated into the ways of doing business in the organisation. Instead, there was a general assumption that the behaviours exhibited by the black researchers were due to their disadvantaged backgrounds and coming from poor parts of the country.

> *I think so. It is probably due to their history. Most young graduates today they still have their parents or at least their grandparents coming from poor parts of the country, coming from rural areas. ### here my colleague as a managing director, she's black and she has 11 or 12 sisters and brothers, she comes from a very poor rural area, she also said to me she's kind of 40 years old so, she needed years to feel that she could compete against her white colleagues. She was with *** and she said they had a very good training programme for young people and no difference between black or white. So she appreciated that but she says it took her years before she was confident enough to say I am a stayer. Because she came from not necessarily a poor… non-educated background, it takes people a while to feel mature enough and to feel secure enough to take this empowerment and to fulfil the role and I see this a lot with the young women (CEO2 IAWM, p3).*

The quality of relationships that exist between the black market researchers and the organisations they work for suggests that the incoherent commitment to core values and inconsistent behaviours in the organisations may be creating an environment that is subjective and difficult to predict by all those involved. There was mostly organisational cynicism expressed by the black researchers in some of the organisations (P1 JRE, p4). Such an environment does not create fertile ground for authentic racial integration and transformation.

Predictability has been observed to be critical to building trust (Ratnasingam, 2005) and trust has been found to be the foundational element for any healthy relationship because it increases communication openness and sharing of information (Aryee, Budhwar, & Chen, 2002; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995; Ratnasingam, 2005). According to Ratnasingam (2005), individuals choose to whom to give their trust. This choice is a cognitive decision based on past behaviour such as reliability and dependability of the other. As soon as reliability and dependability needs are met, predictability trust is formed, where sufficient knowledge about the other individual enables one individual to predict the other individual's future behaviour

(Ratnasingam, 2005). Thus, a sequence of positive behaviours create familiarity, which lead to conclusions that one is reliable, dependable, predictable and therefore trustworthy (Ratnasingam, 2005).

Unfortunately, some of the organisations do not seem to be meeting the standards of trustworthiness in the black researcher's eyes. For instance, compliance to the BB-BEE code of conduct has been another challenge for the organisations. Such a regulation has the potential to assist the organisations to achieve the state of racial integration that could be beneficial to both the country and the organisations. Yet, this legislation has also been approached with the persistent sense of hesitation. While all the organisations see the potential benefits inherent to the legislation, they are hesitant in how quickly they should comply with it and to what degree. Those who can delay the compliance without getting into trouble with the law seem to have delayed it. They have explored avenues that will help them to get closer to compliance without rocking the boat too much since the law permits them not to comply because the company size. Such avenues included participation in community development or corporate responsibility projects.

> It's definitely something that in terms of our strategy is at the back of our minds, actually front of our minds at the moment. Because this is the last year that we will be exempt because we've grown quite a bit. And our fiscal year ends February 2013 and then from that year going forward we won't be exempt. What we've started doing is, well we've always donated quite a bit of our money to star fish foundation and a couple of charitable things, which are easy, not easy but it's all part of what we do. We also are doing a project right now with the black entrepreneurs' forum. We are doing that free of charge for them and hopefully, ag well, I've got a bit of a soft spot for entrepreneurs right now because you know we understand… so those are the types of things that for now we can do. Like I said we didn't want it to be artificial. That is genuine but it sounds so cliché (CEO4 EWOM, p5).

The pervasive argument has been that it is challenging to find talent with the required skills. Especially talent that is willing to stay in the industry, which makes it difficult to retain and grow black talent.

> Bottom line is, when you look at the candidates, it is difficult to recruit a supervisory or middle management level, you know. That has been the trend no matter where you go. I have worked at different companies before. Totally different… Industries like, mining and engineering companies. Now this is a research company. My experience is it is always hard to find those kinds of people. It could be because…, especially in the mining as well. We could not find people at technical fields especially. Like, black people, it's not that easy to come by. There are a lot of white people that you would get at a technical field but not that

> many black people. The black people that could be found easily is in an IT field. That is about it. But it has always been a challenge. And they are there but it's very far in between. We are not getting them quickly. If you know what I am saying. The bottom line is that whenever you are getting those kinds of people, they are coming in with a premium as well. You know… because every company that you know, they have to have their BEE status up and running (P12 HR, p1).

While most of the organisations have been swift to point out all the challenges that are making it difficult for them to be compliant to the BEE legislation, one traditional organisation has been particularly committed to getting around the challenges and putting solutions in place to fast track their BEE compliance. This organisation has demonstrated that the commonly stated challenges could be overcome by an enabling attitude and commitment to abide by the legislation.

Therefore, it appears that the biggest barrier to racial transformation in the market research industry may be the uncommitted attitude towards racial integration, aggravated by the pattern of inconsistency and minimal commitment to what the industry stands for from a values perspective. There is a clear commitment to research methodology rigour and client service. There are huge expectations from the organisations' leadership that the researchers be rigorous in how they practice research and be dedicated to servicing and surpassing their clients' expectations. However, there are inconsistences in how the organisations reciprocate and nurture the researchers to enable them to excel in executing the research rigour and optimal client service. It appears that unless the researchers are inherently geared, and intrinsically motivated to succeed in these organisations, they do not cope well because there is little incentive from the organisations to motivate success.

5.2.4. Organisational identity

As discussed in the literature review chapter, organisational identity has been described as the dynamic combination of organisational culture and organisational image (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). It has been illustrated that organisational culture is deeply loaded in meaning, values and assumptions that are commonly understood in the organisation without being communicated (E. Martins & Terblanche, 2003; N. Martins & Naidoo, 2014). While

organisational image is understood to be the feedback received from external parties about how the organisation comes across externally (Dennis A Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton, & Corley, 2013; Dennis A Gioia et al., 2000).

According to Fiol (2001), organisations reflect on the external messages to evaluate if they are consistent with the organisational view by drawing from the organisation's values, assumptions and beliefs to interpret the external messages. In cases where there is a disconnect, organisations may either try to influence the external parties to view the organisation as the organisation views itself through deliberate communication campaigns or the organisation may attempt to adjust itself internally in order to be consistent with the view from external parties (Dennis A Gioia et al., 2000). Organisational identity is developed during this process of receiving external feedback, interpreting the feedback and adjusting to be congruent to the feedback (Fiol, 2001; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006)

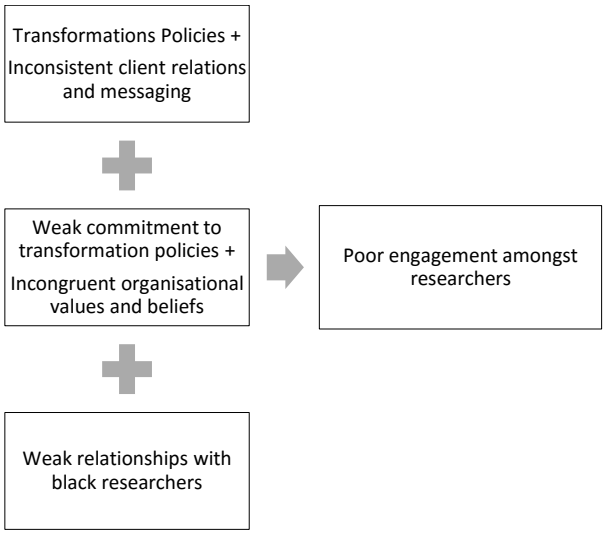
In the case of the market research industry, the feedback from external parties largely comes from policy makers and clients. There are racial transformation expectations from policy makers, such as the compliance to the BEE policy. This is a consistent and measurable policy applicable to all South African organisations. However, the client feedback is often inconsistent as some relationships with clients are positive and empowering while other relationships are competitive and research suppliers are left feeling exploited and bullied. It has been illustrated that the culture of most of the organisations is made up of values and behaviours that are inconsistent and unpredictable.

There seems to be hesitation in how to confront race relations in the organisations. As a result, the organisations respond to the BEE compliance superficially with limited commitment to effective implementation. This means that the organisations use an unstable organisational culture to interpret the external messages. The external messages may also be unstable as seen from negative client relationships. The organisations respond incoherently to the external messages without grounding in the organisational culture and send out mixed

messages internally and externally to stakeholders, thus continuing the cycle of negative feedback. The organisational identity for organisations in this industry appears to be incoherent and in distress.

This is what Hatch and Schultz (2002) considered to be hyper adaptation, which is a dysfunctional organisational identity developed as a result of a weak organisational culture. According to Hatch and Schultz (2002), hyper adaptation occurs when the organisation reacts to external messaging with responses that are presumed to be expected by the external parties without basing them on cultural beliefs and values such that the organisation loses its grounding on culture. The unpredictable atmosphere in the market research organisations could explain why some of the black researchers find it difficult to project any growth prospects in the organisations and rather opt to leave as soon as a worthwhile opportunity arises.

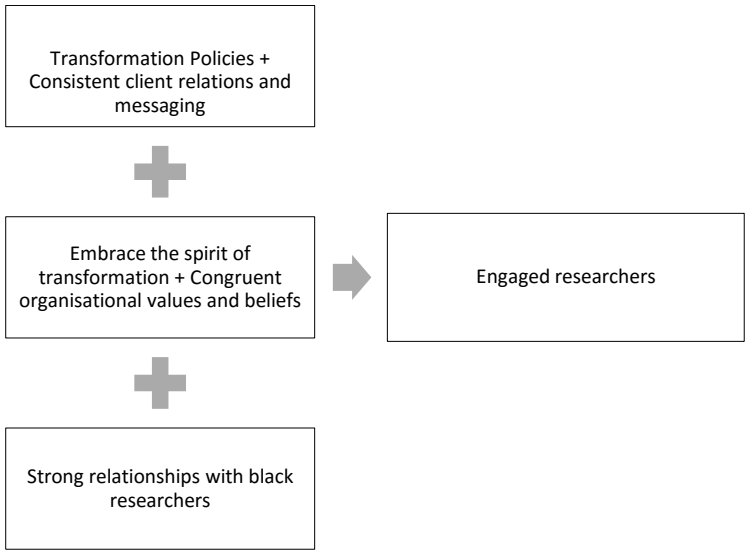
FIG10: NEGATIVE ORGANISATIONAL IDENTITY AND THEIR OUTCOMES



It has also been illustrated that the organisations specialising in alternative research methodologies and markets within the market research industry seem to be doing business differently and they reflect the opposite of what is discussed above. They seem to enjoy positive and mutually respectful relationships with their clients. In cases where they came across unpleasant clients they screened them so as to not get too emotionally involved with them to be affected by their negative attitude. These organisations tended to have a clear

sense of what they stand for as an organisation and they created an atmosphere for their ambitious employees to positively contribute and thrive in the organisations. As a result, these researchers have grown within the ranks of these organisations and they expressed the desire to stay and contribute towards further building the organisations. The following diagram reflect these organisations:

FIG11: POSITIVE ORGANISATIONAL IDENTITY AND THEIR OUTCOMES



It appears that by and large the organisations could have control over their organisational identity because they can choose how to respond to external messages and they have control over the culture of their organisations.

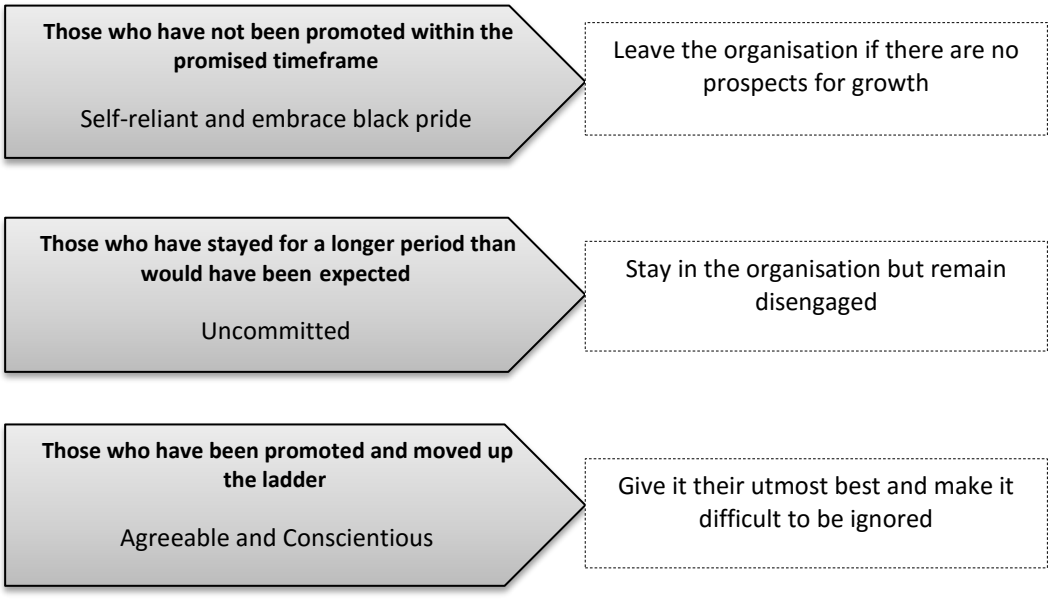
5.2.5. Individual identity

Individual identity is defined in simple terms as the set of beliefs that enable one to respond to the question "who am I?". These beliefs are integrated from family environment, culture and the society from which an individual comes. Thus, an individual needs to first respond to the questions "where do I belong?" and "what do I have to work with?" before they can answer "who am I?". It has been illustrated in this report that the state of the research industry stands on shaky grounds at the moment because of the changing client needs and expectations from research. This has opened up opportunities for research organisations who specialise in alternative research methodologies or insight into alternative markets to emerge. These organisations seem to have a different approach to running the organisations.

It appears that they attract and recruit the types of researchers who are also atypical in terms of their approach to life and work. The combination of these atypical research organisations with the atypical market researchers seems to be effective. The researchers are positive about the organisational identities of these organisations, they have been promoted and grown in the organisations and they are planning to stay and contribute towards the growth of the companies.

However, the focal point for this study was on those organisations that are associated with the research industry because of their prominence in the industry. In these organisations, there were three types of black market researchers found. They are those who are self-reliant and embrace black pride (*have not been promoted within the promised timeframe*), those who find it difficult to commit to their passions (*have stayed for longer period than would have been expected*) and those who are agreeable and conscientious (*have been promoted and moved up the ladder*). The general quality of relationships between the organisations and the researchers has been found to be weak. Each type of these market researchers have experienced, reacted and responded to these weak relationships in ways consistent to their sense of self. These researchers respond in one of the following ways: they either leave the organisations within a short period of time or they stay in the organisation but remain disengaged or they give it their utmost best and make it difficult to be ignored but to be rewarded for their outstanding conduct and hard work (see Chapter 5.1).

FIG 12: INDIVIDUAL TRAITS AND THEIR REACTION TO THE ORGANISATIONS



This framework for understanding the interplay between racial transformation, individual identity and organisational identity in the market research industry suggests that the barriers to racial transformation in the market research industry could be overcome because they consist of dynamics that are largely within the control of the organisations. A strong organisational identity could mitigate some of the issues as seen in the organisations specialising in alternative research methodologies and markets. The black market researchers have very little power in the organisations they work for to alter the situations. The only real power they have is the power to respond to the situations presented in these organisations and they seem to exercise that power to the disadvantage of the organisations. The only losers if the status quo remains are the research organisations and the clients they serve because they both need to build successful businesses and maintaining a diverse workforce is central to that success.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter outlines how the research study has contributed to knowledge. This involves the theoretical, empirical and practical contributions of the study. Then practical recommendations based on the findings are shared by looking at the implications for the individual researchers and the organisations specifically. Subsequently, the recommendations for future research are discussed and the report is concluded with some concluding remarks.

6.1. Contribution to knowledge

The study began with an observation by the author and a hunch that something was amiss with the state of racial transformation in the market research industry. Literature review to speak to the author's curiosity was insufficient and limited in answering the questions that the author had in mind. In fact, there was minimal literature in the subject with regards to the market research industry. This is when a gap in knowledge was identified and this study was proposed. The intention for the study was to contribute theoretically, empirically and practically to knowledge. Below is a discussion of the identified theoretical, empirical and practical contributions.

6.1.1. Theoretical contributions

The study intended to contribute theoretically on the following questions (See Chapter 1).

1. What individual traits that enable some black market researchers to advance to senior level positions in the market research industry versus the individual traits of those who remain in junior positions for numerous years without acting to change their situations?
2. Considering that the nature of the market research industry is such that the skills required to advance to senior levels are learned on the job, what are the norms, values and behaviours of the market research organisations that breed the inconsistencies in the advancement of certain black researchers over others?

A phenomenological research methodology was implemented, which enabled the research participants to narrate their lived experiences. As a result, the conclusions from the research have come from the ground up because there were no expectations or hypotheses made at the beginning of the study in terms of possible research outcomes. The research participants and their lived experiences have directed the research process. Literature was subsequently used to substantiate the conclusions from the research.

This study has contributed in providing answers to these theoretical questions by highlighting firstly that the black researchers are not an homogenous group but individuals coming from various family circumstances and backgrounds. Contrary to some beliefs in the industry that many of them are previously disadvantaged, it was found that a number of the researchers come from stable middle class homes. They were all exposed to the same educational opportunities as their white counterparts. What they all have in common in terms of traits is the ability to be adaptable in different environments and the determination to succeed when faced with opposing situations. These qualities put them at an advantage in any circumstance in which they find themselves.

Where these researchers were unique was in their temperaments and goal directedness. In relation to this, there were three groups identified. One was a group of those researchers who wanted their black culture and way of being recognised and would not compromise on that. These individuals tended to be confident and self-reliant that they would not waste time in the organisations if they were dissatisfied. They moved on quite quickly. The second group was those researchers who were uncertain about their future and therefore could not commit to any immediate actions to advance future goals. These researchers tended to be double-minded as they had external interests that were separate from their research jobs that also kept them occupied. These individuals remained in the same junior positions for more years without apparent actions to change their situations. The third group was those researchers who were emotionally matured and used this maturity to their advantage. They are agreeable and conscientious, which makes them easy to get along with anyone in any situation. These few researchers advanced to senior positions in the market research industry.

Based on the organisations studied, it was found that the market research industry is a rather challenging industry to operate in because of the direct and personal nature of the relationships with clients. The success of an organisation is highly dependent on close bonds with clients to bring repeat business. It is also not a lucrative industry in terms of profit margins. The business conditions have been changing with clients demanding progressive research methodologies and to identify and understand new markets to expand into and thus grow market share. All these variables make the research supplier environment extremely stressful. In dealing with the stressful and changing environment, the organisations either lost themselves from a values perspective or hung on tightly to the values and beliefs that had originally grounded them, such that there were inconsistencies in the values that guided the organisations in relations to the changing environmental needs. The difficulties with having consistent organisational values that were applied consistently in the organisations created an atmosphere where trust between employees and the leadership were broken. Most of the black employees felt exploited and depending on their individual identity traits, they reached various conclusions and actions because of those feelings.

The organisations that were at an advantage are those that are atypical to the dominant research organisations with characteristics such as being new in the research scene or those that have differentiated themselves as specialising in emerging markets, because they were in positions to align their values and beliefs to the current business climate and client needs, while the research organisations traditionally associated with the industry were still grappling with the changes and trying to transform themselves to appeal to the changing business climate. Since the organisational values of these atypical organisations appear to be predictable to employees, they create a stable environment in the organisations and the employees feel supported to be themselves and to advance their careers in the organisation.

Based on these findings, a framework for understanding the barriers and enablers for racial transformation at senior level in the market research industry has been developed. Such a framework is a theoretical contribution to the diversity management literature as it provides a base from where to start when faced with questions of managing a diverse group of

employees in a changing business environment. This framework should be verified on wider audiences to determine its generalisability. The current study was limited specifically to the market research industry with the industry's unique dynamics and challenges. Future research could explore different contexts to test the applicability of this framework.

6.1.2. Empirical contributions

The study attempted to give a voice to a marginalised group of individuals by giving them the platform to tell their stories and share who they consider themselves to be. Erikson (1959)'s developmental approach to identity development influenced how the study went about identifying the sense of individual identity of the target audience.

Identity studies in the organisational management discipline have been criticised for often focusing on identity as a category of practice and the reification of the identity instead of challenging the existence of that identity (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). This is, for instance, when a certain professional identity has been assumed to exist and questions asked about the assumed identity rather than first establishing if indeed the professional identity existed in the first place. Identity as a category of practice refers to the lay understanding of self and how people make sense of themselves (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). This study has contributed to organisational management literature by focusing on identity as a category of analysis where it first established whether an identity existed and what the nature of that identity was before proceeding with the analysis. Informants were asked to share stories of significant moments in their life history and a sense of who they are and what influences their decision-making processes was deduced from those stories and life events.

Erikson (1959) is criticised for having developed a comprehensive identity development framework that is difficult to replicate because it was developed based on clinical observations rather than empirical data (Waterman, 1982). Studies applying this developmental approach to identity have been criticised for relying too much on university students as informants and for not applying longitudinal methodologies to monitor the

developmental stages over time (Waterman, 1982). This study has contributed to the literature by combining a developmental approach to identity development with narrative identity research. Narrative identity research is when individuals tell their story and construct an active identity to make sense of their lives (Singer, 2004). Individuals look back to their life history and draw from memory, those moments that were significant to them to explain how their lives have progressed in a meaningful way to the point in life where they are (McLean, 2005). This approach eliminated the need for a longitudinal observation and it was compatible with the phenomenology research approach, which emphasises the informants' lived experiences to give them a voice.

This study has supplemented the empirical observations to the organisational identity field, which is still a growing field. Hatch and Schultz (2002)'s organisational identity framework has been found to be relevant to the context of this study and effective as a guide to uncover the transformation issues desired. This framework has enabled the analysis of the issues and to identify role players who are either hindering or promoting racial transformation in the market research industry. This study has produced empirical data that is in line with the conclusions by Hatch et al. (2015) that the role of the leader in organisational change management is crucial and the significant role of organisational culture in giving meaning to organisational identity. Organisational leaders who may have harboured resentment towards the racial transformation requirements did not seem to drive a coherent racial integration or diversity programme in the organisations. Consequently, racial tensions continued to thrive in those organisations. Additionally, organisations with a fragile cultural grounding responded poorly to organisational images and thus produced a dysfunctional organisational identity.

The study has also produced empirical evidence that is in line with Nag et al. (2007)'s findings that power does not only reside with organisational leaders. Employees exercise power of knowledge and practice in how they perform their daily work. They may choose to exercise their power in support of organisational goals or against them. Thus, leaders need to understand this power and work with it when they introduce organisational change.

6.1.3. Practical contributions

Racial transformation has been a practical challenge for the market research industry that all the CEOs cited (see Chapter 4.5.1.4). It is also a practical challenge for South Africa as a whole. One of the challenges for the market research industry specifically, was that there was limited empirical data to help with the understanding of the issues. Consequently, there were a number of assumptions made. Many of these assumptions reflected the power dynamics because they were carrying the voices of the leadership while the researchers were mute.

This study sought to bring both sides of the story to the fore to highlight some of the material issues behind the challenges. The voices of black researchers in particular were sought out to bring them to light. The focus on identity, both individual and organisational identity made this attempt possible. Therefore, one of the practical contributions of this study is the inclusion of a voice that was often silent in this industry. Consequently, some assumptions have been disproved.

One of the widely held assumptions in the industry was that black researchers come from previously disadvantaged backgrounds. This study has provided empirical data, which show that black professionals are not disadvantaged in a work setting per se because of the opportunities of higher learning to which they have been exposed, which many white counterparts would have also been exposed to. In a professional environment, black and white South Africans are on an equal footing and should therefore relate as such. Both may be advantaged in different ways such as whites being familiar to the business cultural norms as they are often modelled around white culture and black individuals may be advantaged from a learned adaptability perspective as they are familiar with adapting to various social settings and their resilience that has lifted them out of often-undesirable backgrounds. In essence, each group may be advantaged differently and this calls for the need to embrace the diversity and learn from it, rather than assuming power relationships that place one above the other.

Another assumption commonly held in the industry is that black researchers leave the organisations to work for clients because of the higher salaries and more relaxed working hours that clients offer them. This study has shown that the main reason black researchers leave is because of the feelings of being invisible and unrecognised that they experience in the organisations that encourage them to leave. A higher salary may be a form of incentive that makes the researchers feel recognised for their skills rather than the main incentive that lures them. The main incentive is a feeling of recognition and progress, which is not provided for in these organisations. Hence the organisations cannot seem to keep black talent engaged and committed to the organisations.

This study has illustrated the role played by each key party in the challenge of transformation that has often been seen as an insurmountable challenge in the industry. Understanding the role that each party plays could empower each party to seek the tools needed to change the potentially negative role they may be playing and thus contribute to the overcoming of the challenge. For instance, the choice whether to embrace or resent racial transformation policies is in the control of the organisations and running an effective business with clear values and boundaries is in their control as well. These could go a long way in averting some of the tensions experienced between employers and employees.

This study has shown that a strong organisational identity has the potential to enable organisational integration if it is well developed and sensitive to the changing environments within which businesses operate. The framework developed could serve as a starting point to a practical guide to building a racially transformed organisation.

6.2. Recommendations and implications for future research

Racial integration is a South African ideal and racial transformation is a business imperative for all South African organisations. Therefore, the sooner that all organisations embrace it, the better it will be for everyone in the country. This study has shown that while some organisations have embraced racial transformation, others have not. Some organisations resent the idea that they are forced into the idea of transformation, but they would rather be politically correct about it. This strategy has not always worked because the tensions in the organisations do not seem to be beneficial to either party involved. Below are the practical recommendations for how the individuals and the organisations could contribute to solving the challenge of racial transformation in organisations.

6.2.1. Implications for individuals

The study has shown that the individual researchers come from admirable backgrounds and they have a lot to be proud of, based on their achievements. They need to hold their heads up high. They may consider the following actions to potentially improve their experiences in the market research industry:

- There is a sense of anger and mistrust projected by some of the black researchers towards their white colleagues. This anger and mistrust may possibly cause an overreaction to situations. There might be value in having the anger and mistrust in check for the benefit of positive relations.
- The conscientious and agreeable black researchers could benefit from borrowing some of the cynicism displayed by the other categories of researchers in order to avoid being potentially manipulated into situations that appear favourable but may not always be in their best interest.
- If the conditions in the organisations remain as they have been presented by the researchers, leaving the organisations may be the healthiest decision for the black researchers to make. Such weak relations may not be tolerated. They could all learn from the self-reliant black researchers and leave the organisations.

6.2.2. Implications for the organisations

Racial transformation in South African businesses is a reality that needs to be accepted by all. The study has shown that diversity management training might be beneficial for all the organisations to learn how to celebrate diversity and benefit from it as a business. The following additional actions may be beneficial to the organisations:

- BEE and employment equity compliance should be viewed as an investment rather than a business cost because it costs the businesses more in the long run if they do not fully embrace the spirit of BEE and employment equity.
- Employee integration (racial mixing and research environment integration) should form part of the organisational recruitment and on-boarding strategy, driven by the leadership. It cannot be left to chance.
- Recognition that the black researchers are not as disadvantaged as they may have been believed. Black researchers are advantaged with adaptability and determination values. They have the ability to adapt and succeed in situations of their strategic intent. This could be leveraged as strength in the organisations.
- The research organisations could invest in building strong social exchange relationships with their black employees to give them potential leverage in retaining black researchers in the organisations. Giving control to the researchers and managing talent rather than organisational positions might be the first place to start.
- The organisational values, policies and procedures should be communicated clearly and consistently to all employees. These must consistently guide behaviour and boundaries in the organisations.
- The market research organisations could invest in building valued relationships with their clients, relationships that are collaborative in nature and thus empowering for the organisations.

6.2.3. Implications for future research

The data for this study was collected at organisational level with the intention to show industry specific trends and behaviours. This posed challenges in some instances because of organisation specific issues that could not be inferred to the entire industry. Some

organisations appeared to possess some valuable lessons that the entire industry would benefit from if the study had focused solely on those organisations as case studies. Future research may consider using case study methodologies to uncover those specific nuances. Case study methodologies would also allow the research audience to include all the demographic profiles of the employees, including white researchers, and gather the various opinions and experiences in detail. This would provide a holistic view of the issues in the organisations that could then be shown as examples to either replicate or avoid by others.

This study was also explorative in nature, which limits the findings and conclusions to the specific cases that were observed. In order to increase the generalisability of these findings, future research should apply quantitative research methodologies. This will enable the ability to observe the extent to which these findings are applicable to the general population.

Yet, the framework for understanding the interplay between transformation, individual identity and organisational identity may be useful as a starting point to understanding these issues. This framework could be validated in the industry and potentially extended to other industries to explore how widely it could explain racial transformation issues in various contexts.

6.3. Concluding remarks

The intention of this study was to explore the interplay between individual identity and organisational identity in transformation efforts in the market research industry. An observation had been made that, like most South African industries, the market research industry was having challenges with racial transformation, particularly at senior level positions. What was unique about the market research industry that elevated interest, is the fact that individuals learn the necessary skills on the job and grow up the ranks based on their mastery of the required skills to move from one level to another.

It was intriguing that a certain group of individuals, specifically white individuals, seemed to be able to learn those skills judging by the rate of their progress, while by implication black individuals did not learn those skills since many of them did not progress as frequently as their white counterparts. Thus, a question was asked about the individual traits of the black researchers that made it difficult for them to progress and the nature of the market research industry that made it difficult for black researchers to progress, especially because there were those few individual black researchers who did progress and occupied senior positions.

These questions were exploratory in nature and the author made ontological assumptions that reality is made up of rules that are decided upon or created by individuals within a group. In order to understand this reality, one needed to understand the context in which it is created. Because of these ontological assumptions, a phenomenological research methodology was followed. This methodology enabled the research participants to narrate their lived experiences and thus provide a window through which the author could explore the context in which their realities were created, together with a view of what that reality was from the researchers' perspectives. Qualitative research methods in the form of semi-structured interviews were conducted.

This study has showed a picture of the upbringing and the environment that has contributed to the development of the identity of the black researchers studied. This picture suggests that there is no reason that the black researchers cannot adapt to the market research industry and make a success of their careers in that environment because they have all the tools they need to succeed in any environment. Their lived experiences in the market research industry highlighted that they felt exploited by the leadership and they responded to these feelings in accordance with their unique individual traits. These unique individual traits provided an explanation for the observation that there was a group of minority black individuals who progressed to senior positions, while the large majority did not.

The context painted by the CEOs of the organisations studied suggested that the industry is under pressure to be competitive and profitable with clients who are not always sympathetic to the process it takes to produce actionable research insights. It seems that such pressures sometimes make it difficult to be grounded in culture and consistent organisational values as the shifting client needs must be met timeously. Since organisational identity is conceptualised as the combination of organisational culture and the messages from the external environment, and the external messages for this industry come largely from the clients, the inconsistent messages from their clients has the potential to destabilise them. This in turn, may create a hyper-adaptation organisational identity, which in turn gives room to the creation of negative social exchange relationships between the employers and employees. A hyper-adaptation organisational identity is an unhealthy state of organisational identity where the organisation responds to external messages with actions presumed to be required to gain a positive view without basing them on organisational culture or values.

A framework for understanding the dynamics between individual identity, organisational identity and racial transformation has been formulated. This framework is based on the definition of organisational identity and it shows the central and enduring features of the market research industry and how they each contribute to the state of racial transformation in this industry. These central and enduring features were explored at both organisational

and individual level of analysis. The framework may be a starting point to the contribution towards the generation of solutions to promote racial integration.

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8. Preliminary interviews

1. Odendaal, T. (13 September, 2012: 14:00). Recruitment Specialist: Syndicate Personal Specialists, 06 Morris Street West, Rivonia, Sandton.
2. Pretorius, H., & Smit, E. (27 September, 2012: 13:00). Managing Partners: Columinate PTY Ltd, 135 Rivonia Road, Sundown, Sandton.
3. Shrestha, S. (25 September, 2012: 12:30) HR Manager: Millward Brown Ltd, Bradenham Hall, Mellis Park, 7 Mellis Road, Rivonia, Sandton.

9. Annexures

Annexure 1: The Micro Background Context to the Study - Author's Experiences

My life experiences have shaped my reactions to particular situations, including my experiences in the market research industry and the motivation for this study. I find it important to share the life story that has brought me to this study in order to be transparent as my chosen methodology makes it explicit that the relationship between researcher and the research is interlinked with potential biases that ought to be filtered into the findings.

On the 11th of February 1990 on the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison, I was exactly eight years old. We watched this momentous occasion on our neighbours' small black and white television screen. Most of us did not understand what was happening or who this man was but the excitement in the township was contagious. We all knew that something huge was happening and our lives would never be the same.

Indeed our lives changed. However, the excitement did not last very long. Soon after Mandela's release, there was constant conflict between the police and the civilians in the townships. For a few years violence became our daily life. School was constantly disrupted as the violence would suddenly erupt and the teachers would instruct us to run home to hide. The violent conflict between Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC also escalated and we were suddenly engulfed by constant fear for our lives. We heard stories of people being attacked and slaughtered in their homes because they were not IFP card carrying members. For what seemed like a lifetime, fear became a part of my life. The air in the township regularly smelled of teargases as the police would use them to disperse crowds, and burned car tires lay around on the streets.

Eventually, the violence ended. There were CODESA negotiations and a settlement was reached by the ANC and NP. An election date was scheduled and promises were made of a better South Africa for the poor. We were promised free education, proper sanitation, housing, better jobs and most importantly we could live and study anywhere we wanted in the country. Segregated living was banished and white schools were opened to black children as well. Everyone wanted a 'white' life so those who could afford the school fees immediately started sending their children to white schools and some black people moved to white suburbs.

Mandela visited our township on one of his campaign visits. We were enchanted and, in large numbers, went to meet him at the stadium. In his speech he mentioned that education would be free for every black child. That is when I got the idea that I would enrol myself to a white school the following year since I had also wanted to move to a white school but my mother could not afford it with her working class payment and six children to raise and educate. I got home that afternoon and informed my mother that I was going to enrol myself to a white school the following year since education would be free for a black child, as Mandela had promised. My mother simply laughed it off and off cause it did not happen as education was not to be free anytime soon after Mandela was the president of the country.

I began high school and I was the top achieving learner in the entire school. I received awards for every subject and I was simply unbeatable and it soon became evident that I needed a challenge. My brother, who had started working for an oil company and earning well, took me to live with him so I could move to a better resourced white school. The school was known for only accepting top achievers and for producing impressive matric pass results. It was also common practice for black learners to be accepted on the condition that they would be sent a grade lower because of the English language that they had to catch up on. However, my grades were apparently so impressive that there was no need for me to be sent a grade below and so I was accepted in grade ten, which was my actual grade from the previous black school.

Everything about the new school was a culture shock for me. I was one of the few black people in class and I had never been that close to a white person before. I had never before spoken two sentences of English. I had studied English as a second language but I was taught by black teachers who taught English in Zulu, which is my mother tongue. All my subjects had been explained in my mother tongue and I had understood all of them well. Suddenly at this new school, I had to learn English first language and be taught in English first language by white teachers whom I was intimidated by.

My self-esteem took a blow and I became shy to speak in class. I once even faked an illness so I could avoid performing an English speech in front of my class mates – this from someone who was in every debate society at my previous black school. I started to struggle to pass subjects and I would have nightmares about failing a year – this from someone who was guaranteed the top achiever award at my previous school. It was extremely difficult and I began to disengage after a few failed attempts at passing well. However, I found solace in mathematics and accounting since I did not need English proficiency for those two subjects as I already understood the basic principles, from my previous school. My performance in these two subjects also got my teachers to be patient with me as they recognized that my marks were among the highest in my class, even though I struggled with the rest of the subjects. Thus they assisted me as far as they could and together with my brother's support, I was able to cope.

A friend from school who stayed near my house encouraged me to practise my English with her. My brother and I also lived in a white neighbourhood, so gradually I gained my confidence in communicating in English, and before long I began to speak it well. This gave me the label of a 'model C' (a label given to black children who attend white schools). When I spoke people asked 'where do you attend school'? This was a huge compliment and a much needed confidence booster.

Little did I know that this experience was shaping me for the world I was about to enter. I was to start University and I was accepted at the University of Pretoria, which at the time was white dominated. On the day of arrivals at the residence, I did not notice that I was the only black person at the foyer. I had become so used to being surrounded by white colleagues from high school that I did not notice any abnormality as I started small talks with the house committee members. The residence was Afrikaans dominated and most of the students came from small conservative towns. Consequently, some of them were uncomfortable around me but I soon discovered, after I had made white friends, that I came across as assertive, which they had not witnessed from a black person before, thus they found me to be 'interesting'.

In lectures I often watched with compassion when the black students would not speak or share their views in discussions because I could relate to their silence. Some of them appeared lost in that environment. I was even more upset when most of them got the lowest grades in class because I understood what they were going through, since I had gone through a similar ordeal in high school, when I entered a foreign world for the first time.

I completed University and started professional life but being one of the only blacks was not to leave me yet. I joined the market research industry to discover that it was white dominated. I joined the industry with a Master degree and previous research experience so I immediately occupied mid-senior management research positions, which had more autonomy than junior management positions. Once more, I was amongst the few, if not the only, black person in such a position in those organisations. I observed that I was initially treated as if I were a junior researcher or even a trainee, as my managers would insist on having sight of my work, including emails at times before they went out to clients. I changed organisations twice and I experienced the same scenario at each of the organisations. This was an anomaly because my white counterparts functioned independent of their managers' constant supervision, even those who were new in the organisation. However, drawing from my previous experiences in white dominated environments, I had learned how to confront such behaviour successfully.

However, I was by now becoming troubled by the status of black people in these organisations. I was also becoming aggrieved that I had to prove my knowledge while it seemed that my white counterparts were presumed knowledgeable. As I read more and spoke to others about similar issues, I realised that this issue was prevalent in the market research industry, yet it was not as openly acknowledged or shared publically, as it is in other industries such as the education, engineering and banking sectors, to name but a few.

My life has been influenced by the political developments in the country and my home environment. The experiences shaped my world view and the aspects of my surroundings that I tend to pay attention to and my reactions to them. In this study I intend to tell stories of other black researchers to explore how their life experiences are shaping their experience of the market research industry. The hope is that patterns will begin to emerge from the stories, and thus contribute to theory advancement.

The research design chosen for the study inherently assumes that the researcher's own values and experiences intrudes in the research and influences what is observed (Lydall et al., 2005). In this chapter I told my story to expose my motivations for embarking on this subject and my potential biases.

Annexure 2: SAMRA letter of support

SAMRA
Southern African Marketing Research Association
Quality Research • Quality Decisions

5 March 2013

To whom it may concern

Racial Transformation Study: Sibongile Vilakazi

Ms Vilakazi has made SAMRA aware of the above study, as she will be approaching SAMRA member organisation for the purpose of data collection.

The objectives of the study are to describe the life experiences of black market researchers and the values defining them as individuals; to investigate the organisational identity that is characteristic of the organisations in the market research industry, particularly in relation to the transformation process; to describe the black researchers' perceptions and experiences of the market research industry so as to potentially link their individual identity to their experience of the organisational identity; to explore the elements of individual identity and organisational identity that encourages or discourages transformation efforts in the market research industry.

Best regards,

Leonie Vorster
SAMRA Chief Executive Officer

PO Box 1713 | Randburg 2125 | Third Floor | 264 Oak Avenue | Randburg
Tel: +27 11 886 3771 | Fax: +27 11 886 9721 | e-mail: info@samra.co.za



Annexure 3: Permission and Participant Information Sheet (organization)

Dear ……..

I am currently employed by Nedbank as a Market and Customer Insights Manager and I am studying towards a PhD in Organisational Development and Diversity Management through the Wits Business School. Nedbank is sponsoring this PhD and my study interest is to understand Organisational Identity and Individual Identity and how they interact to impact organisational behaviours such as racial transformation efforts.

Your organisation is invited to participate in this study, which will involve conversations with you and other leaders in the market research industry and interviews with selected staff members in your organisations.

Participation in the study will generate ideas and discussions about transformation measures in the market research industry. SAMRA has been advised of the study and they have shown an interest to be exposed to the final report. However, please note that your participation is voluntary and thus your refusal to participate in the study will not cause any penalty or loss of any benefits. Should you choose to participate but change your mind at a later stage, you may discontinue at any stage without suffering any penalties or losses.

I will personally be conducting these conversations with you and the selected staff members. The conversations will be scheduled for one hour duration at a place convenient to you, which could be your workplace or any other that you are most comfortable with. The conversations will be audio recorded and these recordings will be stored anonymously and safely to be used during the analysis phase. In addition, formal internal and external communication to various stakeholders about the organisation will be requested in order to analyse them to explore organisational identity.

Only my supervisor and I will be exposed to the stories shared and the data sources to maintain confidentiality. To protect the identity of your organization, the data will be reported to reflect findings from the industry rather than a specific organization. Where necessary to provide verbatim or references, these will be reflected as responses from organisation A, B, C etc., to maintain anonymity.

For more information please contact Sibongile Vilakazi on sibongilev@nedbank.co.za or 084 252 1613. My Supervisor is Dr Christoph Maier. He may be contacted on christoph.maier@comazo.de or 082 467 5096.

Regards,

Sibongile Vilakazi

Annexure 4: Participant Information Sheet (individual)

Dear Participant

I am currently studying towards a PhD in Organisational Development and Diversity Management through the Wits Business School. You are invited to participate in this study involving market researchers. The purpose of this study is to understand your experiences as an individual and your experiences of the market research industry in order to understand organisational behaviour and its impact on individual behaviour and vice versa.

The study involves a one-on-one conversation with you about you as an individual and your life experiences. These conversations will be held at a place convenient to you. All the conversations (with you and other market researchers such as yourself) will subsequently be analysed to determine both common and rare patterns that may be reported as findings from the study about organisational behaviour. Your identity will be protected in the report by reporting patterns rather than specific individual stories. Where necessary to provide verbatim, it will be reported as respondent A or B etc., to ensure anonymity.

Participation in the study will contribute to the discussions about racial transformation in the market research industry. SAMRA is aware of the study and has expressed an interest to be exposed to the final report. However, please be advised that participation in the study is voluntary and thus your refusal to participate will not cause any penalty or loss of any benefits. Should you choose to participate but change your mind at a later stage, you may discontinue at any stage without suffering any penalties or losses.

I will personally be conducting the interviews and they will be scheduled for an hour at a place convenient to you. This could be your workplace or any other venue that is most suitable to you. During this time, you will be expected to openly and honestly share your life stories from as far in your childhood as you can remember, to the most recent life memories that have

shaped you as an individual. In the event that issues arise during these interviews that may open up old wounds, emotional support such as psychological counselling services will be made available to you. The stories will be audio recorded and stored anonymously and safely to be used in the analysis phase. Only my supervisor and I will have access to all the stories to ensure confidentiality.

Subsequent to the one-on-one conversation, you may be invited to participate in a focus group discussion as a follow up to the individual conversation. The focus group will include other market researchers like you, to explore some of the shared experiences emerging from all the individual conversations. Thus the issues to be discussed cannot be pre-empted. Since it is a group discussion, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, but will be requested and encouraged from each individual participant involved in the discussion.

For more information please contact Sibongile Vilakazi on sibongilev@nedbank.co.za or 084 252 1613. My Supervisor is Dr Christoph Maier. He can be contacted on christoph.maier@comazo.de or 082 467 5096.

Regards,

Sibongile Vilakazi

Annexure 5: Organisational Interviews: Draft Discussion Guide

Note: *The interview is semi-structured. A broad question will be asked and the participant will lead the conversation in directions that are relevant for them. The probing questions will be used to stimulate story telling in cases of long silence moments or to bring the participant back to the focus question in cases where they wonder away from the question.*

Introduction: *to build context*

Thank you for making the time to meet me and for your willingness to participate in the study. The structure for this interview will be a casual conversation. You will talk about your organisation. Tell me as much as you would like to tell me. I may interrupt you every now and then to ask you to elaborate where necessary. Otherwise, it is your story and there are no right or wrong answers. I'm only interested in what you share with me. Everything you share will remain between the two of us. The only other individual who may have access to the anonymous transcript is my supervisor.

Opening questions: *to build rapport*

For how long have you been leading this organisation?

Have you led other organisations before this one? Tell me about that experience?

What do you find most exciting about leading an organisation?

Objective 2: espoused organisational identity

1. Tell me about what this organisation stands for.

    - **Probing questions**: *to encourage story telling*
        - What kinds of research do you specialize in? Why?
        - What accolades have you been awarded? How do you feel about these?
        - What is your reputation amongst your peers in the industry?
        - What is your reputation amongst clients?
        - Is this your desired reputation? Tell me more…
        - How do you communicate your desired reputation inside the organisation?
        - How do you communicate it externally?

2. Tell me about the history of this organization? *(This could be anything you want to share)*

    - **Probing questions**: *to encourage story telling*

- When did you join the organization?
- What was happening during the time that you joined?
- Any significant proud moments that you would like to share?
- Any challenges?

3. Describe the culture and values in the organization?

- **Probing questions**: *to encourage story telling*
  - What activities or rituals are performed internally to instil this culture
  - What communication is used to entrench the culture
  - What role do you think you play in entrenching this culture?
  - Is this the desired culture you envision for the organisation?
  - Where do you think are the gaps between your vision and the reality? Tell me more…
  - What are some of the behaviours that would cause an individual to be dismissed in this organisation?

4. Tell me about career growth and development in the organisation?
   - **Probing questions**: *to encourage story telling*
     - What methods do you use to assess an individual's readiness for a promotion?
     - What behavioural traits are valued? Why?
     - What role does spoken language fluency play? Why?
     - How does this impact performance in the organisation? Provide examples?
     - How do you communicate these criteria in the organisation?

5. Tell me about your views on BEE?
   - Probing questions:
     - What BEE level is your organisation?
     - Which component of the BEE scorecard is easiest to achieve? Why?
     - Which one is most difficult to achieve? Why?
     - In your opinion, what is the view of your clients regarding your BEE level?

6. Tell me about Employment Equity in the organisation?
   - Probing questions:

- What are some of the challenges you have faced regarding implementing Employment Equity (suitable candidates, financial, cultural, etc.)? Tell me more…
- What are some of the successes? Tell me more…
- Do you have an employment Equity Forum in the organisation, as mandated in the legislation?
  - What is the forum's role in the organisation?
- What do you think about the penalties if one does not comply with Employment Equity Act?
- Have you ever had to pay a penalty? Tell me more…
- What matters more to clients, BEE levels or Employment Equity? Tell me more…
- How do you think clients could assist you in meeting your Employment Equity targets?
- What do you think are the benefits of racial representation for the organization?
  - Any disadvantages?

7. Have you ever experienced problems with racial integration in the organisation? Tell me about it…

8. Are there internal programmes that are geared towards improved racial relations in the organization? Tell me about them?
   - **Probing questions:**
     - How did the programmes develop?
     - How do you measure their success?
     - Any future plans regarding these programmes?

Closing questions: *to bring conversation to an end*

- What have been the defining moments of your journey in this organisation? Tell me more…
- Why are you still here?
- If there was another career to choose, what would it be? Why?
- Is there anything else I haven't touched on that you would like to talk about?

We've come to the end of our conversation. Thank you for your time and for telling me your story…

Annexure 6: Individual interviews: Draft Discussion Guide

Note: *The interview structure is semi-structured. A broad question will be asked and the participant will lead the conversation in directions that are relevant for them. The probing questions will only be used to stimulate story telling in cases of long silence moments or to bring the participant back to the focus question in cases where they wonder away from the question.*

Introduction: *to build context*

Thank you for making the time to meet me and for your willingness to participate in the study. The structure for this interview will be a casual conversation. I need you to talk about yourself. Tell me as much as you would like to tell me. I may interrupt you every now and then to ask you to elaborate where necessary. Otherwise, it is your story and there are no right or wrong answers. I'm only interested in what you share with me. Everything you share will remain between the two of us. The only other individual who may have access to the transcript is my supervisor.

Opening questions: *to build rapport*

Tell me about your current position in the organisation and the day to day responsibilities?

What do you find most exciting about your life at the moment? (*This can be work related or not)*

Where were you born?

For how long have you been living in Gauteng? How often do you go home?

Objective 1: life experiences

9. Tell me about your childhood years, beginning from when you were born? (You *may tell me anything and everything that you remember about your childhood)*

    - **Probing questions**: *to encourage story telling*
        - Who are your parents? Were you raised by both of them?
        - If not, what happened to them?
        - What did your parents do for a living?
        - What was most important to your parents/guardian? This could be anything you choose to tell me?
        - What was life like for them in those days?
        - Tell me about your siblings?
        - Tell me about your extended family?
        - Do you have any significant childhood memories to share? Good or bad?

- How did these experiences affect you?

10. Describe the neighbourhood you grew up in?

- **Probing questions**: *to encourage story telling*
  - What kinds of games did you play?
  - What role did you often play in these games?
  - Who often took the lead and how did you feel about this?
  - What formal social activities did you participate in (*e.g. soccer team, dance, singing, etc.)*
  - How did you feel about these activities?
  - Any special moments to share about these activities?

11. Tell me about your school going years, from grade 0 up until matric?

- **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
  - Any significant memories to share?
  - How did these experiences influence you?
  - Tell me about the atmosphere in the area?
  - Any specific individuals who influenced you? How did they influence you?

12. How would you sum up your childhood life (e.g. happy childhood)? Tell me more….
13. Tell me about your earliest encounters with individuals from other race groups?
    - **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
      - Where were these encounters and how old were you?
      - What did you think and feel?
      - How did you resolve these thoughts and emotions?
14. Tell me about your young adult years (post grade 12)?
    - **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
      - What activities did you get up to (e.*g. travelling, tertiary education, working etc.*)?
      - Tell me more about these activities?
      - Any significant memories?
      - How do you feel about these experiences?
      - How did they influence you as an individual?

15. Tell me about your decision to join the market research industry?

- **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
  - What was happening in your life at the time?

- How did you make the decision to be a market researcher?
- How long ago was this?

Objective 3: Experience in the market research industry

1. Tell me about life as a market researcher?

    - **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
        - How many organisations have you worked for thus far?
        - How long the longest is and the least you've stayed in one organisation?
        - Why did you stay that long at that organisation and least at that one?
        - What aspects of your job responsibilities do you enjoy the most? Tell me more…
        - Which aspects do you enjoy the least? Tell me more….

2. Tell me about success in the market research industry?

    - **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
        - What is seen as success in this organization?
        - Do you consider yourself successful in terms of the organization's standards? Tell me more…
        - What qualities do you think make a successful market researcher?
        - Do you think that you possess those qualities? Tell me more…
        - Where do you see your future in the industry? Tell me more…
        - What would ensure that you achieve this goal? Tell me more…
        - What would prevent you from achieving this goal? Tell me more…

3. Tell me about the working relationships in this organisation?

    - **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
        - How are they collaborative? How are they not? Tell me more…
        - How are they different from any other organisation you've worked for?
        - How are they similar to other organizations you've worked for?

4. Tell me about race relations in this organisation?

    - **Probing questions:** *to encourage story telling*
        - Does race come up in conversations in this organisation?
        - How is race spoken about? Tell me more…

- How does the organisation promote better relations amongst the different races?
- How do you feel about this?

Closing questions: *to bring conversation to an end*

- What have been the defining moments in your journey in the market research industry? Tell me more…
- Why are you still here?
- If there was another career to choose, what would it be? Why?
- Is there anything else I haven't touched on that you would like to talk about?

We've come to the end of our conversation. Thank you for your time and for telling me your story…