

https://dspace.org/

The intersectionality of social generations, locale, and race, in diversity management in South Africa

Nayager, Kesagee

2023
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/40100
Nayager, Kesagee. (2023). The intersectionality of social generations, locale, and race, in diversity management in South Africa[PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg]. WireDSpace.https://hdl.handle.net/10539/40100

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

The intersectionality of social generations, locale, and race, in diversity management in South Africa

Kesagee Nayager

Student number: 673672

A thesis submitted in completion of the requirements for the

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of the Witwatersrand

Abstract

This qualitative case study explores the intersectionality of social generations (known as cohorts), locale (space and place), and race, how it may influence intra-generational differences in South Africa, and the meanings that intra-generational differences may have for diversity management studies. Whilst intersectionality studies commonly focus on the intersecting of social categories such as race and gender, little is known about the intersectionality of social generations, race, and locale (space and place) in the workspace in South Africa and about intra-generational differences and the meanings it may have for studies on diversity management. Whereas the literature on the phenomenon of social generations tends to portray social generations as homogenous and as defined in the American context, this study contributes to studies on local social generations by examining how intra-generational differences may be facilitated when race, locale (space and place), and social generations intersect. The seminal theory of generations defines locale in terms of space only. By expanding on the definition of locale to include both space (a physical setting) and place (the ambience created when space is socially engineered), this study explores the Black and White lived experiences of social generations, space, and place in the workspace.

A dual case study design was used, and 60 face-to-face qualitative interviews were conducted with Black and White employees who were purposively selected from the three social generations (Generation X, Generation Y, and Baby Boomer) working at Bombela and the Gautrain Management Agency. The research findings were thematically analysed to explore how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience spaces and places in present-day South Africa.

The analysis revealed that, in the workspace, Black and White South Africans from different social generations have a shared experience of space but varied experiences of place. Black participants from the Generation Y social generation described their financial burden of caring for extended family members who have been historically disadvantaged by the Apartheid regime in South Africa, terming it a "Black tax" from which, they say, their White counterparts are exempt. White participants from this same social generation described their guilt and remorse for the historical system of Apartheid. They spoke of the emotional burden that they carry for it caused by their Whiteness. The study coins these different Black and White social experiences as the perceived 'financial and socio-political costs of being Black in post-Apartheid South Africa' and the perceived 'socio-political cost of being White in post-Apartheid South Africa'. As a contribution to diversity management studies, the study introduces the term 'placial planning', which entails socially re-engineering the ambience in the workplace so that Black and White South Africans from different social generations have similar experiences of place in the workplace.

Keywords: social generation, race, space, place, locale, intersectionality, diversity management.

DEFINITIONS OF KEYWORDS

The definitions given below are **as the key terms are used in this thesis**. In some cases, words have been chosen because historical meanings in how terms have been used in South Africa differ from how they are used in the social sciences and understood in everyday language.

Term used in the thesis	Meaning in this thesis	Previous or alternative understanding of the term
Social generation	Alternative terms to the original global categorisations of social generations are offered in the conclusions for local context and applicability, viz Elders for Baby Boomers, Adults for Generation X, and Young Adults for Generation Y.	Globally, from generational theory (Howe & Strauss, 1992), generations are known as Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Y.
Race	South African racial categories based on skin colour; in this document, only the categories of 'Black South Africans' and 'White South Africans' have been utilised because of existing high-level categorisations in the country and following how current legislation categorises race.	During the Apartheid era, race was categorised as White people, Indian people, Coloured people, and Black people, and the legislation created different lived experiences for each race group.
Space	Physical co-ordinates aspect of locale.	Ambience aspects of locale.
Place	The sociological definition of place pertains to the ambience of a locale.	Studies in geography commonly define the physical coordinates aspect of the locale.
Locale	Location: inclusive of space and place.	The everyday use of the term Location refers exclusively to physical co-ordinates, overlooking the ambience of a locale. In South Africa, Location has a derogatory meaning derived from the Apartheid era, referring to forced physical living areas for Black people.
Intersectionality	Intersectionality is an analytical framework to reflect the interrelationships between and amongst multiple social constructs, identities, and demographic variables, such as social generations and race, in different spaces and places. An updated definition of intersectionality is offered in the conclusions of the study.	Intersectionality is commonly discussed within a context of oppression and discrimination, typically exploring constructs such as race, gender, and sexuality (Crenshaw, 2005; Davis, 2008)

DECLARATION

I, Kesagee Nayager, declare that this research report is my own work except as indicated in the references and acknowledgements. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other university.

Name: Kesagee Nayager **Signature:** 

Signed at **Johannesburg**

On the **11** day of **October 2023.**

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Professor Terri Carmichael, for her ongoing support, invaluable insight, and guidance throughout this project. Her wisdom and kindness inspired me along this journey. It's safe to say that without Professor Carmichael's invaluable support and patience, I would not have completed this research project. - "The mediocre teacher tells. The good teacher explains. The superior teacher demonstrates. The great teacher inspires." William Arthur Ward.

Thanks to my editor, Susan van Tonder, for her constructive feedback.

Sincere thanks to each participant in this study for their participation and willingness to share their lived experiences with me.

I am thankful to Johnny Dladla, William Osae, and Laurence Beder for their support and encouragement over the years.

Last but not least, I thank my family and friends for their support. Special thanks to my late Aya and mom.

Table of contents

Abstract ii

DECLARATION iv

Acknowledgements v

Table of contents vi

List of figures x

List of tables xi

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

1.1 Purpose of the study 1

1.2 Context of the study 3

1.1.1 The political context of South Africa 4

1.1.2 The economic context of South Africa 5

1.1.3 The social context of South Africa 6

1.1.4 The technological context of South Africa 7

1.3 Research problem 8

1.4 Research questions 9

1.1.5 Research question one: Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms? 9

1.1.6 Research question two: How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation? 10

1.1.7 Research question three: How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation? 10

1.1.8 Research question four: When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the different social generations experience this intersection? 10

1.5 Significance of the study 10

1.1.9 The study of generations 12

1.1.10 Intersectionality studies 16

1.6 Delimitations of the study 17

1.7 Definition of terms 19

1.1.11 Diversity management 19

1.1.14 Locale 19

1.1.17 Social generation 20

1.8 Assumptions 21

1.9 Structure of the report 21
Chapter 2: Literature Review 22
2.1 Introduction 22
2.2 Background Discussion 22
2.3 Literature map 25
Figure 6: Literature map detailing some of the principal theories and scholars on social generations and intersectionality 26
2.4 The study of generations 26
2.4.1 From 'generations' to 'social generations' 27
2.4.2 From 'social generations' to 'cohorts' or 'generation cohorts' 29
2.4.3 Back to 'generations' 32
2.4.4 The etymology of generations 34
2.4.5 Proposition for the first research question 35
2.5 Race 36
2.5.1 Race in contemporary South Africa 36
2.5.2 Proposition for the second research question 37
2.5.3 Race, space, and place during the Apartheid era in South Africa 37
2.5.4 Race, space, and place in contemporary South Africa 38
2.5.5 Proposition for the third research question 39
2.6 Intersectionality 39
2.6.1 Intersectionality today 40
2.6.2 Proposition for the fourth research question 41
2.7 Conceptual framework 41
2.8 Conclusion of literature review 42
Chapter 3: Research Methodology 45
3.1 Overview 45
3.2 Research paradigm 45
3.3 Research design 48
3.3.1 Ontological approach 48
3.3.2 Epistemological approach 48
3.3.3 Methodological approach 49
3.4 Sample and sampling approach 50
3.5 Research instrument 53
3.6 Data-collection approach 53
3.6.1 Procedure for data collection 53
3.7 Data-analysis approach 54

3.7.1 Data-analysis process *54*
3.7.2 Stage one: Transcribe the data *55*
3.7.3 Stage two: Extract in vivo or initial codes *55*
3.7.4 Stage three: Determine gerund codes *55*
3.7.5 Stage four: Identify categories *56*
3.7.6 Stage five: Develop themes *56*
3.8 Limitations of the study 57
3.9 Trustworthiness 58
3.9.1 Credibility *58*
3.9.2 Transferability *59*
3.9.3 Dependability *60*
3.9.4 Confirmability *60*
3.10 Consistency table 61
Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion 63
4.1 Introduction 63
4.1.1 Research question one: Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms? *63*
4.1.2 Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may the Baby Boomer social generation be defined in South African terms? *64*
4.1.3 Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may the Generation X social generation be defined in South African terms? *73*
4.1.4 Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may the Generation Y social generation be defined in South African terms? *83*
4.2 Findings pertaining to research question two and proposition two 97
4.2.1 How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from the Baby Boomer social generation? *99*
4.2.2 How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from the Generation X social generation? *112*
4.2.3 How is race in the workspace in South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans from the Generation Y social generation? *122*
4.3 Findings pertaining to research question three and proposition three 134
4.3.1 How are space and place experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to the Baby Boomer social generation? *137*
4.3.2 How are space and place experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation X social generation? *142*
4.3.3 How are space and place experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation Y social generation? *146*
4.4 Findings pertaining to research question four and proposition four 152

4.4.1 When race, social generation, and locale (space and place) intersect in the workspace in South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to the Baby Boomer social generation experience this intersection? *155*

4.4.2 When race, social generation, and locale (space and place) intersect in the workspace in South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation X social generation experience this intersection? *157*

4.4.3 When race, social generation, and locale (space and place) intersect in the workspace in South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation Y social generation experience this intersection? *159*

Chapter 5: Conclusion 167

5.1 Introduction 167

5.2 Conclusions regarding research question one: How may social generations be defined in South African terms based on socio-historic events in South Africa? 167

5.3 Conclusions regarding research question two: How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation? 168

5.4 Conclusions regarding research question three: How is locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation? 170

5.5 Conclusions regarding research question four: When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the different social generations experience this intersection? 172

5.6 Recommendations 174

5.6.1 Recommendations for scholars on social generations, intersectionality, and diversity management *175*

5.6.2 Recommendations for practitioners in diversity management, human resources, and management *175*

5.6.3 Recommendations for political leaders and policymakers *176*

5.7 Suggestions for further research 177

5.8 Contributions to knowledge 177

References 179

Appendices 209

List of figures

Figure 1: For this study, locale is defined as space and place in the workspace and elsewhere in present-day South Africa 3

Figure 2: The conceptual framework for this study explores the intersectionality of race, social generations, and locale in the South African context 3

Figure 3: The 2019–2020 Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report shows that top management positions in South Africa are occupied mainly by White South Africans (Statistics South Africa, 2020a) 6

Figure 4: Urban households in South Africa have greater access to the internet than rural households 8

Figure 5: Population statistics in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2000) 15

Figure 6: Literature map detailing some of the principal theories and scholars on social generations and intersectionality 26

Figure 7: The major terminological and conceptual shifts about generations over time 35

Figure 8: From a detailed literature review, social generations, locale (commonly defined as space only, devoid of place), and race tend to be each explored as single, separate phenomena. As a result, little is known about the intersectionality of social generations, locale (space and place), and race 42

Figure 9: The data collected by the study was analysed using a five-stage process that incorporates gerund codes as defined by Charmaz (2014) into Saldaña's (2018) model of coding 55

Figure 10: Different colours were used to point out links or connections between the codes and the gerund codes, and the categories and themes 57

Figure 11: For illustration purposes, the figure above depicts the intersection of the local Baby Boomer social generation, race, and locale (space and place), and shows the various points at which the lived experiences of Black and White generation units may intersect in terms of spaces and places 166

Figure 12: In South Africa, social generations are not homogenous. When social generations intersect with race, there are Black and White generation units within each social generation 168

Figure 13: Race in South Africa is experienced as neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogenous; yet, by way of racial othering, it is spoken about as if it is wholly homogenous. This figure shows the intersection between the Black and White races in South Africa 169

Figure 14: A diagrammatic presentation of the findings pertaining to the experiences of Black and White participants of spaces and places in present-day South Africa 171

Figure 15: A diagrammatic presentation of the finding pertaining to how local social generations experience spaces and places in the workplace in present-day South Africa 172

Figure 16: This figure shows the intersectionality of local social generations and locale (space and place) in the workplace in present-day South Africa 173

Figure 17: This figure shows the intersectionality of local social generations, race, and locale (space and place) in the workplace in present-day South Africa 174

List of tables

Table 1: Some race-related socio-historic events in South Africa and the US. Strauss and Howe's generational theory (1992a) overlooks these race-related socio-historic events in the US and focuses solely on postmodernism, neoliberalism, and capitalism. 14

Table 2: The consistency table illustrates the research questions and corresponding propositions 44

Table 3: The ontological, epistemological, and methodological beliefs that informed the research paradigm for this study 46

Table 4: Research sample and sample size for the study 52

Table 5: A summary of the nine steps of the data-collection procedure that was based on the data-collection approach for the study 54

Table 6: Nine steps followed to extract themes from quotes 56

Table 7: A summary of what the study expects its findings to be 59

Table 8: Consistency table demonstrating the alignment amongst the research questions, corresponding propositions, and the data-collection and data-analysis processes 62

Table 9: Themes that depict how Baby Boomer participants self-identified 65

Table 10: Themes that depict how Generation X participants self-identified 73

Table 11: Themes that depict how Generation Y participants self-identified 83

Table 12: Themes that depict how Black and White South Africans from the Baby Boomer social generation experience race in the workspace 99

Table 13: Themes that depict how Black and White South Africans from the Generation X social generation experience race in the workspace 112

Table 14: Themes that depict how Black and White South Africans from the Generation Y social generation experience race in the workspace 122

Table 15: Themes that depict how Baby Boomers experience space and place in present-day South Africa 137

Table 16: Themes that depict how Generation X experiences space and place in present-day South Africa 142

Table 17: Themes that depict how Generation Y experiences space and place in present-day South Africa 146

Table 18: The consistency table presents a high-level summary of the research questions, propositions, and findings of the study 164

Table 19: Local definitions of South African social generations and definitions of the Black and White generation units within local social generations 167

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the study

This qualitative case study is situated broadly in the field of diversity management and focuses on intersectionality and social generations in the South African context. Globally, since the 1970s, employers have become legally required to create equal employment opportunities for historically disadvantaged people (Blanchflower, 2009; Horwitz & Jain, 2011; Ramoroka & Tsheola, 2014; Sowell, 2008; Thomas, 2002). Moreover, besides these employers having to integrate historically disadvantaged people into the workplace and promote inclusivity within the workplace, they have a duty to report to their respective governments on the number of historically disadvantaged people they employ (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Madala, 1999). Similarly, South Africa followed suit when the country transitioned from Apartheid to democracy in 1994. The Employment Equity Act (1998) and a series of other Acts and regulations were promulgated in South Africa shortly after a new constitution (1996) was effected in the country.

However, whilst employers in South Africa tend to comply with the requirements set out by the Employment Equity Act (Statistics South Africa, 2019), Black people remain disadvantaged in the workplace, as White South Africans predominantly occupy top (senior) jobs. Figure 3 on page 5 shows that statistically, compared to Black people, White people are overrepresented in top positions in the workplace in South Africa. Women also remain disadvantaged in the workplace as top jobs are mainly occupied by men (Statistics South Africa, 2020a).

Hence, it is evident that in the workplace in South Africa, Black women are more disadvantaged than Black men, White men, and White women. However, diversity management programmes in South Africa commonly examine race and gender as single identities in the workplace (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010; Bowen, Cattell, & Distiller, 2008; Horwitz & Jain, 2011; Mayer & Louw, 2011; Seekings, 2008) and overlook the theory of intersectionality, which postulates that multiple identities such as race, gender, age, and sexuality intersect to further privilege or disadvantage people. Using the analogy of the intersection of roads, Crenshaw, who developed the theory of intersectionality, argues that identities such as race should not be explored in isolation but in conjunction with other intersecting identities to further discriminate against or privilege people (Crenshaw, 1989).

Intersectionality studies commonly examine the intersecting of social constructs such as race, gender, and sexuality, and as a result, little is known about the intersectionality of less common social constructs such as social generations and locale. According to studies on social generations, a social generation originates from lived experiences of socio-historic events in specific locales or spaces (Eyerman & Turner, 1998; Howe & Strauss, 1992a; Zemke, Raines, & Filipczak, 2000). For this study, the term locale refers to spaces and places in the workplace context in South Africa. Howe and Strauss studied the socio-historic events or "key turnings" (Howe & Strauss, 1992a, p. 60) that occurred in the US and found that at approximately twenty-year intervals, distinct socio-historic events give rise to new, unique social generations that differ from previous social generations. Strauss and Howe (1991) identified the Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations. These have subsequently become common currency, with several studies on social generations referencing these social generations in their respective study contexts, as if these social generations, which originated from US-specific socio-historic events, are homogenous and applicable beyond the US (Bristow, 2015c; Clark, 2017; Hansen & Leuty, 2012). As a result, social generations, like other social phenomena and commodities, have become Americanised (Craig, Douglas, & Bennett, 2009; Kishan Thussu, 2013). This has meant that little is known about South African-specific social generations that South African-specific socio-historic events have shaped. Moreover, while studies

on social generations tend to define the locale of socio-historic events in terms of physical space only, borrowing from spatial theory, which is situated in the sociology of space (Lefebvre, 1991), this study defines locale as space and place.

The concepts of space and place have been widely explored by different disciplines, ranging from mathematics to social sciences. Tracing the etymology of the concepts of space and place reveals that these concepts began to gain traction in the 1600s when scholars like Isaac Newton and Immanuel Kant explored the philosophy of space as they examined outer space. These concepts also piqued the interest of physicists and mathematicians like Albert Einstein, who borrowed from the philosophy of space to develop the theory of relativity (Huggett, 1999; Sack, 1993). Geographers and architects interested in spatial planning have also taken a keen interest in space and place as they define areas such as land and sea (Davoudi & Strange, 2008; Janiak, 2015; Parsaee, Parva, & Karimi, 2015). Likewise, in the social sciences discipline, the concepts of space and place have been explored from various perspectives, such as feminism and post-colonialism (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Buttimer & Seamon, 2015; Griffith, 2009). Henri Lefebvre's (1991) pioneering work on the study of space has been of great interest to geographers and sociologists alike. While geographers are interested in spatial patterns and models, sociologists are interested in how spatial patterns translate into social relations (Logan, 2012; Neely & Samura, 2011; Reardon et al., 2009). According to Gieryn (2000, p. 463), studies in the social sciences often pertain to "inequality, difference, power, politics, interaction, community, social movements, deviance, crime, life course, science, identity, memory, history". Today, the concept of virtual space is gaining interest and is becoming prominent in the social sciences discipline (Chaturvedi, Dolk, & Drnevich, 2011; Franceschi, Lee, Zanakis, & Hinds, 2009; Mennecke, Triplett, Hassall, Conde, & Heer, 2011; Saunders, Rutkowski, Genuchten van, Vogel, & Orrego, 2011). This study explores space and place when it intersects with social generations, and race in the context of South Africa, and is situated in diversity management studies in the social sciences.

Whereas scholars in geography use the terms space and place synonymously as they explore locale in terms of physical boundaries, scholars in sociology make a distinction between these two terms and define space as a physical setting and place as the ambience in spaces as they explore human lived experiences of locales (Buttimer & Seamon, 2015; Davoudi & Strange, 2008; Gieryn, 2000; Healey, 2004; Hunziker, Buchecker, & Hartig, 2007). Expanding the definition of locale to include place is essential because while much is known about the racial integration of spaces in South Africa, little is known about the racial integration of *places* in South Africa. Hence, by defining locale as space and place and exploring the generational, Black, and White experiences of spaces and places in the workplace in South Africa, this study seeks to contribute local findings to the pool of diversity management studies. At this juncture, it is noteworthy that the common usage of the term place refers to a physical setting; as such, space and place tend to be used interchangeably. Countries, for example, are often referred to as places. Hence, the terminological use of spaces and places differs in common usage. For this study, the terms space and place are conceptualised in terms of the study of sociology.

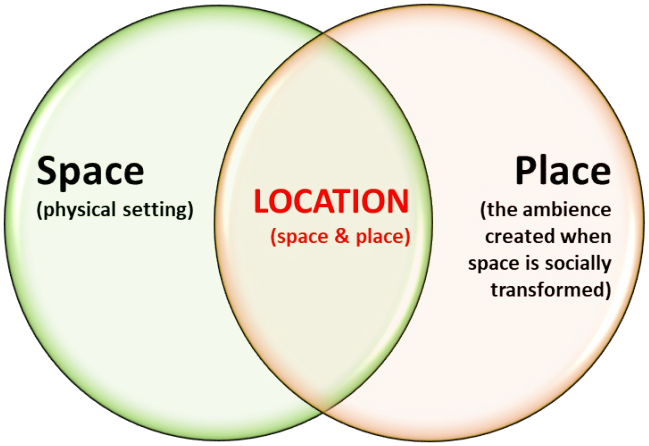


Figure 1: For this study, locale is defined as space and place in the workspace and elsewhere in present-day South Africa

Furthermore, studies on social generations also tend to homogenise social generations by exploring differences among these generations (inter-generational differences), seldom examining differences within social generations (intra-generational differences) (Arsenault, 2004; Glass, 2007; Parry & Urwin, 2011a; Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010). Hence, whilst much is known about inter-generational differences, understandings of intra-generational differences in South Africa and elsewhere are limited. Therefore, this study examines not only South African-specific social generations but also intra-generational differences in South African-specific social generations and the meanings that these differences may have for diversity management studies.

The purpose of this study is to explore the intersectionality of race, local social generations, and locale (space and place) in South Africa and to understand the phenomena of social generations and intersectionality in the South African context better.

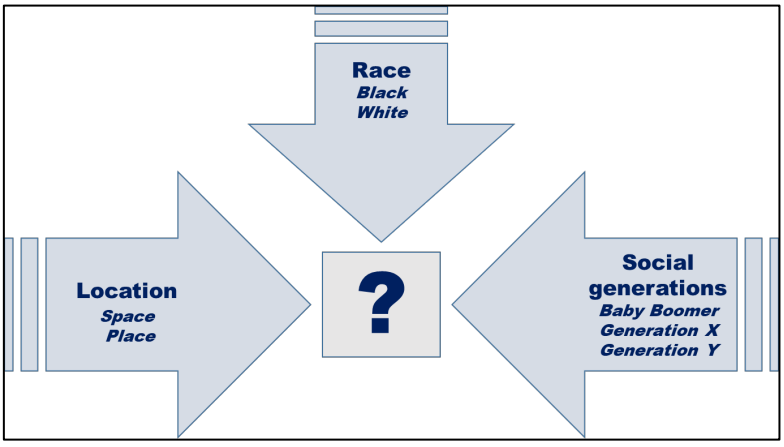


Figure 2: The conceptual framework for this study explores the intersectionality of race, social generations, and locale in the South African context

1.2 Context of the study

Whilst the discussions that follow focus mainly on the post-Apartheid context of South Africa and the lived experiences of the system of Apartheid (as a socio-historic event), it is noteworthy that this socio-historic event has not shaped the current context of the country to the exclusion of other socio-historic events, such as colonialism.

Various studies argue that the colonial era has exacerbated the ill effects that the system of Apartheid created for Black South Africans (Alvaredo & Atkinson, 2010; Ramutsindela, 2001). Using Aguilar's (1967) Political, Economic, Social, Technological (PEST) framework, the study sequentially describes the context of the study in terms of its political, economic, social, and technological landscapes.

1.1.1 The political context of South Africa

In South Africa, the socio-historic system of Apartheid socially engineered systems that provided various economic and social privileges for White South Africans over Black South Africans (Beck, 2013; Donnelly, Cook, Van Ausdale, & Foley, 2005; MacDonald, 2006; Mattes, 2002; Maylam, 2001; Thompson, 2001). After reigning for some forty years, the National Party (political party), which institutionalised the system of Apartheid in South Africa, lost the first democratic elections in the country to the African National Congress (ANC) party in 1994. This shift in political leadership saw not only the abolishment of the Apartheid system in South Africa but other significant advances in racially integrating the once racially and spatially segregated country (Khosa, 2001). There have been five more national democratic elections in the country, all of which have been won by the ruling ANC party. While the democratic period has been under the political leadership of the same party (the ANC), the country's political leadership has not been homogenous. Each leader elected by the ANC to serve as president of the political party and the president of the country brought about unique eras to this democratic period in South Africa (Everatt, 2016).

The Mandela era strategically placed South Africa in the global spotlight and portrayed the country as one of hope, perseverance and victory (Suzman & Mandela, 1993). As widespread support for Mandela poured into South Africa, so did foreign investment. This era can be defined mainly as one of both hope and anxiety or fear of the unknown. Whilst many Black South Africans were hopeful that the political transition would bring about equality, which would, in turn, afford them equal opportunities, many White South Africans were fearful that racial equality in the new, democratic South Africa would curtail their privileges, creating a bleak future for them (Beall, Gelb, & Hassim, 2005; Steyn & Foster, 2008; Verwey & Quayle, 2012). This study adopted the legislative use of Black to include African, Coloured, and Indian people (Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998). Hence, any person who was categorised as Black by their employer was considered to be Black. Likewise, any person classified as White by their employer was meant to be White. The so-called Asian, Indian, and Coloured races commonly identified in South Africa were considered Black and any person who was not categorised as White was considered Black and vice versa. In the interest of efficiency, the study adopted the legislative use of the terms Black and White as exploring the lived experiences of each racially classified group in the country would have made for a lengthy, arduous thesis.

The transition in leadership from Mandela to Mbeki in 1999 brought to the fore the stark reality of the growing gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa. This was an era in which the hopefulness sparked during the previous Mandela era began to wane, and the social awareness that democracy was insufficient grew. Pockets of social uprisings started to give voice to the Black masses, which increasingly demanded that the ANC deliver on its electioneering promises of, amongst others, free housing, jobs, and free education. These demands escalated and were met by Mbeki's diplomatic, uncharismatic political response (Bond & Mottiar, 2013).

Mbeki's resignation brought about a new political era in South Africa as Motlanthe took over the political reins. His brief leadership brought further uncertainty to the country as the Zuma faction worked to overthrow him shortly after he was elected to power. The Zuma era has become synonymous with alleged state capture (Madonsela, 2019; Martin & Solomon, 2016). While Zuma managed to capture the hearts of many followers with his charismatic promises to deliver rapid economic transformation, he allegedly aided the large-scale looting of public

funds in the country, exacerbating the gap between the rich and the poor rather than providing economic change. The current Ramaphosa presidency has created yet a different era in terms of the political context for South Africa. This era is characterised mainly by efforts to clean up the looting of public funds that allegedly occurred during the Zuma era. This is an era of re-directing a derailed economy and re-establishing investor confidence to attract the much-needed foreign investment lost during the Zuma era.

Spaces and places changed with the political shift from the Apartheid era to the democratic era in South Africa. Spaces racially segregated during the Apartheid era were racially integrated during the democratic period through spatial transformation initiatives. During Nelson Mandela's tenure, most spaces in the country were integrated, and his emphasis on nation-building extended to integrating people and spaces. Mbeki's tenure was marred by demands for free housing, education, and other services that the African National Congress (ANC) promised to historically disadvantaged people. The pace of spatial integration was further disrupted by the growing influx of foreigners into South Africa (Pillay, 2008), and the concept of spatial racial integration was not experienced homogenously by Black and White South Africans. Whilst most people, Black and White alike, supported the transformation of spaces and places in the country, some White people were less optimistic and emigrated from South Africa (Steyn, 2005; Steyn, Badenhorst & Kamper, 2010). Motlanthe's tenure was brief in relation to other presidents in the democratic era, as he served less than a year as president. Zuma, who took over from Motlanthe, was more charismatic than his two predecessors, albeit less so than the iconic Mandela. His tenure has become synonymous with state capture and corruption (Alence & Pitcher, 2019; Madonsela, 2019; Martin & Solomon, 2016) and spaces and places in South Africa began to deteriorate as less money was ploughed into infrastructure development, and the maintenance and upkeep of critical infrastructure such as power stations. Today, many South Africans, regardless of race, feel unsure of the future of South Africa and their futures in the country. Ramaphosa's tenure at the helm of the country has not resulted in convictions of those involved in state capture, and this, amongst other issues, has reduced his support base. In addition to spaces and places rapidly deteriorating, crime is rife, as is inequality and poverty. These social ills shape and taint the experience of spaces in the country.

1.1.2 The economic context of South Africa

Almost thirty years into democracy and economic inequality, poverty, and unemployment remain critical challenges in South Africa, mainly to the detriment of Black South Africans (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006; Chibba & Luiz, 2011; Hoogeveen & Özler, 2005, 2006). The economic inequality in the country is exacerbated by, amongst other things, income disparity in the workplace. Recent studies initiated by the government's Department of Labour have shown that top management positions, particularly in the private sector, are predominantly occupied by White South Africans (Statistics South Africa, 2020a), as illustrated in Figure 3 below.

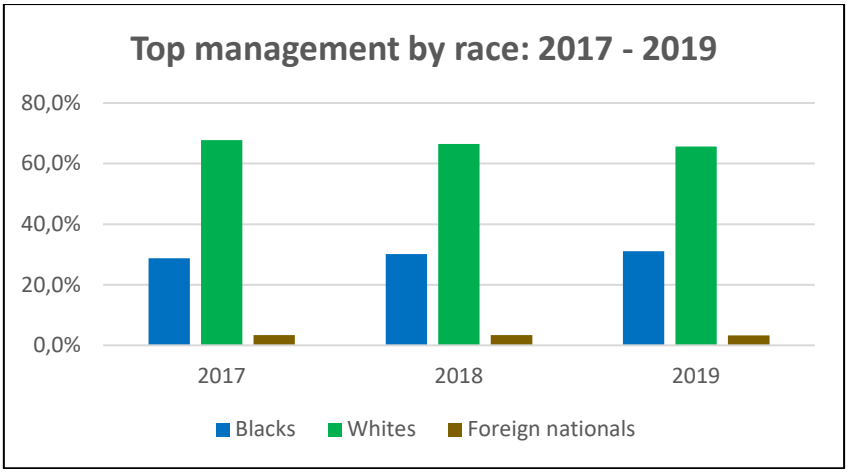


Figure 3: The 2019–2020 Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report shows that top management positions in South Africa are occupied mainly by White South Africans (Statistics South Africa, 2020a)

The income inequality in South Africa suggests that, whilst spaces have been racially integrated in democratic South Africa, Black South Africans remain on the formal economy's outskirts (Chibba & Luiz, 2011; Hoogeveen & Özler, 2006). Studies also reveal that unemployment and poverty in South Africa are concentrated among Black South Africans (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006; Statistics South Africa, 2019). The following extract from the *Inequality Trends in South Africa* report highlights the racial income disparity in South Africa:

"The distribution of earnings starkly depicts the heavily racialized inequality in the South African labour market…in addition to having worse employment outcomes, black Africans also earn the lowest wages when employed. Whites, in contrast, earn substantially higher wages than all the other population groups." (Statistics, 2019, p. 146)

In 2019, South Africa obtained a Gini coefficient rating of 0.63. This rating makes South Africa one of the most unequal countries in the world (Posel & Rogan, 2019). The Gini coefficient, a commonly used measure of inequality in South Africa, ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates perfect equality (all individuals have the same income), and one means perfect inequality (where one person has all the income and the rest have none). The closer the Gini coefficient gets to 1, the more unequal the population is, with the population becoming more equal as the Gini coefficient approaches 0.

1.1.3 The social context of South Africa

According to a recent report for 2020, the estimated size of the mid-year population was 59,62 million (Statistics South Africa, 2020a). At the time of the writing, about 28.6% of the population was younger than 15. Approximately 9,1% (5,4 million) of the population was 60 or older, with the proportion of elderly persons aged 60 and older increasing over time (2020). With eleven official languages in the country and many cultures, religions and belief systems, South Africa is often described as a "rainbow" nation. This term was coined by Desmond Tutu when he said:

"They tried to make us one colour: purple. We say we are the rainbow people! We are the new people of the new South Africa!" (Tutu, 2006)

However, whilst the country has, by law, become racially, and spatially integrated since 1994, racial nuisances continue to disrupt the so-called 'rainbow nation', and the social context of South Africa is not homogenous (Franchi, 2003; Mtose, 2011; Ntshoe, 2009; Swanepoel, 2019; Verwey & Quayle, 2012; Walker, 2005). Instead, race, not just race in terms of Black and White but also xenophobia or nationalism, has become characteristic of the social fabric of the country (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Dodson, 2010; Pillay, 2017; Steenkamp, 2009; Warner, Finchilescu, & Finchelescu, 2003). Similarly, economic inequality and an imbalance of actual or perceived powers, be they power in the workplace or other spaces in South Africa, create racial disparities and different experiences for Black and White South Africans (Hoogeveen & Özler, 2006). Racial inequality, or even mere perceptions of racial differences, are fuelled to some extent by race-based politics, which have gained momentum in South Africa. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) is a political party that has grown in popularity, particularly amongst young Black South Africans since it first registered in 2013. The EFF has, on many occasions, incited public violence by calling for the killing of White farmers in the country (Mbete, 2015). Race-based politics, xenophobia, unemployment, poverty, inequality, public protests and social unrest, particularly by rural communities for improved service delivery, collectively contribute to distorting the picture of a cohesive, 'rainbow' nation in South Africa (Crush, 2001; Desai & Desāī, 2002; Harris, 2002; Warner et al., 2003).

1.1.4 The technological context of South Africa

Over the past decade, the government and civil society have been working on what it terms the "fourth industrial revolution", commonly known as 4IR, and preparing South Africa for it (Butler-Adam, 2018; Levin, 2018). Some studies paint an optimistic picture of Africa and its ability to respond to the fourth industrial revolution, which will be stimulated by technological advancements in areas such as artificial intelligence (Mahajan, 2011). However, other studies are less optimistic and question the continent's ability to participate in and contribute meaningfully to the fourth industrial revolution (Smith, 2015; Taylor, 2016).

The technological context of South Africa, much like the country's political, social, and economic contexts, is not homogenous. Economic inequality, poverty, and high unemployment, particularly amongst the youth, are key factors that adversely impact the country's ability to create equal opportunities for South Africans to participate meaningfully in the fourth industrial revolution. High data costs, poverty, youth unemployment, and poor infrastructure, particularly in the rural areas of South Africa, curtail the masses of Black South Africans from gaining access to information and being exposed to opportunities to take part in the fourth industrial revolution (Makhaya & Roberts, 2003). The following graph, extracted from a Statistics South Africa report published in 2019, shows that while there has been a general upward trend in both rural and urban areas in South Africa in terms of access to the internet, this growth has been disproportionate. As shown in the graph, households in urban areas have greater access to the internet than households in rural areas (Statistics, 2019).

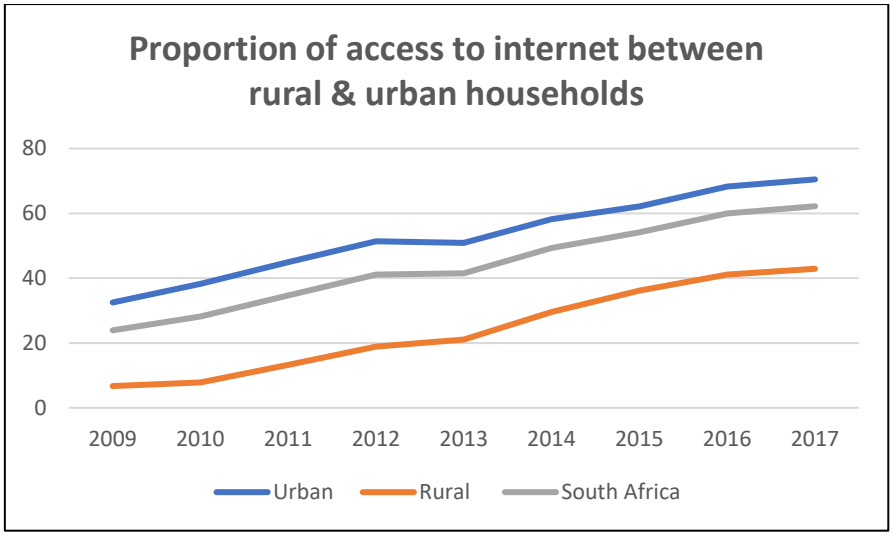


Figure 4: Urban households in South Africa have greater access to the internet than rural households

1.3 Research problem

Affirmative action programs preceded diversity management. Whereas the former sought to promote the employment and career advancement of Black people and, later, women, the latter is centered around the economic and moral value of diverse workforces (Köllen, 2021). Affirmative action programs began to lose political support, paving the way for diversity management to emerge in its stead (Beckwith & Jones, 1997). In South Africa, affirmative action is commonly and legislatively known as Employment Equity (Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998), and diversity management programs tend to focus on the attraction and retention of Black employees, women, and people with disabilities primarily to meet Employment Equity targets (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017). The need for Employment Equity arose around 1994 when South Africa transitioned from Apartheid to democracy (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017). This political transition introduced various changes to the country. Where racial integration had been criminalised under the Apartheid laws of the country, racial segregation was criminalised under the democratic rules of the country. These new laws were extended into the workplace through various Acts and regulations, such as the Employment Equity Act (Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998). Under the new democratic laws of the country, organisations were obliged to comply with various requirements set out by the Employment Equity Act to bring about Employment Equity in the workplace. As a start, organisations were required to compile a plan that detailed how they intended to achieve Employment Equity in the workplace and to define their numerical Employment Equity goals in terms of race, gender, and disabilities. Hence, Employment Equity in South Africa tends to focus on the numerical reporting of single identities, primarily regarding race, gender, and disabilities. The intersectionality of multiple identities is often overlooked by policy makers and diversity management practitioners in South Africa, and, as a result, little is known about the intersectionality of race, gender, and disabilities in the workplace and how this intersectionality may discriminate against or privilege workers. Even less is known about the intersectionality of less common identities or social constructs such as race, social generations, and locale (space and place) in the workplace in South Africa. Place is as important as space for this study because place may be consciously or unconsciously socially engineered to create different experiences for Black and White South Africans (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Gieryn, 2000). Suppose places are not racially integrated in conjunction with spaces. In that case, the experiences of Black and White workers from different social generations are likely to differ, and workers may feel privileged or discriminated against when race intersects with social generations and locale.

This qualitative research study explores the intersectionality of race, social generations, and locale (space and place) in South Africa and examines intra-generational differences in South African social generations. The study seeks to add local understandings of social generations and intra-generational differences to the pool of diversity management studies. Employment Equity efforts have had limited success in South Africa since White South Africans, mainly White men, occupy the majority of top jobs in the workplace in South Africa. Between 2019 and 2020, almost 30 years into democracy, White South Africans, who constituted 8% of the population in South Africa, occupied more than 65% of top management jobs in the country. Similarly, women, who comprised 51% of the people in South Africa, were unrepresented in top management jobs (Statistics South Africa, 2020b). However, since Employment Equity tends to overlook the intersectionality of race and gender, little is known about the lived experiences of Black women in the workplace. Hence, the quantitative approach to managing diversity has not positively transformed the Employment Equity landscape in the workplace. Instead, what is needed, in conjunction with quantitative data, is rich qualitative data in terms of the intersectionality of social constructs such as race, gender, and disability, as well as the intersectionality of less commonly known social constructs such as race, social generations, and locale (space and place) in the South African workplace.

1.4 Research questions

Four research questions underpin this study. The fourth research question is an overarching one related to the first three research questions.

1) Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?
2) How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?
3) How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation?
4) When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation experience this intersection?

Studies on social generations tend to portray such generations as homogenous. However, in South Africa, where the socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid has had long-term ramifications for social cohesion in the country, Black and White experiences within social generations are likely to differ, making it unlikely that they will be homogenous. By exploring the above-listed research questions, this study seeks to identify South African-specific social generations and to add to the understanding of how race may intersect with social generations and locale to create intra-generational differences in South African social generations.

1.1.5 Research question one: Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?

According to the seminal theory of (social) generations, since socio-historic events are specific to a locale (space), social generations differ from locale to locale (Mannheim, 1927). Whilst various studies have explored attributes of social generations in different countries (Larsen, 1994; Schuman & Scott, 1989; Van Wel, 1994; Whittier, 1997), studies by Strauss and Howe that examined socio-historic events that occurred in the US identified the Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations that have become popular globally. The popularity of these social generations creates the impression that US-specific social generations are global (Howe & Strauss, 1992a; Strauss & Howe, 1991). These works by Strauss and Howe have largely informed current thinking about social generations. By examining socio-historic events that have unfolded in South Africa, this study seeks to define social generations specific to South Africa.

1.1.6 Research question two: How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?

Studies on social generations tend not only to Americanise social generations but also to portray them as homogenous (Clark, 2017; Hansen & Leuty, 2012; Rudolph, Rauvola, & Zacher, 2018). In South Africa, the socio-historic system of Apartheid racially segregated Black and White South Africans and created not only different spaces for Black and White South Africans but different places too (Aoki, 1992). Owing to the varied experiences of race, Black and White South Africans from what we know as the Baby Boomer and Generation X social generations are likely to have different lived experiences of this same socio-historic event (the system of Apartheid). It is, therefore, improbable that such a social generation of Black and White South Africans will be a homogenous cohort. This study explores how Black and White South Africans from the different South African-specific social generations (as defined under 1.4.1 above) experience race.

1.1.7 Research question three: How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation?

As discussed in Section 1.1, since 1994, in South Africa, spaces such as the workplace have primarily become racially integrated under the regulatory framework that has become institutionalised in organisations. However, Black and White South Africans may have different experiences of space, even racially integrated spaces. This study explores how Black and White South Africans from different social generations experience space and place in the workplace in South Africa.

Given that the system of Apartheid not only spatially separated Black and White South Africans but also created different *places* for Black and White South Africans, it is crucial to examine how Black and White South Africans experience place in the workplace in South Africa. Whilst spaces in South Africa have been racially integrated mainly as a result of legislative requirements such as those of the Constitution of the country, and much is known about the level of racial integration of spaces mainly from a quantitative perspective, little is known about how *places* have been racially integrated and experienced in South Africa. Therefore, This study explores how Black and White South Africans from different social generations experience the workplace in South Africa.

1.1.8 Research question four: When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the different social generations experience this intersection?

Diversity management programmes in South Africa tend to overlook the intersectionality of social constructs in the workplace. As a result, little is known about the intersectionality of social constructs such as social generations, race, and locale (space and place). This study explores how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience the intersection of race, social generations, and locale (space and place) in South Africa.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is located broadly in the field of diversity management. Studies on social generations and intersectionality are situated within this field. They are central to this study, which seeks to contribute local findings on these phenomena to the pool of diversity management studies. The phenomena of social generations and intersectionality have been widely studied.

Following Mannheim's theory of (social) generations put forward in 1927 (Mannheim, 1927), studies from the 1930s to the late 1940s tended to explore differences amongst familial generations (Cansler, 1939; Faris, 1947;

Gilmore, 1932; Irons, 1935; Kirkpatrick, 1936; Tysdal & Clark, 1934). Later, studies between the early 1950s and the early 1970s expanded the scope of generations beyond the family to explore differences amongst social generations (Bengtson, 1970; Beshers, Laumann, & Bradshaw, 1964; Duverger & Tinnin, 1955; Gusfield, 1956; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Keller, 1953; Mukherjee, 1954; Prais, 1955).

Then, in 1969, some 40 years after his theory of (social) generations was published, Mannheim criticised scholars for overlooking studies on (social) generations conducted by fellow scholars in neighbouring countries, in this way contributing to what he called the "anarchy in the social and cultural sciences where everyone starts fresh from his point of view, never pausing to consider the various aspects as part of a single general problem so that the contributions of various disciplines to the collective solution could be planned" (Mannheim, 1969, p. 163). According to Mannheim, whilst the problem of (social) generations has been explored by various scholars in different sciences, and the contributions to these various studies have been interesting, there has been no clear, dedicated focus on gathering a collective understanding of the phenomenon of (social) generations (Mannheim, 1969). Mannheim further distinguished "concrete" social groups, such as families, and social groups, such as youth movements, where membership in a movement is more intentional and planned than membership in a social group like one's family. He stressed the need for social science scholars to examine how (social) generations may be defined and understood and the nature of (social) generations as a sociological phenomenon.

Between the 1960s and early 1990s, the term 'cohort' gained prominence as scholars increasingly tried to distinguish between generations and social generations. This term was introduced by demographer Norman Ryder in 1965. It was conceptualised as referring to a homogenous group of individuals who have in common, amongst other things, the same birth years and experiences of socio-historic events. During this era, scholars shifted their focus from exploring differences amongst cohorts or generation cohorts to exploring the experiences of cohorts (Nydegger, Mitteness, & O'Neil, 1983; Redlich, 1976; Taylor & Crandall, 1986) and to examining patterns of social change to cohorts (Delli Carpini, 1989; Roos, 1985; Schatz, 1991).

Then, in 1992, the generational theory by Strauss and Howe (1992a) introduced a critical turning point in the study of social generations. The generational theory was the basis upon which Strauss and Howe coined the terms 'Traditionalist', 'Baby Boomers', 'Generation X', and 'Generation Y' as generations. Notably, Strauss and Howe use the term 'generation', even though they portray each of these as homogenous cohorts. This study and subsequent studies by Strauss and Howe (Howe & Strauss, 1992a, 1992b, 2000, 2007; Strauss & Howe, 2009; Strauss & Howe, 1991) have largely shaped the current empirical and conceptual understandings of the phenomenon of social generations.

To date, there is a wealth of studies about the Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations in various study contexts across the world, as if these social generations identified and coined from the socio-historic context of the US are globally relevant and applicable (Alwin, 2002; Cowell & Kupritz, 2005; Cran, 2010; Dronne & Minter, 2009; McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2010; Riescher, 2009; Stanley, 2010).

The US terms for social generations are commonly used in South Africa and elsewhere to describe local social generations, as if social generations are homogenous or generic. This is perhaps due to the Americanisation of social generations. The Americanisation of places (Azaryahu, 2000; Thurnher, 2017), sports (McKay & Miller, 1991; Wagner, 1990), politics (Negrine & Papathanassopoulos, 1996), law (Nader, 2017), and commodities such as fast foods (Azaryahu, 2000) presents but a few examples that highlight the extent to which American culture dominates the global arena. It is, therefore, likely that social generations have also become Americanised over time.

Similarly, the phenomenon of intersectionality was coined by Crenshaw, an influential feminist in the civil rights movement (Crenshaw, Gotanda, & Peller, 1995). Initially, it focused on the intersectionality of US law, race, and gender. Whilst subsequent studies on intersectionality have explored other social constructs such as class, sexuality, and disability (Monro, 2010; Shields, 2008; Veenstra, 2013; Vivar, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 2006), intersectionality studies tend to focus on race and gender (Ben-Moshe & Magaña, 2014; Moolman, 2013a; Shaw, Chan, & McMahon, 2012; Veenstra, 2013). Few studies have explored the intersectionality of race, social generations, and locale (space and place).

Furthermore, Crenshaw, an attorney by profession, often draws attention to the White bias built into the US legal system, particularly towards Black women (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 2005; Crenshaw, 2010). It is, therefore, not surprising that subsequent studies on intersectionality tend to be located in legal studies (Collins, 2012; Conaghan, 2008; Davis, 2015b; Deckha, 2004; Erevelles & Minear, 2010; Grabham, Cooper, Krishnadas, & Herman, 2008; Taefi, 2009). This study explores the human experiential aspect of intersectionality from a South African perspective. Therefore, the study explores the intersectionality of race and South African-specific social generations to understand how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience spaces and places (locale) in the workplace. In so doing, the study seeks to explore intra-generational differences in South Africa.

1.1.9 The study of generations

Karl Mannheim was instrumental in creating a shift in the conceptual understanding of generations when he postulated that the concept of generations, primarily considered a familial phenomenon at the time, be studied as a sociological phenomenon and a determinant of social change. He defined social generations as a sociological phenomenon that explains patterns of social change in a given society. For him, 'generations' or, more precisely, 'familial generations' refers to the different generations within a family, for example, the grandparent, parent, and child, each belonging to its familial generation according to the biological age of the individual (Mannheim, 1927, 1969). Despite Mannheim's clear distinction between familial generations and social generations, social science scholars have, since the inception of the theory of generations, frequently used the term 'generations' as a synonym for 'social generations' (Pilcher, 1994). As a result, whilst there is a pool of research located in the study of generations (both familial and social generations), there are no standard terms or understanding of the phenomenon of social generations within the social sciences (Mannheim, 1969).

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, in 1965, Norman Ryder introduced the term 'cohort' to explain the phenomenon of social change (Ryder, 1965). He defined a cohort as a group of people with common birth years age together, and collectively encounter the same socio-historic events. Since then, the term 'cohort' has become a common currency amongst social science scholars, who use 'cohort' or 'generation cohort' as a synonym for social generations. Whilst the introduction of this term to the social sciences has helped to accentuate the distinction between social generations and generations, on the one hand, it has, on the other hand, coincidentally further widened the pool of terms used to discuss social generations in the social sciences (Pilcher, 1994). Today, social science scholars widely use the term 'generations'. Still, even so, it is essential to note the different conceptual understandings of 'generations' and 'social generations' as outlined above.

Mannheim advocated a theory of (social) generations that formed the theoretical basis for explaining social generations as a sociological phenomenon (Mannheim, 1927). Critical aspects of Mannheim's theory of (social) generations included the notion that social generations are in the same social and historical processes in a given society. Social science scholars argue that social generations experience the same socio-historic events in a specific

locale or space (Alwin, 2002; Bristow, 2015c). A common misconception amongst scholars is that social generations have the same experience of socio-historic events, irrespective of how social categories such as race and class may stratify the experience of people belonging to the same social generation. This misconception perpetuates the assumption that social generations are homogenous social units. To counter this assumption, this study distinguishes between social generations *experiencing the same socio-historic events* and *social generations having the same experience of socio-historic events*. In this study, 'Locale' refers to the specific points in the social and historical timeline in which a social generation is located and the actual locale or space in which socio-historic events unfold. This actual or physical locale in which socio-historic events occur is often understood in terms of space only. However, this study borrows from spatial theory (Lefebvre, 1991). It views locale as both space and place, arguing that the lived experiences of places are as meaningful as the lived experiences of spaces. For Mannheim, the collective childhood experiences of socio-historic events are a prerequisite for making a new social generation, as childhood experiences inform the sorts of social changes that the youth grow up to bring about in their society in their adult years. These changes, in turn, inform new collective childhood experiences for the following social generation, and so the cycle continues.

Social constructs such as race and locale (both regarding where one is located regarding the social and historical processes in a given society and the locale (physical space) in which socio-historic events unfold) stratify the experiences of individuals belonging to the same social generations. In this way, they create what Mannheim called 'generation units', or differences within generations. For this study, a difference within generations is called 'intra-generational differences.'

Current understandings of social generations in South Africa and elsewhere have been primarily shaped by the generational theory (1992a). Howe and Strauss (1992a) studied the history of the US between 1924 and 2000. They identified four social generations that evolved over this period: the Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations. These social generations have become widely used by scholars in South Africa (Bevan-Dye & Meyer, 2018a; Duh & Struwig, 2015; Johnston, 2013; Jonck, Sobayeni, & van der Walt, 2016; Kruger & Saayman, 2015; Nienaber & Masibigiri, 2012; Padayachee, 2017). Strauss and Howe (2009) coined this set of social generations based on crucial turning points that they identified that related to postmodernist, neoliberalist, and capitalist events (Howe & Strauss, 1992a). Despite race-related socio-historic events being a vital feature of the social and historical fabric of the US, as detailed in the table below, Strauss and Howe's generational theory completely discounts race-related socio-historic events and, in so doing, creates the impression that social generations globally are homogenous (Bannerji, 2005; Barile, 2004; Luna, 2015; Morín, 2016; Teague, 2021). Essentially, Strauss and Howe focus on socio-political events, such as postmodernism, neoliberalism, and capitalism to explain the rise of the different generations. Table 1 below lists and contrasts a few key socio-historic events that occurred in South Africa and the US between 1946 and 2000. Although each country has had a unique history, both countries have experienced some significant socio-historic events that pertain to race. For ease of reference these similar events have been highlighted in the same colour in the table below.

Table 1: Some race-related socio-historic events in South Africa and the US. Strauss and Howe's generational theory (1992a) overlooks these race-related socio-historic events in the US and focuses solely on postmodernism, neoliberalism, and capitalism.

Significant socio-historic events in South Africa	Significant socio-historic events in the US
Baby Boomers between 1946 - 1964	
1948: A policy of apartheid or racial separateness of people was adopted by the National Party. **1950:** The South African population was segregated by race through the 1Group Areas Act, ensuring that Blacks and Whites lived in different locales (spaces). **1960:** Seventy peaceful demonstrators were killed during a protest. South Africa was banned from the Olympic Games as international pressure was exerted on the country to desegregate. 1961: The African National Congress established a military wing and launched campaigns to destabilise the National Party government. **1964:** Nelson Mandela was imprisoned.	**1952:** Malcolm X was nominated minister of a Black nationalist and separatist movement. **1954:** Racial segregation in schools was declared unconstitutional. **1955:** The Civil Rights Movement led to a year-long boycott of buses. Buses were later racially desegregated. **1960:** The Civil Rights Movement intensified. **1963:** Martin Luther King was arrested and jailed during an anti-segregation protest. He made his renowned 'I Have a Dream' speech at this protest.
Generation X between 1965 - 1980	
1970: Thousands of Blacks are forcibly relocated from their homes. **1976:** Hundreds of demonstrators are killed by police during a protest that was later aptly named the Soweto uprising. **1980s:** Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress, intensifies its fight to sabotage the government.	**1965**: Malcolm X was assassinated, and peaceful protests led by Martin Luther King turned violent as state troops killed and injured hundreds of protestors. **1966:** Black Panther, a Black American military party, is founded initially as a mechanism for peaceful self-defence but later evolves to lead a violent revolution to achieve Black liberation. **1967:** Race riots intensifies. 1968: Martin Luther King was assassinated. President Johnson prohibited discrimination in housing policies. 1978: The Supreme Court ruled in favour of affirmative action, provided that more significant opportunities for minority groups did not discriminate against White South Africans.
Generation Y between 1981 – 2000	
1984 – 1989: Blacks revolted against the government, and a state of emergency was declared. **1990:** The African National Congress was unbanned, and Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years. **1994:** The first democratic elections in South Africa resulted in the abolition of the apartheid policy.	**1992:** After decades, the first race riots erupted in Los Angeles when police beat an American of Korean descent. Civil unrest broke out as Americans of Korean descent commenced protest action.

Scholars need to consider race-related socio-historic events when exploring local social generations as these events may be instrumental to forming a particular social generation. In South Africa, as an example, the system of

[1]Group Areas Act, Act Number 41 of 1950, was enacted under the apartheid government that assigned different residential and business sections in urban areas to Blacks and Whites. One of the repercussions was that Blacks had to commute longer distances from home to work than Whites had to.

Apartheid has been a major socio-historic event that has shaped the country's socio-political context. Race has been and remains a critical construct in the country, and local social generations should be explored in the context of race.

Strauss and Howe's Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations (Howe & Strauss, 1992a) have become common currency in studies on social generations. The Traditionalist social generation, born between 1924 and 1945, would be between the ages of approximately 76 and 97 at the time of this study and, therefore, unlikely to be readily available in the workplace. For this reason, the Traditionalist social generation is not discussed in this study.

By referring to social generations in different study contexts, such as Baby Boomers or Generation X, as examples, scholars create the impression that US-specific social generations are homogenous and applicable to all study contexts. This practice devalues the importance of intra-generational differences in the study of social generations and perpetuates the Americanisation of social generations. In addition, when scholars refer to social generations in their respective study contexts by terms defined by the generational theory (Howe & Strauss, 1992a, 1992b, 2000, 2007; Strauss & Howe, 2009; Strauss & Howe, 1991), they fail to locate local social generations within the social and historical processes relevant to their specific study contexts or locale (space). In this way, they assume that the names and lengths of the social generations are the same as those of the social generations identified by Strauss and Howe (1992a). As a result, little is known about local social generations in different study contexts, such as South Africa.

This becomes evident when the Baby Boomer social generation in the US (1946–1964) grew up in challenging economic times, post-World War II. As its name suggests, this social generation has been associated with a sudden spike in the birth rate after soldiers returned home from the Second World War (Howe & Strauss, 1992a; Kupperschmidt, 2000). Figure 5 below shows that during this same time, South Africa did not witness a similar sudden spike in its birth rate, indicating that the 'Baby Boomer' social generation in the US does not apply to South Africa.

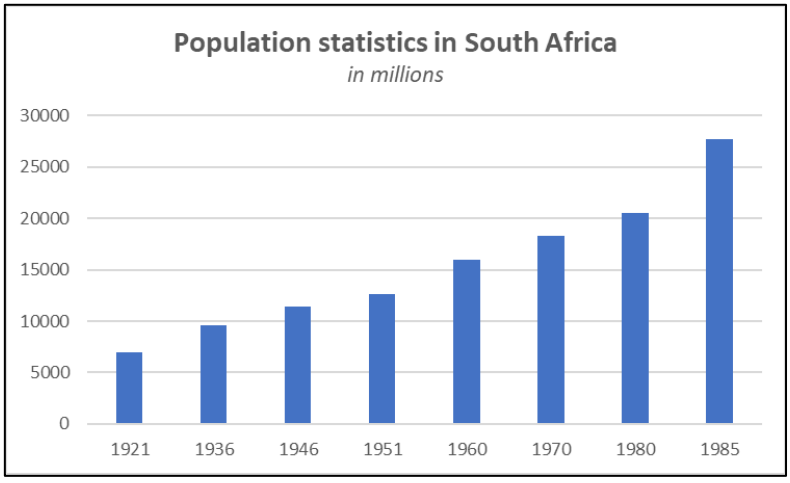


Figure 5: Population statistics in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2000)

Howe and Strauss (1992a) describe Generation X (1965–1980) as a social generation that was alienated as youth, with "X" referring to an unknown variable or to a desire not to be defined. Generation X is also called the 'latchkey' social generation, as they were likely to return home from school to an empty house since more women entered

the workplace during this era and both parents were likely to be working. As a result, this is a social generation that primarily grew up without adult supervision (Howe, 2010; Scheef & Thielfoldt, 2004; Thomas, 2011). In South Africa, between 1965 and 1980, racial tensions heightened following the arrest of Nelson Mandela in 1962 and, later, his incarceration for 27 years. The system of Apartheid relegated Black South Africans to rural homelands far from cities and jobs, forcing thousands of Black men to migrate to the cities in search of jobs. As a result, households were commonly headed by single mothers, and youth at the time primarily experienced feelings of loss and abandonment by fathers and father figures rather than a lack of adult supervision during the working hours of each day (Amoateng & Richter, 2007; Lu & Treiman, 2011; Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012). Again, this points to a difference between the social generation in the US and South Africa.

Generation Y in the US (1981–2000) has typically been raised by nurturing parents, who have given the children of this generation the freedom of choice and encouraged them to question authority. This social generation has a strong sense of community, both local and global, and is the first to grow up with computers being a central feature of their lives (Howe & Strauss, 2000; McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2010). Generation Y in South Africa is commonly known as the Born Free Social Generation since it was the first social generation born into democracy in South Africa. In South Africa, the Born Free or Generation Y social generation primarily lives in single women-headed households owing to the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid. The significant income inequality and the gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa mean that whilst a privileged portion of Generation Y may have access to computers and other means of technology, a historically disadvantaged portion remains disadvantaged and marginalised (Hoogeveen & Özler, 2005, 2006; May & Govender, 1998). This difference in privilege is an example of intra-generational difference within the Born Free (or Generation Y) social generation in South Africa.

In South Africa, the 54 years between 2000 (the end of Generation Y) and 1946 (the start of the Baby Boomer social generation) were primarily influenced by the political struggle for democracy, which officially ended in the early 1990s, and the reconstruction and development of a democratic state that commenced in 1994 (Atuahene, 2011; Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006; Bond & Mottiar, 2013; Jeeves, 2004). The postmodernist, neoliberalism, and capitalist events that Strauss and Howe (1992a) define as key turnings for the US Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations have not been vital turnings or socio-historic events for South Africa. Yet, studies on social generations tend to reference social generations in South Africa and elsewhere by the Americanised terms defined by Strauss and Howe (1992a) as if social generations are homogenous and generic (Bevan-Dye & Meyer, 2018b; Hansen & Leuty, 2012; Nienaber & Masibigiri, 2012; Padayachee, 2017).

1.1.10 Intersectionality studies

According to the theory of intersectionality developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (Crenshaw, 1989), multiple identities such as race and gender intersect to further discriminate against or privilege people. There is a wealth of knowledge about the intersectionality of social constructs such as gender, sexuality, and race (Collins, 2012; Crenshaw, 2005; Davis, 2008; Lewis, 2009; Monro, 2010; Shields, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006), there is limited understanding of the intersectionality of race, social generations, and locale (space and place) and how this intersectionality may discriminate against or privilege workers in South Africa or elsewhere.

As mentioned in Section 1.3, the Department of Labour in South Africa chiefly assesses Employment Equity in terms of the number of Historically Disadvantaged Individuals (HDIs) (Black South Africans, women, and people with disabilities) that an organisation employs against targets set by, amongst others, the Employment Equity Act (Africa, 1998). The result is that diversity management programmes in South Africa tend to focus on assessing whether spaces in the workplace are racially integrated to meet the minimum numerical requirements to comply

with Employment Equity targets. Such programmes place little emphasis on qualitatively understanding how the intersectionality of multiple identities may discriminate against or privilege workers or how places may remain racially polarised even when spaces are racially integrated. Without these understandings, employers may quantitatively meet Employment Equity targets but find it challenging to maintain compliance as HDIs may revolve in and out of the organisation if they do not perceive the places in the workplace to be racially integrated, even though spaces may be racially integrated. To achieve employment equity effectively, employers should gather and analyse qualitative data in conjunction with quantitative data to assess the employment equity gaps in the organisation and develop diversity management plans to address those gaps. Hence, employers that comply with employment equity targets at the same time as socially engineering spaces and places in the workplace that Black and White South Africans experience may have better success in attracting and retaining HDIs.

This study may add value to researchers and scholars on diversity management by adding local findings to the pool of diversity management studies. By exploring the intersectionality of social generations, race, and locale (space and place) in South Africa, this study may be helpful to scholars, management, and diversity management practitioners tasked with understanding and managing differences (real or perceived) in the workplace. Management and diversity management practitioners tend to understand social generations in South Africa according to attributes commonly associated with the US-specific Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations. A better understanding of South African-specific social generations may aid scholars, management practitioners, and diversity management practitioners in effectively managing different social generations in the South African workspace.

Furthermore, this study may expand on the understanding of South African-specific social generations and intra-generational differences, and, as such, it may be helpful to marketers who commonly package products and services for specific target markets in South Africa that are currently based on attributes of US-specific social generations.

Finally, the study may help inform policymakers in South Africa concerned with developing and implementing diversity management policies in the workplace to improve employment equity in the workplace and South Africa in general.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

This section defines the scope of the study and lists and briefly discusses its key delimitations. The delimitations pertain to the research sample, context, research questions, and the analysis of the findings.

- The study seeks to add local findings from South Africa to diversity management studies. The study is therefore conducted in South Africa and exclusively explores workers' experiences of the system of Apartheid as a South African-specific socio-historic event.

- The study explores the Black and White experiences of each social generation of the socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid in South Africa. Race is a central social construct for this study, as it is relevant in South Africa's history steeped in racial segregation. Even today, almost three decades after the demise of the system of Apartheid, race remains an essential social construct in the country. It often serves as a lens through which various social phenomena are experienced and understood in the country. Race is, therefore, a central social construct for this study, and it is expected to be both the theory of generations and the theory of intersectionality which form the basis of this study. The experiences of other socio-historic events, such as Colonialism, are excluded from the study to avoid the study becoming too onerous or cumbersome.

- This study is not a phenomenological study and does not explore the cultural aspects of the lived experiences amongst the different racially based cultures in the country. For this reason, as well as in the interest of efficiency and avoiding the thesis from becoming lengthy and arduous, the study adopted the legislative use of the terms Black and White. The study groups all persons categorised as Black by their employer to be Black; likewise, all persons categorised as White by their employer were considered White. As such, the Asian, Indian, and Coloured races were considered, for purposes of this study, to be Black. As such, any person not categorised as White was considered Black and vice versa.

- The study is conducted in two organisations within the Gauteng province of South Africa, and it conceptualises the workplace as a microcosm of societies in South Africa (Bigo, 2008; Dennis & Thomas, 2007). One organisation is in the public sector; the other is in the private sector. Spaces and places differ between the country's public and private sectors, possibly creating different experiences for workers in each of these sectors. The private sector is the largest single employer in the country, and in keeping with its mission to create jobs, this sector tends to have large workforces with complex, hierarchical structures. Conversely, the private sector, driven by profits tends to have lean workforces to reduce its human capital expense. Conceptualising the workplace as a microcosm of societies in South Africa, the study postulates that its findings may be transferable to other provinces and broader communities in South Africa.

- Participants for this study are purposively selected from the so-called Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations in South Africa since social generations in South Africa tend to be understood in terms of Strauss and Howe's (1992a) US-specific social generations. Generation Z (born between 1997 and 2012) and the Traditionalist (born between 1924 and 1945) social generations were not interviewed for this study as these social generations were either too young or too old to be employed at the time of the study.

- Two variables are central to studies on social generations: the quantitative length or duration of social generations and the qualitative lived experiences of socio-historic events by individuals within social generations. This study does not seek to define the length of South African-specific social generations. Instead, its focus is to determine and understand South African-specific social generations and intra-generational differences in South Africa regarding the experiences of a single socio-historic event, the system of Apartheid. Whilst the study criticises Howe and Strauss (1992a) for overlooking race-related socio-historic events in the US, it states upfront as a delimitation that this study overlooks all other socio-historic events in South Africa to focus on a single race-related socio-historic event. This is done to understand how race may facilitate intra-generational differences in study contexts such as South Africa and the US.

- The study uses qualitative open-ended interviews as a method to gather the lived experiences of Black and White workers to explore the intersectionality of race, social generations, and locale (space and place) in South Africa. No other research method is used in conjunction with open-ended interviews. Instead, the study employs a strategy of data triangulation and uses a dual case study design.

- South Africa has five commonly defined race groups (Black, White, Coloured, Indian, and Asian). For this study, participants are broadly grouped as Black and White in terms of how the workers are classified by the Employment Equity Act (Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998) and, as such, workers who are not White are defined as Black and vice versa.

1.7 Definition of terms

This section alphabetically presents the current definitions of key terms for the study. Some key terms have sub-terms or secondary terms, which are discussed directly after the respective key term.

1.1.11 Diversity management

Diversity management pertains to perceived or real differences, which may be managed in the workplace to enhance organisational effectiveness (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017; Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2008; Parry & Urwin, 2011b; Tatli, 2011). It also commonly examines the intersectionality of social constructs like gender, class, and race, which, when they intersect, further discriminate against or privilege individuals.

1.1.12 Intersectionality

Intersectionality explores the interrelationships between and amongst multiple social constructs, such as gender, race, and class. Intersectionality studies explore how social constructs intersect to further disadvantage or privilege people (Crenshaw, 2005; Davis, 2008).

1.1.13 Race

This study conceptualises race as a social construct (Andreasen, 2000; Blackburn, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Moreover, as per South African legislation, this study defines two broad racial groupings: Black and White South Africans. The study defines all persons who do not identify as White South Africans as Black South Africans (and vice versa), and in defining Black and White participants for this study, aside from Whiteness or Blackness, no other perceived differences are considered.

1.1.14 Locale

Scholars on social generations tend to agree that social generations are within the same social historical processes in a given society (Alwin & McCammon, 2007; Bristow, 2015c). As such, they believe that social generations experience the same socio-historic events in a specific locale or space. In this study, 'Locale' refers to both the abstract locale of a social generation within a social, historical timeline and the tangible or physical locale (space) in which socio-historic events occur at that given point in time. This physical locale is often explored in terms of space only. Still, this study borrows from spatial theory (Lefebvre, 1991) and conceptualises locale as both space and place in the workplace in South Africa.

1.1.15 Space

For this study, space is defined in terms of the sociology of space (Lefebvre, 1991), as opposed to the common usage of the term whereby space is used as a synonym for place. One of the propositions for this study is that social generations have been Americanised and tend to be understood from the context of the US. To explore local social generations, it is important to understand how space is experienced and understood in South Africa. According to the sociology of space, 'space' refers to a physical locale, such as South Africa (Gieryn, 2000). The sociology of space examines spaces' social and physical configuration to understand social practices and complexities that define human interactions and experiences with space (Gieryn, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lefebvre, 1991; Sack, 1993). According to Gieryn (2000), whilst 'space' is the term used to refer to a physical space, for example, in South Africa, 'place' refers to the social configuration of the space and therefore refers to both the tangible and intangible aspects of the aesthetics of space.

1.1.16 Place

As mentioned in 1.7.2.1 above, the terms 'space' and 'place' are often used interchangeably in common usage. However, for this study, the notion of place stems from spatial theory, which pertains to the study of space. Henri Lefebvre's (1991) pioneering work on the study of space introduced the concept of place, which is essentially concerned with how spatial patterns translate into social relations. 'Place' refers to the ambience that is socially engineered in spaces. The concept of place is essential, particularly when one considers that socio-historic events, like the system of Apartheid, socially engineered different places for Black and White South Africans (Aoki, 1992; Sack, 1993). Like race, place is socially constructed (Aoki, 1992).

1.1.17 Social generation

Karl Mannheim is considered the father of the theory of generations. In his theory, he distinguishes fundamentally between familial generations (generations within a family, for example, a grandparent, parent, and child being three generations within a family) and social generations as a sociological phenomenon to explain social change in a given society. As such, a social generation is conceptualised as a group within a delineated population who have experienced the same socio-historic events (Rosow, 1978). Today, social generations are called 'generations' (Hoole & Bonnema, 2015; Ting, Lim, de Run, Koh, & Sahdan, 2018). This study uses 'social generation' instead of 'generation' or 'cohort'.

1.1.18 Generation

Historically, a generation was familial and referred to kinship within a family; for example, the parent belonged to a different generation from their child (Irons, 1935). Karl Mannheim extended the conceptual understanding of a generation beyond the family by postulating that social generations were a sociological phenomenon that explained social change in a given society (Mannheim, 1927). The term 'generation' is a common currency for social generations in South Africa and elsewhere.

1.1.19 Cohort

The term 'cohort' was introduced by demographer Norman Ryder in 1965 to explain the phenomenon of social change (Ryder, 1965). Ryder defined a cohort as a group of people with common birth years age together and encountering the same socio-historic events. The term 'generation' is a common currency within the social sciences and is generally intended to mean a social generation. To accentuate the difference between familial generation and social generation, some scholars use the term 'cohort' or 'generation cohort' to imply a social generation (Pilcher, 1994). However, it is noteworthy that whilst a cohort is conceptualised as a homogenous group, a 'social generation' is conceptualised as a heterogenous group.

1.1.20 Inter-generational difference

'Inter-generational difference' refers to the differences that distinguish one social generation from the next. A current example of this difference is a younger social generation's affinity for using technology as a means of communication in contrast to an older social generation that prefers more traditional means of communication (Chen, Beveridge, & Fu, 2018; Hoolachan & McKee, 2019; Rozanova, Northcott, & McDaniel, 2006).

1.1.21 Intra-generational difference

'Intra-generational difference' refers to the differences amongst individuals of the same social generation, such as differences within a social generation. An example of an intra-generational difference is varied workplace values amongst individuals from the same social generation (Parvin & Ding, 2017; Rozanova et al., 2006).

1.8 Assumptions

The Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations originated from US-specific socio-historic events, as defined by Strauss and Howe's generational theory (Howe & Strauss, 1992a). One of the assumptions this study makes is that the definition and understanding of South African-specific social generations differ from US-specific social generations and that South African-specific social generations are, therefore, worthy of exploring.

Similarly, the study assumes that in the workplace, when social generations intersect with race and locale (space and place), workers may be disadvantaged or privileged, depending on race or social generation (or both) and hence, from a diversity management perspective, it is essential to examine the intersection of these social constructs that are seldom examined by intersectionality studies.

A third assumption that the study makes is that in countries like South Africa, where spaces have been racially integrated since 1994, the experiences of places may differ according to race or social generation (or both). It is, therefore, worthwhile to explore the experiences of both spaces and places in the workplace and in societies in general.

The fourth assumption is that the system of Apartheid has created intra-generational differences within the Baby Boomer social generation, and democracy has created fewer intra-generational differences and more homogeneity within the Generation Y or so-called Born Free social generation in South Africa.

The final assumption is that study participants may be subjective in their responses as they only have the perspective and experience of being either Black or White and of belonging to a specific social generation, but that they are not biased, as bias is understood as a deliberate attempt to deceive (Kumar, 2018; Roulston & Shelton, 2015).

1.9 Structure of the report

This thesis consists of six chapters, as outlined below.

Chapter 1 presents an introduction to the study and contains nine interwoven sections, of which this section is one.

Chapter 2 discusses the literature reviewed and the key concepts of this study. Some of the fundamental concepts of this study are 'generations', 'social generations', 'cohorts', 'race', 'locale', 'space', 'place', and 'intersectionality'. Chapter 2 concludes with a discussion of the propositions for this study that serve as possible answers to the research questions defined in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology selected for this qualitative study. This chapter details the philosophical assumptions made by the study, the strategy of inquiry employed, and the research method adopted. This chapter also discusses the sampling strategy, the sample size, and the data-collection method used by the study. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the data-analysis procedure used by the study.

Chapter 4 presents the findings and discusses each research question, beginning with research question one. The chapter shows how the participants' views have been understood and correlated concerning the research questions for the study. The findings are discussed within the literature reviewed for this study.

The study concludes with Chapter 5, which summarises the conclusions. This is followed by recommendations for identified stakeholders and suggested opportunities for further research on the studies of social generations and intersectionality.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The phenomena of social generations, diversity management, and intersectionality are pertinent to this study and are discussed in more detail in this chapter. The concept of race is common to both studies of social generations, diversity management, and intersectionality, and, whilst it is discussed in a stand-alone section, it is also discussed in the respective sections that pertain to the studies of social generations, diversity management, and intersectionality. Essentially, this chapter is structured around three core concepts: social generations, diversity management, and intersectionality, each of which is discussed in separate sections that respectively end with the relevant research proposition/s.

The chapter opens with a background discussion on the studies of social generations, diversity management, and intersectionality, followed by a literature map that depicts some of the leading scholars and theories related to this study. This is followed by an in-depth discussion of the theoretical framework for social generations and some of the conceptual, empirical, and methodological challenges encountered in studying social generations. The concepts of race and locale (space and place) are integral to the study and are thus also discussed in detail. This is followed by a discussion of the theory of intersectionality, the conceptualisation of diversity management and intersectionality, and some conceptual and empirical challenges in the studies of diversity management and intersectionality, particularly in the South African context.

2.2 Background Discussion

The term diversity management originated against the backdrop of Affirmative Action, which began to lose political support for being perceived as a system that promoted racial discrimination in reverse (Vassilopoulouc et al., 2013; Köllen, 2021). Essentially, diversity management refers to management interventions or practices that seek to extract economic value from groups of people who have been discriminated against and are different from the dominant and privileged group (Cox, 2001). Whereas Affirmative Action sought to remedy racial segregation and later gender discrimination in the workplace by recruiting Black people and women, the focus of diversity management was and remains to implement measures to make the workforce of an organisation more diverse and to derive economic value from the diverse workforce (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2008). Another way in which diversity management conceptually differs from Affirmative Action is that the former explores various categories that create differences between and amongst people, while the latter narrowly focuses on the categories of race and gender (Adamson et al., 2021; Köllen, 2021; Tatli, 2011). Like Affirmative Action measures, the Employment Equity Act in South Africa seeks to redress historic racial imbalances.

Since the 1980s, South Africa has witnessed various reform measures to establish social justice and equality and to redress social ills created by the system of Apartheid and Colonialism in the country (Jain et al., 2005). The system of Apartheid was built on the premise of White supremacy that perpetuated the ideology that White South Africans deserved to be politically, economically, and socially dominant over Black people (Blackburn, 2000). Since the demise of the system of Apartheid, social reform measures have been based mainly on the country's regulatory framework and, therefore, had a solid legal basis. First, the Labour Relations Act of 1995 was legislated to, amongst others, regulate workers' rights in the workplace. Then, in 1996, the Constitution of South Africa was promulgated, followed by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997. In 1999, the Employment Equity (EE) Act 1999 (later amended in 2004) came into effect intending to integrate Black people into the workplace, particularly in the senior echelons. In practice, however, some companies resorted to using fronting tactics to comply with the Employment

Equity Act, which has limited Black people from actively and fully participating in the workplace (Matotoka & Odeku, 2022). In 1998, the Skills Development Act shifted the focus away from the Employment Equity appointments of Black people to a more holistic approach focusing on recruitment, succession planning, and the training and development of Black people (Horwitz & Jain, 2011). Then, in 1999, a Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Commission was established, and since then, Government policies have been directed at increasing the Black ownership of businesses and accelerating the representation of Black people at senior echelons in the workplace.

Businesses operating in South Africa must comply with the above-mentioned legal measures. Failure to do so may result in penalties ranging from monetary fines to companies losing their licences to operate in the country. Therefore, the risk of such penalties often incentivises companies to strive for compliance with the various Acts enforced in the country and practitioners in human resources and diversity management, therefore, tend to focus on achieving compliance with the various Acts (Mayer, Oosthuizen, & Tonelli, 2019). Hence, the regulatory framework largely determines how diversity is managed in the workplace, amongst other things. In addition, diversity is often managed and limited to creating awareness of differences between and amongst workers; little to no consideration is given to inclusion and inclusivity. Whereas the emphasis of diversity management tends to be on managing difference as a commodity to generate greater profits, inclusion is focused on creating the most optimal workplace where workers, regardless of difference, feel part of critical business processes. Inclusion is, therefore, about the worker's ability to contribute fully and effectively to the business (Burnett, 2003; Kidder et al., 2004). Whilst some scholars believe that there is a strong business case for diversity to be managed to create inclusion (Adamson et al.; 2021; April et al.; 2012), Employment Equity measures underpinned by a legislative framework in the country tends to be the primary concern of practitioners in human resources and diversity management (Rudolph et al., 2018).

In South Africa, diversity management practitioners are often mandated to meet targets or quotas set out by the Employment Equity Act instead of managing diversity to leverage economic value from it or create inclusive workplaces. Diversity management initiatives instead focus on creating awareness of differences (Adamson et al., 2021), and little emphasis is placed on creating inclusive spaces and places in the workplace in consultation with diverse workers. Furthermore, the Employment Equity Act is silent on differences such as inter-generational differences, which focus on race, gender, and people with disabilities. As a result, diversity management practitioners also tend to overlook or neglect inter-generational differences. There is rich literature on social generations, which has been studied in large parts of Europe and elsewhere since the early 1800s. The generational theory, developed by Strauss and Howe (1992a) in the early 1990s, adds to the etymological evolution of social generations' conceptual and empirical understandings and has influenced their current understandings. The theory of intersectionality was developed in the late 1980s (Crenshaw, 1989). Hence, concerning the theory of generations, which has been studied over a considerably longer time, the theory of intersectionality is in its infancy. However, despite this theory being reasonably new in relation to the theory of generations, there has been much interest in it globally. This has resulted in a pool of available research on intersectionality (Davis, 2008; Hearn & Louvrier, 2015; McCormack & Anderson, 2014; Monro, 2010; Mügge & Erzeel, 2016; Nash, 2008).

Social generations, diversity management, and intersectionality tend to be understood from the US perspective. The current thinking on both social generations and intersectionality tends to be Americanised in much the same way as international law (Nader, 2017), political communication (Negrine & Papathanassopoulos, 1996), sport (Wagner, 1990), and religion (Verhoeven, 1997) have become Americanised over time.

In the early 1900s, the generational theory was developed by Strauss and Howe based on their understanding of the history of the US (Howe & Strauss, 1992a). This formed the basis for their work on social generations, and the terms 'Traditionalist', 'Baby Boomer', 'Generation X', and 'Generation Y' were coined by Strauss and Howe as "generations". Strauss and Howe (2010; 1992a, 1992b, 2000, 2007; 2009; 1991) use the term 'generations' as a synonym for social generations. According to their generational theory, the Baby Boomer social generation was born between 1946 and 1964, the Generation X social generation between 1965 and 1980, and the Generation Y social generation between 1981 and 2000. These terms associated with the abovementioned periods have become common currency in South Africa and elsewhere. Scholars tend to identify people born during these times in their respective study contexts by the terms coined by Strauss and Howe as if US social generations are homogenous and generic across the globe.

In South Africa, studies exploring an array of issues, such as the work ethic of different social generations (Jonck et al., 2016), consumer preferences (Kruger & Saayman, 2015), consumer shopping styles (Mandhlazi, Dhurup, & Mafini, 2013), workplace motivation (Heyns & Kerr, 2018b), and conflict resolution (Bevan-Dye & Meyer, 2018a) all identify and label South African social generations with the Baby Boomers, Generation X, or Generation Y terms as coined by Strauss and Howe (1992a). For these scholars, any person born between 1946 and 1964 in South Africa or elsewhere is deemed to belong to the Baby Boomer social generation. Likewise, any person born between 1965 and 1980 is deemed to belong to the Generation X social generation, and any person born between 1981 and 2000 is deemed to belong to the Generation Y social generation. In so doing, studies in South Africa tend to perpetuate the common currency that US social generations hold in South Africa. This practice is also common in Europe and elsewhere.

The theory of intersectionality postulates that women, particularly Black women, are most disadvantaged when race intersects with gender (Crenshaw, 1989). Therefore, the theory of intersectionality commonly centres on gender and race. Various studies on intersectionality in South Africa and elsewhere tend to explore the intersectionality of the social constructs of race and gender with a common assumption that when race intersects with gender, Black women tend to be disadvantaged and White men tend to be privileged (Fuller, 2018; Gouws, 2017; Groenmeyer, 2011; Khumalo, Taylor, Makusha, & Mabaso, 2020; Klasen & Minasyan, 2021; Moolman, 2013b). As a result, intersectionality studies tend to focus on the social constructs of race and gender to the exclusion of other social constructs. This focus limits the understanding of the intersectionality of less common social constructs and the lived experiences of people who are either privileged or disadvantaged by the intersection of these less common social constructs, such as left-handed people or people with specific disabilities. It is noteworthy that intersectionality studies that explore the lived experiences of people with disabilities tend to broadly group various disabilities under the general umbrella of 'disability' as if the lived experiences of people with different disabilities are homogenous (Ben-Moshe & Magaña, 2014; Erevelles & Minear, 2010; Shaw et al., 2012).

Intersectionality studies also tend to overlook the lived experiences of women in matriarchal societies where women, particularly Black women, are privileged over White men. While patriarchal societies are more prevalent, particularly in Western societies, matriarchal societies exist in parts of Africa and the North-Eastern world (Sanday, 2002; Stafford, 2008; Weix, 2006). In these societies, women dominate political, social, and economic matters. Ghana and Kenya are examples of two African countries where matriarchal societies remain, and countries like China, Indonesia, and India also have thriving matriarchal communities. The Akan tribe in Ghana revolves around a matriclan that decides on financial and political matters. Whilst men are allowed to hold leadership positions in the matriclan, owing to the matriarchal nature of the clan, all final decisions are made by women. In Kenya, the Umoja village is commonly called 'No Man's Land' because, as the name suggests, no men are allowed in the

village. In Indonesia, the Minangkabau people believe that the mother is the most important person in society and, hence, women rule the domestic realm in this community. The Mosuo women in China are another example of a matriarchal society (Goettner-Abendroth, 2018). In this society, lineage is traced through the family's women and property is handed down the female line. In the Khasi community in India, when men marry into the Khasi community, the woman's surname is passed on to the man instead of the man's surname being passed on to the woman, which is the case in most Western societies (Amadiume, 1997; Stafford, 2008).

How, then, is the theory of intersectionality conceptualised from an African or North-Eastern perspective? It is helpful to explore the dynamics of social constructs such as race and gender in matriarchal societies or similar societies where Black women are not disadvantaged to the benefit of White men, which appears to be the norm in the US, the place of origin of the theory of intersectionality. To avoid Americanising the theory of intersectionality, this theory should be explored in the African and North-Eastern contexts, where Black women are not always disadvantaged when race intersects with gender. How the theory of intersectionality is applied in matriarchal societies may be helpful to studies on the intersectionality that commonly believe Black women are disadvantaged when race intersects with gender.

Similarly, intersectionality studies refer to Black people as a minority group, disadvantaged in different societies (Blosnich, 2017; Frederick & Shifrer, 2019; Gattamorta, Salerno, & Castro, 2019). For many of these studies, the experiences of minority groups are exacerbated when race intersects with membership of a minority race group. However, in South Africa and large parts of Africa, Black people constitute the majority race group in the country. How is race experienced in South Africa when race intersects with membership of a majority race group? In this regard, intersectionality studies in South Africa may differ from intersectionality studies elsewhere.

The Americanisation of social generations and intersectionality has resulted in limited understandings of these concepts in South Africa and elsewhere. This study explores the intersectionality of social generations, race, and locale in South Africa to contribute to local understandings of social generations and intersectionality to the pool of existing studies. Social generations, race, locale, and intersectionality are key concepts for this study. Since the study defines locale as space and place, the concepts of space and place are also relevant to this study. A discussion follows these concepts and why they are essential for this study.

2.3 Literature map

Figure 6 below presents a literature map that depicts the two fundamental phenomena that are the focus of this study – social generations and intersectionality – along with some of the main theories and scholars related to each of these phenomena. Both of these phenomena may be located in the field of diversity management as both pertain to social constructs that create perceived differences between and amongst people.

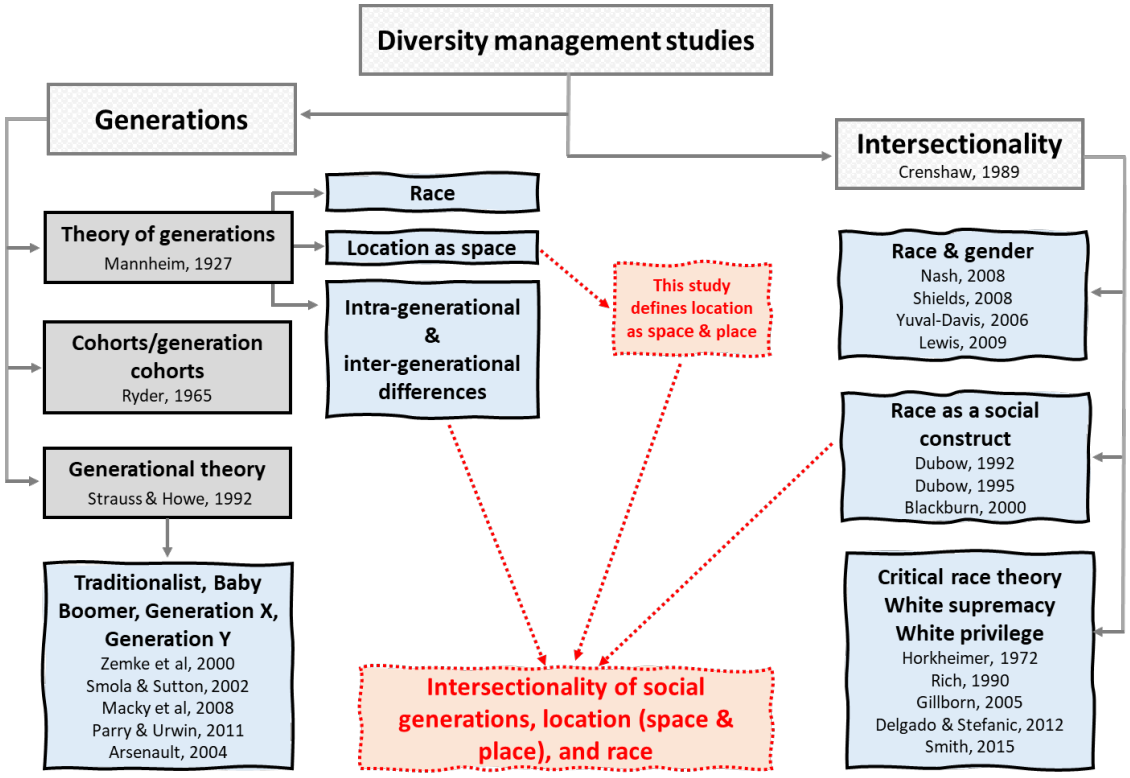


Figure 6: Literature map detailing some of the principal theories and scholars on social generations and intersectionality

2.4 The study of generations

The study of generations can be traced back to the eighteenth century when scholars conceptualised generations as familial. Scholars like Augustus Comte (1880) and Justin Dromel (1862) examined generations within the family, and, as with most phenomena studied by sociologists, two schools of dominant thought emerged. The first school of thought on studying familial generations took a positivist approach, focusing predominantly on defining the intervals between generations in a family. This school of thought was mainly influenced by French scholars like Comte (1880) and Dromel (1862). Gustav Rümelin (1891) was one of the first scholars to investigate the length of a familial generation. He determined the mean of the age differences between parents and children during a given period and believed the mean of the age difference between parents and children to be 30 years. Seeberg (1936), Cournot (1946), and Dilthey (1978) followed on from Rümelin's works and also attempted to determine the length or duration of a familial generation scientifically. Seeberg developed the following formula to define the duration of a familial generation, with the constant five remaining unexplained. She proposed that the length of a familial generation could be calculated by the sum of five, added to the average ages at which men and women get married, divided by two (Seeberg, 1936), as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Marriage age of men + marriage age of women + 5}}{2}$$

When applying this formula to a random example, with the average marriage ages of men and women in a family being 22 and 18, respectively, the length of the familial generation would equate to 22.5 years, as shown below.

$$\frac{22 + 18 + 5}{2} = 22.5$$

2.4.1 From 'generations' to 'social generations'

Political writer Giuseppe Ferrari (1860) adopted a philosophical view, believing generations to be broader than familial. He made a case for *social* generations, arguing that a social generation is composed of all the individuals in a given society who are born and who die in similar years. His work is central to the second school of thought, primarily influenced by German scholars who adopt a qualitative approach when studying generations. This qualitative or anti-positivist school argues that whilst it is valuable to determine the length of a generation (familial or social), it is equally, if not more, important to consider the experiential differences amongst individuals belonging to the different generations to understand social change. These anti-positivist scholars acknowledge that, even within the same society, individuals born in the same years may have different life experiences based on, for example, race. Pinder (1926), Heidegger (1962), Mannheim (1927), and Dilthey (1978) are chief among the anti-positivist thinkers on social generations.

Karl Mannheim, like Ferrari (1860), distinguished familial and social generations and became the founder of the theory of generations. For Mannheim, social generations were a catalyst for social change, and he was eager to explore social generations as a sociological phenomenon to explain social change in a given society. He wrote:

> Were it not for the existence of social interaction between human beings – were there no definable social structure, no history based on a particular sort of continuity, the generation would not exist as a social phenomenon: there would be merely birth, ageing and death (Mannheim, 1969, p. 291).

Mannheim argued against the positivist view that the length of a generation should be identified and believed that measuring the length of a generation was subjective, as it differed from one society to the next. By applying Seeberg's formula to different contemporary societies, it becomes evident that the length of a generation is, in fact, subjective, as Mannheim postulated, since a pool of studies shows that the age at which men and women marry differs from society to society, depending on, amongst other things, cultural and societal norms (Aryal, 2007; Goodwin, 2009; Jones & Gubhaju, 2009; Subramanian, 2008).

However, whilst Mannheim and his fellow anti-positivist scholars conceptualised generations to extend beyond the family to be social, they tended to use one term ('generations') to discuss two different concepts ('generations' and 'social generations') rather than introducing a new term to distinguish between the two concepts (Pilcher, 1994). This tendency of theirs became a source of conceptual and terminological ambiguity that still surrounds the study of generations as a sociological phenomenon (Marshall, 1983). Hence, whilst there is a pool of empirical studies on generations (both familial and social), much conceptual and terminological ambiguity about the study of generations remains.

Furthermore, the differences within social generations (intra-generational) and the differences amongst social generations (inter-generational) are vital to Mannheim's theory of generations. He introduced the term 'generation units' to explain generational differences (Mannheim, 1927). Considering how different children within the same family or familial generation may be, one can imagine how much more difference there is likely to be amongst individuals in a social generation, with each individual coming from his or her unique socio-economic, cultural, and political background. It is noteworthy that empirical qualitative studies on social generations tend to overlook intra-generational differences within social generations, and as a result, little is known about intra-generational differences. Furthermore, scholars tend not only to use the term 'generations' synonymously with 'social generations' but also to portray social generations as homogenous groups, which may be a source of terminological and conceptual ambiguity and confusion. Some scholars use the term 'cohort' (homogenous social units, which is later discussed) rather than 'generations' or 'social generations.' Hence, conceptual and

terminological clarity and precision are needed for social science scholars to explore social generations fully as a sociological phenomenon.

In his paper 'The Problem of Generations' (Mannheim, 1927), Mannheim postulates that social generations are not homogenous because, according to his theory of generations, individuals belonging to the same (social) generation may have different lived experiences of the same socio-historic events, owing to social constructs, such as race, class, and one's locale within social and historical processes. When Mannheim spoke of generations, he referred to social generations, not familial ones. He likened membership to a social generation with membership to a social-class position in a given society, as membership to both social generations and class is unintentional or unplanned, and both social generation and class membership determine an individual or group's locale within a given social structure (Mannheim, 1927, 1969). However, Mannheim overlooked the fact that membership in a social generation is static or fixed. In contrast, membership to a class position may change when one's economic or power status changes in a given society. In his theory of generations, Mannheim uses the term 'locale' both in an abstract and literal sense. In the abstract sense, he uses the term to describe one's position in a given society's social and historical processes. In the literal sense, he uses locale to denote a physical space in which socio-historic events unfold. Therefore, for Mannheim, social change is influenced by the intersection of history and biography and, as such, the intersection between histories and biographies (individual lived experiences of socio-historic events) is a salient feature of his theory of generations (Aboim & Vasconcelos 2014).

Empirical studies on social generations tend to identify locale-specific socio-historic events, for example, the civil rights movement in the US or the system of Apartheid in South Africa, and conceptualise locale as space only, overlooking place. This is perhaps because the theory of generations precedes studies that pertain to the sociology of space, which introduces the concept of *place,* believing that space is not devoid of place. Henri Lefebvre's pioneering work on spatial theory in 1991 introduced the concept of place, which refers to the socially engineered ambience in spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre examines how spatial patterns influence social relations, mainly how spatial patterns promote or hinder social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). Spatial theory is, therefore, built on the phenomenology of space and place and refers to the study of space and place. According to Gieryn (2000), whilst 'space' is the term that refers to a physical space or locale, '*place'* refers to the social configuration of the space and, therefore, refers to both the tangible and intangible aspects and aesthetics of a particular space.

In South Africa, the concept of place cannot be ignored, particularly when one considers that socio-historic events, like the system of Apartheid, socially engineered different spaces *and places* for Black and White South Africans, who were spatially segregated based on race (Aoki, 1992; Sack, 1993; Tuan, 1979). According to Logan (2012), differences in spaces result in inequalities in places. For example, the ambience in posh neighbourhoods differs from that in run-down, dilapidated "ghettos", known in South Africa as townships or informal settlements (Davoudi & Strange, 2008; Hunziker et al., 2007). During the Apartheid era, whilst most White South Africans were located in plush suburbs with economic benefits such as easy access to jobs, Black South Africans were strategically located along the periphery of the formal economy, away from jobs, and in townships or informal settlements devoid of necessities and amenities, such as fresh running water (Maylam, 2001; Terreblanche, 2002; Thomas, 2002). The physical spatial separation of people managed through the Group Areas Act of 1950 (RSA, 1950) enabled the Apartheid government to control places in Black and White spaces. The result of this spatial and racial separation of South African people was that, within the country, Black and White South Africans were not only spatially located or housed differently from each other but also invariably had very different experiences of place concerning each other (Jeeves, 2004; Posel, 2001).

Michel Foucault is an influential philosopher on space, place, and power. He studied how societies use power to objectivise individuals (Foucault, 1982; Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). Foucault's work creates a lens through which social relations can be understood and demonstrates how spaces may be manipulated to engineer specific places socially. Using the panopticon architectural structure, Foucault demonstrates how spaces may be designed to create and enforce power relations through place. The panopticon is an institutional building designed in the eighteenth century by the English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham to create the false perception that prison inmates were constantly watched by a single watchman (Miller & Miller, 1987). By virtue of the design of the building, the inmates were unable to tell when and if they were being observed. Even though a single guard couldn't watch over hundreds of inmates at once, the design of the building was such that inmates were never quite sure whether they were being watched. This meant that they behaved as if they were being watched (Foucault, 1982; Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). Foucault's example of the panopticon demonstrates how spaces may be socially engineered to create deliberate places and social relations.

In the contemporary workplace in South Africa, power tends to be held by White men, who hold most of the country's top management positions (Booysen & van Wyk, 2007; Lynch, 2017). As a result, White men tend to be the architects of place in the workplace, and they may not be equipped with the necessary skills to socially and racially integrate and re-engineer places in the workplace (Lynch, 2017; Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop, & Nkomo, 2010). As such, places in the workplace may remain racially stratified.

A study conducted in the 1970s examined race relations in a US firm and found that White workers possessed greater positional power over Black workers, taking place in the workplace more favourable to White workers (Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker, & Tucker, 1980). In this firm, only White workers had access to information, and they concealed this information from Black workers, making it challenging for Black workers to execute the tasks delegated to them by White managers successfully. Black workers invariably struggled to deliver on their work tasks, which served as a self-fulfilling prophecy for White workers that Black workers were incompetent in the workplace. 'Black' incompetence ultimately became a commonly held perception amongst White workers in this firm, adversely influencing how Black and White workers experienced their place.

Therefore, the sociology of space is pertinent to this study, which conceptualises locale as both space and place and explores Black and White experiences of spaces and places in the workplace in contemporary South Africa to understand intra-generational differences in the country.

2.4.2 From 'social generations' to 'cohorts' or 'generation cohorts'

The study of social generations gained momentum after Mannheim postulated his theory of generations, which essentially argues that social generations are a sociological phenomenon that explains social change (Mannheim, 1927). However, despite Mannheim conceptualising between 'generations' and 'social generations', scholars tend to use the same term ('generations') to define the two different phenomena of generations and social generations. In fact, despite drawing a conceptual distinction between the two terms, Mannheim makes the terminological mistake of referring to 'social generations' as 'generations', as if these concepts are the same.

In the 1960s, the term 'cohort' originated within the school of demography and was introduced by Norman Ryder to explain the phenomenon of social change. Ryder defines a cohort as a homogenous group of people who have common birth years, age together, collectively encounter the same socio-historic events, and differ from those born earlier or later (Ryder, 1965). This cohort somewhat overlaps with Mannheim's definition of a (social) generation. It becomes an additional source of conceptual and terminological ambiguity and confusion for the

sociological understanding of the phenomenon of social generations as scholars use 'cohorts' and 'generations' synonymously.

Mannheim's concept of social generations differs from Ryder's cohort because a (social) generation for Mannheim is not homogenous, whereas, for Ryder, a cohort is a homogenous group of people. The concept of generation units is an important, underlying feature of Mannheim's theory of generations and this concept, according to him, refers to "those groups within the same actual generation which work up the material of their common experience in different specific ways…" (1952, p. 304). However, despite stressing the notion of difference within social generations (generation units), scholars, both then and today, tend to overlook this notion of generation units and portray generations as homogenous groups of people, much like Ryder conceptualises cohorts.

Following the introduction of the term 'cohort' in the 1960s, social science scholars began to use this term synonymously with 'generations', and this practice was commended and supported by social science scholars who sought to erase the term 'generation' from use in the social sciences to eliminate the terminological and conceptual confusion amongst scholars. Glenn (1977) and Rosow (1978) argue that the term 'cohort' is more appropriate than 'generation', as the term 'generation' conceptually implies a kinship relationship between a parent and child, for example, whilst the term 'cohort' conceptually refers to people within a delineated population who experience the same socio-historic event within a given period. Whilst Glenn was among the first to argue that the social sciences should use the term 'cohort' in place of generations, Marshall makes an argument for both concepts ('cohorts' and 'generations') to coexist but to be used in different methodological contexts (Marshall, 1983). Some twenty years later, scholars like Alwin and McCammon (2007) support Marshall's argument and postulate that an individual is simultaneously located in a generation in their family and as a social generation or cohort. Therefore, these scholars distinguish between 'biological time' and 'historical time'. For them, biological time pertains to one's locale in one's familial generation and historical time pertains to one's locale in a delineated population (which they call a cohort) that witnesses the same socio-historic events in a given locale, or space. Hence, Alwin and McCammon use the term 'cohort' synonymously with 'social generations.' For Marshall, whilst the term 'generation' implies qualitatively exploring the relationship between different "socially real groups" or "social units capable of relating to each other", the term 'cohort' describes quantitative or incremental differences in terms of birth years (Marshall, 1983, p. 53).

According to Marshall, drawing a conceptual and methodological difference between 'cohort' and 'generations' enables scholars to both quantitatively discuss incremental differences, as in the case of cohorts, and qualitatively explore generational differences, as in the case of generations. Therefore, for Marshall, whilst the term 'cohort' best describes the quantitative differences in terms of birth years, the term 'generation' best describes the qualitative differences amongst social groups. Furthermore, Marshall, along with other scholars like Maddox and Wiley (1976), argues that the term 'cohort' is atheoretical, as scholars commonly use it to organise data in terms of birth years, which is done for practical rather than theoretical reasons. Hence, for Marshall, the term 'cohort' is a methodological rather than a theoretical concept.

For Pilcher, in contrast, the opposing quantitative nature of age and birth years and the qualitative experience of social generations make it challenging for social science scholars to understand the sociological phenomenon of social generations (Pilcher, 1994). Whilst it could be argued that a mixed methods approach may be useful for delving into the phenomenon of social generations, scholars should bear in mind that birth years and incremental differences in birth years vary from society to society. Consequently, a static formula, such as that proposed by Seeberg (1936), is not an accurate quantitative measure of age and time. The functionalist perspective of social generations is required to understand this phenomenon and how it gives rise to social change. Bengtson, Furlong

and Laufer (1974, pp. 5-6) argue that scholars should focus on the "mechanisms of orderly cohort flow and gradual evolution of the social order" rather than on the incremental differences in birth years to explain social change. Instead, scholars should focus on gathering local understandings of intra-generational and inter-generational differences; cross-sectional and longitudinal study designs are needed to do this. However, longitudinal studies are data-intensive, costly, and time-consuming, making cross-sectional studies more appealing and popular amongst social science scholars (Davidsson & Wiklund, 2006). As a result, little is known about intra-generational differences.

Cross-sectional and longitudinal study designs are needed to gain a meaningful understanding of intra-generational and inter-generational differences in social generations. The advantage of longitudinal studies is that the same individuals are sampled at different points in their lifespans to provide scholars with rich data to obtain a macro view of the phenomenon being explored. This approach enables scholars to account for age-related differences, which cross-sectional studies tend to interpret as inter-generational differences since individuals are sampled at a single point in time. According to Rhodes, people's preferences often change as they age, so work attitudes, for example, differ between young and old workers (Rhodes, 1983). Age-related differences are an essential concept that scholars using cross-sectional research designs to explore generational differences sometimes mistake for inter-generational differences (Hutchinson et al., 2002; Lord & Farrington, 2006; Von Bonsdorff, 2011). Therefore, scholars should use longitudinal study designs as opposed to cross-sectional study designs to explore intra-generational differences in social generations (Pilcher, 1994).

From the literature, it becomes evident that since the 1960s, scholars have persistently conceptualised and termed social generations as 'cohorts' or 'generation cohorts.' Current scholars add to the conceptual and terminological ambiguity and confusion as different concepts and terms continue to define and conceptualise a single sociological phenomenon: social generations. This is evident from various recent empirical studies that conceptualise and term social generations as 'generation cohorts' or 'cohorts' (Chauvel & Smits, 2015; Dennison, Bijleveld, & van de Weijer, 2017; Dobransky-Fasiska, 2002; Duh & Struwig, 2015; Egri & Ralston, 2004; Gilal et al., 2020; Hoole & Bonnema, 2015; Jabar, Colatruglio, Sellers, Kroeker, & Wicklow, 2019; Jonck et al., 2016; Padayachee, 2017; Smeaton, Struckman-Johnson, Fagen, Bohn, & Anderson, 2018). Some studies also show that, of late, scholars tend to use the term 'generation cohort' as a synonym for 'generation', which in its original sense was conceptualised concerning the family or kinship (Dennison et al., 2017; Mejia-Lancheros, Mehegan, Murrin, & Kelleher, 2018; Shimokawa et al., 2019; Timm et al., 2019).

But this confusion is not new. In 1969, some 40 years after his work on social generations, Mannheim published 'The Sociological Problem of Generations' (Mannheim, 1969), in which he criticised scholars in the social sciences for disregarding studies conducted by fellow scholars in other countries. He pointed out that this led to what he called "anarchy" in the social sciences, where each scholar starts fresh from his or her point of view rather than considering how the various aspects of a single problem may converge to offer a collective solution. He cautioned that unless the social sciences take a planned, directed approach from an "organic centre" to study the phenomenon of social generations (Mannheim, 1969, p. 163), there will continue to be various contributions and interesting findings by different sciences, but no dedicated or shared focus on trying to better understand social generations as a sociological phenomenon that drives social change. Unfortunately, the terminological, conceptual, empirical, and methodological ambiguities mentioned above did not end even after Mannheim's scolding and instead are prevalent even today in the twenty-first century.

What could Mannheim have done differently to aid a more directed, central conceptualisation of social generations? Scholars like Pilcher and Dant argue that Mannheim should have provided a theoretical account of (social) generations and an empirical model or set of guidelines that scholars could use to explore the phenomenon

of social generations (Dant, 1991; Pilcher, 1994). The absence of a theoretical or empirical model has contributed to the onset of conceptual, terminological, methodological, and empirical ambiguities within the study of social generations. Mannheim is criticised for failing to outline how scholars may empirically delineate social generations (Pilcher, 1994). As a result, scholars tend to wrestle with the tension between the qualitative nature of social generations and the quantitative nature of age and time. Furthermore, Mannheim uses the term 'generations' to discuss the different phenomena of generations and social generations despite drawing a conceptual distinction between the two. This has inadvertently added to the conceptual and terminological ambiguity and confusion related to the study of generations (Pilcher, 1994).

2.4.3 Back to 'generations'

Adding to the terminological and conceptual ambiguities discussed above, in the 1990s, the generational theory introduced by William Strauss and Neil Howe (1992a) influenced a shift in the terminological and conceptual understandings of social generations when they reverted to using the term 'generation' as a synonym for 'social generation'. Strauss and Howe (1992a) examined postmodernist, neoliberalist, and capitalist socio-historic events to introduce what they called the "Traditionalist" (born between 1924 and 1945), "Baby Boomer" (born between 1946 and 1964), "Generation X" (born between 1965 and 1980), and "Generation Y" (born between 1981 and 2000) "generations". These terms have since become common currency in South Africa and elsewhere, as scholars increasingly identify all people born within these above-defined periods by these terms, irrespective of the types of socio-historic events that people within their respective study contexts have experienced. As discussed in Chapter 1, neither the socio-historic events nor the attributes that Strauss and Howe associate with the Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y generations apply to South Africans. South Africans have had their unique history that Colonialism, the system of Apartheid, and a transition from Apartheid into democracy have primarily shaped. It was precisely this over-generalisation that Mannheim warned scholars against when he wrote:

> …one cannot assert that there was a community of locale between young people of China and Germany about 1800 (Mannheim, 1969, p. 176).

In identifying socio-historic events in the US, Strauss and Howe neglect to consider race-related events and are silent about how race may influence one's experience of socio-historic events, whether these events are race-related or not. Empirical studies on social generations need to consider the social construct of race and race-related socio-historic events because, as Mannheim stresses, race stratifies social generations and, in so doing, creates intra-generational differences within social generations. In his seminal theory of generations, Mannheim emphasises that social categories such as race create different lived experiences for people of the same social generation (1927). Jane Pilcher writes the following in her critique of Mannheim's theory of generations:

> Mannheim found much value in the German historical romanticist treatment of the problem of generations, particularly the notion of the 'non-contemporaneity of the contemporaneous (Pilcher, 1994, p. 486).

This speaks to Mannheim's belief that people do not necessarily share the same history and, hence, homogenous social generations, for Mannheim, depend on whether individual members of a social generation have an equal opportunity to participate in their historical and social circumstances. The US history demonstrates that minority groups have had limited opportunities to participate actively in the historical and social processes (Cohen, Fowler, Medenica, & Rogowski, 2017). Mannheim, therefore, asserts that for individuals to share generational locale in a sociological sense, they must be born within the same historical and cultural context, be exposed to the same socio-

historic experiences that occur during their impressionable youth, and actively and freely participate in processes of social change as opposed to merely being a silent, inactive witness to social change.

The generational theory (1992a) fails to consider race-related socio-historic events, even though these events have been, and continue to be, part of an important social issue in the US. This omission creates two flaws in the generational theory. First, the generational theory empirically portrays social generations as homogenous groups of people, thus neglecting to explore intra-generational differences within social generations. In so doing, the generational theory disregards how race-related socio-historic events are experienced by Black and White South Africans, irrespective of which social generation they may belong to. Second, methodologically, the omission of race-related socio-historic events points to Strauss and Howe's conscious or unconscious subjectivity in selecting socio-historic events for their study. By omitting significant race-related socio-historic events, Strauss and Howe portray the social fabric of the US as homogenous and cohesive. In this way, they diminish the lived experiences of Black and White people, and they forgo the opportunity to explore the lived experiences of the Black minority of both race-related and non-race-related socio-historic events. It is therefore important for Strauss Howe and other scholars to consider race-related socio-historic events when conceptualising social generations for the country.

A final observation about the Strauss-Howe generational theory is that it repeats the error made by Mannheim and others by using the term 'generations' as a synonym for 'social generations. In this way, it adds to the ongoing terminological and conceptual confusion and ambiguity about the study of generations since the early 1800s. By using the term 'generations', Strauss and Howe take the study of social generations back to the term's original use in the early 1800s, which essentially meant generations within a family. Furthermore, Strauss and Howe portray their Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y 'generations as homogenous. If these 'generations' were, in fact, homogenous, then the ideal term to use would be 'cohort, ' which implies a homogenous group of people. This is another way Strauss and Howe add to the terminological confusion prevalent in studying social generations.

The upside of their research is that Strauss and Howe adopt qualitative and quantitative methods to study social generations. Quantitatively, they determine the length of a US social generation, and qualitatively, they explore attributes among the different US social generations. In so doing, Strauss and Howe's research is one of the few studies to embrace mixed methods to study social generations. However, had they considered race-related socio-historic events and used a longitudinal study design in conjunction with their cross-sectional study design, they would likely have identified intra-generational differences within the different US social generations. One of the empirical problems of social generations is that scholars often use a cross-sectional method to explore inter-generational differences, failing to explore intra-generational differences. Aside from identifying intra-generational differences, using a longitudinal study design would have aided Strauss and Howe in distinguishing between age-related differences and intra-generational differences in social generations. This distinction is helpful, as studies increasingly mistake intra-generational differences for age-related differences and vice versa (Fein, Tziner, & Vasiliu, 2010; Hutchinson et al., 2002; Inceoglu, Segers, & Bartram, 2012).

Nonetheless, the generational theory (1992a) has gained prominence amongst scholars. The theory has primarily influenced the contemporary understandings of social generations in South Africa and elsewhere, where the term 'generations' is commonly associated with the Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations of the US. Since the introduction of the generational theory in the early 1990s, various studies in different study contexts have applied the Strauss-Howe generational theory regardless of the research context of their respective studies. In so doing, they have not only Americanised social generations but portrayed social generations as homogenous (Hansen & Leuty, 2012; Macky, Gardner, Forsyth, Cennamo, & Gardner, 2008; Parry

& Urwin, 2011a; Zemke et al., 2000). These studies have tended to adopt the labels (Traditionalist, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y) and the characteristics or traits that Strauss and Howe define for their respective US-specific social generations. Studies in South Africa have also tended to identify social generations in the country by the labels given to the US social generations of Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Y (Duh & Struwig, 2015; Hoole & Bonnema, 2015; Jonck et al., 2016; Kruger & Saayman, 2015; Mokoena, 2012; Venter, 2017). The result is a limited understanding of local social generations in South Africa.

Furthermore, empirical studies commonly tend to explore inter-generational differences in terms of, amongst other things, workplace values (Arsenault, 2004; Glass, 2007; Gursoy, Maier, & Chi, 2008; Heyns & Kerr, 2018a; Lyons & Kuron, 2014; Macky et al., 2008; Parry & Urwin, 2011a; Smola & Sutton, 2002; Tolbize, 2008; Twenge et al., 2010); workplace motivation and competitive success (Glass, 2007; Heyns & Kerr, 2018a; Wong, Gardiner, Lang, & Coulon, 2008); and workplace leadership styles (Arsenault, 2004). These studies neglect to explore intra-generational differences, and while much is known about inter-generational differences, little is known about intra-generational differences.

2.4.4 The etymology of generations

To summarise the above discussion, the conceptual understandings of generations have evolved. First, in the early 1800s, generations were understood to be familial, characterised by kinship and then, in the late 1920s, generations were conceptualised as social generations and as a sociological phenomenon to explain social change. Later, in the mid-1960s, this phenomenon was conceptualised as a cohort or generation cohort, and scholars in the social sciences began to choose this term increasingly, overlooking the conceptual, methodological, and terminological consequences of their choice. Then, in 1992, Strauss and Howe's generational study put forward an influential theory that shaped the contemporary conceptual and terminological understanding of generations. Their generational theory is based on socio-historic events and introduces the terms 'Traditionalist', 'Baby Boomer', 'Generation X', and 'Generation Y'. These terms have become common currency for contemporary social generations as numerous empirical studies apply them to their respective studies, inadvertently Americanising social generations. Consequently, social generations are currently conceptualised as homogenous "generations" applicable globally, and intra-generational differences are mainly unexplored. Figure 7 below depicts the primary shifts outlined above regarding the terminological and conceptual changes to generations over time.

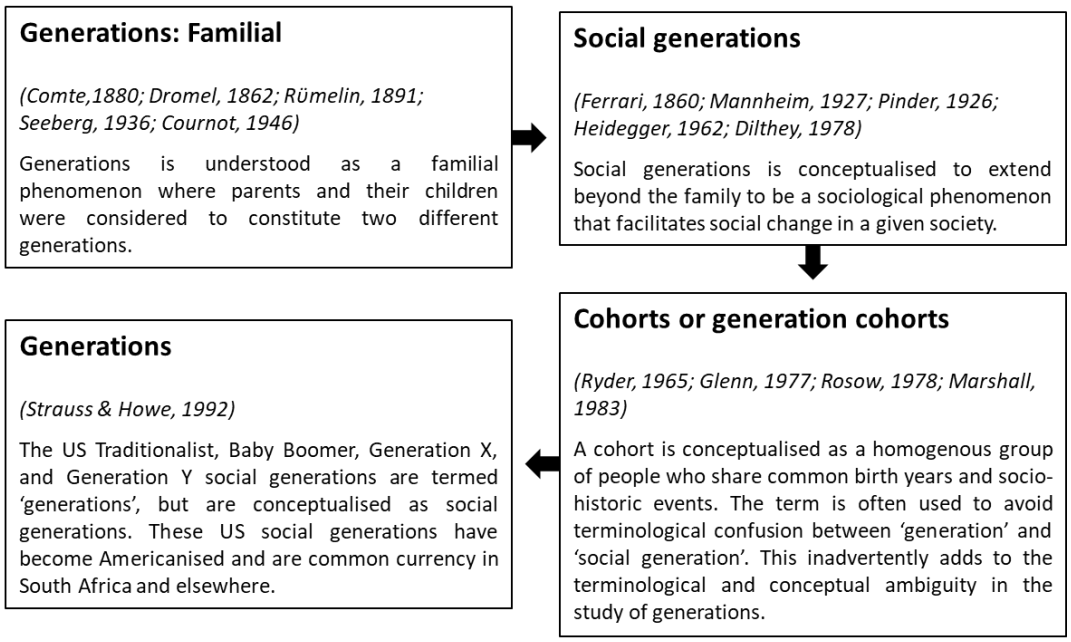


Figure 7: The major terminological and conceptual shifts about generations over time

Where to from here? This study advocates terminological and conceptual clarity in the study of generations and supports a terminological and conceptual shift back to social generations, as defined by Mannheim's theory of generations. As such, the study embraces the term 'social generations.'

2.4.5 Proposition for the first research question

The first research question for this study is: based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?

The socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid racially fragmented South Africa, and despite there being racial spatial integration since the early nineties, various racial inequalities remain widespread in the country (Crush, 2001; Devey & Møller, 2002; MacDonald, 2006; Moodley & Adam, 2000). Unemployment, as an example, is most prevalent amongst Black youth. This leads one to question whether the colloquially termed young "Born Free" social generation in South Africa has a homogenous experience of spaces and places in contemporary South Africa or intra-generational differences exist within this social generation due to race.

Unlike countries with an ageing population and lack access to young workers, South Africa has a young population, and the workforce tends to include people from different social generations. It is, therefore, common in the workplace in South Africa to find workers from the Baby Boomer generation, as well as workers from Generation Y. Having a pipeline of young workers helps to future-proof companies, and in addition, having a Baby Boomer segment in the workforce creates an opportunity for skills transfer to younger workers who lack institutional memory and workplace experience.

2.4.5.1 Proposition one

In South Africa and elsewhere, social generations tend to be understood and termed according to the generational theory, and little is known about local social generations in South Africa and elsewhere.

2.5 Race

Race is central to critical race theory, located in critical theory, and anti-positivist scholar Max Horkheimer is instrumental in developing critical theory (Horkheimer, 1972). He postulates that any theory that aims to interrogate ideologies that emancipate people from adverse social circumstances ought to be considered critical (Horkheimer, 1995). Critical race theory is the analytical lens through which sociologists and other scholars critically analyse race and power structures in societies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Understandings of the concept of race have evolved. In the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Europeans explored different parts of the globe, categorising people into race groups according to physical and perceived biological characteristics (Hudson, 1996). Even before Europeans made colonial contact with Black people, racial classification was rife in European societies and elsewhere, where bloodline and familial lineage were used as a differentiator to segregate society (Lui, 1991). Over time, anthropologists and other scholars rejected this biological notion of race, arguing instead that race is socially constructed as there is no common gene to all Black people or to all White people that scientifically supports the theory that race is a biological concept (Andreasen, 2000; Glenn, 1999; Shih, Bonam, Sanchez, & Peck, 2007; Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

Race has been socially and politically constructed to perpetuate historical myths that justify White supremacy and other forms of racial domination in societies (Blackburn, 2000). White supremacy is built upon the ideology that White South Africans are superior in particular traits and attributes and deserve to be politically, economically, and socially dominant over Black people. In societies where the ideology of White supremacy is supported, attitudes, ideologies, and laws or regulations support and perpetuate racial segregation and White domination. The result is that White South Africans are privileged over Blacks (Rich, 1990). Hence, the White privilege extends from White supremacy and is based on the premise that White South Africans deserve to accrue various benefits and privileges by being born with a set of specific physical characteristics, including, but not limited to, white skin and a particular hair texture (Donnelly et al., 2005; Pulido, 2000). The practice of 'racial othering' (Johnson et al., 2004; Muhr, 2008; Papadopoulos, 2009; Pillay, Gokar, & Kathard, 2007; Sadler Jr, 2006) stems from ideologies such as White supremacy and White privilege, which perpetuates the perception of differences based on race (Johnson et al., 2004; Muhr, 2008).

The system of Apartheid in South Africa was built on the ideology of White supremacy, and people in South Africa were classified by race to privilege White South Africans politically, economically, and socially (Blackburn, 2000). To demonstrate that race is socially and politically constructed, Blackburn highlights that during the Apartheid era in South Africa, the government selectively classified some people as honorary White South Africans. The Japanese and Jesse Jackson, a Black American activist who visited South Africa during the Apartheid era, were selectively classified as honorary White South Africans to serve the political interests of the Apartheid government at the time (Blackburn, 2000).

2.5.1 Race in contemporary South Africa

In contemporary South Africa, politically, race is conceptualised as a social construct rather than a biological construct (Callinicos, 1999; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Maré, 2003). However, the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans suggest that race is commonly perceived in terms of biology, and people are, therefore, differentiated based on how they look. Race is, therefore, as much a contentious topic today as it was during the Apartheid and Colonial eras in South Africa (Bowen et al., 2008; Erwin, 2010; MacDonald, 2006; Mazibuko & Govender, 2017; Moodley & Adam, 2000; Posel, 2001; Seekings, 2008; Walker, 2005.) While the Constitution of South Africa advocates non-racialism and racial equality, the one thing about race that South Africans tend to agree on is that, from

their respective lived experiences, non-racialism is more of an ideal than a reality in South Africa. Studies show that whilst some White people tend to feel alienated (Van Der Watt, 2005), guilty (Horrell, 2005), marginalised (Alexander, 2007), anxious, invisible, and "unvoiced" (Franchi, 2003; Visser, 2003), some Black people feel that White privilege is still prevalent in democratic South Africa and that power remains concentrated in White hands (Meyer & Finchilescu, 2006; Mtose, 2011; Ntshoe, 2009). At this juncture, it is noteworthy that the experiences of race regarding skin colour are not homogenous. How Black people experience race depends on the tone or shade of their skin colour. Black people with lighter skin tones tend to have more positive experiences of race than Black people with darker skin tones (Monk, 2014; Walther, 2017). Hence, the experiences of race are not homogenous. Instead, shades are Blackness and Whiteness within the so-called Black and White races. Black and White South Africans had varied lived experiences of the systems of Colonialism and Apartheid (Everatt, 2009; Saunders, 2011, Ramugundo, 2015); similarly, people have diverse lived experiences in contemporary South Africa.

2.5.2 Proposition for the second research question

Research question two is, how do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?

The experience of race in South Africa is as heterogeneous as social generations, as South Africa is a melting pot of people from different races, cultures, belief systems, languages, etc. If managed effectively, diverse workforces may be a company's competitive advantage in economic terms (Thomas, 2004). South Africa, described as a "rainbow nation" (Tutu, 2006), has a rich diversity of people, making the country an ideal locale for employers seeking diverse workforces. To diversity management practitioners, South Africa could be an ideal space and place where they may create diverse and inclusive workspaces and workplaces where workers experience race as a positive attribute instead of hindering career progression or their ability to acquire jobs.

2.5.2.1 Proposition two

Black and White South Africans have a unique experience of race in the workplace in South Africa, and if these unique experiences of race are effectively harnessed by diversity management practitioners, Black and White workers may go from helping their employers to be successful to being the very reason that their employers are successful (Thomas, 2004). Similarly, differences in workers from different social generations, if managed well, may be a catalyst for business development and business improvement rather than a source of conflict in the workplace.

2.5.3 Race, space, and place during the Apartheid era in South Africa

The Afrikaans word 'Apartheid' translates as apartness or separateness in English. The word itself poignantly tells of the racial divide that was socially engineered by the system of Apartheid in South Africa used the Group Areas Act of 1950 (RSA, 1950) as one of the mechanisms to segregate people and spaces racially so that White people could be economically and socially privileged over Black people (Dubow, 1992). All spaces in all shapes and forms were legally segregated by race so that Black and White South Africans had separate living districts, churches, schools, hospitals, parks, beaches, bus stops, buses, shops, and so on (Neely & Samura, 2011; Reardon et al., 2009). Not only were physical spaces segregated, but social relations between Black and White South Africans were also severed and forcibly prohibited by law and through a deliberate race rhetoric that sowed racial division between Black and White South Africans. The government used churches, schools, the media, and other carefully selected communication channels to drive this rhetoric amongst White South Africans, perpetuating misinformation, fear, hatred, and support for Apartheid policies (Mzimela, 1981). But the system of Apartheid went a step beyond segregating Black and White South Africans in the country. Its pervasive nature simultaneously drove divisions within Black nuclear families through its migrant labour system that forced Black men to part with their families

and search for jobs strategically located far away from the Black homelands (Sideris, 1998). Hence, the intersection of race and space during the Apartheid era resulted in different spaces and spatial experiences for Black and White South Africans (Neely & Samura, 2011; Reardon et al., 2009).

The system of Apartheid similarly socially engineered the ambience in spaces, creating different places for Black and White people (Aoki, 1992). As discussed earlier, place is intricately linked to space as spaces are socially engineered to create place. Where space is an actual locale, place is the ambience in a space. Whilst spaces are tangible and easy to identify, places are intangible and more challenging to manage. The lived experiences of Black people of place in the homelands and in other spaces in Apartheid South Africa could be described as tantamount to a state of misery (Jeeves, 2004). Hardship flourished in these spaces, and dreams were prematurely stillborn even if miraculously conceived. At the time, these were bleak places in South Africa (Bank, 2015; Hall, Wisborg, Shirinda, & Zamchiya, 2013). In contrast, places for White South Africans were aesthetically pleasing. Electricity, fresh running water, and plush greenery, amongst other social benefits, made White places a haven compared to Black places (Sack, 1993).

2.5.4 Race, space, and place in contemporary South Africa

With the advent of democracy in the early 1990s, the Group Areas Act of 1950 (RSA, 1950) and other laws and regulations that fostered racial segregation in the country were officially dismantled. They were replaced with the newly elected democratic government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994), developed to integrate once segregated spaces spatially. Hence, the advent of democracy marked the start of a lengthy process to spatially and racially integrate a country deeply divided by the system of Apartheid.

Spatial reform initiatives to integrate Black and White spaces were more straightforward to plan and implement than repairing strained social relations between Black and White South Africans and transforming places into newly racially integrated spaces. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (1992) was one of the government's earliest attempts to kick-start building social cohesion. The TRC was built on the premise that if White South Africans who committed racial crimes against Black people during the Apartheid era spoke truthfully of their crimes, the victims would start to heal. This would start a process of building comradeship between Black and White South Africans (Allan & Allan, 2000; Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1998; Hamber, Nageng, & O'Malley, 2000; Ross, 2003). Essentially, the underlying premise was that a "rainbow" nation would emerge when truth intersects with forgiveness. In reality, however, it is argued that the TRC often generated more questions than answers and re-opened rather than healed wounds from the past (Hamber et al., 2000; Ross, 2003).

The government's efforts have not been evenly split between spatial integration and social cohesion (Khaile, Roman, & Davids, 2021). More effort has been channelled into structural and spatial integration on the assumption that people will naturally integrate and social cohesion will organically develop once spaces are integrated. However, almost three decades into democracy, racial nuisances continue to disrupt social cohesiveness in South Africa (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Alexander, 2007; Griffith, 2009; Mtose, 2011; Ntshoe, 2009; Steyn & Foster, 2008). One may conclude that the absence of racial segregation does not translate into racial integration. As much as spaces need to be spatially integrated, places also need to be simultaneously racially integrated. Whilst the democratic government in South Africa has made strides in racially integrating spaces in South Africa, racially integrating places in the workplace has been left up to management in organisations.

2.5.5 Proposition for the third research question

The third research question for this study is, how is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation?

2.5.5.1 Proposition three

Since 1994, racial and spatial integration has been ongoing in workplaces in South Africa. Space in the workplace in South Africa tends to be experienced differently by Black and White South Africans as spaces transform. Since the Covid-19 pandemic, virtual workspaces have become increasingly popular among workers and employers (Newman & Ford, 2021). Virtual workspaces have eroded centres of power in the traditional workspace, enabling workers to choose spaces and places from which they perform their work. According to Mancl & Fraser (2020), virtual workspaces are likely to remain a feature of future workplaces, and if this is, in fact, the case, then traditional workspaces and places as we currently know them are likely to become outdated.

2.6 Intersectionality

For many decades, empirical studies conceived and explored race as an independent demographic variable or identity (April, Ephraim, & Peters, 2012; Louvrier, 2013; Zanoni & Janssens, 2007; Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop, & Nkomo, 2010). Class, gender, disability, sexuality, and other social constructs were similarly conceived and explored as independent demographic variables (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). But this changed in 1989 when Kimberlé Crenshaw argued that identities such as race and gender should not be solely examined as independent identities that discriminate or privilege people but rather as interdependent identities that "intersect" to exacerbate the experiences of discrimination and privilege (Crenshaw, 1989). Crenshaw, a feminist and prominent civil rights attorney, introduced the term 'intersectionality' and postulated the theory of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). She has subsequently become a leading thinker and scholar in critical race theory, and her works focus extensively on the intersectionality of race and gender. As an attorney, her work centres on the legal system and how laws intersect with race and gender to privilege White men in the US and disadvantage and discriminate against Black minority groups, in particular Black women (Conaghan, 2008; Davis, 2015a; Deckha, 2004; Grabham et al., 2008; Taefi, 2009).

Since 1989, the theory of intersectionality has gained prominence, and many scholars have explored the intersectionality of gender and race, concluding that Black women are most disadvantaged in these societies (Moorosi, Fuller, & Reilly, 2018). Not only are Black women more marginalised than White women, but Black women with disabilities are more marginalised than Black women without disabilities. Similarly, Black lesbian women with disabilities are more marginalised than Black heterosexual women with disabilities. Hence, these studies argue that whilst there are varying degrees to which Black women are marginalised in a particular society, what is a given is that Black women are the most marginalised of all people when race intersects with identities such as sexuality and disability (Collins, 2012; Crenshaw, 2005; Monro, 2010; Verloo, 2006).

Some scholars reject the theory of intersection and criticise it for diminishing the lived experiences of White women in these same societies. Since the theory of intersectionality commonly focuses on the identity of Black women to the exclusion of White women, these scholars believe that it overlooks White women's experiences of marginalisation as the theory of intersectionality juxtaposes their lived experiences with those of Black women (Nash, 2008). The theory of intersectionality is also commonly criticised for prioritising the intersectionality of race and gender whilst neglecting other identities, such as sexuality (McCormack & Anderson, 2014; Monro, 2010; Vivar, 2016; Winker & Degele, 2011). Some scholars also believe that intersectionality studies fail to focus on the diverse experiences of single identities, such as race, as they explore the complexity of the relations between two

or amongst multiple identities (Carastathis, 2014; Carbado, 2013; Crenshaw, 2010; Jordan-Zachery, 2007). Furthermore, despite Crenshaw attempting to demolish racial hierarchies altogether, she is sometimes accused of attempting to invert the racial and gender hierarchy prevalent in the US society so that Black women are at the top with White heterosexual men at the bottom of the hierarchy (Calasanti & Giles, 2018).

2.6.1 Intersectionality today

Intersectionality studies have tended to explore how the legal system intersects with race to disadvantage the Black minority and privilege the White majority in the US (Conaghan, 2008; Davis, 2015a; Deckha, 2004; Grabham et al., 2008; Taefi, 2009). The legal system tends to be a cornerstone of intersectionality studies in the US because the country's legal system has been primarily conceptualised and spearheaded by a majority White male–dominated government. Intersectionality studies today continue to portray legal systems as enablers of Black discrimination and White privilege, even in contemporary South Africa, where the legal system has been conceptualised and spearheaded by a majority Black-led government in a country where Black people are the majority and White people the minority (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Gouws, 2017; Kurtiş & Adams, 2016; Shaw et al., 2012; Warnat, 2012). Little is known about the lived experiences of intersectionality in a country like South Africa, where Black power has reigned and has been in the hands of a Black majority for almost three decades. What are the lived experiences of minority groups, mainly where the minority groups are White South Africans, as in the case of South Africa? What are the lived experiences of the White minority in South Africa with the Black minority in the US? These questions are seldom explored, and the focus tends to be on the Black person's lived experiences in different societies, irrespective of whether Black people are the minority or majority group and whether Black people are in power in such societies. A reason for this is perhaps the extensive time that White power prevailed in South Africa, jointly under the systems of Colonialism and Apartheid, and the sheer magnitude of the atrocities that these systems inflicted on the Black majority group. Hence, without diminishing the importance of Black experiences in spaces where White rule prevails for as long as it did in South Africa, it is equally important to understand if and how lived experiences shift when power changes hands across the colour divide and when White people are the minority, and Black people are the majority.

Empirical studies on race and intersectionality tend to explore the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans about each other, and these studies tend to be based on a cross-sectional study design. However, suppose scholars use both cross-sectional and longitudinal study designs. In that case, they may gather rich data on the lived experiences of White South Africans as a minority group in an overwhelming Black South Africa, both under White rule and later under Black rule. Setting the legal framework aside, scholars on intersectionality can theorise and conceptualise intersectionality as a sociological phenomenon to understand the lived experiences of people in different societies.

In South Africa, scholars, diversity management practitioners, and management practitioners tend to focus on single identities and the lived experiences of these identities in the workplace and elsewhere in South Africa. Furthermore, they focus on quantitatively reporting on Employment Equity targets as opposed to qualitatively exploring the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans when multiple identities intersect (Bowen et al., 2008; Erwin, 2010; MacDonald, 2006; Mazibuko & Govender, 2017; Moodley & Adam, 2000; Posel, 2001; Seekings, 2008; Walker, 2005). An unintended consequence of quantitatively reporting on the number of Black and White workers employed in an organisation is that the Black and White respective lived experiences are overlooked as value is instead placed on one's physical presence in the workplace. Scholars in South Africa need to consider the implications that intersectionality may have for the workplace and the consequences it may have for

workers. For example, a person's gender may affect their salary and the likelihood that they will be promoted. This, in turn, may affect their economic and social class (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Similarly, a person's race may affect their experiences of job interviews, which may influence their employment status (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Crenshaw, 1997). Therefore, scholars, policy makers, and diversity management practitioners in the South African workplace must consider how multiple identities intersect and are interdependent and not merely quantitatively report on identities as independent variables.

2.6.2 Proposition for the fourth research question

The final research question for this study is, when race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation experience this intersection?

Crenshaw argues that where Black people are a minority group, Black women are most marginalised when race intersects with social constructs such as gender. In present-day South Africa, due to Employment Equity policies and the fact that Black people are a majority group, Black women are unlikely to be most marginalised in the workplace, irrespective of their social generation. When the theory of intersectionality is applied in South Africa, Employment Equity policies mean that Black women are likely to be advantaged and White men disadvantaged. When race intersects with social generation and locale, White men belonging to Generation Y are likely to be most marginalised, as Employment Equity policies limit their employment opportunities. Black women from across the social generations are likely to be more advantaged than White men from the younger social generations but disadvantaged compared to White men from the older social generations who tend to occupy top management jobs in the country.

2.6.2.1 Proposition four

Social categories such as race and social generations in South Africa are commonly explored as single social constructs. The Employment Equity Policy mandates firms to report quantitatively on social categories such as disability, gender, and race. Whilst some studies have explored the intersectionality of the social categories of race, gender, and disability in the workplace in South Africa, little is known about the intersectionality of less common social constructs such as social generations, race, and locale (space and place). Also, social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people, limiting the understanding of intra-generational differences.

2.7 Conceptual framework

This study examines the intersectionality of social generations, locale (space and place), and race in the workplace in South Africa to gather local understandings of social generations and intra-generational differences in South Africa. The conceptual framework for this study pertains to social generations and intersectionality and is presented by the conceptual model below. As depicted by the model, social generations in South Africa and elsewhere tend to be termed and understood as the Baby Boomer, Generation X (Gen X), and Generation Y (Gen Y) social generations that Strauss and Howe identified based on select socio-historic events. In addition, social generations are commonly understood as groupings that are distinct from one another. As such, whilst much is known about inter-generational differences, little is known about intra-generational differences. The model also shows that social generations, race, and locale (commonly understood as space devoid of place) are each explored as single phenomena.

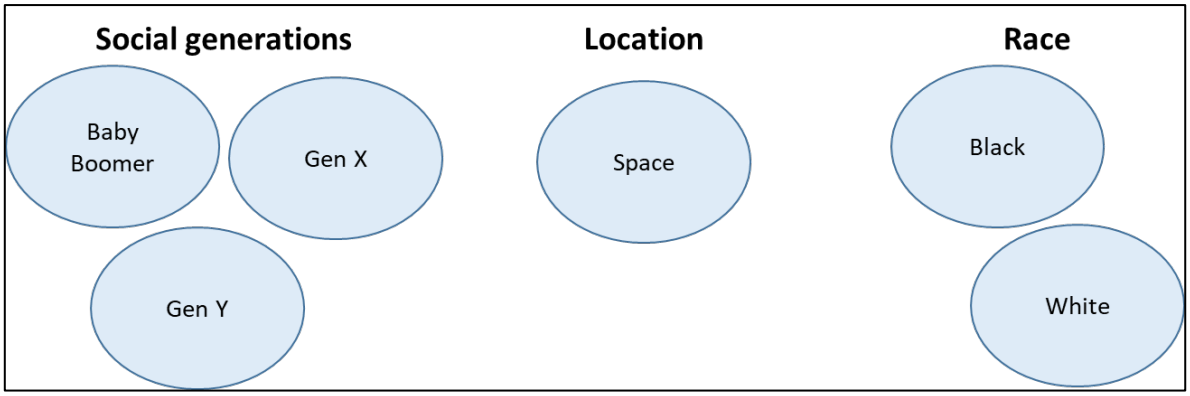


Figure 8: From a detailed literature review, social generations, locale (commonly defined as space only, devoid of place), and race tend to be each explored as single, separate phenomena. As a result, little is known about the intersectionality of social generations, locale (space and place), and race.

Racial stratification was prevalent during the Apartheid era in South Africa, and, during this era, spaces and places in both the public and private sectors were socially engineered by White South Africans, particularly by White men (Maylam, 2001). In contemporary South Africa, however, whilst spaces and places in the public sector tend to be socially engineered by an overwhelmingly Black-male-led government, places in the private sector tend to be socially engineered by an overwhelmingly White-male-led management. Hence, Black and White women tend to occupy secondary roles in both the public and private sectors in South Africa. Furthermore, whilst White South Africans were wholly privileged by the system of Apartheid, neither Black nor White people were wholly privileged by the system of democracy in South Africa. Racial stratification is a salient feature in contemporary South Africa as public and private spaces and places continue to be racially stratified, albeit covertly so (Alexander, 2007; Franchi, 2003; Steyn & Foster, 2008; Vincent, 2008). Hence, whilst places in the workplace tend to be socially engineered by White South Africans, it is noteworthy that the labour law framework, coupled with Employment Equity policies, limits the extent to which White men may socially engineer both spaces and places in the workplace. Nonetheless, gated communities and other privatised public spaces continue to exclude Black people racially (Ramoroka & Tsheola, 2014) in much the same way that Employment Equity policies racially exclude White South Africans in workplaces (Alexander, 2007; Franchi, 2003).

Hence, when race intersects with social generation in South Africa, intra-generational differences within each social generation may be identified, as Black and White South Africans from each social generation are unlikely to have homogenous experiences of spaces and places in South Africa, neither during the Apartheid era nor during the contemporary democratic era.

2.8 Conclusion of literature review

Whilst there is a pool of studies on the phenomenon of generations, much conceptual and terminological confusion within these studies may be traced back to the seminal theory of generations. Current understandings of social generations are primarily influenced by the generational theory of Strauss and Howe, who coined the terms 'Baby Boomers', 'Generation X', and 'Generation Y'. These terms have become Americanised, and scholars in South Africa and elsewhere tend to identify people by these terms, irrespective of the socio-historic events they witness in their respective locales (spaces). As a result, little is known about local social generations in South Africa and elsewhere. Furthermore, whilst scholars tend to examine inter-generational differences, little is known about intra-generational differences, as studies increasingly portray social generations as homogenous units.

Crenshaw, who developed the theory of intersectionality, argues that when race intersects with gender, Black women are most marginalised owing to inherent bias often built into the legal frameworks. Most subsequent studies tend to examine the intersectionality of race and gender in the context of US laws. As a result, little is known about the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans when social constructs, such as social generations and race, intersect.

For ease of reference, the consistency table below lists each research question for this study and its corresponding proposition.

Table 2: The consistency table illustrates the research questions and corresponding propositions

Research question	**Proposition**
Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?	In South Africa and elsewhere, social generations tend to be understood and termed according to socio-historic events in the US. As a result, little is known about local social generations in South Africa and elsewhere.
How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?	Black and White South Africans have a unique experience of race in the workplace in South Africa. Whilst the White minority commonly feels alienated, invisible, and unvoiced, the Black majority feels deprived of power, which it believes is concentrated in White hands. Social generations are conceptualised as homogenous groups of people, and little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience race. Instead, studies tend to homogenise the Black and the White experiences of race as if all Black people share a common experience of race and, likewise, as if all White South Africans share a common experience of race, irrespective of which social generation they may belong to.
How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation?	Since 1994, racial and spatial integration has been ongoing in workplaces in South Africa. Space in the workplace in South Africa tends to be experienced differently by Black and White South Africans as spaces transform. Little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience space in the workplace since social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people. The literature shows that Black and White South Africans have a unique experience of space, irrespective of their social generation, a subject seldom explored by studies. Whilst a concerted effort has been made to racially integrate spaces in the workplace in South Africa since 1994, little consideration has been given to the experience of places in the workplace in South Africa, and studies tend to focus on the experience of spaces rather than places. Hence, little is known about the experience of place in the workplace in South Africa. Furthermore, since social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people, little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience place.
When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation experience this intersection?	Social categories such as race and social generations in South Africa are commonly explored as single social constructs. The Employment Equity Policy mandates firms to report quantitatively on social categories such as disability, gender, and race. Whilst some studies have explored the intersectionality of the social categories of race, gender, and disability in the workplace in South Africa, little is known about the intersectionality of less common social constructs such as social generations, race, and locale (space and place). Also, social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people, limiting the understanding of intra-generational differences.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Overview

This chapter commences with a discussion of the research paradigm, followed by the research design for the study. The research paradigm informed the study's ontological, epistemological, and methodological approach and the strategic decisions regarding the sampling, data collection, and data-analysis processes. The limitations of the study are then discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the study's trustworthiness, encompassing the criteria for credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 1994a). Each of these four criteria for trustworthiness (credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability) is discussed, together with the strategies employed to strengthen the study's trustworthiness. The chapter closes with a consistency table that shows the alignment between the data-collection and data-analysis processes, the research questions, and the propositions for the study.

3.2 Research paradigm

The ontological and epistemological foundations of truth and reality have been a topical discussion point among scholars for many decades. Two dominant philosophies of science inform responses to what truth is. The first school of thought argues that there is a single reality that is understood in many ways. The second school of thought argues that there are multiple realities, depending on the meaning people attach to their respective versions of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The second school of thought or philosophy of science informed this study, which embraces a relativist approach to explore the meanings that people attach to their lived experiences of the phenomena of social generations and intersectionality in South Africa. Therefore, for this study, there are multiple truths as opposed to a single truth, and the belief that reality is socially constructed and context-bound informs the view that reality cannot be generalised but may instead be transferred to similar contexts.

Thomas Kuhn (1962) contributed to the philosophy of science by arguing that there is more than one worldview or paradigm, as worldviews change rather than remain static. His works have been instrumental in steering the philosophy of science from positivity toward post-positivism or anti-positivism. Kuhn believed that scientific truth changes over time and there are multiple truths instead of a single truth. Scholars Guba and Lincoln (1994a) and Patton (1990), like Kuhn, believe that science consists of multiple paradigms, realities and truths, with positivism being one of the paradigms of science. The research paradigm for this study was informed by the belief that there is no homogenous, single truth. Instead, what is "true" is shaped by the intersectionality of cultural, social, political, and scientific factors (Fuchs, 1992). The post-positivist research paradigm used for this study influenced, amongst other aspects of the study, the epistemological approach, research methodology, and research method.

Phenomena such as social generations and intersectionality tend to be portrayed and understood as a single, homogenous truth. One of the reasons for this is that these phenomena have been primarily conceptualised and theorised in the US, and the pervasive influence of American culture means that these phenomena tend to be understood as a single truth. What is, therefore, known about social generations and studies have influenced intersectionality in the US. The practice of Americanisation stems from the view that American culture is superior worldwide (Azaryahu, 2000; Frenkel & Shenhav, 2003). This practice operates on and supports the assumption that a single, homogenous American truth or reality may be generalised or transferred elsewhere, irrespective of context and local lived experiences. This creates a void regarding what is known about local social generations, particularly when race intersects with social generations, space, and place. In seeking to uncover local realities or

truths that pertain to social generations and intersectionality, this study set out to examine and add local understandings to the body of existing knowledge.

Uncovering local truths about social generations and intersectionality against a backdrop that perpetuates a single truth shaped by an American perspective can be challenging, as participants are likely to have preconceived notions that this pervasive single truth may well influence. This challenge informed the strategy for the study's research methodology and design. Case study research, specifically a dual case study, was employed to explore local truths about social generations and intersectionality in South Africa. Zainal (2007, p. 2) defines the case study method as a method that:

"enables a researcher to examine the data within a specific context closely. In most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area or a minimal number of individuals as the study subjects. In their true essence, case studies explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships."

Whilst a single case study provides rich data about a particular phenomenon, dual case studies provide a collage of different pieces of equally rich data that create a holistic view of the phenomenon being explored. Therefore, a dual case study is often credited with painting a more complete picture of a particular phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008; de Weerd-Nederhof, 2001; Stake, 2013). Case studies and qualitative research enable researchers to delve into social life's complexities to reveal and explore diversity and heterogeneity between and amongst cases, whereas quantitative research accentuates singularity, sameness, and homogeneity (McCall, 2005; Ragin, 2000). Scholars trained in social science methods commonly use the case study method to explore phenomena such as intersectionality, not only to identify new or invisible groups but also to identify differences within a group (McCall, 2005).

The table below summarises the research paradigm and the study's ontological, epistemological, and methodological approaches.

Table 3: The ontological, epistemological, and methodological beliefs that informed the research paradigm for this study

Ontology
• This study embraced the relativist philosophy of science. It supported the view that there are multiple versions of realities and truths as people attach different meanings to their realities and lived experiences. • The world is complex and ever-changing as people constantly construct, interpret, and experience their respective realities, such as, in this study, the system of Apartheid, to make sense of their worlds. Truth and reality are, therefore, believed to be subjective, with people socially constructing and experiencing realities in diverse ways.
Epistemology
• The study is based on the epistemological belief that truth and knowledge are subjective and depend on people's lived experiences and their respective understandings of their lived experiences. • All theories, including the theory of generations, generational theory, and intersectionality, are constructed from multiple realities and lived experiences in different contexts. Social and cultural contexts, therefore, shape theories and should not be Americanised or homogenised. • The study took an interpretivist approach, believing that the researcher's values and beliefs will inform how data is gathered, interpreted, and analysed for the study, and, as such, the researcher cannot be separated from the research. • An emic approach was taken to gather knowledge about participants' lived experiences of the intersectionality of race, social generation, space, and place (locale) in the workplace in South Africa. • Knowledge for this study comprised the subjective beliefs, values, and understandings of both the researcher and the participants.

Methodology
• The methodological question for the study pertained to how knowledge may be systematically collected and understood. • This study tended to be qualitative and employed case study research as a strategy of inquiry to acquire knowledge for the study. • Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were used to acquire data from participants purposively sampled for the study. • An inductive reasoning approach was used to draw general conclusions about social generations in South Africa, and the study infers assumptions from the research findings gathered by the study. • Bracketing was used to suspend non-essential aspects of the researcher's perception and subjectivity.

Scholars that focus on social generations tend to explore inter-generational differences and overlook intra-generational differences (Arsenault, 2004; Glass, 2007; Gursoy et al., 2008; Macky et al., 2008; Parry & Urwin, 2011a; Smola & Sutton, 2002; Tolbize, 2008). While many scholars commonly embrace a post-positivist research paradigm, they take a somewhat scientific objectivist or realist research approach by assuming that social generations are homogenous. In so doing, they tend to overlook the differences within and amongst social generations brought about by, amongst other factors, race, locale, and, more specifically, place concerning locale. Scholars tend to define locale in terms of space, devoid of place (Aboim & Vasconcelos, 2014; Alber, Van Der Geest, & Whyte, 2008; Alwin, 2002; Bristow, 2015b; Caballero & Baigorri, 2019).

Strauss and Howe (1992a), who developed the generational theory that has gained popularity in South Africa and elsewhere, overlook the social construct of race when they define and conceptualise social generations for the US. Strauss and Howe (1992a) overlook all race-related socio-historic events despite race being a contentious matter that has been disrupting social relations in the US for many decades (Cohen et al., 2017). Strauss and Howe's (1992a) oversight may be attributable to their respective subjective beliefs and value systems, as well as their ontological belief that a single reality is understood and conceptualised differently by people. Their works contribute to the common perception that social generations are homogenous and that all people born between specific periods have a shared experience of the same socio-historic events in the country. Moreover, many scholars in South Africa and elsewhere normally base their respective studies on Strauss-Howe's generational theory, assuming that US-social generations (Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Y) may be generalised to South Africa (Johnston, 2013; Jonck et al., 2016; Kruger & Saayman, 2015; Mandhlazi et al., 2013; Nienaber & Masibigiri, 2012). In so doing, some scholars on social generations embrace a qualitative epistemological approach and a realist ontological view, believing that there is a homogenous, single reality or truth.

Whilst realists may argue that the system of Apartheid was a single reality that was understood and experienced differently by Black and White South Africans in South Africa, this study, by adopting a relativist philosophy, instead argues that the system of Apartheid created multiple realities and truths for people living in South Africa, based on how individuals socially constructed their respective realities. This study rejects the realist perspective and argues that the system of Apartheid not only created different lived experiences for Black and White South Africans but heterogeneous experiences for Black and White South Africans. As such, all White South Africans did not have a homogenous experience of the system of Apartheid any more than all Blacks did. Instead, the lived experiences of the system of Apartheid depended on, amongst other things, one's moral and political affiliations and not on race alone. In South Africa and elsewhere, many White South Africans fought against the system of Apartheid in the country, and their reality during the Apartheid era was markedly different from the reality of White South Africans who overtly or covertly supported the system of racial segregation (Everatt, 2009; Saunders, 2011).

Similarly, the Black reality of the system of Apartheid was not a homogenous one. As an example, Ramugondo (2015) argues that Black people with lighter skin tones were less discriminated against during the Apartheid era

than Black people who had darker skin tones. Hence, Black people also had diverse or heterogeneous realities and lived experiences during the Apartheid era.

A fundamental assumption for this study was that social generations in South Africa are unlikely to be homogenous *because* of the different experiences people in the country have had. If people's lived experiences differ in South Africa, how can social generations in the US be generalised to South Africa? This study, therefore, refutes the Americanisation and homogenisation of social generations in South Africa and elsewhere and, instead, defines knowledge for this study as people's local, lived experiences and truths when race intersects with social generations, space, and place (locale) in the workplace in South Africa. These local findings of various lived experiences in South Africa may contribute to a pool of studies on diversity management, particularly social generations and intersectionality.

3.3 Research design

This study's ontological, epistemological, and methodological approaches were based on a relativist philosophy of science. Each of these approaches is discussed in more detail below.

3.3.1 Ontological approach

The relativist ontological belief that informs the study is that there are multiple versions of realities and truths, depending on the meanings people attach to their lived experiences (Bryman, 2015). Truth, for this study, was not homogenous any more than race or social generations are homogenous. Instead, the ontological approach for this study is based on the view that there are various truths, depending on one's context and lived experiences and the meanings that one attaches to those experiences. Hence, individuals may experience a single socio-historic event differently (Heidegger, 1977, 1988). Edward Sapir explains this ontological perspective as follows:

"The worlds that different societies live in are different worlds, not simply the same world with different labels attached." (Sapir, 1929, p. 69)

Following Sapir's belief, this study rejects the Americanisation of social generations. It defines truth in this case as the different lived experiences of the local socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid in South Africa and the varied lived experiences when race intersects with the social generation, space, and place (locale) in the workplace in South Africa. The study embraced an inductive research approach to gather an in-depth understanding of the different realities and meanings that people attach to their realities, as discussed in Section 3.7 below.

3.3.2 Epistemological approach

This study embraced the philosophical paradigm that people socially construct their understandings and knowledge of the world through their individual lived experiences of socio-historic events (Honebein, 1996). This paradigm holds multiple truths and realities as opposed to a single truth since there may be varied lived experiences of the same socio-historic events, creating differences within and amongst social generations, with each lived experience constituting truth for this study. As such, the study embraced an interpretive approach (Riegler, 2012) and gathered information from the participants' perspectives.

Knowledge for this study included the subjective beliefs, values and understandings of the researcher and the research participants belonging to the different social generations in South Africa. The study embraced the epistemological view that theories such as the theory of generations, generational theory, and the theory of intersectionality are constructed from multiple realities and lived experiences and are sensitive to these different

lived experiences *and contexts*. Hence, for this study, each participant's local lived experience constitutes reality or truth, according to the ontological view that there are various realities based on the meanings people attach to their lived experiences rather than a single reality or truth (van de Vijver, 2010).

An emic strategy or approach was used to examine the phenomena of social generations and intersectionality in the South African context as the study explored social generations and intra-generational and inter-generational differences in South Africa, as opposed to generalising US-specific social generations and inter-generational and intra-generational differences to South Africa. The emic strategy facilitated the gathering of local understandings of social generations and intra-generational and inter-generational differences in South Africa by exploring the intersectionality of social generations, race, and locale in the country to add local findings to the pool of available studies.

3.3.3 Methodological approach

Whilst epistemology is concerned with what knowledge is, methodology is concerned with how valid or trustworthy knowledge may be obtained (Kothari, 2004). The two dominant methodological approaches tend to be quantitative and qualitative. Whilst a realist philosophy often informs quantitative research of science and positivity, qualitative research tends to be informed by a relativist philosophy of science and post-positivity (Djamba, 2002). Embracing the relativist, post-positivist philosophy of science, the study adopted qualitative research as an exploratory methodology that supports the gathering and understanding people's lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Strauss and Corbin define qualitative research as "any kind of research that produces findings derived from real-world settings as opposed to being arrived at using statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 36).

The study employed case study research as a strategy of inquiry and semi-structured, face-to-face interviews to explore the lived experiences of the phenomena of social generations and intersectionality in South Africa. Case study research and, more specifically, exploratory case study research were used to explore social generations and intersectionality in South Africa to learn more about these phenomena in the context of South Africa (Zainal, 2007). Scholars have identified two main types of case study approaches (Starman, 2013), the first situated in a social constructivist paradigm (Stake, 2013) and the second in a post-positivist paradigm (Yin, 2012). This study embraced the latter case study approach in the post-positivist paradigm as defined by Yin (2012) and Flyvbjerg (2006). A case study is "an intensive study of a single unit to understand a larger class of similar units" (Gerring, 2004, p. 342). According to Gerrie (2004), a unit connotes a spatially bounded phenomenon that is observed either at a particular point in time or over some time. Like other research designs, case study research design tends to be debated amongst scholars, with some viewing it with scepticism and circumspection and others viewing it favourably as a method most suitable for qualitatively exploring phenomena. According to Flyvbjerg (2006), case study research is sometimes misunderstood, calling into question the theory, reliability, and validity of case studies.

A common misunderstanding of case study research, according to Flyvbjerg (2006), is that scholars who use a single case study design cannot contribute to scientific development. In response to this assertion, Flyvbjerg cites Hans Eysenck (1976), who was once a sceptic of case study research but who later wrote that cases should be carefully considered "not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something" (Eysenck, 1976 as cited in; Flyvbjerg, 2006). In addressing the misconception that theoretical knowledge that is context-independent knowledge is more valuable than practical, context-dependent knowledge, Flyvbjerg (2006) states that context-dependent knowledge is more valuable than the "vain search" for predictive theories. Another common misconception Flyvbjerg discusses is that case studies confirm scholars' preconceived notions. To the contrary,

several case study scholars, including Flyvbjerg, report that their preconceived views, assumptions, and hypotheses were in fact wrong, and hence that misconception is quashed (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Starman, 2013; Verschuren, 2003).

The trustworthiness of the current study was vital, as it evaluated the rigour of the qualitative study (Connelly, 2016; Shenton, 2004). To strengthen the study's trustworthiness, researcher subjectivity, participant subjectivity, and reactivity had to be addressed. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994b), trustworthy research should satisfy the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Later in this chapter, the study's trustworthiness and these four criteria are discussed in more detail.

3.4 Sample and sampling approach

The study embraced a dual case study design with two bounded cases conducted in parallel. The Gautrain was the case unit; one bounded case was a public entity known as the Gautrain Management Agency (GMA), and the other was a private entity known as the Bombela Concession Company (Bombela). The Gautrain is an 80-kilometre commuter rail system that links Johannesburg to other cities in the Gauteng province. The main objective of the GMA is to manage, coordinate, and oversee the Gautrain project in the government's interest as a whole. The Gauteng Provincial Government, in particular.

In contrast, Bombela, which holds a 20-year concession agreement with the provincial government, is responsible for the design, construction, partial financing, and operation of the Gautrain system (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2015). The GMA and Bombela are separate entities in a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) to jointly manage the services of the Gautrain in the Gauteng province of South Africa. Using data triangulation, a dual case study design (with two cases) was employed to explore the lived experiences of Black and White workers from three social generations within each of the two cases. Employing a dual case study design supports data triangulation to validate and crosscheck the study findings (Bekhet, 2012). The exploration aimed to understand similarities and/or differences between and amongst Black and White South Africans from each social generation, particularly when race intersects with social generation, space, and place (locale) in the context of South Africa. As a case unit, Gautrain allowed the study to sample both a private and a public entity that together made up a PPP. This case unit enabled the study to explore differences and/or similarities in the lived experiences of participants employed by these entities. In this way, the data gathered from each case could be analysed individually and in relation to each other.

As such, the case unit (Gautrain, a PPP) allowed for the experiences of Black and White South Africans employed in the public sector to be compared with the experiences of Black and White South Africans employed in the private sector. Such a comparison was helpful as it enabled the study to make findings and conclusions regarding the Black and White experiences in the public and private sectors. As mentioned, according to a study by Statistics South Africa (2019), top management jobs in the private sector in South Africa tend to be occupied by White males. In contrast, senior jobs in the public sector tend to be occupied by Black males (Booysen, 2007b; Booysen & van Wyk, 2007). Hence, exploring the experiences of race, space, and place in the private and public sectors in South Africa would enable the study to make relevant findings concerning the research questions for the study. Studies by numerous scholars in South Africa show that it is useful to explore people's lived experiences in both the public and the private sectors (Gerdts et al., 2017; Kelly, Mrengqwa, & Geffen, 2019; Meehan et al., 2015; Pillay, 2009).

For the study, race was considered socially constructed, and any person categorised as Black by their employer was considered Black. Likewise, any person who was categorised as White by their employer was considered to be White. Furthermore, for this study, the so-called Asian, Indian, and Coloured races commonly identified in South

Africa were considered Black. Hence, any person who was not categorised as White was considered to be Black and vice versa.

Initially, the target population for this study was Black and White South Africans belonging to the so-called Traditionalist (born between 1924 and 1945), Baby Boomers (born between 1946 and 1964), Generation X (born between 1965 and 1980), Generation Y (born between 1981 and 2000), and Generation Z (born between 1997 and 2012) social generations in South Africa. The initial plan was to draw a sample from this target population. Still, in defining the sample for the study, it became apparent that the Traditionalist and Generation Z social generations were unlikely to be found in the workplace, considering their ages at the time of the study. Whilst the Traditionalist social generation was likely to be too old to be employable, the Generation Z social generation was likely too young. Hence, whilst the population was comprised of Black and White South Africans from all social generations in South Africa, the study sample was condensed to consist only of people belonging to social generations who were likely to be employed in the workplace at the time of the study. As such, the Traditionalist and the Generation Z social generations were purposively excluded from the study sample.

The study sample, therefore, consisted of Black and White South Africans belonging to the Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations working for the Gautrain in the Gauteng province in South Africa. Even upon omitting the oldest and youngest social generations from the sample, the sample size would still have been too large, making it costly and impractical to work with, given that it would have included all workers at Gautrain born between 1946 and 2000 (from the Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations). For this reason, the study sample was further reduced.

For this study, 60 face-to-face interviews with Black and White participants from the three social generations were deemed sufficient. A sample size of 60 participants may be too large or demanding to explore simple qualitative research questions or detailed studies. However, it is noteworthy that 10 Black and 10 White participants were selected within each social generation. Hence, the sample size is not 60 participants from each social generation, which is not too large. Furthermore, to explore complex phenomena, such as social generations and intersectionality, which contain several rather complex social constructs, such as race, a sample size of 60 is considered sufficient. A sample of this size would enable the study to gather lived experiences from both races and different social generations to address the research questions for the study (Morse, 2000). The sample size has been an age-old debate between quantitative and qualitative scholars. Marshall (1996, p. 523) writes the following in this regard:

"Quantitative researchers often fail to understand the usefulness of studying small samples. This is related to the misapprehension that generalizability is the ultimate goal of all good research and is the principal reason for some otherwise sound published qualitative studies containing inappropriate sampling techniques. An appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question."

In keeping with Marshall's argument as cited above, the study deemed a sample size of 60 participants adequate for answering the research questions for this study. Hence, the study sample was comprised of an equal number of Black and White participants from each of the selected social generations at Bombela and the GMA. More specifically, five Black and five White participants were purposively selected from each of the three social generations – Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y – employed by Bombela and the GMA. Therefore, the sample size for this study was 60 participants, 30 from each of the two bounded cases (Bombela and GMA) that collectively made up the Gautrain case unit. Whilst a sample size of 60 may be considered large, particularly for a qualitative study, it was necessary for a study that sought to examine the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans from each of the three social generations from two cases.

The study employed a purposive sampling strategy to ensure that Black and White workers from each of the three social generations at Bombela and GMA were proportionately represented to make comparisons between and amongst Black and White South Africans from each social generation at each entity. Hence, the study recruited an equal number of Black and White workers from each social generation employed by GMA and Bombela to ensure that both races and the three social generations were equally represented by the study for valuable comparisons between and amongst the different social generations. It is noteworthy that the sample for the study was not representative of the country's demographics or the respective workplaces of Bombela and GMA. In South Africa, Black people constitute a greater proportion of the population than White South Africans (Statistics South Africa, 2019). Likewise, aligned with the country's demographics, at Bombela and GMA, the number of Black workers exceeds that of White workers. As mentioned, since the study sought to ensure that Black and White participants from each social generation were equally presented, the sample population for the study purposively did not reflect the country's demographics.

Table 4: Research sample and sample size for the study

Race	Social Generation	Number of participants from Bombela (private entity)	Number of participants from GMA (public entity)
Black	Baby Boomer	5	5
White		5	5
Black	Generation X	5	5
White		5	5
Black	Generation Y	5	5
White		5	5
Total		**30**	**30**

The researcher, Bombela employed, recruited participants from Bombela and GMA. This made the data-collection process fast, cost-effective, and easy to carry out as interviews could be scheduled between work meetings, before the start or end of the business day. Furthermore, since Bombela employed her, the researcher had easy access to participants to conduct the interviews. This also enabled her to ask follow-up questions or questions to obtain clarity after the scheduled interview, should the need arise. However, being employed by Bombela and, more significantly, being employed in a senior management role at Bombela, which also involved working closely with other senior managers at the GMA, presented the researcher with a potential, perceived conflict of interest that could not be overlooked. Therefore, consideration was given to the fact that, out of fear of reprisal, some participants might feel self-aware and be somewhat guarded in their responses, mainly if they felt that their views might not be aligned with those of the researcher.

To mitigate this risk, participants were advised that the researcher was conducting the interview as a scholar and not as a senior manager at Bombela. Making this distinction between the two roles she occupied sought to comfort participants that their active, unimpeded contribution was valuable for the study and that their views would be received without judgement and would have no bearing on their respective roles as an employee at the Gautrain. Care was therefore taken to explain to each participant at the start of each interview that their views were necessary for the study and that their personal views were not related to their employment at the respective entities. Further assurance was given in terms of confidentiality and anonymity of participants. In this regard, participants were reminded that no names were being recorded as the study sought to gather their lived experiences as Black or White South Africans belonging to respective social generations and not to gather their

personal views in their capacity as an employee. Likewise, participants were reminded that the researcher was interviewing as a scholar with a keen interest in the phenomena of social generations and intersectionality and not in her capacity as a senior manager at Bombela. Finally, in terms of space and place, participants were allowed to select a date, time, and venue for the interview. This helped to give the participant some control over where and when the interview would be conducted.

3.5 Research instrument

This study employed face-to-face, qualitative interviews and a semi-structured, open-ended interview (attached as Appendix 1) was used to determine the participants' lived experiences when race intersects with social generations, space, and place (locale) in the workplace in South Africa. As a research instrument, the interview enabled the gathering of experiential information from the participants so that the study could undertake meaningful analysis. As with all quantitative and qualitative research methods, qualitative interviews have strengths and weaknesses. One of the perceived weaknesses of qualitative interviews is the emic approach taken by the researcher and the close relationship between the researcher and the research participant. Some scholars believe that the emic approach compromises the data and the integrity of the research process, calling the researcher's objectivity into question (Opdenakker, 2006). However, other scholars, like Goodson (2001) and Willis (2007), argue that for commonly held beliefs that are widely considered to be "the truth" to be disrupted so that various lived experiences can be brought to the fore, it is important for the researcher to establish rapport with the participant. For this study, the qualitative, open-ended (face-to-face) interview using an emic approach was deemed a suitable research instrument. As race tends to be a sensitive topic in South Africa (Dubow, 1995), rapport with the participant is an essential aspect of data collection.

3.6 Data-collection approach

The qualitative research paradigm for the study was interpretive, based on the belief that truth and knowledge are subjective, comprising respective lived experiences (Schwandt, 2000). An interpretivist paradigm informed the data-collection approach for the study, and care was taken to ensure that the data was gathered from the participant's perspective and as the participant intended for it to be collected (Alase, 2017). Hence, the study recorded the interviews and transcribed the participants' responses verbatim (or *in vitro*), and these responses are quoted and discussed in Chapter 4. It is noteworthy, however, that researchers cannot wholly eliminate the risk of reality being interpreted from the researcher's rather than the participant's lens. To mitigate this risk, the study details a list of assumptions and takes care to present findings based on the participants' responses as quoted (Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008; Crabtree, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Djamba, 2002; Dowling, 2006; Sandelowski, 1994). In addition, a detailed audit trail demonstrates how themes were ultimately arrived at with the participant quotes.

Open-ended, face-to-face interviews were favoured in the study because they facilitated rapport-building and rich data collection. The emic strategy for data collection was guided by the belief that every participant's lived experiences constitute knowledge and are, therefore, valuable for the study (Audi, 2010). Hence, the study ensured that the data-collection process was consistently applied so that experiential data could be collected from each participant purposively sampled.

3.6.1 Procedure for data collection

The procedure for data collection was executed following a plan. This procedure or process involved nine steps, detailed and attached to this report as Appendix 2. Below is a summary of these nine steps.

Table 5: A summary of the nine steps of the data-collection procedure that was based on the data-collection approach for the study

	Nine steps of the data collection procedure
1	Acquire the necessary approvals and consent from the University's Panel and Ethics committee.
2	Obtain written consent from the Chief Executive Officer of Bombela and the Chief Operating Officer of the GMA to conduct interviews with their respective employees. These respective letters of consent are attached as Appendices 3 and 4.
3	Obtain a list of employees from the heads of human resources at Bombela and GMA and extract from this primary list a secondary list of the first ten Black and White employees belonging to each social generation.
4	Contact the 60 shortlisted participants by email and request their consent to participate in the study. The participant consent form is attached as Appendix 5.
5	Compile and update an interview schedule detailing each participant's name and the date and venue for their respective interview. Allocate a sequential number to each participant. Email each participant the information about the study. The information sheet is attached as Appendix 6.
6	Make 60 copies of the open-ended interviews in preparation for the interviews and number each interview guide following the interview schedule.
7	At the start of each interview, explain what is meant by terms such as 'social generation', and sequentially number the interviews in the top right-hand corner per the numbering convention used to compile the interview schedule.
8	Ensure that the data is accurately gathered, verbatim, from each interview. Record each interview in handwritten interview notes and an audio record using an Android cell phone as an audio-recording device.
9	As soon as possible after each interview, transcribe and enter the interview notes into a Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet, attached as Appendix 7. Create three separate worksheets in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, one for each social generation.

3.7 Data-analysis approach

This section gives an account of the data-analysis approach adopted by the study, followed by a detailed description of the data-analysis procedure to extract key themes for the study. The participants' views on social generations, race, and locale (space and place) were analysed in relation to the respective research questions, and an inductive reasoning approach was used to conclude social generations and intersectionality in South Africa.

Having obtained raw data from the interviews conducted with the 60 participants, the next stage in the study was to analyse the data. The Microsoft Excel program was used as a tool not only to sort the data but also to support the process of data analysis so that central or common themes and patterns could be identified from the data (cf. Friese, 2014; Hwang, 2008; Brigitte Smit, 2002). The section below systematically details the data-analysis process, step by step.

3.7.1 Data-analysis process

The data-analysis process was primarily informed by the Saldaña model (Saldaña, 2014, 2018) and supported by gerund coding (Charmaz, 2006). According to Charmaz, gerund codes use words ending with …*ing* that have been constructed from verbs and used as nouns. Charmaz favours gerund codes, believing that by a concerted effort to generate nouns, the likelihood of one's shifting haphazardly from the coding stage to the stage where themes are

developed is inhibited (Charmaz, 2014). The data-analysis process entailed five broad stages, as depicted in Figure 9 below, and nine detailed steps, which are defined in Table 6, which follows.

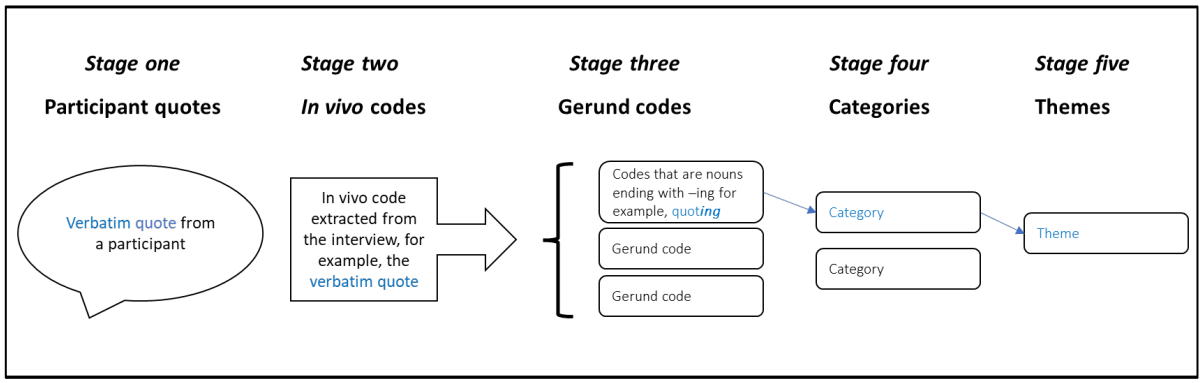


Figure 9: The data collected by the study was analysed using a five-stage process that incorporates gerund codes as defined by Charmaz (2014) into Saldaña's (2018) model of coding

Each of the five stages is discussed below, after which the nine detailed steps that were followed are presented, creating an audit trail of the process.

3.7.2 Stage one: Transcribe the data

Transcribing the data was essential to the process, as themes were ultimately derived from the participants' quotes. Therefore, It was imperative to ensure that the participants' views were accurately captured verbatim on the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet.

3.7.3 Stage two: Extract in vivo or initial codes

Next, *in vivo* coding, also known as verbatim coding (Hamber et al., 2000; Saldaña, 2014), was used to ensure that the participants' views were accurately conveyed and not lost in translation. *In vivo,* coding involved reviewing the participant quotes line by line to identify a code. Codes consist of short phrases relating to the research question (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Saldaña (2018, p. 1) stresses the importance of what lies "inside the brackets" and encourages the use of *in vivo* coding, which, according to him, "draws from the participant's language for codes" (Saldaña, 2014, p. 83).

Carmichael's three-step reflection model (2009) was also applied to identify *what* was relevant in the data, what the *meaning* of the data was, and what the *implications* of the data were for the study. The reflection model (Carmichael, 2009) was applied in these three steps:

I. Step one: Apply 'what?', a descriptive code to identify 'what' in the data.
II. Step two: Determine the *meaning* of the data within the relevant context by applying 'so what?'
III. Step three: Consider the *implications* of the data by applying 'now what?'

3.7.4 Stage three: Determine gerund codes

Gerund codes were extracted from the *in vivo* codes. As explained, gerund codes use gerunds, words ending with …*ing* constructed from verbs and used as nouns to hinder one from shifting haphazardly from the coding stage to

the stage where themes are developed (Charmaz, 2014). Missing stages could result in the creation of irrelevant themes that do not relate to the views expressed by the participants.

3.7.5 Stage four: Identify categories

Categories were identified from the gerund codes. Morse (2008) defines a category as "a collection of similar data sorted into the same place…[to] enable researchers to identify and describe the characteristics of the category.

This, in turn, enables the category to be defined, compared and contrasted with other categories" (Morse, 2008, p. 727).

3.7.6 Stage five: Develop themes

The final stage entailed developing themes from the categories. A theme is a meaningful essence that runs through the data (Morse, 2008). Thematic content analysis was used to identify and extract themes concerning the study's research questions (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Saldaña, 2014).

These five stages must be read with the nine steps detailed in Table 6 below. These nine steps were conducted sequentially to determine themes for each research question ultimately.

Table 6: Nine steps followed to extract themes from quotes

	Nine steps of the data-analysis procedure
1	Transcribe the data gathered from all 60 interviews per interview question. To ensure that the data reflects what is there rather than what is assumed, the participant quotes were transcribed *in vito* or verbatim. These quotes were then captured into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, attached as Appendix 7. Care was taken to transcribe each interview after it was conducted rather than at the end after all 60 interviews. Each interview was transcribed whilst the interview discussion was still fresh in the researcher's memory to mitigate the risk of interview notes being misplaced or inaccurately transcribed. After that, the interview transcripts were read and re-read many times over. Once all the interviews had been conducted and all the data transcribed, the next step involved extracting initial codes from the participant quotes.
2	To become even more familiar with the data, time was set aside to read and re-read the participant quotes many times over.
3	Within the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, a separate worksheet was created for each research question. As such, the spreadsheet contained a separate worksheet for research questions (RQs) one, two, three, and four. These worksheets were labelled 'All transcripts RQ1', 'All transcripts RQ2', 'All transcripts RQ3', and 'All transcripts RQ4'. These worksheets can be viewed in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet (attached as Appendix 7.) Note: Research question four was considered an overarching research question to which data pertaining to research questions one, two, and three was applicable.
4	The data contained in the separate worksheets was studied, starting with research question one. The quotes about each specific research question were highlighted in blue font. Similarly, a unique font colour (in keeping with a colour coding key) was allocated to relevant quotes relevant to research questions two, three, and four. A colour coding key was developed and captured in a separate worksheet labelled 'RQs colour coding' for ease of reference.
5	Further individual worksheets were then created for each research question. The relevant quotes that had been colour-coded in the worksheets (as per step three above) for each research question were then carefully extracted and placed in new worksheets so that the new worksheets only contained the data that pertained to the relevant question without all other data. These worksheets were labelled 'RQ1', 'RQ2', 'RQ3', and 'RQ4' and can be viewed in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet (attached as Appendix 7.)
6	Next, a Microsoft Word document was created and is attached as Appendix 9. Various tables were created in this Word document, and each was clearly labelled for ease of reference. For example, a table

	was created for research question one and contained, amongst other things, the participant quotes pertaining to the research question. Each *in vivo* participant quote was studied line by line to identify and extract initial codes. Each initial code consisted of a short phrase relevant to the research question.
7	Where possible, gerund codes ending with ….*ing* were developed based on the codes. For example, if the code was 'Support for young people', the gerund code was 'Supporting'.
8	Categories were developed from the gerund codes. Similar gerund codes were grouped as a 'Category'. For example, the younger social generation's gerund codes related to 'Supporting', 'Nurturing', 'Guiding', and 'Embracing' were grouped into a single category.
9	Finally, themes were developed from the categories; each could contain multiple categories. For ease of reference, themes were highlighted in different colours.

We need face-to-face communication. These social media groups don't work well for us.	Prefer face-to-face communication Resist social media	Communicating	Face-to-face	Communication style
We read newspapers and not apps on mobile devices.	Read newspapers (traditional media instead of electronic media)	Reading	Traditional media	
The older Whites still carry racist prejudice and are unlikely to change for the better.	Older Whites carry racist prejudice Older white people are unlikely to change	Prejudicing	Racism	Diversity in the workspace
The older ones are degrading, treating us like we cannot think.	Elders (Whites) treat (Black) as though they can't think Elder whites degrade Blacks	Degrading/ discriminating		
I respect the older manager's decisions and have more confidence in his leadership than a younger manager's leadership.	Respect decisions made by older managers Have more confidence in older managers No confidence in young	Respecting	Ageism	
We are slower to change than the younger generation. We tend to seek out rules and commands, and management is a more familiar concept to us than leadership.	They are slower to change than younger Tendency to seek out rules and commands Management concepts more familiar to the older generation than leadership concepts is	Changing Seeking	Attributes	Followership style

Figure 10: Different colours were used to point out links or connections between the codes and the gerund codes, and the categories and themes

3.8 Limitations of the study

The study was conducted in one specific case unit only (Gautrain), so the findings may not apply to all South African organisations. Likewise, the study was conducted within a specific province; the findings may not apply to all other provinces in the country any more than they may apply to all other countries across the globe. This suggests that one of the limitations of this study is that it is likely to be locale-specific to South Africa and, more particularly, to an individual organisation in South Africa. Nevertheless, whilst the study was indeed confined to the workplace in South Africa, it could be argued that the findings apply to broader societies across the country, given that the workplace often serves as a microcosm for what tends to happen at broader societal levels. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, according to Zainal (2007), the case study method favours an approach that allows for real-life phenomena to be closely examined within a specific context, ideally a small geographical area.

Bombela employed the researcher and works closely with GMA. As such, participants may have been somewhat guarded in their responses to maintain a specific image of themselves that they may project at work. Being cognisant of the observer-expectancy effect, where participants consciously or unconsciously change their responses to satisfy the researcher's desired effect, care was taken to ask a follow-up, probing questions to obtain

responses from the participant's perspective (Risinger, Saks, Thompson, & Rosenthal, 2002). In addition, participants were assured of their anonymity.

The researcher's race and her own perceptions of race, intersectionality, and social generations could have influenced the findings made by this study. This limitation was considered when the enquiry strategy was compiled for this study. To obtain data from the participant's perspective, participants were timeously asked if their responses were understood and aligned with what was expressed by the participants. This was one of the strategies employed to address this limitation. However, the overall effectiveness of this strategy is questionable as there is no supporting evidence to argue that it has achieved the desired outcome.

As mentioned in section 1.6 in this thesis, the study defines race in terms of the legislation in the country. Since the study does not explore the cultural aspects of the lived experiences amongst the different racially based cultures in the country, and to avoid the thesis from becoming cumbersome, all persons categorised as Black by their employer were deemed to be Black and likewise, all persons categorised as White by their employer were deemed to be White. For purposes of this study, the Asian, Indian, and Coloured races were considered to be Black. It is, however, noteworthy that the Apartheid system in South Africa systematically created different lived experiences for Asian, Indian, Coloured, and Black South Africans; as such, Asian, Indian, and Coloured people were not historically categorised as Black, as they are currently categorised by legislation. Asian, Indian, and Coloured people have had varied lived experiences of the same socio-historic events in the country. In addition, skin tone was instrumental in shaping the lived experiences of people in both the Apartheid and present eras. For example, Black people with lighter skin tones have more positive experiences of race than Black people with darker skin tones (Monk, 2014; Walther, 2017). The study acknowledges that the experiences of race are not homogenous in South Africa and that the lived experiences within the Black race, as defined by present legislation, are not homogenous (Everatt, 2009; Saunders, 2011, Ramugundo, 2015).

3.9 Trustworthiness

Qualitative studies are evaluated in terms of trustworthiness, which comprises the four criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 1994a). Reactivity, researcher subjectivity, and participant subjectivity are key threats to a study's trustworthiness. These threats were mitigated through a strategy to collect and analyse the data through the participants' lenses (Shenton, 2004). The four criteria for trustworthiness (credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability) and the strategies employed to mitigate reactivity, researcher subjectivity, and participant subjectivity are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

3.9.1 Credibility

When the findings of a study reflect the truths articulated by the research participants, the study may be deemed credible (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). Therefore, this study ensured that the study findings were based on the responses gathered from the participants and presented in the form of a storyline with verbatim quotes from the participants. Furthermore, the themes for the study were derived from *in vivo* codes extracted from the participant quotes, which played a role in limiting the potential of researcher subjectivity to undermine the study's credibility (Phillips & Burbules, 2000).

The role of the researcher in a qualitative study is critical for the overall credibility or truth of the findings of a study since the researcher's personal beliefs or philosophical assumptions cannot be isolated from the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Hence, to enhance the study's credibility, the philosophical assumptions or beliefs about race,

social generations, space, and place were carefully considered and detailed in Chapter 1 of this report. Concerning perceived issues of researcher subjectivity and the immersive, emic role of qualitative researchers in the data-collection process, the study took care to gather and analyse the data through the lens of the participants. As detailed in Section 3.7 above, an audit trail was used to demonstrate the processes followed to arrive at themes based on the participant quotes in a step-by-step way. These processes helped to strengthen the credibility of the study. Furthermore, following a bracketing process (Donalek, 2004), Table 7 below details the expected study findings.

Table 7: A summary of what the study expects its findings to be

1	Black South Africans belonging to the Baby Boomer and Generation X social generations are likely to express that Black and White South Africans have had varied lived experiences of the socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid in South Africa. In addition, these individuals are likely to believe that race and locale were critical to their experiences of this socio-historic event.
2	White South Africans, specifically from the Baby Boomer social generation, may be reserved about their experiences of significant socio-historic events in South Africa, given that many may experience regret for having either personally supported the system of Apartheid or benefited directly or indirectly from it.
3	It would be likely for Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation Y social generation, the so-called Born Frees, to have similar or shared experiences of race, space, and place in the workplace in current South Africa, given that the advent of democracy in South Africa promoted racial integration and created shared, integrated spaces in the country.
4	Social generations in South Africa may differ from US social generations, given that each country has experienced unique socio-historic events.

In addition, the following assumptions are noted.

- The study was based on a relatively narrow sample size from the public transport sector in South Africa, and, as such, its findings may be limited to this specific context or setting in South Africa. It could also be argued that this microcosm reflects broader societies in South Africa and elsewhere. Further research on this topic will help determine whether this is the case.
- Race is a sensitive topic in South Africa and elsewhere (Erwin, 2010). The researcher's race was an important consideration as it could influence the views expressed by participants, who might feel the need to appease or not offend the researcher. Hence, the study's credibility relied on the study gathering and analysing the findings through the lens of the participants rather than the researcher's lens.
- As mentioned, the philosophical lens of the participants is essential for qualitative studies; hence, care was taken to check that the views expressed by the participants were accurately interpreted to reflect the meanings intended by the participants. Hence, throughout the interview process, responses were summarised, checked, and re-checked with the participants to ensure they were being accurately recorded. Whilst this prolonged the overall duration of the interviews, it provided comfort that the participant's truth was understood as the participant intended it to be. Naturally, there is the possibility that some responses might have been misunderstood, and the participant/s would be hesitant to correct any misinterpretation.

3.9.2 Transferability

Social generations are shaped by the youth's collective experience of a socio-historic event and the social change processes that the youth later grows up to bring about in their adulthood, based on their collective childhood experience of the shared socio-historic event (Aßmann, 2014; Bristow, 2015c; Gilleard, 2004). Hence, social generations tend to differ from country to country (Alwin & McCammon, 2007; Bristow, 2015c; Edmunds &

Turner, 2005). For this reason, scholars should be cautious not to transfer findings from the current study to other countries unless, of course, proximal similarity supports the transferability of findings to a particular setting. Lincoln and Guba (1986) use the term "fittingness" to refer to the degree of similarity between two contexts or settings and encourage a strategy of providing thick or rich descriptions of one's research setting, participants, findings, and data-collection and data-analysis processes. Therefore, this study provided thick descriptions that were not limited to written text only but also included screenshots and other visuals to help readers better understand, amongst other things, the study's context. Much of this information has been made available through detailed appendices attached to this report.

Whilst scholars generally agree that the strategy of providing thick descriptions supports transferability, there is little clarity on how much detail or description is necessary to achieve a thick description (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). However, regardless of the volume or depth of the thick description provided, it remains up to readers to make sound judgements about the proximal similarity of this study context to that of their own (Polit & Beck, 2010), failing which, the risk of homogenising social generations may be high. In fact, despite a growing pool of studies on the Americanisation of culture, goods, and services, the trend of Americanisation remains widespread as scholars often consciously or unconsciously neglect to consider the aspect of proximal similarity and promote the transferability of American findings to their study contexts (Azaryahu, 2000; Craig et al., 2009; Frenkel & Shenhav, 2003; Layton, 2004; Nader, 2017; Robertson, 2003; Schwarzkopf, 2007; Thurnher, 2017).

Ultimately, the findings of this study must be understood within the context of the particular space and place in which the fieldwork was carried out. To assess the extent to which findings from this study may be accurate for people in other settings, similar research projects should be conducted in those respective spaces and places. The findings from those local studies may then be added to the body of existing studies on social generations and intersectionality. This may help debunk the myth that social generations are homogenous and similar to US-specific social generations worldwide.

3.9.3 Dependability

The study carefully documented the research procedure, not only to ensure the consistency of the research findings but also to create an audit trail that other researchers could follow to conduct a similar study in this or another study context. It was, therefore, essential to ensure that readers could establish systematically how the study was organised from start to finish (Connelly, 2016; Guest et al., 2012). A well-documented research procedure enables readers to audit and critique the following research process (Polit & Beck, 2010). Hence, with the aid of detailed appendices, the data collection and -analysis processes were carefully documented from start to finish.

To enhance the dependability of the study further, fellow scholars who attended a writing retreat workshop hosted by the University of Witwatersrand's Faculty of Humanities were requested to conduct an independent audit of the processes followed, for example, the data collection and the data-analysis processes of the study. The feedback and input obtained from fellow scholars were valuable and helped strengthen the study's dependability, as gaps that had been overlooked could be attended to.

3.9.4 Confirmability

The confirmability of the study was enhanced in three ways. First, an audit trail was maintained so that similar findings would emerge if the study were to be repeated in the future following the audit trail (Shenton, 2004).

Second, the technique of reflexivity (Haynes, 2012; Shaw, 2010) was applied, and a reflexive journal or diary was maintained in which the researcher's views on the topic and how those views influenced her decisions in terms of the various processes involved in the study (from the selection of the topic right through to the conclusions that the study drew) were recorded. Finally, participants' responses were provided verbatim in the form of quotes so that the findings would accurately reflect the participants' views rather than a reflection of researcher subjectivity (Dowling, 2006).

3.10 Consistency table

The consistency table below presents the study's research questions and propositions and how they align with the data collection and data analysis methods employed by the study.

Table 8: Consistency table demonstrating the alignment amongst the research questions, corresponding propositions, and the data-collection and data-analysis processes

Research question	Proposition	Data collection	Data analysis
Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?	In South Africa and elsewhere, social generations tend to be understood and termed according to socio-historic events in the US. As a result, little is known about local social generations in South Africa and elsewhere.	Interview guide questions 4, 5, 6	Thematic analysis
How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?	Black and White South Africans have a unique experience of race in the workplace in South Africa. Whilst the White minority commonly feels alienated, invisible, and unvoiced, the Black majority feels deprived of power, which it believes is concentrated in White hands. Social generations are conceptualised as homogenous groups of people, and little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience race. Instead, studies tend to homogenise the Black and the White experiences of race as if all Black South Africans share a common experience of race and, likewise, as if all White South Africans share a common experience of race, irrespective of which social generation they may belong to.	Interview guide questions 9, 11, 13	Thematic analysis
How is locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation?	Since 1994, racial and spatial integration has been ongoing in workplaces in South Africa. Space in the workplace in South Africa tends to be experienced differently by Black and White South Africans as spaces transform. Little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience space in the workplace since social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people. The literature shows that Black and White South Africans have a unique experience of space, irrespective of their social generation, a subject seldom explored by studies. Whilst a concerted effort has been made to racially integrate spaces in the workplace in South Africa since 1994, little consideration has been given to the experience of places in the workplace in South Africa, and studies tend to focus on the experience of spaces rather than places. Hence, little is known about the experience of place in the workplace in South Africa. Furthermore, since social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people, little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience place.	Interview guide questions 8, 10, 11, 14	Thematic analysis
When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation experience this intersection?	Social categories such as race and social generations in South Africa are commonly explored as single social constructs. The Employment Equity Policy mandates firms to report quantitatively on social categories such as disability, gender, and race. Whilst some studies have explored the intersectionality of the social categories of race, gender, and disability in the workplace in South Africa, little is known about the intersectionality of less common social constructs such as social generations, race, and locale (space and place). Also, social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people, limiting the understanding of intra-generational differences.	Interview guide questions 8, 10, 12, 15	Thematic analysis

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and discussion for each research question in sequential order, along with a discussion of the findings by race and by case to explore the intersectionality of social generations, race, and locale in South Africa. The public sector (GMA) and private sector (Bombela) were investigated to determine if there were potential differences between the public and private sectors in terms of the participant's experiences. In South Africa, workers experience the private and public sectors differently. While the private sector offers workers more substantial financial incentives than the public sector, the public sector offers workers better academic opportunities (Ashmore, 2013). In addition, whereas the public sector tends to have more Black people in senior jobs, the private sector tends to have primarily White men in senior jobs (Van Tonder, Havenga, & Visagie, 2008).

As a start, and for ease of reference, the various interview questions have been grouped together and linked to the most relevant research question, which is attached as Appendix 8. This chapter should be read with appendices (10, 11, 12) that depict the analytical process followed to determine themes from participant quotes to find a theoretical proposition for each research question—findings on research question and proposition one.

4.1.1 Research question one: Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?

To better understand local social generations and find a theoretical proposition for research question one, this study set out to define local social generations in South African terms, and the findings and discussions are presented in three sections. The first section pertains to how Baby Boomers self-identified and how Generation X and Generation Y defined Baby Boomers. These findings were then further analysed by race, followed by case. The second section pertains to how Generation X self-identified and how Baby Boomers and Generation Y defined Generation X. As with the prior section, these findings were then analysed by race, followed by case. Similarly, the third section pertains to how Generation Y self-identified and how Baby Boomers and Generation X defined Generation Y, and these findings were then analysed by race and by case.

This study adds local understandings of social generations to the existing body of knowledge about the phenomenon of social generations. Studies on social generations often portray social generations as homogenous groups of people who share similar birth years and have had childhood experiences of the same socio-historic events (Bristow, 2015b, 2015c; Gilleard, 2004). Furthermore, studies tend to Americanise social generations by understanding social generations in South Africa and elsewhere to resemble social generations that have been shaped by socio-historic events in the US (Grobbelaar, 2021; Jonck, Van der Walt, & Sobayeni, 2017; Kruger & Saayman, 2015; Mandhlazi et al., 2013; Nienaber & Masibigiri, 2012; Ramlall, Hattingh, & Van Deventer, 2020). As such, the US Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Generation Y social generations have become common currency for social generations in South Africa and elsewhere.

In contrast to the above understandings of social generations, however, this study found that local social generations differ from social generations as described by the generational theory (Strauss, 2009). Instead of identifying as a social generation that created a spike in the birth rate in South Africa, as their counterparts in the US do, local Baby Boomer participants self-identified with African values such as Ubuntu (Mangena, 2012; Masango, 2006; Swanson, 2007), and Hlonipha (Luthuli, 2007).

The study also found that social generations in South Africa are not homogenous, owing to their varied experiences of socio-historic events. The system of Apartheid, for example, stratified the population by race, creating Black and White generation units and intra-generational differences within social generations. At the study's outset, an assumption was made that when local social generations intersect with the social construct of race and locale, there would be Black and White generation units within local social generations, making them unique and different from social generations elsewhere. The study found that local social generations are not homogenous and instead consist of Black and White generation units and exhibit intra-generational differences. However, it also unexpectedly found that Black and White generation units are not wholly homogenous regarding race. Hence, the study found Black and White generation units within local social generations were neither wholly homogenous nor heterogeneous, suggesting that, in as much as there are Black and White generation units within local social generations, there are also generation units that comprise various shades of Whiteness and Blackness within Black and White generation units. This finding is discussed in the section below and in the section that addresses research question two (How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?).

Next, the study found that participants across race, case, and social generation typically define social generations in terms of age rather than using terms such as 'Baby Boomers', 'Generation X', or 'Generation Y', which have become common currency. As such, participants often made reference to 'elders', 'older people' or 'young people' rather than to the above-mentioned terms by which social generations are commonly known. This finding suggests that, in South Africa, the social construct of 'age' outweighs that of 'social generation'. Studies about local social generations seldom discuss the social construct of age. Instead, they focus primarily on examining traits of social generations and differences between and amongst them (Chungu & Kalula, 2020; Johnston, 2013). Further research on the intersectionality of age and local social generations may add to understanding the social constructs of age and local social generations.

4.1.2 Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may the Baby Boomer social generation be defined in South African terms?

The term 'Baby Boomer' was coined by studies that examined socio-historic events, such as the Second World War (Howe & Strauss, 1992a; Kupperschmidt, 2000). When soldiers returned home from the war, the US witnessed a spike in its birth rate, resulting in this social generation being termed 'Baby Boomers'. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, over time, social generations, as with other phenomena (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2003; Kishan Thussu, 2013; Robertson, 2003), have become Americanised. This has resulted in people of a similar age in South Africa and other parts of the world being termed Baby Boomers. In examining how local Baby Boomers may be defined in South Africa, the study identified seven themes, each discussed in the sections below.

4.1.2.1 How did local Baby Boomers self-identify

For illustrative purposes, a few participant quotes have been extracted from Appendix 10, particularly Table 1 of Appendix 10. These quotes are presented in Table 9 below to show the analytical process followed to transition from empirical data to theoretical concepts. Table 9, therefore, shows the analytical process followed to arrive at 'Themes' from the 'Participant quotes', and this table is then followed by a discussion of each of these themes.

Table 9: Themes that depict how Baby Boomer participants self-identified

Participant quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Categories	Themes
We need face-to-face communication. These social media groups don't work well for us.	Prefer face-to-face communication Resist social media	Communicating	Face-to-face	Communication style
We read newspapers and not apps on mobile devices.	Read newspapers (traditional media instead of electronic media)	Reading	Traditional media	
The older Whites still carry racist prejudice and are unlikely to change for the better.	Older Whites carry racist prejudice Older White people are unlikely to change	Prejudicing	Racism	Diversity in the workspace
I respect the older manager's decisions and have more confidence in his leadership than a younger manager's leadership.	Respect decisions made by older managers Have confidence in older managers No confidence in young	Respecting	Ageism	
Discipline means you have to follow the rules. We are a very disciplined generation.	Being disciplined Following rules	Following	Attributes	Followership style
Whoever is appointed to manage me is my boss, and I respect that.	Respect for manager	Respecting		
I embrace being managed by any generation. I can learn from young people like I can learn from older people. I can teach young people like I can teach older people. We are slower to learn new things than young people are	Open to learning Open to teaching Being slower to learn than young	Learning Teaching	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
We tend to nurture, guide, and support the younger generations.	Tend to be nurturing Give guidance Give support	Nurturing Guiding Supporting		
Whilst we do not quickly adapt to technology, we know how to do the job.	Not adapting quickly to technology Know how to do the job	Not adapting Knowing	Information, computer technology (ICT)	Use of technology
We do not embrace technology as easily as young people do.	Resist technology	Resisting		
Older people have established ways and means of doing the work differently, and younger people are not very willing to learn those ways.	Have established ways and means of doing work	Establishing	Work experience	Workplace power
I think the older generation is intent on maintaining a workplace they are familiar with – using paper freely, manual processes, etc.	Older generations are intent on manual processes. Workplace more comfortable for the older generation			
We are respectful, disciplined, and patient.	Being respectful, disciplined, and patient	Respecting	Attributes	Workplace values
We grew up when people were forced to work long hours and had to respect rules and regulations. Because of it, we are more disciplined, committed, and loyal.	Work long hours Respect for rules and regulations Disciplined Committed Loyal	Working Respecting Committing		

Based on the above themes, the theoretical proposition (Carmichael & Cunningham, 2017) suggests that Baby Boomers self-identify as a social generation whose 'communication style' is depicted by a preference for 'traditional media' and 'face-to-face communication'. They further self-identify as a social generation that resists the 'use of technology' and is slow to adapt. Having established ways in which work is performed in the workplace, Baby Boomers self-identified as having 'work experience' and, for this reason, 'workplace power' and 'attributes' such as 'hardworking', 'committed', 'loyal', and 'respectful' described their 'workplace values.' In terms of 'diversity in the workspace', whilst Black Baby Boomers believed that White Baby Boomers have 'racial prejudice' and are unlikely to change, White Baby Boomers self-identified as 'ageists' who have confidence in older managers and not younger managers. As leaders, they believed that they embraced a 'teaching' and 'learning' approach and that their 'leadership/management style' was depicted by 'attributes' such as nurturing, supporting, and guiding the younger social generations. As followers, they believed that their 'followership style' can be described by 'attributes' such as being 'disciplined' and 'respectful' of their managers. These themes are further discussed in the section below, which also details how Generation X and Generation Y defined local Baby Boomers.

4.1.2.2 How did Generation X and Generation Y define local Baby Boomers?

Regarding familial generations, Generation X may be viewed as the children of Baby Boomers and Generation Y as the grandchildren of Baby Boomers. Their respective perceptions of Baby Boomers may be considered from this perspective, as it gives some context as to why they each defined Baby Boomers as they did. Essentially, Generation X participants perceived local Baby Boomers to dislike having young managers, whom they considered inexperienced. They described Baby Boomers' 'leadership/management style' using attributes such as 'skilled', 'experienced', 'secure', 'overthinking decisions', and 'causing frustration' in the workplace. Participants further described Baby Boomers' 'workplace values' by using attributes such as 'committed', 'hardworking', 'responsible', 'thorough', and a social generation that the younger social generation 'can learn from'.

Generation Y participants defined local Baby Boomers in a way that was similar to how local Baby Boomers self-identified, believing that Baby Boomers prefer a 'face-to-face' 'communication style' and that their 'use of technology' is limited as Baby Boomers tend to be 'slow to adapt to technology'. They described Baby Boomers as willing to 'learn' from and 'teach' the younger social generations in the workplace. In terms of 'diversity in the workspace', participants believed that Baby Boomers are racially discriminatory and deny Black people opportunities in the workplace. They further perceived Baby Boomers to shy away from 'discussing social issues' and 'avoid it and pretend that it doesn't exist'. Participants believed that Baby Boomers are 'hardworking' and that by Baby Boomers generally occupying top jobs in organisations and having experience in doing so, Baby Boomers have 'workplace power' and are most 'comfortable in the workplace' in terms of the 'workplace design'.

Finding an organic synergy between how Baby Boomers self-identified and how Generation Y defined Baby Boomers may be of relevance to human resource practitioners who are responsible for the recruitment, onboarding, training, and development of young people, as well as for managing the exit process of Baby Boomers when they reach their retirement age. The synergy between the oldest and the youngest social generation in the workplace suggests sound intergenerational relations between Baby Boomers and Generation Y. This provides an opportunity for Baby Boomers to mentor Generation Y, given that Baby Boomers have a willingness to learn and teach Generation Y, whom they perceive to be inexperienced in the workplace. Maximising this synergy between the youngest and the oldest social generations in the workplace may help human resource practitioners and management practitioners create high-performance cultures that are supported through effective 'mentoring', 'learning', and 'teaching'. Such cultures will encourage skills and experiences to be shared by the Baby Boomers with Generation Y, as well as learnt from Generation Y, seeing that Baby Boomers expressed an openness to learning and teaching.

The themes identified in the data analysis, as set out in Table 10 above, are discussed below.

Theme 1: Communication style

Baby Boomer participants self-identified as a social generation that prefers 'face-to-face communication' to communicating through social media channels. Participants also preferred 'traditional media', such as newspapers, rather than consuming information through social media channels. These findings are predictable, given that Baby Boomers grew up during an era where social media and other digital communication channels were absent (Birns, 2016; Bristow, 2015c; Gilleard & Higgs, 2007). As such, Baby Boomers grew accustomed to face-to-face communication and traditional communication channels, such as newspapers. As indicated in the quote below, Generation Y participants concurred with Baby Boomers regarding their preference for this type of communication.

> The way meetings are conducted, for example, has not changed. I am happy to have Skype meetings, but they [Baby Boomers] want to sit across a table from the next person and find it offensive to use our phones during this time. (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

This finding suggests that local Baby Boomers may find engaging with digital communication channels in the workspace challenging. Given the extensive influence of digital communication channels over traditional communication channels in South Africa and elsewhere, this finding may be relevant to stakeholders such as management, communication, and change-management practitioners, who are often responsible for designing organisational cultures, spaces, and places. In terms of this finding, for as long as Baby Boomers are employed in the local workspace, organisations may need to use hybrid communication channels that include both digital and traditional communication channels.

Theme 2: Diversity in the workspace

The study made two findings about 'diversity in the workspace'. First, it found that local Baby Boomers self-identify as 'ageists' who prefer 'older managers' and believe that 'young people' have development gaps and are, therefore, ineffective managers. Generation Y participants equally believe that Baby Boomers are ageists who perceive young people to be incompetent. As mentioned, participants from across races, cases, and social generations repeatedly referred to the social construct of age rather than social generation. This suggests that, in the local context, perceptions of age may inform workers' lived experiences, and this may be of relevance to diversity management practitioners, who are responsible for, amongst other things, managing real and perceived differences in the workspace. Diversity management practitioners focus on social constructs, such as race and gender, and overlook age and inter-generational and intra-generational differences. As such, this finding may also be relevant to scholars in the social sciences who explore social generations in their respective contexts to understand better age, local social generations, and inter-generational and intra-generational differences.

Second, the study found that Black Baby Boomers and Generation Y participants perceived White Baby Boomers as having racial prejudice. To this effect, participants made the following comments:

> The older Whites still carry racist prejudice and are unlikely to change for the better. (Participant 4, Black, BB, BOM)

> The older ones are degrading, treating us like we cannot think. (Participant 1, Black, BB, BOM)

White participants from both the Baby Boomer and Generation X social generations felt that White Baby Boomers could not 'find a place in the new South Africa' owing to Employment Equity policies (Africa, 1998), which are perceived to 'limit' them from opportunities.

> I think Whites are increasingly insecure about their jobs and career progression. With jobs reserved for Blacks, many Whites have little option but to leave South Africa to go and find work. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

> …because of government policies such as Employment Equity, it is worse for the older White generation as they cannot find a place in the new South Africa – no opportunities for them at work. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

White Baby Boomers may be racially prejudiced, but their behaviours may be spurred by their feelings of alienation in the workspace rather than by racial prejudice. For example, having to report to younger managers may exacerbate their experience of not getting 'opportunities' at work or 'finding a place' for themselves, which may create hostility between young managers and White Baby Boomers. According to Du Toit, Böning and van der Merwe (2014, p. 125), "What people do is often associated with what they think their potential contribution to society is and consequently how they view themselves. What people do, do not do, or cannot do are commonly used to attach a label for being useful or a burden to society." More research may be necessary in this regard; however, for this study, this finding may assist human resource, management, and/or diversity management practitioners in creating a workspace where all workers, irrespective of age, race, or other social constructs, feel valued. As shared by Baby Boomers, they have acquired skills and experience over the years, and these skills and experiences have value in the workspace, whether they are Black or White.

The theme 'diversity in the workspace', and, in particular, the category of 'racism', correlates with the history of South Africa and the socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid, which historically enforced racial segregation in the country (Berrisford, 2011; Groenmeyer, 2011). Hence, this theme is seldom discussed by studies that explore Baby Boomers outside of South Africa. Studies (Glass, 2007; Gursoy et al., 2008; Lyons, Urick, Kuron, & Schweitzer, 2015; Macky et al., 2008; Parry & Urwin, 2011a) tend to overlook intra-generational differences within the Baby Boomer social generation and portray Baby Boomers as a homogenous social generation that differs from other social generations. Finding intra-generational differences within the local Baby Boomer social generation may be useful to marketing practitioners, who often view social generations as homogenous market segments (Coleman, Hladikova, & Savelyeva, 2006; Gardiner, Grace, & King, 2015; Williams & Page, 2011), overlooking generation units and intra-generational differences within social generations. This finding may also be helpful for human resource and diversity management practitioners, who are responsible for establishing social cohesion and effective teamwork in the workplace.

Theme 3: Followership style

Baby Boomers described their 'followership style' using 'attributes' such as 'respect' for their manager, 'discipline', and a propensity to 'follow the rules'. They also described themselves as 'ageists' who prefer older managers. Generation X participants also believed that Baby Boomers were ageists who preferred 'older' managers. As mentioned, Generation Y participants felt that Baby Boomers perceived Generation Y as incompetent. Local cultures serve as the prism through which people view their worlds, as "we are all products of our culture. We can only see what our cultural paradigms allow us to see. Therefore, all managers and employees only see what their cultural paradigms in their organisations allow them to see" (Mbigi, 2007a, p. 294). On this basis, given that age is an important social construct in African cultures (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Booysen, 2001; Mbigi, 2007b), the correlation between 'age' and 'followership' becomes evident (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Booysen, 2001). In many African cultures, elders are respected for their age and young people are 'mentored', 'nurtured', and 'supported'. It is, therefore, often the elders who are placed in leadership positions to resolve conflict in local communities, amongst other things (Ingelaere, 2008; Kariuki, 2015).

Likewise, in the workspace, the older social generation often occupies leadership positions. It is therefore understandable that local Baby Boomers prefer 'older managers', deeming them to be more competent than 'young people'. This finding may be useful for diversity management practitioners, management practitioners, and other stakeholders responsible for managing real and perceived differences in workplaces and elsewhere. From this finding, one may surmise that managers who belong to Generation Y are likely to be undermined by 'elders' in the workspace, given the cultural significance that is placed on age and the perceived correlation between age

and leadership abilities in South Africa. This finding points to a need for Generation Y managers to receive the necessary support from management practitioners, human resources, and diversity management practitioners in the workspace. Similarly, this finding points to a need for local Baby Boomers to receive the requisite training and development opportunities to work effectively with younger managers.

Theme 4: Leadership/management style

Baby Boomers described their 'leadership style' using 'attributes' such as 'nurturing', 'guiding', and 'supporting'. In addition, as per the quote below, participants described their openness to 'learning and teaching'.

> I embrace being managed by any generation. I can learn from young people in the same way I can learn from older people. I can teach young people in the same way I can teach older people. (Participant 7, Black, BB, GMA)

These attributes are commonly associated with attributes of African leadership (April & Ephraim, 2006; Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Booysen, 2001; Mbigi, 2007a), and this finding implies that the 'leadership/management style' of local Baby Boomers is compatible with African leadership, which, in contrast to Eurocentric/Western leadership attributes, stems from African cultures and is considered to be fitting for the African context. Essentially, African leadership emphasises people, their dignity, and the collective good, known locally as "Ubuntu", which translates as 'I can only be a person through others' (Msila, 2008; Swanson, 2007; Tshoose, 2009). The concept of Ubuntu points to the emphasis that African communities place on interdependence, teaching, and learning (Mbigi, 2007a, 2007b). Generation Y participants also viewed Baby Boomers as mentors who 'teach and learn' but 'want things done their way'. On the other hand, Generation X participants perceived Baby Boomers to 'overthink decisions', 'causing frustration in the workplace'. The synergy between Baby Boomers and Generation Y comes to the fore with this example, which shows that both Baby Boomers and Generation Y believe that Baby Boomers are open and willing to teach and learn. This finding may be useful for management practitioners and human resource practitioners involved with training and developing employees, young and old. The fact that local Baby Boomers self-identify with 'teaching' and 'nurturing' suggests that local Baby Boomers may have a valuable role to play in organisations, particularly as mentors of 'young people', who are perceived by participants to 'have development gaps' and to be on a 'learning curve'.

Theme 5: Use of technology

Regarding Information Computer Technology (ICT), Baby Boomers' self-identified as a social generation that 'does not adapt easily' to technology and one that 'resists' technology, and both Generation X and Generation Y participants concurred with Baby Boomers in this regard. It is, however, noteworthy that Baby Boomers have experienced significant technological changes over their lifetime, from witnessing the launch of phonographs or turntables, pagers, landline telephones, and, most recently, handheld mobile devices, to name a few. For these reasons, Baby Boomers may be perceived as a social generation that can adapt to technological changes, even though they may prefer not to (Ramlall et al., 2020). Based on this finding, management and change-management practitioners responsible for managing change in organisations should take care when introducing technological changes in the workspace, mainly where Baby Boomers are concerned, as they may not adapt easily to such changes and may even resist them.

Theme 6: Workplace power

Baby Boomers believed they had 'work experience' and 'established ways and means of doing work' in the workspace. Furthermore, Baby Boomers believed they were 'comfortable in the workplace' and, as such, the study found that they hold 'workplace power'. Generation X and Generation Y participants also supported the notion that Baby Boomers hold workplace power and made the following comments to this effect:

> The older generation built the workplace, and the concept of a workplace is their idea. They [the older social generations] are therefore more comfortable here [in the workplace]. We, [the] younger generation, would design a completely different set-up [configuration of the workplace] if allowed the room to do so. For example, we prefer to work from home and use technology to communicate, but the older generation that remains in charge and power would not agree to this. (Participant 46, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

> The older, the wiser. Age gives experience and knowledge. (Participant 31, Black, Gen X, BOM)

Essentially, the younger generations believed that by Baby Boomers generally managing organisations and having experience in doing so, they hold 'workplace power' and are most 'comfortable in the workplace' in terms of the 'workplace design'. As such, Baby Boomers were perceived to be the architects of spaces in the workspace. Intergenerational power dynamics in the workspace may be a source of conflict. If left unmanaged, this source of conflict could disrupt social cohesion and teamwork, resulting in young people feeling alienated, as expressed by this Generation Y participant below:

> …if the workplace were given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people, we tend to try to be entrepreneurs – we prefer to start our businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

On average, South Africa has a young population, with older people constituting a minority. However, in the workspace, in communities, as well as in government and other political institutions, power tends to be concentrated amongst older people, with young people typically occupying more junior roles (Riescher, 2009). The implicit power in numbers is often demonstrated during labour strikes, for example, when workers down tools and adversely impact productivity. Whilst leaders in various sectors of the country hold power and authority in terms of their leadership/management roles, young people hold a different form of power and authority by being a majority (Banjo & Jili, 2013; Graham, Bruce, & Perold, 2010; Van Rensburg, Theron, & Rothmann, 2015). It is, therefore, essential for current leaders/managers to consider that whilst young people may not have decision-making powers in present-day South Africa, they do hold a different form of power by being part of a majority in the country, and spaces and places should be created for their voices to be heard. As future leaders in the country, Generation Y must gather the necessary work-space experience so that they may take the baton from the older generations in due course. Therefore, one of the leadership functions is preparing the younger social generations to take the baton from those who came before them and pass it in due course to those who will come after them. This is where human resource and diversity management practitioners may play a role in helping to create spaces and places such that the 'young' and the 'old' feel a sense of belonging and usefulness. Therefore, human resource and diversity management practitioners should effectively manage the power dynamics in the workspace to create such spaces and places. This finding is discussed in more detail with the findings and discussions pertaining to research question three (How are the social constructs of space and place in the workplace in South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation*?)*.

Theme 7: Workplace values

In terms of 'workplace values', Baby Boomers believe that they 'like rules' and are a 'respectful', 'disciplined', 'patient', 'committed', and 'loyal' social generation. The following quote by a Baby Boomer participant bears reference:

> We grew up when people were forced to work long hours and had to respect rules and regulations. Because of it, we are more disciplined, committed, and loyal. (Participant 16, White, BB, GMA)

Generation Y participants also believe that Baby Boomers are 'hardworking', and Generation X participants likewise feel that in addition to being 'hardworking', Baby Boomers are 'committed', 'responsible', 'thorough', and a social generation from which the younger social generation 'can learn from'. These attributes are commonly associated with attributes of African leadership (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Booysen, 2001; Mbigi, 2007a) and indicate to management practitioners, amongst other key stakeholders, that Baby Boomers who are on the brink of retirement have either through nature or nurture (Bartelt & Dennis, 2014; Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Pinker, 2004) acquired leadership attributes that the next generation of leaders may require (April & Ephraim, 2006; Booysen, 2001).

4.1.2.3 How did race define Baby Boomers?

As per Appendix 10, Tables 4 and 5, and based on responses by Black and White participants, the study found that whilst some themes that defined the local Baby Boomer social generation differed by race, there were no differences by race for other themes. Hence, Black and White participants had some views in common but not others. Likewise, not all Black participants, for example, shared the same view as other Black participants any more than all White participants shared the same view as other White participants. Therefore, the study found no homogenous Black or White generation units. Instead, there are various shades of Whiteness and Blackness within generation units since views differed amongst Black and White participants as much as they did between Black and White participants. As per upcoming sections, this finding applies to how local Baby Boomers were defined by race and how the local Generation X and Generation Y social generations were defined by race.

The study found no homogenous definition of the local Baby Boomer social generation by race since Black and White participants defined local Baby Boomers similarly about some themes but differently concerning other themes. Participants' views differed by race in terms of the themes discussed below.

Change management:

Black participants felt that local Baby Boomers are not adaptable to new things and do not like change. Whilst some White participants shared a similar view to their Black counterparts, other White participants felt that local Baby Boomers are, in fact, adaptable to change.

Diversity in the workspace:

Black participants said that local Baby Boomers 'shy away from discussing social issues', and they perceive young people as incompetent and "do not show an interest in other's career development". Furthermore, Black participants believed that White Baby Boomers are racially prejudiced, saying, "They treat us as if we cannot think" and "are degrading". These participants perceived "Whites of the younger generation" as "more open to change…race aside". They further felt that White Baby Boomers deny Black workers opportunities in the workplace. These views expressed by Black participants may be helpful to diversity management practitioners as

they suggest that effective diversity management programmes are needed to address perceived or real racial prejudice by White Baby Boomers.

White Baby Boomers said they "feel unsure of their jobs and career progression" owing to Employment Equity policies limiting their access to job opportunities. Therefore, they "have little option but to leave South Africa to find work". However, according to Statistics South Africa (2019b) reports, White South Africans are overrepresented in top jobs in South Africa. Hence, statistically, White South Africans have better opportunities for "career progression" in South Africa than Black people. This finding suggests that the lived experiences of White South Africans differ from what is statistically known. One possible reason is that as the economy shrinks, jobs and job opportunities are lost (Statistics, 2021; Statistics South Africa, 2019). The fact that there are fewer top jobs available may create the perception for White South Africans that they have limited access to jobs due to Employment Equity measures. This finding suggests to diversity management practitioners, as well as to leaders in political and governmental organisations that Employment Equity measures have not only had limited success in terms of creating equal opportunities for Black and White South Africans alike in senior echelons in the workspace but have also fuelled perceptions for White South Africans that they have limited opportunities in the country. This, in turn, may result in an increasing loss of skills from South Africa.

White participants also described Baby Boomers as having a preference for older managers, believing them to have more skills and experience than young people. Hence, the study found that White Baby Boomers were defined as ageists who feel 'frustrated' by young managers. This finding suggests that White Baby Boomers associate seniority in one's rank in the workspace with seniority in age. This is perhaps due to leaders in the workspace typically being older people. The study, therefore, suggests that practitioners in human resource and diversity management consider providing training to help shift perceptions so that young managers may have positive social relations with Baby Boomers in the workplace.

Leadership/management style:

Black participants defined Baby Boomers as both 'learning' and 'teaching', and White participants described Baby Boomers as 'learning' only, with no mention of 'teaching'. In addition, Black participants described Baby Boomers with attributes such as 'nurturing', 'mentoring', 'supporting', and 'guiding'. As discussed in prior sections, these attributes are commonly associated with African leadership, and this suggests that Black participants defined local Baby Boomers as having African leadership attributes (April & Ephraim, 2006; Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Mbigi, 2007a, 2007b). This finding may be helpful to human resource practitioners as it suggests that Baby Boomers may be best suited to mentor and coach young people in the workspace.

Both Black and White participants felt that Baby Boomers overthink decisions and tend to want 'things to be done their way'. In addition to describing Baby Boomers as wise, White participants described them as having "earned their stripes" and said that Baby Boomers enforce rules in the workspace. In the workplace in South Africa, older people commonly occupy leadership/management positions, particularly White South Africans (Statistics South Africa, 2019), which explains why participants perceive Baby Boomers in this way.

Black and White participants defined local Baby Boomers similarly regarding the following themes. These findings have been discussed in previous sections and are therefore not repeated in this section.

- Communications style
- Followership style

- Use of technology
- Workplace power
- Workplace values

4.1.2.4 How were Baby Boomers defined by case?

As per Appendix 10, Tables 6 and 7, participants from Bombela (private sector) and GMA (public sector) defined Baby Boomers similarly, and no material differences were found from the empirical data to suggest otherwise. There may be two possible reasons for this. First, workers from both the private and public sectors have experienced similar socio-historic events, such as the system of Apartheid, and the views expressed by workers then serve as a microcosm (Bigo, 2008) for the views of the country's broader population. In this regard, irrespective of where one may work, one's views may be similar to those of fellow South Africans. Second, albeit these are two separate entities in two different sectors, participants from each entity work collaboratively in a PPP structure; hence, there is much synergy and common ground between workers from Bombela and GMA.

4.1.3 Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may the Generation X social generation be defined in South African terms?

Howe and Strauss (1992a) describe Generation X as a 'latchkey' social generation as theirs is described as the first social generation to return home from school to an empty house, as mothers increasingly began to enter the world of work during their childhood years (Howe, 2010; Scheef & Thielfoldt, 2004; Thomas, 2011). As such, Generation X is defined as a social generation that was alienated in its youth, and hence, it is marked by the unknown variable "X" to symbolise the alienation that it has experienced. The section below highlights and discusses key findings about how local Generation X participants self-identify, followed by how Baby Boomer and Generation Y participants define local Generation X.

4.1.3.1 How did local Generation X self-identify?

For illustrative purposes, a few participant quotes have been extracted from Appendix 10, Table 8, and Table 10 below to show the analytical process followed to transition from empirical data to theoretical concepts.

Table 10: Themes that depict how Generation X participants self-identified

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Categories	Themes
It's not an issue; if someone is your superior, you must respect them regardless of age.	Must respect superiors regardless of their age	Respecting	Attributes	Followership style
I prefer being managed by someone more knowledgeable and experienced than me, and I don't enjoy having a younger manager.	I prefer someone more knowledgeable and experienced than oneself Don't enjoy younger manager	Preferring	Preferences	
We share with others and develop others more freely, as we have nothing to lose.	Freely develop others	Developing	Teaching approach	Leadership/management style
Learning is an ongoing process, and I can learn daily from the young and the old.	Believe learning is an ongoing process Can learn from young and old	Learning	Learning approach	
It is easier to be managed by an older Black person.	Easier to be managed by older Black		Racism	Diversity in the workspace
But I prefer to be managed by an older person because they are loyal and dedicated to work.	Preference to be managed by an older person Older people are loyal and dedicated to work	Preferring	Ageism	
But as we get older and establish ourselves, we seek a better work-life balance to enjoy the fruits of our hard work.	With age, we seek work-life balance and want to enjoy the fruits of labour.	Enjoying	Attributes	The social being

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Categories	Themes
We are a generation that can relate to the struggle. Whether we struggled for freedom or to keep the status quo of Apartheid, we know the struggle movement, nonetheless and have this in common. We are motivated by the struggle and are determined not to fail. We, therefore, work hard. We also have a fear of failure because we carry the responsibility of supporting extended families that remain in poverty as a result of the effects of Apartheid.	Can relate to the struggle for freedom or the struggle to maintain Apartheid Know the struggle movement and have this in common Motivated by the struggle and determined not to fail Work hard Have a fear of failure Carry responsibility to support extended families that remain in poverty	Relating Hardworking Fearing Supporting Carrying	Characteristics	
We have a clear separation between work and social life, and we work smarter and are not necessarily under pressure.	Have separate work and social lives Work smart	Separating Working (smart)	Attributes	Work ethic
We are not afraid to work hard and long hours. We have tenacity.	Not afraid to work hard or long hours Have tenacity	Hardworking		
I prefer working smart and hard to escape poverty that gripped my extended family; I aim for social stability and spirituality.	I prefer to work smart and hard. Want to get out of poverty experienced by extended family Want social stability and spirituality	Working (smart and hard) Getting out Wanting	Attributes	Workplace values
We prefer working smart to balance the many responsibilities that we have	Prefer working smart to balance responsibilities	Working (smart)		
We are a dedicated and committed generation.	A dedicated and committed generation	Committing		

The study found that Generation X self-identified as a social generation whose 'leadership/management style' is depicted by a 'teaching' and 'learning approach', believing they develop others without inhibition. They believed that learning is an 'ongoing process' and that they can learn from the young and old alike. Their 'followership style' was described using 'attributes' such as 'respect' for their 'superiors' at work and a 'preference' for 'older managers', whom they believed to be more 'knowledgeable' and 'experienced' in relation to younger managers. Generation X described their 'work ethic' as 'working smart' rather than 'working hard' or 'working under pressure', and they believed that they have 'tenacity' and a desire for a healthy 'work-life balance'. Similarly, they described their 'workplace values' as 'working smart' and being 'committed' to their jobs so that they could 'escape poverty'. In terms of 'diversity in the workspace', they self-identified as 'ageists' who have confidence in 'older managers', believing them to 'be more loyal and dedicated' than young people are. In particular, they expressed a preference for 'older Black managers.' As 'social beings', they said they have 'low confidence' and are 'motivated' by the 'struggle' movements in South Africa, be they 'the struggle to maintain Apartheid' or 'the struggle for freedom'. As such, they said they 'worked hard' at 'the start of their careers' because of a fear of failure' and the need to render 'support to their extended families who live in poverty'. They went on to say that at this stage of their lives, they prefer to 'work smart' and to 'enjoy the fruits of their labour'. Participants expressed a heightened sense of political awareness due to their lived experiences of the system of Apartheid in their youth, a time when racial tensions flared following the arrest and, later, incarceration of the renowned anti-Apartheid stalwart, Nelson Mandela (Atuahene, 2011). They also voiced a 'longing' for 'safety and security', describing themselves as a social generation that 'played freely on the streets' during their youth, saying that this is something that young people can no longer do in the country. Each of the abovementioned themes is discussed in more detail in the section below, which also details how Baby Boomers and Generation Y participants defined local Generation X.

4.1.3.2 How did Baby Boomers and Generation Y define local Generation X?

As mentioned earlier, in terms of familial generations, Generation X may be viewed as the children of Baby Boomers and the parents of Generation Y. In terms of the three social generations explored by this study, Generation X, being younger than Baby Boomers but older than Generation Y, is placed in the middle of the older and younger social generations and, hence, when compared to a nuclear family, is the middle child. According to research, the middle child often feels neglected by their parents, whom they feel are more fond of their first-born child and their last-born child (Antonini, 2016; Hartshorne, Salem-Hartshorne, & Hartshorne, 2009; Humayun, Li, & Rehg, 2015; Kirkcaldy, Richardson-Vejlgaard, & Siefen, 2009; Lohier, 2016). As a result, the middle child complex or middle child syndrome has been explored by scholars, who surmise that, concerning their eldest and youngest siblings, the middle child is most likely to suffer from low self-esteem and low self-worth (Kirkcaldy et al., 2009).

This study found that similar to the middle child in a nuclear family context, Generation X is the middle social generation in the context of local social generations, and just as the middle child feels overlooked by their parents, the middle social generation was often overlooked by the other two social generations. Hence, whilst we tend to define Generation X as the 'latchkey' social generation who experienced isolation and alienation in the household, this study found that local Generation X self-identified with the 'struggle' movements in South Africa. This social generation expressed a 'fear of failure' caused by their need to 'escape poverty', having 'low confidence', and a longing for 'safety' and 'security' in the country rather than identifying with experiencing isolation and alienation during their youth. As such, the study found that local Generation X is not homogenous with Generation X elsewhere. This finding may be useful to scholars exploring local social generations in the workplace in South Africa. This finding also suggests to human resource practitioners and diversity management practitioners who are responsible for creating social cohesion and effective teamwork in the workspace that, as opposed to focusing exclusively on the Baby Boomer and Generation Y social generations, they should provide appropriate support and acknowledgement to Generation X in the workspace.

Expanding on the abovementioned finding, and as discussed in the previous section, the study found that in the local workspace, similar to familial generations, there is synergy between the grandparent Baby Boomer social generation and the grandchild, Generation Y. Little is known about how local Generation X experiences this synergy between Baby Boomers and Generation Y, and more research may help to understand the experiences of Generation X in this regard, and, in particular, how it may exacerbate feelings that may be associated with the middle child syndrome.

Theme 1: Followership style

Generation X self-identified as a social generation that prefers 'older managers', believing them to be more 'relatable', 'knowledgeable', and 'experienced' than younger managers. In addition, they expressed being 'respectful' of their 'superiors' regardless of age. As such, whilst they prefer 'older managers', they believe they are 'respectful' of their manager's seniority or rank regardless of age. Hence, as followers, Generation X self-identified as being 'respectful' and having a preference for 'older managers'. Baby Boomer participants also felt that Generation X prefers 'older managers', and Generation Y participants believed that Generation X is 'supportive' of young people in the workplace. However, the study did not investigate whether Generation X 'supports' young people in their capacity as managers of Generation X, as co-workers of Generation X, or as junior workers of Generation X. In hindsight, gaps such as this became visible to the researcher during the analysis stage of the research project. At the time of data collection, the researcher was immersed in the data-collection process and unaware of the bigger picture that the data would later reveal and/or what pieces of data might be missing for that

bigger picture to be completed. Only during this stage of the research project did some missing data pieces become evident. The researcher's strategy to compensate for this gap was to consider available literature to understand how local Generation X experiences 'young people' in the workspace.

The data gathered by this study and available research about inter-generational relations in the workspace in South Africa indicated that participants across the social generations understand concepts such as 'followership', 'leadership/management', 'work ethics', and 'workplace values' in terms of the African worldview. This worldview is based on the principles of "Ubuntu" (which refers to the emphasis that African communities place on interdependence between and amongst humans) (Le Roux, 2000; Makalela, 2018; Mangena, 2012; Maphalala, 2017; Masango, 2006; Mbigi, 2007b; Msila, 2008; Swanson, 2007; Tshoose, 2009) and "Hlonipha" (which refers to the emphasis that African communities place on the value of respect, particularly for elders) (Du Toit et al., 2014; Luthuli, 2007; Reichel et al., 2020).. In this regard, the study found that in as much as there are intra-generational and inter-generational differences within and amongst local social generations, there is also homogeneity amongst local social generations that share a common African worldview. As such, the study found that local social generations are neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogenous. Instead, they differ from each other in some respects but are also similar in others. This finding may be useful for scholars who explore social generations and inter-generational differences in South Africa.

In addition, this finding may be useful to diversity management practitioners as it suggests that inter-generational differences may co-exist with human interdependence (Ubuntu). In as much as diversity management practitioners focus on perceived or real differences amongst workers, this finding suggests that they ought to consider the interdependence amongst people in the workspace equally. Practitioners can usefully explore ways in which the spirit of Ubuntu and human interdependence may be strengthened in the workspace to enhance teamwork and social cohesion instead of focusing solely on managing differences to enhance teamwork and social cohesion.

This finding may also be useful for scholars as it suggests that one's worldview, often specific to one's context, is an ingredient for social generations. Hence, the study encourages scholars to consider the local contexts of social generations rather than Americanising these social generations. Finally, since Baby Boomers and Generation X both preferred 'older managers', more research may be needed to understand how their preferences may impact young managers in the workspace. This finding is discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.3, which defines Generation Y in South African terms.

Theme 2: Leadership/management style

As per the quote below, Generation X defined their 'leadership/management style' in terms of attributes such as 'teaching' and 'learning', believing that they 'teach' and develop young people in the workplace without inhibition, as they feel 'they have nothing to lose' from doing so. In addition, they expressed the belief that 'learning' is an 'ongoing process' and that they can 'learn' 'from both young and old alike'.

> Learning is an ongoing process, and I can learn daily from the young and the old. (Participant 28, Black, Gen X, GMA)

In contrast, whilst some Generation Y participants believed that Generation X is 'willing to share with' and 'teach' young people and is 'supportive' of young people in the workplace, some Generation Y participants felt that Generation X 'holds back from sharing' and is 'distrustful', that they 'do not allow' young people the freedom to

'find solutions' for themselves and instead impose their 'way of doing things' on others. The following quote expresses this view.

> Older managers tend to force their way of doing things onto you. They do not allow you the freedom to find solutions for yourself. They feel challenged to adapt to new things and ways of doing things. (Participant 48, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

Generation Y further described Generation X as being 'slow to take decisions', perceiving young people as 'incompetent' and needing 'to be taught', and overlooking suggestions put forward by 'young' people. Baby Boomers felt that Generation X likes 'having rules' in the workspace and 'learning from older people'. Hence, whilst Generation X self-identified as learning from 'both young and old alike', Baby Boomers felt that Generation X 'learnt' from older people, which dovetails with the view expressed by Generation Y that Generation X perceives young people to be 'incompetent'.

As leaders in the workplace, Generation X tends to take a parenting approach similar to parents in the household. They do this by establishing 'rules', in much the same way their Baby Boomer parents would have exposed them to rules in the household and the workspace (Kaye, 2005; Stahlmann et al., 2020). Hence, although some Generation Y participants believed that Generation X was 'supportive', other Generation Y participants experienced Generation X and the rules that they enforced as hostile. Quotes such as the one below indicate that Generation Y feels like they do not easily 'fit in' in the workspace.

> …if the workplace were given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people, we tend to try to be entrepreneurs [and] we prefer to start our [own] businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace… (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

Children whose parents or grandparents enforce rules in traditional households tend to long for an escape from the household, viewing rules as a form of punishment (James, 2016; Kaye, 2005). Making the comparison between how children experience rules in the household and how Generation Y experiences rules in the workspace, the study suggests to diversity management practitioners and human resource practitioners that they create spaces and places in the workspace where inter-generational differences are managed such that the members of one social generation do not feel like they 'do not fit in' at the expense of another generation. For example, these practitioners should create spaces and places where Generation X and their preference for rules may be respected without Generation Y feeling disrespected or as if they do not belong.

In addition, seeing that Generation X values 'respect', having 'rules' in the workspace, and imposing their 'way of doing things' on others, the study found that Generation X is likely to adopt a telling leadership/management style (Salehzadeh, 2017; Wen, Ho, Kelana, Othman, & Syed, 2019). The African worldview supports establishing and enforcing rules and respect (Hlonipha). It informs the African leadership style, which stems from the need for African community leaders and chiefs to maintain harmony and order in their respective domains (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Mabasa & Eresia-Eke, 2018; Mbigi, 2007a). However, African leadership styles tend to be consultative (Booysen, 2001) rather than telling, which is more typical of Eurocentric and Western leadership styles. Finding that Generation X tends to value respect and rules in the workspace and using a telling leadership style suggests that this generation embraces a leadership style that is a fusion of African and Eurocentric/Western leadership styles. This finding may be useful to scholars exploring social generations in South Africa as it shows the heterogeneity of local social generations concerning social generations elsewhere. To management and leadership

practitioners, this finding demonstrates that people may adopt a fusion of leadership styles depending on, amongst other things, their worldview. This finding also suggests to scholars who examine leadership/management styles that African leadership styles should not be discounted or overlooked due to Eurocentric/Western leadership styles being common currency.

Theme 3: The social being

Generation X participants talked about working hard at the start of their careers to 'escape poverty' and 'build a better life' for their families. It therefore stands to reason that, at a time, they would have been motivated by a financial return for their contribution to the workspace. In this regard, participants made comments such as the one below:

> I think especially Black people of my generation start their careers working very hard because of the negative socio-historic experiences they would have had. We work hard to escape poverty and build a better life for our families so they are not exposed to the hardships we have witnessed and experienced…. Still, as we get older and have established ourselves, we seek a better work-life balance to enjoy the fruits of our hard work. (Participant 22, Black, Gen X, BOM)

As discussed in the preceding section, with time, Generation X, presumably having 'escaped poverty', is now at a stage where they value a healthy work-life balance. This balance would afford them the time to spend with family and friends and perhaps to do the things they did not have the time, money, or both, to do earlier in their careers. This finding may be useful to human resource practitioners as it explains why Generation X values a healthy 'work-life balance' and suggests that Generation X may thrive in firms that offer workers a healthy work-life balance. The study suggests that financial reward is likely to be a motivator or important factor for Generation X, who value financial security and a healthy work-life balance. For example, changes that impact their pay and job security may create concern for Generation X workers, who may raise grievances with their employer or seek alternative job opportunities, ultimately resulting in an increase in employee turnover and a potential loss of skills. Human resource practitioners should, therefore, be mindful of this finding. In addition, management practitioners are advised to cultivate work-space cultures that cater to the unique needs of each social generation rather than create a single homogenous culture that assumes that workers are homogenous and belong to homogenous social generations.

Generation X participants further self-identified as valuing 'safety' and 'security' and said the following:

> We are a generation that longs to live freely. Free [from] worry of our safety and security. We are a generation that played freely on the streets; today, this is unsafe for young people. We long for the same safety and security [we once had]. (Participant 35, White, Gen X, BOM)

This finding may be useful to policymakers and political leaders, as it suggests the type of spaces and places Generation X desires to live in in South Africa. Generation X participants also related to the political history in the country and believed that as a social generation, they relate to either the 'struggle' for freedom or the 'struggle' to maintain the status quo implemented during the Apartheid regime in the country. Quotes such as the ones below are relevant in this regard.

> We are a generation that can relate to the struggle. Whether we struggled for freedom or struggled to keep the status quo of Apartheid, we know the struggle movement nonetheless and [we] have this in common together. We are motivated by the struggle and are determined not to fail. We, therefore, work

> hard. We also have a fear of failure because we carry the responsibility of supporting extended families that remain in poverty as a result of the effects of Apartheid. (Participant 30, Black, Gen X, GMA)

The finding that some Generation X participants struggled against the Apartheid regime whilst their counterparts struggled to maintain the Apartheid regime indicates an intra-generational difference within Generation X. This finding suggests to scholars that the local Generation X is not homogenous, as studies commonly portray it to be. Instead, Generation X in South Africa has been split in the same way that the country was racially stratified, with some people opposing the Apartheid regime and others supporting it. In this sense, the Apartheid regime created intra-generational differences within local Generation X.

Theme 4: Work ethic and workplace values

Essentially, Generation X participants self-identified as a social generation that values a healthy work-life balance and, as such, sets out to 'work smarter' rather than 'working harder'. To this effect, participants expressed a need to enjoy 'the fruits of their labour' and be conscious about how much time they invest in their jobs. The following quotes bear reference:

> We have a clear separation between work and social life, and we work smarter and are not necessarily under pressure. (Participant 25, Black, Gen X, BOM)

> I prefer working smart because it makes doing things easier without overworking yourself. (Participant 26, Black, Gen X, GMA)

Since Generation X self-identified as being wary of how much time they spend at work, they are probably not ideal teachers and mentors in the workplace, as teaching and mentoring can be time-consuming. As such, whereas Baby Boomers self-identified as being 'patient' with and 'supportive' of young people, Generation X self-identified as less generous with their time with Baby Boomers. This is probably why some Generation Y participants perceived Generation X to 'hold back from sharing' with young people in the workspace. In this sense, Generation X appears to be rather individualistic, seeking to 'enjoy the fruits of their labour' rather than sharing their time with Generation Y. Whilst individualism is a common trait of Western and Eurocentric cultures (Booysen, 2001), it is uncommon in African cultures, which are centred on Ubuntu and the greater good of the community, rather than on the good of the individual (April & Ephraim, 2006). Again, this finding alludes to Generation X's ability to embrace different worldviews, suggesting to diversity management practitioners that local Generation X adopts multiple worldviews and is dynamic and adaptable.

While Baby Boomers perceived Generation X to value 'respect' and 'rules' and 'regulations' in the workspace, Generation Y perceived Generation X as 'less trusting' than they were and to 'take time to think things over', thereby delaying decision-making processes. However, since Generation X appears to be thrifty with the amount of time that they allocate to work, their decision-making processes may be delayed because they procrastinate or put tasks off, which, in turn, may be perceived by Generation Y as their 'taking time to think through decisions'. This finding suggests to management practitioners that Generation X workers will likely be unhappy in work-space environments where excessive overtime is the norm. Instead, Generation X workers are likely to perform at their optimum in workspaces that promote healthy work-life balances and that offer workers adequate annual leave in exchange for their time spent doing work. This said, as mentioned, the study found that local social generations are not homogenous and, as such, the study cautions management practitioners, as well as other stakeholders, against assuming that all workers who belong to Generation X have such views and preferences.

In as much as management practitioners should take note of Generation X's preferences in terms of wanting to have a healthy work-life balance, management practitioners need to create workspaces and workplaces in which all social generations feel a sense of belonging. Creating and maintaining such a balance is no easy task. The social constructs of space and place in the workplace are discussed in more detail in the upcoming sections that address research question three (How is locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation?).

It is noteworthy that Generation Y believed that Generation X and Baby Boomers have 'workplace power' because they have more work experience than Generation Y. As such, Generation Y participants believed that by having more workplace experience and generally holding senior jobs, Generation X and Baby Boomers have the power to design the workspace to their satisfaction. The following quote bears reference:

> …if the workplace were given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

This quote and its findings are discussed further in the section that explores how local Generation Y is defined in South African terms (see Section 4.2.3). However, for purposes of this section, the quote demonstrates that Generation Y perceives Generation X and Baby Boomers to hold power and experience in the workspace. Work experience is a factor of age; hence, older workers have more work experience than younger workers. As such, Generation X is likely to have more work experience than Generation Y, albeit less work experience than Baby Boomers. Generation X has an important role to play in the workspace, as do the oldest and the youngest social generations and, as such, no single social generation is more valuable or meaningful in the workspace than the next. Instead, there ought to be a symbiotic relationship between and amongst local social generations as they collectively form the social and intellectual fabric of the workspace. Therefore, each social generation must feel a sense of belonging in the workspace.

Finally, self-identifying as a social generation that works smart may be useful to business-improvement practitioners responsible for optimising workspace processes to save time and resources. This finding suggests that Generation X may play a valuable role in optimising processes in the workspace, which, in turn, may help them save time that they could then invest in doing things they enjoy other than work.

Theme 5: Diversity in the workspace

As discussed, Generation X participants preferred 'older managers', believing older managers to be 'loyal' and 'dedicated to work' and having 'more knowledge and experience' than younger managers. In addition, they believed that they had 'more in common' with older managers and, as such, found it 'easier to work with' older managers than with young managers. As per the quote below, some participants further preferred 'older Black managers', believing that it was 'easier' to manage them.

> I find older managers easier to work with as I can relate better to them and have more in common. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

> While Baby Boomers perceived White South Africans belonging to Generation X to embrace diversity in the workspace and put 'race aside', Generation Y felt that Generation X was 'racially prejudiced' and 'denied Blacks opportunities in the workplace'. They said:

> Because they have come through the era of Apartheid, many [of them] carry prejudiced views and deny Blacks opportunities at work. (Participant 48, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

This finding may be useful to diversity management practitioners tasked with managing differences, real or perceived, in the workspace. Diversity management practitioners may need to strengthen social inter-generational and inter-racial relations in the workspace to optimise worker teamwork and social cohesion.

4.1.3.3 How was Generation X defined by race?

As per Appendix 10, Tables 11 and 12, the study found that when the empirical data was sorted by race, some themes that defined local Generation X differed by race, whereas others did not. As such, similar to local Baby Boomers, local Generation X was not defined homogeneously by race. Instead, Black and White participants defined local Generation X similarly about some themes and differently about other themes. Participants' views differed by race in terms of the themes discussed below.

Theme 1: Diversity in the workspace

On the one hand, some Black participants felt that White South Africans are 'open to change and embrace each other freely' irrespective of race. On the other hand, some Black participants felt that White South Africans are racially prejudiced and deny Black people opportunities in the workspace. White participants described Generation X using attributes that suggest they are 'ageists' and prefer older managers. This is similar to how local Baby Boomers were defined by race, with the only difference being that some Black participants believed that the White Generation X generation unit was not racially prejudiced, saying that they socialise in the workspace without considering the social construct of race. This finding shows that none of the Black participants viewed Generation X similarly. This suggests that there are differences of opinion between races and within races. Whilst studies commonly explore differences, perceived or real, between or among races (Anderson, 2003; Franchi, 2003; Mahon, 2000; Teague, 2021; Van den Berg, Wetherell, & Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2003), they often neglect to explore differences within race. Scholars who explore the phenomenon of diversity in South Africa tend to conceptualise race as if Black and White South Africans are either wholly homogenous groups of people or wholly heterogenous groups of people. Few studies explore race from the perspective of duality, understanding there to be real or perceived differences within, as well as between and among, race, and this is what this study encourages scholars to do when exploring the social construct of race.

Theme 2: Leadership/management style

Both Black and White participants believed Generation X embraces 'learning' in the workplace; however, Black participants described local Generation X as a social generation that mentors and develops 'young' people. As mentioned, African leadership styles place importance on mentoring, nurturing, and supporting 'young' people (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Mbigi, 2007a), and it may therefore be from this worldview that Black participants described local Generation X.

Theme 3: The social being

Black and White participants differed in how they defined local Generation X as social beings. Black participants said that Generation X works hard to escape poverty as they have to care for their respective families. As such, they described local Generation X as a social generation that 'shared' and had a 'fear of failure' due to their duty of care to their respective families. Black participants further felt that Generation X identified with the struggle movements

in South Africa and is a social generation that either struggled to overthrow the Apartheid regime in the country or struggled to maintain it. Either way, they said local Generation X is familiar with struggle movements. Black participants, therefore, commonly define local Generation X with the country's socio-political history.

White participants defined local Generation X as a social generation that nostalgically longs for personal safety and security in the country. In addition, they defined local Generation X as understanding and being knowledgeable about the evolution of technology, owing to their personal experiences of the technological changes that have been introduced over the decades. The study found that Black participants defined Generation X in terms of Ubuntu, and White participants defined Generation X by nostalgia and a longing to feel safe and secure. It is noteworthy that both Black and White participants defined each social generation (not only Generation X) from their own perspective according to their respective worldviews and lived experiences.

Black and White participants defined local Generation X similarly regarding the following themes. These findings have been discussed in previous sections and are therefore not repeated here.

- Followership style
- Work ethic
- Workplace power
- Workplace values

4.1.3.4 How was Generation X defined by case?

As per Appendix 10, Tables 13 and 14, while participants from both cases shared views pertaining to various themes in which they defined local Generation X, participants' views differed by case regarding the theme 'diversity in the workspace'. In terms of 'diversity in the workspace', participants from Bombela (private sector) defined Generation X as 'ageists', believing they prefer older managers. They also described local Generation X as a social generation that is open to transformation in terms of race. However, the participant counterparts from GMA (public sector) felt that local Generation X is prone to 'racial prejudice' and denies Black people opportunities in the workspace. Hence, whilst participants from Bombela were silent on the category of 'racial prejudice', participants from GMA were silent on the category of 'ageism'.

This finding suggests that participants from Bombela were either less comfortable with discussing the social construct of race than their counterparts in the public sector were or that, in the private sector, the experiences of ageism are more pronounced than the experiences of racism or racial prejudice. Likewise, participants in the public sector may be more comfortable with discussing the social construct of race than they are with discussing matters of age. One possible reason for this is that diversity management programmes in the private sector in South Africa commonly focus on the social construct of race to the detriment of other social constructs, such as age. This may inadvertently create heightened self-awareness of racial prejudices among workers in the private sector. This finding suggests that diversity management practitioners consider extending diversity management programmes to address ageism in the private sector.

Similarly, workers in the public sector work more closely with leading political parties in the country than their counterparts in the private sector do. This means that they may focus more intently on the social construct of race, given that local political parties have built their constituencies on the back of the struggle for racial equality in the country and that race-based politics is commonplace in South Africa (Africa, 2015; Maphai, 2004; Moyo, 2005). As such, workers in the public sector may be more acutely self-aware of narratives about race than workers in the private sector are. Alternatively, workers in the public sector may overlook racial experiences in the workspace on

the assumption that racial prejudice is uncommon in the public sector. Such assumptions may lead to insufficient diversity management training that focuses on the social construct of race. As such, racial prejudice may be more prevalent in the public sector than in the private sector. Further research may be required to explore these possibilities, and this finding may be of relevance to diversity management practitioners in the public and private sectors in South Africa.

4.1.4 Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may the Generation Y social generation be defined in South African terms?

Born between 1981 and 2000, Generation Y is described as a social generation raised by nurturing, doting parents who gave them the freedom of choice and encouraged them to question authority. In South Africa, during the Apartheid regime, the migrant labour system and the Group Areas Act (RSA, 1950) meant that Black people were located far from economic hubs of activity and had little choice but to travel long distances to and from work (Bank, 2015). Hence, whilst the men often lived in informal settlements and hostel dwellings closer to places of work and further away from home, Generation Y was raised in single-parent households, often by their mothers, grandmothers, and extended families (Jennings, Farrell, & Kobayashi, 2021; Mtshali, 2016). Hence, the perception that two doting parents raised Generation Y does not ring true for South Africa, given the system of Apartheid. In this regard, local Generation Y differs from Generation Y elsewhere.

Generation Y is also believed to have a strong sense of community, both local and global, and is the first social generation to grow up with computers being a central feature in their lives (Alwin, 2002; Howe & Strauss, 2000; McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2010). However, in South Africa and many parts of Africa, research has shown that there is a digital divide between the rich and the poor as a result of high levels of inequality (Bennett, 2012; Bornman, 2016; Bosch, Rossouw, Claassens, & Du Plessis, 2010; Collins, 2012; Hoogeveen & Özler, 2005; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Nyahodza & Higgs, 2017). Significant income inequality and the gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa has meant that whilst a privileged portion of Generation Y, commonly described as digital natives, has access to computers and other means of technology, a less-privileged portion, particularly those historically disadvantaged, has limited access to means of technology. The section below highlights and discusses key findings on how local Generation Y participants self-identified, followed by how Baby Boomer and Generation X participants defined local Generation Y.

4.1.4.1 How did local Generation Y self-identify?

Table 11 presents a few participant quotes from Appendix 10 Table 15 and indicates the analytical process followed to arrive at theoretical concepts from empirical data.

Table 11: Themes that depict how Generation Y participants self-identified

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerunds	Categories	Themes
Whites also have their incomes subsidised by other means, like a farm or property handed down from their parents, and other investments because they earn more. We work to survive, and it is bread and butter. The money we make is not enough to pay back, and we still eat every day. So, I'm a Slasher, and my friends, too, need a side-hustle to top up our income to help our families.	Whites have their income subsidised by other means from their parents We work to survive, it's bread and butter. The money we make is not enough to pay back, and we still eat every day I'm a Slasher, and my friends are too. We need a side hustle to top up our income so we can help our families	Subsidising Surviving Paying back Eating Slashing Side-hustling Topping-up	Black and White-generation units	Diversity in the workspace

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerunds	Categories	Themes
The White culture is primary, and the Black culture is secondary in the workplace. If the workplace had to be allocated a race, I think it would be White. And if the workplace were to be given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people, we tend to try to be entrepreneurs - we prefer to start our businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us.	White culture is the primary Black culture is secondary If the workplace were given a race, it would be White. If it had a generation, it would be Generation X or Baby Boomer, not my generation. As Black Generation Y, we therefore try to be entrepreneurs We feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace The workplace feels White and old	Trying Belonging		
Due to Employment Equity practices, Whites feel disadvantaged in the workplace as they do not get same job opportunities as Blacks.	Due to EE, Whites feel disadvantaged and don't get the same job opportunities as Blacks.	Disadvantaging		
Younger managers are easier to work with as they understand one easier and are more adaptable.	Younger managers easier to work with, easier to understand and is adaptable		Preference	Followership style
I find it better to be managed by someone older than me as he or she is likely to have more experience than me.	Find it better to be managed by someone older Older managers are likely to have more experience			
I currently report to someone of my own generation, and she is very competitive with me. She tends to find fault with anything that I do so she can feel better than me and be worthy of being my senior. This is unhealthy competition.	Currently, I report to my own generation, and she is very competitive with me. I tend to find fault with anything I do to feel better and worthy of being my senior. It is unhealthy competition	Fault-finding	Negative attributes	Leadership/management attributes
Younger managers are more likely to micro-manage as they battle to let go of the power or control.	Younger managers likely to micro-manage and battle to let go of power/control	Micro-managing Battling		
We are creative, outspoken, driven, and entrepreneurial in spirit, not afraid to challenge the status quo.	We are creative, outspoken, and unafraid to challenge status quo. Driven and entrepreneurial in spirit	Challenging	Attributes	The social being
We are seeking the next revolution – struggling to find a cause to fight for and to make a difference in the same way that other generations have; hence, we see a flare-up of events like fees must fall.	Seeking the next revolution Struggling to find a cause to fight for and make a difference like older generations have Hence, there's a flare-up of events like fees must fall	Struggling		
We are a technologically advanced generation. We are also a networked generation and enjoy social media.	Technologically advanced Networked generation and enjoy social media	Networking Enjoying	Information, computer technology (ICT)	Use of technology
As the younger generation, we want more flexibility in the workday.	Want more flexibility in the workday	Wanting	Preference	Work ethic
We value ethics and are hard-working.	Value ethics are hardworking.	Valuing Hardworking	Attributes	

The theoretical proposition (Carmichael & Cunningham, 2017) for the study suggests that Generation Y does not self-identify as a 'Born Free' social generation, contrary to the fact that the term 'Born Free' has become common currency for Generation Y in South Africa (Cassuto & April, 2019; Mattes, 2012; Norgaard, 2015; Ronnie, 2018a, 2018b). Instead, in terms of 'diversity in the workspace', Black and White participants each expressed feeling disadvantaged in the workplace differently. On the one hand, White participants believed that they have limited opportunities due to 'Employment Equity policies' and that they are punished and made to feel guilty and

remorseful for mistakes made by the older social generations. On the other hand, Black participants believed they were subjected to a Black tax that their White counterparts were exempt from. In addition, Black participants felt that if the workplace were to be allocated a race and a social generation, it would be a White Baby Boomer. As such, they said they experienced the workplace as 'White and old' and said that they 'try to be entrepreneurs' as they feel that 'they do not fit in easily'.

Participants self-identified as being 'obsessed with technology', using it as a platform to 'network' and being informed of 'current affairs'. In this regard, they felt that while networking through social media, they 'lacked face-to-face' communication skills. Participants also said they 'value ethics', are 'hardworking', and prefer 'flexibility in the workday'. As 'social beings', they described themselves as being 'unafraid to challenge the status quo', 'driven and entrepreneurial in spirit', and eager to find their 'own cause to fight for', as the older generations had. They considered themselves 'a complicated' social generation between the 'end of Apartheid' and 'amid democracy', describing themselves as being 'in both places at the same time'.

Leaders/managers were described as 'micro-managers' who 'find fault' with their subordinates' work and who 'battle to let go of power/control'. As 'followers', participants expressed two different views. Whilst some participants preferred 'younger managers', believing them to be 'easier' to work with and 'more adaptable' than older people, other participants preferred 'someone older', believing them to have more 'experience' than they do.

4.1.4.2 How did Baby Boomers and Generation X define local Generation Y?

Baby Boomers and Generation X participants often referred to Generation Y as 'young people', and participants from both Baby Boomers and Generation X considered Generation Y inexperienced and lacking skills in relation to themselves. Whilst Generation X participants perceived Generation Y to 'get more opportunities in the workplace than older people', despite being 'new to the workplace' and needing to 'find their way around' in the workplace, Baby Boomers felt that Generation Y was 'innovative' and 'quick to adapt to change'. Generation X participants also perceived Generation Y to be 'insecure' in relation to 'older people', and they described Generation Y's work ethic as 'relaxed' and 'informal'. They felt that Generation Y was not as 'loyal' as the older social generations were, as they are constantly scouting for better career opportunities rather than remaining employed by the same employer for lengthy periods.

In terms of technology, both Generation X and Baby Boomers perceived Generation Y to be a technologically advanced social generation who is keen to introduce technology into the workplace. As 'social beings', Generation X participants described Generation Y as having an attitude of entitlement, being 'confident' and not 'wanting to start from the bottom and work their way up'. Baby Boomers described Generation Y as 'being impatient for change', 'immature at times', and not as 'respectful as old people'. They also felt that Black South Africans belonging to Generation Y were outspoken about issues pertaining to race.

Both Generation X and Baby Boomers felt that as leaders/managers, Generation Y was 'quick to take decisions' and was therefore quick 'to get things done'. Baby Boomers did, however, feel that Generation Y is 'unwilling to learn from older people', even though they 'lack experience and skills', and said that they are therefore sometimes 'indecisive'. Generation X participants singled out 'young female managers', believing them to be 'incompetent' and 'difficult to get along with'. In this regard, Generation Y participants seemed to concur, expressing challenges that they experience when they are managed by Generation Y women.

Finally, in terms of 'diversity in the workspace', Generation X participants perceived Generation Y to be 'open-minded' and 'not prejudiced by race'. Baby Boomer participants gave a mixed response, with some believing that White people belonging to Generation Y are 'disrespectful' and 'prejudiced' towards Black people. Some participants believe that White people belonging to Generation Y are 'open to change' and can 'embrace each other freely, regardless of race'. Each of the abovementioned themes is discussed in more detail below.

Theme 1: Diversity in the workspace

Local studies commonly describe Generation Y as the 'Born Free' social generation (Cassuto & April, 2019; Mattes, 2012; Norgaard, 2015; Ronnie, 2018b). However, this study found Black and White generation units within local Generation Y. The study, therefore, found that, despite being commonly referred to as the 'Born Free' social generation, local Generation Y grapples with issues about race in the workspace and self-identifies as a 'complicated' social generation that is neither during the Apartheid regime nor in a fully, racially transformed regime. Instead, they self-identified as a social generation straddling both the Apartheid and the democratic regimes in the country. For this reason, rather than experiencing the country as if they were wholly born free, they expressed feeling burdened by the socio-economic legacy effects of the system of Apartheid. The following quotes bear reference:

> I think mine is a highly complex generation. The generation before us experienced more racism than we did, and the generation after us experienced more freedom. We are a generation in the middle – we were there at the very end of Apartheid and in the midst of democracy. In a way, we are in both these places at the same time. This, I think, makes us a complicated generation. (Participant 51, White, Gen Y, BOM)

> …even though [the system of] Apartheid is over in South Africa, we, as Generation Y, still experience the effects of [the system of] Apartheid. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

In addition, Black participants felt that, in the workplace, 'the White culture is primary' and 'the Black culture is secondary'. As per the following quote, they said that they 'do not fit in or belong easily' in the workspace.

> The White culture is primary, and the Black culture is secondary in the workplace. If the workplace had to be allocated a race, I think it would be White. And if the workplace were to be given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people, we tend to try to be entrepreneurs – we prefer to start our businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

On the other hand, White South Africans belonging to Generation Y expressed feeling as if they are 'paying for the mistakes of the older generations' and that White South Africans are 'discriminated against' in the workplace owing to 'Employment Equity policies'. The following quotes by White Generation Y participants show that they feel 'punished' for mistakes made by the older generations:

> …but because of our political history, I feel that Blacks have a view that we need to be sorry for what happened and treat them differently, but we were not the perpetrators, so why must we keep saying sorry for a mistake we never made? (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> … Getting into the workplace is challenging as Whites are discriminated against and have it harder to get job opportunities than Blacks. We Whites are paying for the faults of the older generations… [The system of] Apartheid has caused race to remain a topical point under the spotlight. The workplace has had to

> introduce Employment Equity policies to address the imbalances caused during [the] Apartheid [regime], but these policies punish the wrong generation. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

White Generation Y participants felt that whilst they were made to feel guilty and remorseful for the Apartheid regime, they were not personally responsible. This feeling of guilt and remorse, they said, was perpetuated by Black South Africans, who portray themselves as direct or indirect victims of the system of Apartheid. The socio-political cost of White South Africans belonging to Generation Y is defined by their experiences of remorse and guilt for the Apartheid regime. The study likens their feelings of guilt and remorse to a socio-political cost and an heirloom passed on from the Apartheid regime to White South Africans belonging to Generation Y, not because of their hand in the system of Apartheid but rather because of their Whiteness.

It is perhaps noteworthy that whilst Generation Y is not personally responsible for the system of Apartheid in South Africa, Black and White Generation Y participants concurred that White South Africans belonging to Generation Y inherit various financial and non-financial benefits from their families who were privileged by the Apartheid regime. As such, feelings of guilt expressed by White participants belonging to Generation Y may result from conscious and unconscious guilt for the various benefits they acquired from families who accumulated benefits during the Apartheid regime. The following quotes bear reference:

> I think Blacks are still playing catch-up…it is still easier for Whites to build a successful career; we have the life skills and tools handed down to us by our parents. Blacks are sometimes missing this, which places them at a disadvantage. (Participant 60, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> …the system [of Apartheid] benefited our White parents hence we are still enjoying the fruits of those benefits. (Participant 60, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> Many of us [Blacks] have not inherited a legacy or inheritance from our parents, like White professionals our age have…we may run the same race, but we have not all started on an equal and fair basis. While we have to repay student loans, Whites can invest in property or a car. (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

Black Generation Y participants felt that their White counterparts have 'less experience and qualifications' than they have yet earn more than they do. They further reported feeling burdened by the financial strain placed on them by their extended families, whom the system of Apartheid has historically disadvantaged, and they viewed their financial support as a 'Black tax'. The concept of Black tax refers to the perceived financial and socio-political costs incurred by Black South Africans to supplement or maintain the financial well-being of their extended families, who were historically disadvantaged during the Apartheid regime (Burrows, 2016; Dahodwala, 2021; Fongwa, 2019; Magubane, 2017; Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019; Matlala & Shambare, 2017; Msibi, 2020; Sibiya, 2018). They said that to supplement their incomes to afford to pay Black tax, they do multiple secondary jobs, which they colloquially refer to as their 'side-hustles' and, as such, they self-identified as 'Slashers'. The term 'Slasher' was coined by Marci Alboher (2007) to refer to the slash that one may have in one's job title due to holding multiple jobs, such as journalist/photographer/events planner. Essentially, Black Generation Y participants stated that they became Slashers to pay their Black tax. The following quotes pertain to the Black tax:

> …Whites also have their incomes subsidised by other means, like a farm, property handed down to them from their parents, and other investments because they tend to earn more. For us [Black workers] the workplace enables us to survive. It is our only bread and butter…We [Black workers] often find Whites with less experience or qualifications earning more than their Black counterparts…the money we make is

> insufficient to pay back and we still eat daily. So, I'm a Slasher, and my friends, too, need a side-hustle to top up our income so we can help our families. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)
>
> Many of us have not inherited a legacy or inheritance from our parents like White professionals our age have. This introduces the issue of the Black tax that Whites are exempt from. We may run the same race, but we have not all started on an equal and fair basis. While we have to repay student loans, Whites can invest in property or a car. Many of us have to repay debt due by our parents and extended family. (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

As Blacks, we carry the historical burden and responsibility of caring and providing for extended families who were denied opportunities due to [the system of] Apartheid. Today, although [the system of] Apartheid is over, we are still disadvantaged as White South Africans do not carry the same financial burdens and responsibilities. Our parents do not always have homes. We have to invest in a roof over their heads before we [can] buy a home for ourselves. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

Payment of any form of tax is often experienced as a burden and similar to a grudge purchase, as it results in a loss in one's disposable income and wealth. Black tax was similarly described as a financial burden to Black people (Magubane, 2017; Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019; Sibiya, 2018). Hence, whereas Ubuntu is viewed as a social necessity required for the greater good, the Black tax is viewed as a financial burden (Mhlongo, 2019). In this regard, the study found that whilst the older social generations embrace the African worldview of Ubuntu, the Black generation unit within Generation Y views the financial support that they render to extended family members as a Black tax and a financial burden rather than as a social responsibility or Ubuntu. This finding implies that Black South Africans belonging to Generation Y embrace a worldview that is not entirely aligned with the concept of Ubuntu. The above-listed quotes by Black and White Generation Y participants point to Black and White generation units within Generation Y in South Africa. This finding suggests that local Generation Y is not a homogenous social generation, as studies commonly portray it to be (Bevan-Dye & Akpojivi, 2016; Bevan-Dye & Meyer, 2018a; Bussin, Serumaga-Zake, & Mohamed-Padayachee, 2019; Johnston, 2013; Jonck et al., 2017; van der Merwe, van Zyl, Nel, & Joubert, 2014), and instead consists of Black and White generation units. Furthermore, it indicates that the local Generation Y is not a wholly 'Born Free' social generation, as Black and White participants feel that they are each burdened by different types of socio-historic debts that have accrued from the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Whilst White South Africans expressed that they are burdened by guilt and remorse for the system of Apartheid, which they did not directly orchestrate and that they are further punished by Employment Equity policies that deny White South Africans opportunities in the workspace, Black participants felt that they are subjected to a Black tax from which their White counterparts are exempt as they have to support family members who were historically disadvantaged financially.

This finding may be useful to scholars exploring local social generations in South Africa. The study, therefore, defines the experience of guilt and remorse by the White generation unit as a socio-political cost incurred by 'young' White South Africans in present-day South Africa and the experience of Black tax by the Black generation unit as the financial and socio-political cost incurred by 'young' Black workers in present-day South Africa. This finding suggests to political leaders that reconciliation efforts and Employment Equity measures implemented over recent decades have been ineffective in remedying social relations in South Africa. Instead, the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid, together with rampant state capture, have exacerbated levels of inequality in the country, which has translated into different types of financial and socio-political costs, such as Black tax and White guilt and remorse. Approximately 30 years post the demise of the system of Apartheid, the introduction of democracy, by itself, has not brought about economic parity, not even amongst 'young people'. To leaders in the private sector

and civil society, this finding suggests that more effective diversity management programmes are needed not only to create 'spaces' and 'places' in the workspace that may be experienced similarly by Black and White workers alike but also to build up an effective social cohesion amongst workers.

The study found that the ending of the system of Apartheid brought about political freedom, devoid of economic parity and economic freedom. As a result, historically disadvantaged Black people in present-day South Africa remain trapped in structural forms of social and financial hardships (Carter & May, 2001). Hence, calls from various sectors for radical economic transformation have become louder and more frequent over recent years, persuading the ruling political party to consider more aggressive forms of redress to rapidly bridge the growing gap between the rich and the poor in post-Apartheid South Africa. Also, the common perception is that Black people are economically disadvantaged and White South Africans economically privileged, which may further exacerbate feelings of guilt and remorse for the White generation unit. The study, therefore, finds that political freedom and democracy in themselves have not automatically brought about economic freedom or parity in South Africa, not even for the so-called 'Born Free' Generation Y in South Africa. As argued by economist and philosopher Amartya Sen (2000), economic freedom must be inextricably linked to political and other freedoms since political freedom alone grants only a fraction of the many freedoms necessary for true human emancipation. For Black and White South Africans to self-identify as a homogenous 'Born Free' social generation in South Africa, economic and other freedoms are needed in addition to political freedom.

This finding may be useful to various stakeholders. Diversity management practitioners, as an example, tend to assume that the 'Born Free' social generation is more racially integrated than the other social generations in the workspace and, therefore, has less of a need for diversity management programmes than the older social generations do. This study shows that in the workspace in present-day South Africa, diversity management programmes are needed across the three social generations explored by this study, as Black and White generation units co-exist within each social generation in South Africa. The fact that White Generation Y participants are made to feel guilty and remorseful for the country's political past, which they have not directly orchestrated, indicates that politicians and leaders in civil society, as well as practitioners in human resources, management, and diversity management, must create spaces and places where Black and White South Africans both feel a sense of belonging, free of the socio-political costs that have accrued from South Africa's prejudiced past.

Furthermore, in the same way as international studies about diversity management often explore the experiences of the Black minority group elsewhere (Mirowsky & Ross, 1980; Tienda & Lii, 1987), local studies tend to follow suit by also conceptualising Black people in South Africa as a minority group in the country (Southall, 2016; Swanepoel, 2019). The lived experiences of the White minority in South Africa are, therefore often untold and unheard (van Zyl-Hermann, 2018). Whilst Black people were historically disadvantaged in South Africa, Black people have remained a majority group. This majority status has meant that in addition to Black people having lived experiences of various forms of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice', White South Africans too have lived experiences of Black racism and of being a minority in the country (Matolino, 2013). By neglecting the lived experiences of the White minority in South Africa, scholars and diversity management practitioners not only silence the White voices in the country but also miss opportunities to enhance social cohesion in the workspace and in societies in general. This, along with other findings on 'diversity in the workspace', is discussed in more detail together with findings about research question two (How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each of the social generations?). It was, however, considered important to make mention of race-related findings in this section too, as they show that the lived experiences of Black and White generation units intersect with their respective lived experiences of race in South Africa.

Theme 2: Followership style

Whilst some Generation Y participants expressed a preference for 'young managers', believing young managers to be more adaptable and relatable, some participants preferred 'older managers' because of their added work-space experience concerning Generation Y. Generation Y participants said the following:

> Younger managers are more likely to micro-manage as they battle to let go of the power or control. (Participant 45, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

Baby Boomers and Generation X perceived Generation Y to be followers who need to 'learn', and to be 'coached', 'taught', and 'mentored'. As discussed earlier when defining local Baby Boomers and Generation X, both older social generations expressed a willingness to 'teach' 'young people' in the workspace. The study found that whilst Baby Boomer and Generation X participants perceived Generation Y to lack work experience in relation to themselves, they did not perceive this negatively. However, they perceived Generation Y's 'leadership/management style' negatively. This finding implies that Baby Boomers and Generation X are more accepting of Generation Y as followers than Generation Y leaders. As such, some of the findings pertaining to 'leadership/management style' below overlap with those pertaining to Generation Y's 'followership style'.

Essentially, as mentioned, the African worldview of leadership is centred on the concept of Hlonipha (respect) and respect for elders, who typically occupy leadership roles in local communities and religious institutions, as examples (Du Toit et al., 2014; Kariuki, 2015; Makalela, 2018; Reichel et al., 2020). In this context, 'young people' are commonly perceived as followers who need to be taught by elders who occupy leadership roles. Perhaps, from this perspective, Baby Boomer and Generation X participants viewed Generation Y's roles as both followers and leaders/managers. This finding may be of relevance to human resource practitioners as it suggests that the social dynamics between 'young' leaders/managers and 'older' subordinates may be strained and that structured diversity management programmes may be needed to support and nurture constructive social relations between the youngest and oldest social generations. Such programmes ought to be based on mutual respect, where respect is both earned and afforded by 'young' and 'old' alike.

Theme 3: Leadership/management style

As per the quotes below, Generation Y and Generation X participants felt that 'young managers' were 'insecure' and that they 'demonstrate their authority' over subordinates. In particular, they singled out young women in leadership/management roles and described them as being 'difficult to get along with' and 'incompetent'.

> I find younger managers difficult to get along with, especially younger females. Young women, irrespective of their race, are not very competent and are therefore difficult to get along with and [to] work with. Young men are easier to work with, they are more tolerable than young women. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

> …generally, I have found it very difficult to report to White females. They are bossy and difficult for the sake of it. I find it easier to be managed to Black managers as I feel they have more empathy and are understanding. (Participant 54, White, Gen Y, BOM)

> In my case, my manager is the same age as me. So we are of the same generation, but because she feels the need to justify her position and demonstrate that she is senior to me…[and] knows more than me,

> she is always condescending to me, finding fault with my work and nit-picking. This way, she elevates herself but puts me down. (Participant 41, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

When these participant quotes are analysed through a lens of intersectionality, it becomes evident that when age intersects with gender and social generation in the local workspace, young women belonging to Generation Y are most marginalised as they are believed to be incompetent, bossy and difficult to get along with. This finding highlights the importance of exploring diversity in the workspace through a lens of intersectionality, especially in South Africa, where social constructs such as race and gender tend to be examined as independent social constructs, rather than being examined as intersecting social constructs. The Employment Equity Act perpetuates this (Africa, 1998), which requires local firms of a particular size to report quantitatively on, amongst other things, the number of Black people, and the number of women that are in their employ in various echelons. The Employment Equity Act is centred solely on quantitative reporting and overlooks the opportunity to explore qualitatively the lived experiences of workers and the intersectionality of social constructs. This finding about women belonging to Generation Y might have gone unnoticed had this study not explored local social generations through a lens of intersectionality. This finding alludes to a potential need for more training for both 'young' women in leadership/management roles and for subordinates of 'young' managers, particularly young managers who are women. This finding may be useful to practitioners in human resources and diversity management, as well as scholars who examine intersectionality in South Africa.

The study also found Baby Boomer and Generation X participants to perceive Generation Y leaders/managers as 'disrespectful' and having 'a need to demonstrate their authority. Essentially, they said that they found it 'frustrating' when 'young managers' wanted 'things' done their way. Interestingly, Baby Boomer and Generation X participants did not perceive 'older managers' in this way, even though 'older managers' were also found to 'want things done their way'. Participants made comments such as the one below:

> Having young managers can be frustrating as they do not want to learn from those of us who have been here for many years, sometimes more years than they have been alive. Yet they expect us to take instructions from them and do things in a way that they want. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

This finding implies that the two older social generations are likely to meet 'young managers' with resistance, overtly or covertly. In fact, as per the previous finding, 'young managers', particularly 'young female managers', are also likely to find it difficult to work with 'older' subordinates. More research that explores how 'young' female leaders/managers experience 'older' subordinates in the local workspace is needed. However, This finding may be relevant to leadership and management practitioners who explore team dynamics to optimise productivity in the workspace.

Furthermore, the study found that whilst Baby Boomers and Generation X self-identified as being willing to 'teach' and to 'share' information with Generation Y, they believed that 'young managers' are unwilling to 'learn' from them, and instead expect the older social generations to 'take their instructions'. They also perceived young managers as 'naïve' and lacking the requisite skills and knowledge required within senior echelons in the workspace. Participants said the following to this effect:

> …the older generation has more skills and knowledge. The younger generation thinks [that] they have all the answers and more skills and knowledge, but it is because they are still naïve. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

To avoid being negatively perceived, 'young' managers may be reluctant to open themselves up to learn from subordinates who are older than they are and, instead, behave as if they do have 'all the answers'. This, in turn, may fuel the perception held by older subordinates that young leaders/managers are unwilling to 'learn' from them. This finding has at least two implications for human resource practitioners. First, it implies that in the local workspace, leaders/managers are expected to know as much as, if not more than, their subordinates do, making it challenging for young managers to 'learn' and 'teach' older subordinates. Second, it implies that rather than being understood as reciprocal processes, 'learning' is viewed as a process that young people undergo, whereas 'teaching' is viewed as a process that older people perform. As such, where 'teaching' is viewed as a top-down process where older people teach younger people, 'learning' is viewed as a bottom-up process where younger people learn from older people. Whilst the Eurocentric/Western conceptualisation of 'learning' and 'teaching' is that these are reciprocal, interdependent processes that flow top down and bottom up, regardless of age (Loughran, 2013; Sequeira, 2012; Sherin, 2002), this study found that in South Africa, these processes tend to be understood in relation to age.

The local conceptualisation of 'learning' and 'teaching' may stem from the African worldview influenced by Hlonipha (Luthuli, 2007) and respect for elders, where elders are more often than not placed in positions of authority and are seen as more knowledgeable than followers, who are invariably subordinates (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; Mbigi, 2007b). This finding may be useful to human resource practitioners in the local workspace as it indicates an opportunity 'for learning' and 'teaching' to be repositioned as two-way processes, where, irrespective of individual levels of seniority, young people can both teach and learn from older people in the workspace in the same way that older people may teach and learn from young people. To enhance effective teamwork, human resource practitioners may need to reinforce the importance of learning and teaching being understood as two-way processes so that institutional memory, which is commonly held by older people in the local workspace, may be shared with younger people to enhance their performance, and, likewise, skills honed by younger people may be shared with older people. Therefore, optimal working relations and effective social dynamics must exist between Generation Y leaders/managers and the two older social generations in the workspace.

Theme 4: The social being

Participants self-identified as being 'dynamic' and 'ready and willing to change' but felt 'constrained' in the workspace regarding what they 'can talk about'. They also said that they 'value ethics', are 'environmentally conscious', 'socially aware', and 'open to discussing social issues, like racism'.

> We are dynamic, ready, and willing to change. We enjoy technology and its use. We are more environmentally conscious than previous generations. (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> I think the younger generation is more socially aware and open to discussing social issues like racism. Still, the older generations tend to want to shy away from talking about these issues. They [older generations] want to avoid it and pretend it doesn't exist. We therefore experience the workplace differently. We feel constrained in terms of what we can talk about and can't. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

In addition, participants self-identified as being an 'inquisitive' social generation that is technologically advanced and 'struggling to find a cause to fight for' to make a difference as the older social generations have.

> We are seeking the next revolution – struggling to find a cause to fight for and to make a difference in the same way that other generations have; hence we see a flare-up of events like fees must fall. (Participant 48, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

This suggests that Generation Y feels the need to bring about social change regarding their political struggles, just as older social generations have in South Africa. To this effect, a participant quoted the 'fees must fall' movement, fuelled by university scholars who rebelled against paying student fees and against other rules set by academic institutions. This finding may be relevant to political leaders and the current ruling political party, as it demonstrates the appetite that young people have to lead processes of change and be associated with such changes.

As discussed previously, Black participants in the study described themselves as 'Slashers', saying that they needed multiple secondary jobs to supplement their income. White participants described themselves as feeling guilty and remorseful for the socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid. This finding suggests that local Generation Y does not self-identify as born free, nor is it a homogenous social generation, as studies portray it to be (Jonck et al., 2016; Mandhlazi et al., 2013; Mattes, 2012; Ronnie, 2018a, 2018b). Instead, it consists of Black and White generation units. Hence, as 'social beings', Generation Y may be described as a social generation burdened in different ways by the legacy effects of the socio-historic system of Apartheid in the country. Human resource and management practitioners should consider that the Black generation unit may experience fatigue due to juggling multiple jobs and, as such, should create employee wellness programmes that offer them greater support to establish a healthy work-life balance. Similarly, they should consider the emotional burden carried by the White generation unit and the fact that this generation unit represents a minority in the workspace and in the country. Accordingly, wellness and diversity management programmes should be created to facilitate understanding of Generation Y as social beings in the workspace and broadly in South Africa.

Theme 5: Use of technology

Whilst participants for this study commonly defined Generation Y as a social generation that is technologically advanced, 'networked' and 'reliant on technology', the study identified a digital divide amongst local Generation Y participants. The following quote by a Black Generation Y participant shows that technology use depends on one's access to technology in the first instance.

> …even though [the system of] Apartheid is over in South Africa, we as Generation Y still experience the effects of [the system] of Apartheid…They [White people] were more privileged than we [Black people] were, even when we were at school. I would take taxis to school, and they [White people] would be dropped off at the school gate. I would have to handwrite my assignments, and they would have access to computers and printers. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

This finding relates to the income inequalities in South Africa. It also relates to the growing gap between the rich and the poor in the country, which has resulted in a privileged generation unit within Generation Y and a historically disadvantaged generation unit within Generation Y (Bornman, 2016; Nyahodza & Higgs, 2017). In this regard, not all people belonging to Generation Y may be described as digital natives (Bennett, 2012; Brown & Czerniewicz, 2010; Klepek, 2000), and, as such, Generation Y is not a homogenous social generation. Instead, the study found that there are digital divides between both the 'young' and 'old' social generations, as well as between Black and White generation units within Generation Y. Hence, Generation Y in South Africa cannot be described wholly as digital natives, as studies tend to describe this generation. Instead, generation units within local Generation Y show that, decades post the demise of the system of Apartheid, the democratic government has failed to bridge

economic and digital divides in the country. It is argued that the democratic government has exacerbated poverty and other social ills in the country owing to maladministration and corruption through state capture (Alence & Pitcher, 2019; Madonsela, 2019; Martin & Solomon, 2016). Generation Y constitutes a significant portion of the country's population and, by default, a large constituency of the voters' roll in the country (Statistics South Africa, 2020b). It is therefore important for political leaders, amongst others, to better understand and address Generation Y's challenges in South Africa as 'young people'. Failing to do so may starve political leaders of much-needed support from a significant portion of the population to garner political power in the country.

Furthermore, the study found that of all the generations, Generation Y was the most au fait with the use of technology. Hence, in this regard, technology is an area in which 'young' people may 'teach' 'older people' in the workspace and, in so doing, reverse the conventional 'learning' and 'teaching' processes in which young people are perceived to learn and older people are perceived to teach.

Theme 6: Work ethic

Generation Y participants described their work ethic as 'hardworking', 'loyal', 'dedicated', and 'valuing ethics'. Some participants, however, believed that Black people were more hardworking than White people owing to 'societal pressure for Black people to perform'. The following quote has reference:

> We are constantly told that we were given opportunities and hence need to be successful and prove we are worthy of those opportunities, so we tend to make a lot of sacrifices and work very hard. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

In addition, Generation Y self-identified as being 'outspoken about issues' in the workspace and embracing the 'use of technology' to speed up decision-making. They further expressed 'wanting more flexibility' during the workday and wanting to be told 'what to do', but not 'how to do it'. However, as discussed, Baby Boomers and Generation X prefer a structured workspace where their subordinates do as they say. Hence, Generation Y participants felt they 'did not belong' in the workspace. They further expressed a desire to design a workspace different from current traditional workplaces – one that would allow them the flexibility to work from home, for example.

> I think the workplace is more geared toward the older generation because things still get done how they have always been. The way meetings are conducted, for example, have not changed. I am happy to have Skype meetings, but they want to sit across a table from the next person and find it offensive if we use our phones during this time. (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> The workplace was built by the older generation and the concept of a workplace is their idea. They [the older social generations] are therefore more comfortable here [in the workplace]. We, [the] younger generation, would design a completely different set-up [configuration of the workplace] if allowed the room to do so. We prefer to work from home. (Participant 46, Black Gen Y, GMA)

> …if the workplace had a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation [Generation Y]…we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels…old to us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

This finding suggests to human resources and management practitioners that when Generation Y obtains decision-making powers in the workspace, they are likely to re-design the workspace, allowing workers to work from home instead of working from a traditional workspace, for example. This preview of what workspace may begin to look

like in the future further offers town planners, amongst other key stakeholders, insight into the types of spaces that may be required, particularly as office spaces may become less popular. This finding is discussed in more detail with findings pertaining to research question three.

4.1.4.3 How was Generation Y defined by race?

As per Appendix 10, Tables 18 and 19, the study found that. In contrast, some themes that define the local Generation Y social generation differ by race; there are no differences by race about other themes. As such, similar to the local Baby Boomer and Generation X social generations, local Generation Y was also not defined homogeneously by Black or White participants. Participants' views differed by race in terms of the themes discussed below.

Theme 1: Diversity in the workspace

In terms of this particular theme, Black and White participants shared some views but not others. Similarly, not all Black participants, as an example, shared the same view, and, hence, the study found that Black and White generation units are not wholly homogenous. Some Black participants said that the White generation unit was racially prejudiced toward Black people. Some Black participants said that both Black and White South Africans belonging to Generation Y 'mix freely across race'. Both Black and White participants felt that Generation Y was constrained by the workspace design and that Generation Y prefers having flexible working hours rather than stringent rules since they were raised in families with few rules and more social engagement. They said Generation Y respects elders and is 'not afraid to talk about race'.

Whilst Black and White participants believed that Generation Y prefers older managers, believing older managers to be more experienced than young managers, White participants singled out women belonging to Generation Y and said that 'young female managers are incompetent' and difficult to work with. This finding implies that social relations between 'young females' and White South Africans may be strained in the workspace. The finding signifies to practitioners and scholars in diversity management the importance of examining social constructs through intersectionality rather than as individual social constructs. Failing to do so may result in the lived experiences of 'young females' in the workspace being overlooked. The fact that Black participants did not single out young or older women suggests that Black people may be more comfortable with women in leadership/management roles than White South Africans. One possible reason for this is that Black people may be aligned to African leadership styles, which are based on African cultures that extend to matriarchal societies as much as to patriarchal societies (Goettner-Abendroth, 2018; Sanday, 2002; Stafford, 2008; Weix, 2006), White South Africans may be aligned to Eurocentric/Western leadership styles, which are commonly based on patriarchal societies. Practitioners in human resources and diversity management may need to explore race further concerning leadership/management styles in South Africa. Where necessary, they could develop diversity management programmes that extend beyond building social cohesion in the workspace to explore the intersectionality of various social constructs to better understand the lived experiences of 'young managers', for example.

As discussed earlier, Black and White generation units were identified within Generation Y. The Black generation unit self-identified as 'Slashers' who have multiple jobs or 'side-hustles' to supplement their income to support their respective families financially, and the White generation unit self-identified as 'disadvantaged' by Employment Equity policies that they feel limit White South Africans from obtaining job opportunities. They further self-identified as a 'guilty' and 'remorseful' generation unit. This finding indicates to scholars who explore diversity

management and scholars who explore local social generations that the so-called Born Free social generation in South Africa is not a homogenous social generation, consisting of Black and White generation units.

Theme 2: The social being

Black participants described Generation Y as a social generation that works hard 'to escape poverty' and a social generation that is 'seeking the next revolution' and is eager to find a cause to fight. White participants said that they are environmentally conscious and impatient to get whatever it is that they want. Black participants said that they want to leave a legacy behind and feel the need to succeed as they have often been told that they have been 'given opportunities' that Black people were historically denied and must therefore 'prove' their capabilities. White participants said that Generation Y is not as respectful as older social generations are, and that Generation Y is immature and feels entitled, believing that 'they deserve more' than others do. This finding suggests that Generation Y compares itself to its predecessors, wanting to bring about social change in the country as Baby Boomers and Generation X have in terms of the transition from an Apartheid regime to a democratic regime. This finding may be useful to leaders in various sectors in the country as it may provide further insight into movements such as the 'fees must fall' movement in South Africa, which young people have led in the country.

4.1.4.4 How was Generation Y defined by case?

As per Appendix 10, Tables 20 and 21, and in terms of 'diversity in the workspace', participants from Bombela felt that White workers who are less qualified and experienced than Black workers earn more than Black workers do. They self-identified as 'Slashers' who undertake multiple jobs to supplement their primary income to support their families financially. They felt that Generation Y is a complicated social generation exposed neither wholly to racial segregation nor integration. Instead, they felt that Generation Y was 'in the middle' of these two regimes. Participants at GMA concurred with participants at Bombela. As explained earlier, they said that the Black generation unit is subjected to a Black tax from which the White generation unit is exempt. Participants from Bombela also felt that, in the workplace, 'the White culture is primary, and the Black culture is secondary'. One participant said that if the workplace is to be allocated a race, it would be White. If it had to be allocated a social generation, it would be a Baby Boomer, or Generation X, and not Generation Y. This comment shows the extent of the alienation that Generation Y, particularly Black workers belonging to Generation Y, may feel in the private sector. The study suggests that diversity management programmes in the private sector may be ineffective in bringing about parity in the workspace and that remuneration frameworks and recruitment practices may either be more favourable to White South Africans or perceived to be more favourable to White South Africans. Either way, more work is needed by human resource practitioners to explore perceptions that White South Africans earn more than their Black counterparts even though they have less experience and lower qualifications than Black workers. This is one difference in finding between the private and public sectors.

Participants from the GMA said that, in the workplace, they want to be told 'what to do' but not 'how to do it'. This may be why some Baby Boomer and Generation X participants perceived Generation Y as unwilling to 'learn' from them, feeling that 'Generation Y acts as if they have all the answers'. As mentioned earlier, Baby Boomer and Generation X participants self-identified with 'teaching', 'mentoring', and 'supporting' young people and appear to value teaching young people in the workspace. However, as stated, Generation Y participants from GMA said they do not want to be told what to do. The study distinguishes 'teaching' and 'telling', where teaching is seen as a reciprocal process that has a willing teacher and a willing learner, and 'telling' is defined by the study as a top-down process where there is no willingness on the part of the learner to be taught. As such, unless Generation Y requests to be taught, they appear unwilling to 'learn'. In fact, they appear to be eager to find their own ways of doing work,

rather than being told how to do it. This finding may be relevant to various practitioners in the workspace, as it highlights the need to create spaces and places where there is a greater understanding between and amongst social generations so that perceptions and, perhaps more importantly, misperceptions may be adequately addressed so that social relations and teamwork may be enhanced.

In terms of the theme 'use of technology', whilst participants from both cases felt that Generation Y is more technologically advanced than the older social generations are, participants from Bombela suggested that in as much that Generation Y is reliant on technology as a means of communication, they felt that, in South Africa, there is a digital divide by race. Participants felt that White South Africans are born into privilege and acquire financial inheritances, amongst others, which Black people are not privy to owing to their respective families being historically disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid. For example, they felt that their White counterparts have access to computers and printers, which many Black people did not have access to. Hence, the study accentuates the correlation between the local digital divide and access to modes of technology, with the finding that limited access to modes of technology contributes to creating a digital divide between the Black and White generation units in local Generation Y.

Participants from both cases defined local Generation Y similarly regarding the following themes. These findings have been discussed in previous sections and are therefore not repeated in this section.

- Leadership/management style
- Followership
- The social being
- Work ethic
- Workplace values

4.2 Findings pertaining to research question two and proposition two

Research question two: How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?

This study explored how race is experienced by Black and White participants from each local social generation in the workplace in South Africa. In answering this research question, the first section pertains to how Black and White Baby Boomers experience race, and the second and third sections pertain to how race is experienced by Black and White participants from Generation X and Generation Y, respectively. The findings per social generation are then further analysed by race, followed by case. This study adds local understandings of how Black and White South Africans experience race from each of the local social generations, and the study made four key findings in terms of this particular research question. Each of these findings is further elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.

First, the study found that race was not experienced homogenously by Black and White participants. Hence, race, like social generations, was not experienced homogenously in South Africa. Whereas Black and White generation units were identified within local social generations, shades of Blackness and Whiteness were identified amongst Black and White participants from each social generation. This finding may be useful to stakeholders such as local diversity management practitioners, who commonly perceive race as a static concept rather than a fluid social construct. One reason for this is that the practice inspired by leaders of the Apartheid regime in South Africa of categorising people by race according to physical attributes, such as skin colour, amongst other attributes, pervades procedures introduced by political leaders in present-day South Africa.

An example of this is that redress measures, supported by the Employment Equity Act (Africa, 1998), promote the practice of first and foremost classifying workers by race, gender, and other social constructs and then quantitatively reporting these numbers to various spheres of government as a measure of how transformed a firm may or may not be. The current political regime has tried to discount racial categorisation of people, preferring instead to refer to South Africans using terms that suggest unity, such as the 'nation', and, more particularly, the "rainbow nation" (Tutu, 2006), the lived experiences of Black and White participants indicate that the so-called rainbow nation is not homogenous. Instead, the rainbow nation consists of various shades of Blackness and Whiteness, each hierarchically layered by inequalities, with income inequality being one of the many types of inequalities experienced by Black and White participants. This finding leads to the second finding, as discussed below.

The second finding was that, in South Africa, race in the workspace tends to be examined quantitatively, primarily because of requirements stipulated by the Employment Equity Act (Africa, 1998), which compels firms to report quantitatively on the number of Black workers in various echelons within the firm, and, likewise, the number of women, and people with disabilities in the workspace. Firms, therefore focus on meeting quantitative quotas for compliance purposes in relation to the Employment Equity Act, and they focus on meeting these quantitative targets in isolation, without examining the lived experiences of Black and White workers. As such, as opposed to actively building a single rainbow nation, the political regime in the country today perpetuates racial classification of workers by legislating the quantitative reporting of people by race, amongst other social constructs, placing little to no emphasis on the lived experiences of workers in the country. An example of this finding is that, despite the local Generation Y social generation being termed 'Born Free', the study found that Black and White generation units co-exist within the local Generation Y. As such, the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans belonging to the local Generation Y social generation show that the Born Free social generation that has become a common currency for Generation Y in the country is not as homogenous as scholars and other stakeholders, consider it to be. Instead, the local Generation Y feels that Black and White South Africans belonging to Generation Y are burdened differently by the legacy of the Apartheid regime. Whilst the Black generation unit said that they incur a Black tax that their White counterparts are exempt from, the White generation unit said that they incur feelings of guilt and remorse for the socio-historic system of Apartheid, which they did not personally orchestrate.

Third, the study found that whilst 'othering' was a common practice amongst Black and White participants from the Baby Boomer and Generation X social generations, this practice was less common amongst Black and White participants from Generation Y. This finding seems to suggest that Generation Y is the most racially integrated into the workspace in present-day South Africa. This is despite the study finding Black and White generation units within the local Generation Y social generation, with participants feeling burdened by the legacy system of Apartheid. This finding suggests that in as much as there were intra-generational and inter-generational differences amongst local social generations, there were also intra-racial and inter-racial differences, real or perceived, between Black and White South Africans from each local social generation.

Finally, studies situated in diversity management have detailed many ways in which the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans differed during the Apartheid era in South Africa. As such, it is today common currency that Black and White South Africans experienced the socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid differently (Allanson & Atkins, 2005; Hoogeveen & Özler, 2005; Msimang, 2018; Mtose, 2011; Ratele & Laubscher, 2010). However, studies on social generations and, more particularly, local social generations often overlook the varied lived experiences of this socio-historic event by Black and White South Africans and instead discuss social generations as if they are homogenous groups of people that have had a similar experience of socio-historic events

in the country (Johnston, 2013; Makiwane, 2010; Makiwane, 2011). As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the theory of generations (Gilleard, 2004) postulates that shared experiences of socio-historic events are a key ingredient for forming social generations. However, studies show little consideration of how common socio-historic events, such as the system of Apartheid, may be experienced differently by Black and White South Africans to create generation units within social generations rather than to create homogenous social generations. By exploring the intersectionality of social generations with race, space, and place in South Africa, this study draws on participants' lived experiences to build a theoretical proposition that shows how race is experienced by Black and White South Africans from each of the local social generations. Each of these four findings listed above is discussed in more detail in the following sections.

4.2.1 How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from the Baby Boomer social generation?

A few participant quotes have been extracted from Appendix 11, Table 1, and Table 12 below, to show the analytical process followed to transition from empirical data to theoretical concepts.

Table 12: Themes that depict how Black and White South Africans from the Baby Boomer social generation experience race in the workspace

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
In the canteen, you can see how races are separated. We stick to our own	Socially races don't mix. People stick to own race.	Self-segregating	Lived experiences	Diversity in the workspace
Whites of the younger generation are more open to change. Seeing young people embrace each other so freely and easily, race aside, pleases me.	Young Whites are open to change. It is pleasing that young people embrace each other freely, race aside.	Being open Embracing		
Whites are still reluctant to change. I have seen many young White people display prejudice toward Blacks, which means that racism is still rife.	Whites still reluctant to change. I have seen young Whites display prejudice towards Blacks. Racism is rife.	Changing Prejudicing		
Young Black people are not as afraid as we are to talk about race. This is problematic to many Whites, especially of my generation, because Blacks were taught to be docile.	Young Blacks talk about race. Older Whites do not like Blacks to talk about race. Blacks were taught to be docile.	Talking Teaching		
I have no objection to being managed by a Black, provided he or she is competent and knows how to do the job.	No objection to being managed by a Black, provided he/she is competent and knows how to do the job.	Objecting Managing Knowing	Preference	Leadership/ management preference
I have had a better experience with professional Black managers who treated everyone equally and fairly as set out by company policy.	Better experience with Black managers who are professional, treat everyone equally, fairly, according to the company policy.	Treating		
I manage Black and White South Africans the same way. They should be competent, and they should therefore be managed the same.	I manage Black and White South Africans the same way They should be competent, and they should be therefore managed the same.	Managing		
Whites still benefit hugely at work because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us. As decision-makers, they still remain privileged over us Blacks.	Whites benefit at work. They are mostly in power, support each other, ensure Whites benefit over Blacks, are decision-makers. Whites remain privileged over Blacks.	Benefiting Supporting Privileging	White privilege	Racial discrimination and/or prejudice
With Employment Equity it's happening every day that Blacks have to be considered for jobs over Whites. I don't look at race but the best candidate always and the salaries are standard and assessed by HR	Due to EE, Blacks considered for jobs over Whites. Don't look at race, but the best candidate. Salaries assessed by HR.		Black privilege	
Blacks still experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. I can tell you it is not as prevalent or blatant as it was in the past, but it is still there	Blacks experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. Racism is not as prevalent/blatant as it was in the past, but it is still there	Experiencing	Prejudice	
…because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us	They are mostly in power, they support each other, ensure they benefit over us	Supporting Benefiting	Othering	Racial othering

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
Events like Apartheid has led to a fractured society and workplace. The damage done then is still reverberating through SA today. There has been change, but more change is needed.	Events like Apartheid led to a fractured society and workplace. The damage is reverberating through the country today. There has been change, but more change is needed More change is needed	Fracturing Damaging Reverberating Changing	Attributes	Transformation process
Every race is treated the same in the workplace and have access to everything and nothing is not restricted to a particular race. All benefits or privileges are the same for all.	All treated same in the workplace All benefits and privileges are the same for all Nothing is restricted to one race	Treating Benefiting Restricting		
We have a severe skills shortage in this country because the Whites with experience and knowledge have been moved out to make room for young, inexperienced Blacks who are unwilling to take lessons from us older folk. The result is that the workplace is less effective today than it was during Apartheid when the best person for the job, did the job.	Severe skills shortage in South Africa as Whites with experience and knowledge were moved to make room for young Blacks unwilling to take lessons from older Whites. As a result, the workplace is less effective today than during Apartheid when the best person did the job.	Learning		

The theoretical proposition (Carmichael & Cunningham, 2017) is based on the above five themes, suggesting that the local Baby Boomer social generation is not homogenous and consists of Black and White generation units. Whilst the Black generation unit participants feel that their White counterparts are privileged at work, the White generation unit participants likewise feel that their Black counterparts are privileged at work. As such, Baby Boomer participants said that they experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. In addition, participants said that whilst workers engage with each other professionally, they self-segregate and only socialise with people of their own race. In terms of 'leadership/management preference', while some participants said that they prefer Black managers, who they felt treat workers fairly, other participants made a correlation between the Black race and competence. They said they do not mind having a Black manager provided he or she is competent.

The lived experiences of Baby Boomer participants show that, in terms of 'diversity in the workspace', they feel that whilst people 'mix professionally', 'socially' they 'stick to their own race'. In addition, whilst some participants felt that White South Africans belonging to Generation Y were more 'open to change' than older people were and that they 'embrace each other' regardless of race, other participants felt that White South Africans belonging to Generation Y 'were reluctant to change' and 'display prejudice toward Blacks'. Participants also felt that the Black generation unit from Generation Y was 'not afraid to talk about race' and that this was 'problematic' for White Baby Boomers, who feel that Black workers should be 'docile'. In terms of 'leadership/management', Baby Boomer participants said that they 'had no objections to being managed by Black people', provided Black people are 'competent to do the job'. In this regard, participants commonly correlated between 'competence' and the race of Black leaders/managers. Some participants said they have had better experiences with Black managers than White managers, feeling that Black managers are 'professional' and treat workers 'equally and fairly', in line with the company policy. Regarding their personal 'leadership/management' approach, Baby Boomer participants said they manage all workers similarly.

Three categories described the theme of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice'. These were 'White privilege', 'Black privilege', and 'discrimination' in general. Some participants felt that White South Africans are privileged in the local workspace, and others felt that Black people are privileged. Participants also felt that 'Blacks experience racism' in the workspace, although racism is 'not as blatant as it was in the past'. The study found that participants were prone to 'racial othering' (Johnson et al., 2004; Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros, Airhihenbuwa, Simbayi, Ramlagan, & Brown, 2006) when discussing their views and, in this regard, participants often used terms such as 'they', 'us', 'we', and 'them'. White participants associated the 'transformation process' in the country with

Employment Equity policies, which they said disadvantaged White South Africans and created a 'skills shortage' in the country as 'Whites with experience and knowledge' are replaced by 'young, inexperienced Blacks'. Black participants considered the 'transformation process' in the country as a necessary remedy to repair the damage caused by the socio-historic system of Apartheid, and participants felt that 'more change was needed' in South Africa. Some participants, Black and White alike, felt that the 'transformation process' has brought about positive changes in the workspace and that all workers, irrespective of race, are 'treated the same'. Each of the themes mentioned above is discussed in more detail below.

Theme 1: Diversity in the workspace

Baby Boomer participants felt that Black and White workers collaborate professionally to get the work done but that they do not socialise with each other. Some participants felt that language, culture, food, and religion differentiated Black and White South Africans from each other and the following quotes bear reference:

> Blacks and whites will always be different to each other, and I think we need to stop trying to make us the same. We should accept that we are different and will experience life differently. (Participant 15, White, BB, BOM)

> We speak the same language, have the same culture and religion. We just relate better to each other. Even the food that we eat is different. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

On the contrary, some participants believed that culture differs even within the same race and depends on one's physical locale. As such, as per the quote below, some participants felt that culture does not create homogenous race groups but instead depends on where people live in the country.

> …But culture also differs within the same race depending on where one was located. A Black from [the province of KwaZulu Natal] KZN differs from a Black in [the province of] Gauteng. The same applies to Whites. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

Essentially, the study found that Baby Boomers do not experience race homogenously. Hence, in as much as there are intra-generational differences within and amongst social generations, there are perceived intra-racial and inter-racial differences in terms of how Baby Boomers experience race in the local workspace. As an example, whilst some Baby Boomer participants felt that the White generation unit from Generation Y was more 'open to change' than older people were, some Baby Boomer participants felt that the White generation unit from Generation Y was 'reluctant to change' and that they were 'prejudiced toward Blacks'. Baby Boomer participants described the Black generation unit from Generation Y as not being afraid to 'talk about race' and they said that Baby Boomers experience this as 'problematic' as they feel that Black workers should be 'docile'.

As per the findings and discussion of the findings pertaining to research question one, participants commonly referred to either Baby Boomers or Generation Y and in so doing, overlooked Generation X. Hence, in terms of 'diversity in the workspace', Baby Boomer participants discussed their perceptions of Generation Y without mention of Generation X. One reason for this is that 'young people' belonging to Generation Y is often seen to represent the future and, as such, they serve as a crystal ball that provides a glimpse into the future and what it may look like once 'young people' get older and begin to occupy leadership roles across the private and public sectors in the country. By discussing how they experience Generation Y in relation to 'diversity in the workspace', Baby Boomers indicated how hopeful or hopeless they feel with regard to transformation efforts in the country. Essentially, participants said that White South Africans carry guilt for the Apartheid regime, whether or not they

discriminated against Black workers, and participants also felt that owing to Employment Equity policies, jobs are reserved for Blacks, disadvantaging White workers. This finding is later discussed in more detail, together with the theme of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice'.

Theme 2: Leadership/management

The study made two key findings with regard to the theme of 'leadership/management'. First, some participants correlated the Black race with incompetence, saying that Black people are appointed to positions to 'tick off a scorecard' for Employment Equity purposes. Second, the study found that whilst some participants said that they do not have a preference for a Black or White leader/manager, some participants said that they prefer Black managers, who they feel are more nurturing and supportive than White managers. Whilst these two findings are listed above as if they are separate, they are intertwined and are discussed below.

With regard to the first finding, on the one hand, some participants said that they treat all workers in the same way, irrespective of race, as subordinates are expected to be competent, and that they do not have a preference for either a Black or a White leader/manager provided that he or she is competent. On the other hand, some participants said they lead/manage subordinates differently, depending on their needs. The following quotes bear reference:

> I manage all [workers] the same irrespective of race because I believe [that] we are all human and [are] all wanting the same thing – opportunities. Employment Equity [policies] denies Whites opportunities; I don't think this is fair. (Participant 2, Black, BB, BOM)

> I manage Black and White South Africans in the same way. They should be competent, and they should therefore be managed [in] the same [way]. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

In addition, some participants preferred Black managers, saying that Black managers treat everyone equally and fairly. In contrast, some participants preferred White managers, saying that, in their experience, Black managers are incompetent, lazy, undeserving of their position, unsure of themselves, and take longer, presumably than White managers, to take decisions. Some participants, however, said that they do not mind the race of their leader/manager, provided that he or she is competent. The study found that participants drew a correlation between the Black race and competence or incompetence.

Participants made two opposing arguments pertaining to perceptions of Black competence or incompetence. On the one hand, some participants said that Black managers are 'incompetent', 'lazy', and underserving of their positions, as per the quotes below:

> I had two Black managers thus far; in my experience, both were highly incompetent, lazy, and not deserving of their position[s]. I prefer to be managed by a White person not because of his or her race but because I know that they [White managers] are in that position to get the job done, [and] not to tick-off a scorecard for Employment Equity. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

> I don't mind whether I am managed by a Black or White person so long as the person is capable and qualified. However, Black managers tend to be a bit unsure of themselves and take longer to take crucial decisions. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

On the other hand, some participants expressed a preference for Black managers, believing Black managers to be more supportive and understanding than White managers are, and participants said the following:

> The older ones are degrading, treating us like we cannot think. They think we are incompetent simply because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks because we have travelled the same hard journey together. We just need an opportunity to hold senior roles at work to show our ability. (Participant 1, Black, BB, BOM)

> Being managed by Blacks is easier because we understand each other's plight and don't try to undermine each other. Whites still undermine us [Blacks] even when we [Blacks] are their junior at work. (Participant 10, Black, BB, GMA)

> I have had a better experience with Black managers… [Black managers] were professional and treated everyone equally and fairly, as set out by company policy. (Participant 12, White, BB, BOM)

Ironically, the study found that whilst participants preferred to be managed by Black managers, they perceived Black managers to be (in)competent in relation to White managers and believed that Black people were employed to meet Employment Equity quotas rather than for their skills and abilities. The study presents the word 'incompetent' as '(in)competent' to depict the cynicism expressed by participants who opted to question the competence and capability of Black workers without necessarily unequivocally saying that Black workers are incompetent. This finding may be of interest and of use to diversity management practitioners and human resource practitioners, who are tasked with establishing social cohesion and optimal teamwork in the workspace.

Furthermore, the study found that White managers 'favour Whites' and 'discriminate against Blacks'. The following quotes are relevant in this regard:

> A White manager recently told me that he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. One can imagine the level of prejudice that Blacks in his team are subjected to. Racist attitudes cannot be stopped by a Constitution, no matter how great that Constitution is. White capital monopoly is a reality in South Africa. The bulk of our wealth remain in White hands and these same Whites will complain that there are no jobs for Whites in South Africa. (Participant 8, Black, BB, GMA)

> Whites still tend to favour Whites. Whilst there are rules [in the workplace], the exception to the rule applies to Whites. (Participant 5, Black, BB, BOM)

Statistically, the White minority in South Africa is over-represented in senior echelons in the workspace. Approximately 70% of the top jobs in the country (Statistics South Africa, 2020a) are occupied by White South Africans. This statistic indicates that, contrary to the view that Employment Equity policies 'disadvantage' White South Africans and 'limit' White South Africans from acquiring jobs, White South Africans are privileged by occupying top jobs in the country. This finding is discussed in more detail in the following section, which explores the theme 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice'. However, at this point, it is noteworthy that Employment Equity policies and the quantitative reporting of Employment Equity quotas have failed to change the demographics of the workforce to resemble the demographics of the country. Instead, workers' lived experiences, which are overlooked by Employment Equity policies, indicate that White South Africans perceive Employment Equity policies as a punishment, and Black South Africans perceive it as necessary to create opportunities for Black people in the workspace. This finding may be of interest and of use to politicians and other key stakeholders who rely on

Employment Equity statistics to bring about equality in the workspace and create equal opportunities for Black and White South Africans.

Some scholars argue that Employment Equity policies are based on a hypocritical, race-based system that is unjust. They suggest that the system not only contradicts the Constitution, as it does not provide 'equal opportunity' for all workers, but is also ineffective in addressing joblessness and poverty in the country, which would be more effectively addressed by a system that adopts an 'equal opportunity' approach rather than current Employment Equity policies (Oppenheimer, Kok, Cronje, & Jeffery, 2014). Whilst the study concurs that Employment Equity policies should be built on principles of 'equal opportunity', it urges diversity management practitioners, and human resource practitioners to consider developing and implementing effective diversity management programmes that seek to socially re-construct the Black race, in the workspace and elsewhere in South Africa, to debunk myths that Black people are (in)competent and that Employment Equity policies limit White South Africans from acquiring jobs.

Theme 3: Racial discrimination and/or prejudice

The theme 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' was described by the categories of 'discrimination', 'White privilege', and 'Black privilege'. Participants felt that Black workers are discriminated against in the workspace and experience subtle racism.

> …they [White people] still tend to discriminate in any way possible. It's less obvious today but it is still prevalent. (Participant 9, Black, BB, GMA)

> A White manager recently told me he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. One can imagine the level of prejudice that Blacks in his team are subjected to. Racist attitudes cannot be stopped by a Constitution, no matter how great that Constitution is. White capital monopoly is a reality in South Africa. The bulk of our wealth remains in White hands and these same Whites will complain that there are no jobs for Whites in South Africa. (Participant 8, Black, BB, GMA)

This finding suggests to diversity and management practitioners that more work is needed to mitigate 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' effectively in the workspace. The fact that Black workers experienced discrimination in the workspace decades after the demise of the Apartheid regime suggests that democracy in itself has been ineffective in levelling the playing field in the country (Allanson & Atkins, 2005; Msimang, 2018; Mtose, 2011; Ntshoe, 2009). Employment Equity quotas and quantitative reporting may have increased Black representation across various echelons in the workspace, but they overlook workers' lived experiences of the quota system and the workspace. Diversity management practitioners should gather and examine workers' lived experiences together with quantitative reports on the quota system to develop plans to improve workers' lived experiences.

The study further found that participants felt that Black and White South Africans are privileged in different ways. While some participants felt that White South Africans are privileged, others felt that Black people are privileged. As per the quotes below, participants described the workspace as being more familiar to White workers than to Black workers and said that White workers earn more than their Black counterparts. Participants also said that White people occupy top jobs and positions of authority in the workspace and that White people favour White people over Black people. In these ways, participants felt that White people are privileged in the workspace.

> Whites still benefit hugely at work because they are primarily in power, and they [White people] support each other and ensure that they [White people] benefit over us [Black people]. As decision-makers, they [White people] remain privileged over us Blacks. (Participant 1, Black, BB, BOM)

> I think that the workplace remains more familiar to Whites. Many of my Black colleagues are first in their families to be in management or executive positions. This tells me that they must experience the workplace as new. (Participant 17, White, BB, GMA)

Statistically, White South Africans are over-represented in top jobs in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2019), and there is income inequality between Black and White South Africans in the country (Allanson & Atkins, 2005; Allanson, Atkins, & Hinks, 2002; Mwabu & Schultz, 2000). However, little emphasis is placed on how workers experience White privilege in the present-day workspace. Remuneration frameworks and diversity management programmes tend to focus on building social cohesion (Allanson et al., 2002; Mwabu & Schultz, 2000), which was necessary during the early days when the country experienced a transition from the Apartheid era to the democratic era. Decades later, whilst there is a need for social cohesion to be enhanced, diversity management practitioners should expand their focus to examine remuneration frameworks and the lived experiences of all workers. Employment Equity measures have been ineffective in bringing about racial equality in the most senior echelons in the workspace, and neither have they been effective in bringing about pay parity in the workspace. Diversity management practitioners should therefore consider complementing their efforts to meet Employment Equity quotas with plans to create positive lived experiences in the workspace for all workers. They can achieve this by ensuring that there is pay parity and that the senior echelons in the workspace are neither wholly Black nor wholly White and, instead, racially representative of the country's demographics.

In terms of Black privilege, participants said that in the workspace today, jobs are reserved for Black South Africans because of Employment Equity policies. As such, participants perceived South Africa's race-based policy of Employment Equity to 'favour' Black workers over White workers.

> There is no excuse for saying that one race is treated better. If anything, Blacks [people] are more favoured. My son can't get a job in this country because he is White. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

> ...the workplace is divided along race lines. Jobs are reserved for Blacks [people]. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

Studies in diversity management often explore White privilege (Davids et al., 2021; Donnelly et al., 2005; Halvorsrud, 2019; McIntosh, 1988; Pulido, 2000; Swartz, Arogundade, & Davis, 2014) and overlook Black privilege. As a result, privilege is commonly associated with the White race. Similarly, (in)competence is commonly associated with the Black race. In present-day South Africa, democracy is perceived to be non-racial, and the Employment Equity policies, which stem from this perceived non-racial democracy, are built on a quota system that is ironically misaligned with the principle of 'equal opportunity', as enshrined in the Constitution. From this misalignment comes the perception that Black people are privileged by Employment Equity measures (Horwitz & Jain, 2011; Mayer, Oosthuizen, & Tonelli, 2019; Oosthuizen & Naidoo, 2010). In this regard, the study found that despite White South Africans statistically occupying the majority of top jobs in the country, White people feel that Employment Equity policies advantage Black people. Just as Employment Equity quotas have failed to bring about racial parity, particularly at senior levels in the workspace, the statistics that show that White people are in fact overrepresented in top jobs in the country have failed to debunk the myth that Black people are privileged by Employment Equity policies in the country. This study suggests that race should be explored both quantitatively

and qualitatively so that the lived experiences of Black and White South Africans are not discounted at the expense of quantitative reporting on Employment Equity quotas. The statistical reporting of Employment Equity quotas has failed to bring about racial parity in the workspace, and diversity management practitioners should therefore explore workers' lived experiences to identify and address perceptions of Black and White privilege effectively.

One way in which diversity management practitioners may begin to address Black or White privileges is through the social re-construction of race so that race may be understood as a social construct rather than in terms of physiognomy (Dunham, Stepanova, Dotsch, & Todorov, 2015; Stepanova, Dunham, Rex, & Hagiwara, 2021; Stepanova & Strube, 2012a, 2012b; Twine, 2002). Until race is socially re-constructed in South Africa, discrimination will prevail, leading some scholars to ponder whether there indeed can be a non-racial democracy in the country (Farred, 2006).

Theme 4: Racial Othering

As shown in some of the quotes presented in the sections above, participants were prone to using 'racial othering' (Johnson et al., 2004; Papadopoulos, 2009) and terms such as 'they', 'us', 'we', and 'them'.

…because they [Whites] are primarily in power, and they [White people] support each other and ensure that they [White people] benefit over us. The older ones [White people] are degrading, and they [older White people] treat us [Black people] as if we [Black people] cannot think. They [White people] think [that] we [Black people] are incompetent simply because of our skin colour. (Participant 1, Black, BB, BOM)

I am tired of hearing how they [Black people] have been the victims. They [Black people] need to take responsibility for their lives now and show us [White people] that they [Black people] are capable. Instead, they [Black people] still plead they [Black people] are victims. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

These quotes demonstrate that participants view race as a differentiator between and amongst people rather than as a pliable social construct. Political leaders during both the historical colonial and Apartheid eras in South Africa have contributed to this view through their use of divide-and-rule tactics (Bethke, 2011; Dixon et al., 2015), which centred on a 'we' versus 'them' ideology in order to garner control and a series of White privileges (Adhikari, 2005; Anderson, 2003; Ettang, 2014). This study found that 'racial othering' (Johnson et al., 2004; Papadopoulos, 2009) is prevalent even now, some decades after the demise of the Apartheid regime. South Africa is racially fragmented as opposed to being a "rainbow nation" (Tutu, 2006), as many current political leaders persevere with divide-and-rule tactics, using race to sow division between and amongst citizens to gain publicity, votes, power, and a series of Black privileges, much the same way that White political leaders have historically done so.

Race, and race-based politics (Adams-Jack, 2015; Africa, 2015) form a cornerstone of the political fraternity in the country, and there is little to no appetite for White political leaders today, as much as there was historically for Black political leaders. Also similar to the past political regimes, women and young people remain on the outskirts of the loci of political power. Political leaders within the leading ANC and various other political parties tend to be Black male Baby Boomers whose lived childhood experiences have been defined by the struggle movements in the country. Whites (men and women), Black women, and young Black and White South Africans have limited opportunities to lead in the most senior political echelons in the country. In contrast, in the workspace, leaders tend to be White male Baby Boomers. Like political parties, women and young people tend to be underrepresented in leadership/management positions in the workspace.

Therefore, in South Africa, whilst Black male Baby Boomers lead the public sector, White male Baby Boomers lead the private sector. This finding is discussed in more detail in the upcoming section that explores how Generation Y experiences race in the workspace in South Africa. Relevant here, however, is that in as much as the study found that participants were prone to 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006), it also discovered that participants were prone to 'othering' social generations. As Section 4.2 detailed the findings pertaining to research question one, participants referred to 'young' and 'old' people, with 'young people' othering 'old people' and 'old people' othering 'young people'. Othering, and, in particular, 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006), presents diversity management practitioners, and a host of other key stakeholders, with an opportunity to re-construct race in South Africa so that diversity management programmes may extend beyond exploring race in the workspace to include re-constructing race. This finding may also be of relevance to diversity management practitioners, as well as human resource practitioners, as they are tasked with establishing social cohesion in the workspace and, to do so, 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006) must be curtailed. Therefore, Diversity management practitioners should consider expanding on diversity management programmes that explore race in the workspace to re-construct race or demonstrate that race is a social construct rather than a differentiator. Similarly, this finding may be of relevance to political leaders and advisers to politicians as it shows that the lived experiences of Baby Boomers are not reflective of a rainbow nation.

Theme 5: Transformation process

Participants described the 'transformation process' in the country and in workspaces. Some participants believed that the 'transformation process' has brought about positive changes in the workplace and that all workers, irrespective of race, are 'treated the same'. Some participants were less complimentary of the 'transformation process' and said that 'more change was needed' to resolve the adverse legacy effects of the Apartheid regime effectively. Some participants felt that the transformation process had been 'hijacked' along the way by 'nay-sayers', effectively delaying the transformation process.

> I like to say [that] we are still in the act of transforming. But transformation has not fully and truly happened as yet. I don't think I will see true transformation in my lifetime. The process has been hijacked many times by nay-sayers, [and] by right-wing believers and this has made the process that much longer. (Participant 4, Black, BB, BOM)

Participants further felt that the 'transformation process' has adversely affected Black and White South Africans in two different ways. Some participants expressed that it has created a skills shortage in the country as 'Whites with experience and knowledge' are replaced by 'young, inexperienced Blacks', resulting in firms being 'less effective today than they were during [the] Apartheid' regime. Other participants felt that Black people continue to be 'discriminated' against in the workspace, and that White people predominately occupy top jobs.

> Whilst democracy has happened in principal and in policy, the practice is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still remains White-dominated. This shows that the workplace is still geared toward Whites. (Participant 3, Black, BB, BOM)

Herein, the study identifies two opposing views. One view is that White South Africans are displaced in the workspace to accommodate Black South Africans, and the other view is that Black South Africans are disadvantaged as White South Africans commonly occupy top jobs. Statistically, White South Africans are overrepresented in the senior echelons in the workspace (Statistics South Africa, 2019), and having access to Employment Equity statistics for more than two decades has done little to change this status quo. The study,

therefore, recommends that politicians, government officials, and diversity management practitioners, amongst other key stakeholders, consider embracing a mixed approach to evaluating the effectiveness of employment equity measures. In so doing, they will be able to complement the current practice of quantitative reporting on race with a qualitative approach so that workers' lived experiences may be considered in conjunction with the quantitative data on Employment Equity. By bridging the "quantitative-qualitative divide" (Venkatesh, Brown, & Bala, 2013) and exploring Employment Equity in the workspace using a mixed-methods approach (Amaratunga, Baldry, Sarshar, & Newton, 2002), this may provide leaders in the workspace with additional sources of data that they may utilise to create workspaces and workplaces that are experienced as inclusive by both Black and White South Africans alike.

Instead, for more than two decades, the Employment Equity Act (Africa, 1998), promulgated in the late 1990s, has been an instrumental tool used to remedy the inequalities in the workspace created by the socio-historic system of Apartheid. However, as participants pointed out, whilst top jobs are predominantly occupied by White South Africans, White South Africans believe that, owing to Employment Equity measures, White South Africans have 'limited' opportunities in the workspace and therefore emigrate from South Africa in search of jobs. In this sense, Employment Equity measures have had limited success in remedying the inequalities in the workspace and creating spaces and places where White South Africans feel a sense of belonging. Reporting on race solely in quantitative terms diminishes and minimises the lived experiences of workers, and rather than creating social cohesion, the lived experiences of workers are polarised. Since employers are not required to gather and report on qualitative findings, workers' lived experiences go untold. It is important to give voice to the Employment Equity statistics by exploring them in conjunction with the lived experiences of workers. This may help present a more complete picture of the employment equity landscape in the country to leaders in the public and private sectors. This holistic picture of the Employment Equity landscape in the workspace may prompt leaders to develop and implement additional effective Employment Equity measures focused on creating inclusive spaces and places for all workers. When this happens, workers' lived experiences of transformation efforts in the country will likely improve.

Similarly, as with Employment Equity statistics, emigration statistics also tend to be solely reported on in quantitative terms, neglecting the lived experiences of citizens and the very lived experiences that may inform citizens' decisions to emigrate from the country. To sustain and grow the country's economy, leaders in the public and private sectors must retain skills and guard against loss of skills in the country. It is therefore important for Employment Equity measures to be evaluated together with the lived experiences of Black and White workers for leaders to be equipped to enhance the 'transformation process' in the country so that it may yield more positive lived experiences for Black and White workers. Furthermore, to build a "rainbow nation" (Tutu, 2006), as the ruling political party committed itself to doing some two decades ago, White South Africans must be retained in South Africa if South Africa is truly to "belong to all who live in it", as stated in the Constitution of the country.

4.2.1.1 Findings by race

As per Appendix 11, Tables 2 and 3, and based on responses by Black and White participants, the study found that whilst Black and White Baby Boomers shared similar views with regard to some themes, their views differed with regard to other themes. Baby Boomer participants' views differed by race in terms of the themes described below.

Diversity in the workspace:

The lived experiences of Black and White Baby Boomers in the workspace differed. Black Baby Boomer participants felt that White South Africans are privileged by occupying top jobs, earning more than their Black counterparts,

and having authority and power in the workspace. In contrast, White participants felt that Black South Africans are privileged by Employment Equity policies that 'limit' White South Africans from acquiring jobs over incompetent Black South Africans. Black participants further expressed feeling racially discriminated against by White counterparts, who they said, 'carry racist prejudice and are unlikely to change'. White participants, however, said that Black people view White people 'as perpetrators' of the system of Apartheid and said that they feel guilty for this. Black participants said that they feel that White people perceive Black people to be incompetent because of their Black skin colour and they said that, if allowed to occupy top jobs, Black people would demonstrate their capabilities to occupy such jobs.

The study identified a contradiction whereby White participants who preferred being managed by Black managers equally believed that Black South Africans were incompetent. This contradiction has two possible reasons, depending on how one analyzes it. First, participants may have been disingenuous when they preferred a Black manager to conceal their racial prejudice. Second, participants may have genuinely preferred a Black manager but unconsciously re-articulated a stereotype that has become common currency in many parts of the world: Black South Africans are incompetent. Whatever the reason, race in South Africa should be socially re-constructed to decimate stereotypes such as Black incompetence (Andreasen, 2000; Dorris, 2009; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). The belief that Black South Africans are incompetent stems from a White superiority complex (Hansen, 2007; Simmons, 2010) that was orchestrated by the system of Apartheid to inculcate the view that White people are superior to Black South Africans (Davids et al., 2021; Ebert & Pillay, 2022; Tochluk, 2013). Baby Boomers, Black and White alike have first-hand experience with such teachings, which shaped how they conceptualise race. The White superiority complex is not genetic and cannot be biologically passed down from one social generation to the next. Instead, White superiority is an ideology taught (Manning, 2004; Tochluk, 2013). For Baby Boomers to change their perceptions of the Black race, and for ideologies of White superiority to change, race must be socially re-constructed in the country. Diversity management practitioners and political leaders in the country should consider how race may be socially reconstructed in the country so that perceptions such as Black incompetence may begin to dissipate.

Black and White Baby Boomer participants felt that Black and White South Africans collaborate to get work done but do not socialise with each other. The reasons provided for this differed by race. Whereas Black Baby Boomers believed that their White counterparts were racially prejudiced and did not 'mix freely' with Black South Africans, White Baby Boomers felt that language, culture, and food differentiated Black and White South Africans, resulting in people self-segregating. Herein the study identifies a misunderstanding between Black and White Baby Boomers. Whilst Black Baby Boomers may perceive their White counterparts to be racially prejudiced and unlikely to 'mix' with Black South Africans, White Baby Boomers feel that they share 'culture', 'food', and 'language' in common with fellow White people and are therefore more comfortable about socialising with White people. Given their lived experiences of the system of Apartheid, Baby Boomer participants are suspicious of each other and likely to interpret their experiences in present-day South Africa against the backdrop of their experiences of the Apartheid regime. Diversity management programmes in the workspace commonly adopt a one-size-fits-all approach and train workers in diversity management as if all workers have the same or similar lived experiences and as if all workers have the same or similar developmental gaps pertaining to diversity management. Given Baby Boomers' socio-historic lived experiences of the system of Apartheid, diversity management practitioners should consider compiling and implementing tailor-made diversity management programmes that focus on the precise needs of each particular social generation, as opposed to implementing generic diversity management programmes that may be ineffective in building and establishing relations of trust between Black and White South Africans in the workspace.

Transformation process:

White Baby Boomers associate the transformation process with Employment Equity policies and see it as a form of punishment and guilt for the Apartheid regime. Black Baby Boomers feel that the transformation process is a necessary remedy to redress the imbalances caused by the Apartheid regime. In this regard, participants differ in terms of their views of the transformation process in the country. White Baby Boomers felt alienated in present-day South Africa and said they felt the need to emigrate from the country as there is no space for White people in democratic South Africa. Black South Africans, in turn, expressed a similar sense of alienation in the workspace where White people occupy positions of power and authority. In this regard, the study found a correlation between the race of leaders, be it leaders in the private or public sector, and the experiences that Black and White South Africans have in these spaces led by these respective leaders. Hence, the experiences of spaces in the workspace and elsewhere in South Africa are a function of leadership in these spaces. This finding may be of interest and of relevance to leaders and practitioners in human resources and diversity management, as it indicates that diverse leadership teams in the workspace and in government may aid in creating spaces in which Black and White South Africans feel a sense of belonging.

Racial discrimination and/or prejudice:

On the one hand, Black participants expressed feeling racially discriminated against in the workspace, which they said is led by White people who favour and support White South Africans over Black South Africans. On the other hand, White participants expressed feeling disadvantaged by Employment Equity policies, which they said favour Black South Africans over White South Africans. In addition, White participants said that White people emigrate from South Africa in search of 'safer, better futures for themselves and their families', feeling that corruption in the country is an indication of Black South Africans having a 'sense of entitlement and wanting to have everything given to them'. In contrast, Black participants said that if allowed to occupy top jobs that tend to be occupied by White people, Black people would prove their competence and ability to occupy such jobs successfully.

The study found that whereas race-based politics and Employment Equity policies in the country are perceived to favour and advantage Black people to the detriment of White people, White peoples greater earning and positional power in the workspace in relation to Black people is perceived to favour and advantage White people to the detriment of Black people. In this regard, Black and White participants expressed varied lived experiences of race in present-day South Africa. Furthermore, concerning the Black lived experiences of both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid regimes in the country, little is known about the White lived experiences of both these regimes. Studies often explore the Black lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in South Africa in the context of White privilege, where White people are portrayed as perpetrators of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' (Diala, 2001; Durrant, 2013) and Black South Africans as victims of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' (Moodley & Adam, 2000; Mwabu & Schultz, 2000; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Posel, 2001; Seekings, 2008). This finding may be useful for scholars in diversity management as it suggests an opportunity for scholars to add White lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in South Africa to the body of knowledge, which currently centres on the Black lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the country.

Leadership/management:

The study made two key findings with regard to the theme 'leadership/management'. The first finding pertains to Black and White participants' respective leadership/management style. While Black and White participants both said that they manage all workers in the same way, irrespective of their subordinates' race, White participants

went further to qualify their view by adding reference to subordinates' competence. The second finding pertains to the perception by some White participants that Black managers are incompetent and are appointed to 'tick-off a score sheet' for Employment Equity purposes. Both these findings overlap and are intertwined and are discussed in conjunction below.

About the first finding, Black and White participants said the following respectively:

> I manage all [workers] the same irrespective of race because I believe we are all human and all wanting the same thing – opportunities. Employment Equity [policies] denies Whites opportunities; I don't think this is fair. (Participant 2, Black, BB, BOM)

> I manage Black and White South Africans the same way. They should be competent, and they should therefore be managed the same. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

As revealed in the above quotes, White Baby Boomer participants made a correlation between the competence of subordinates and their personal 'leadership/management' style, stating that subordinates ought to be competent and, for this reason, managed in the same way. White participants not only said that they lead/manage subordinates in the same way, expecting subordinates to be competent; they also said that, in terms of race, they do not have a preference for a leader/manager, provided that he or she is competent to lead/manage them. In these ways, White participants accentuated the aspect of competence, be it the competence of Black subordinates or the competence of Black leaders/managers. It is, however, noteworthy that some White participants expressed a preference for Black managers. The following quotes bear reference:

> I don't mind whether my manager is Black or White. What matters is that he[/she] is competent to be my boss. (Participant 15, White, BB, BOM)

> I have had a better experience with Black managers… [Black managers] were professional, and treated everyone equally and fairly, as set out by company policy. (Participant 12, White, BB, BOM)

Black participants also expressed a preference for Black managers, believing Black managers to be more supportive and understanding than White managers, and participants said the following:

> The older ones are degrading, treating us like we cannot think. They think we are incompetent simply because of our skin colour. Black South Africans are more supportive of Black South Africans because we have travelled the same hard journey together. We just need an opportunity to hold senior roles at work to show our ability. (Participant 1, Black, BB, BOM)

> Being managed by Blacks [people] is easier because we understand each other's plight and don't try to undermine each other. Whites still undermine us [Black people] even when we [Black people] are their junior at work. (Participant 10, Black, BB, GMA)

These findings once more accentuate the need for race to be socially re-constructed in South Africa so that White superiority complexes may be eliminated together with perceptions of Black (in)competence. This finding may therefore be of relevance to diversity management practitioners.

Black and White participants shared the theme of racial othering in common and the findings with regard to this theme have been discussed in previous sections and are therefore not repeated here.

4.2.1.2 Findings by case

As per Appendix 11, Tables 4 and 5, and based on responses by Baby Boomer participants, the study found that Baby Boomers from both cases shared similar views for some themes, and different views for others. Baby Boomer participants' views differed by case in terms of the themes outlined below.

In terms of the theme 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice', whilst participants from both cases felt that White privilege and discrimination were prevalent in the workspace, participants from GMA added that Black privilege was equally prevalent in the workspace and, in this regard, Black and White Baby Boomers' views with regard to 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' differed by case. The study found that White Baby Boomers in the private sector either do not experience Black privilege or did not make reference to it, whereas White Baby Boomers in the public sector do so. One possible reason for this difference in views may pertain to the racial profile of leaders in the private and public sectors. In the private sector in South Africa, leaders tend to be White, and, in the public sector, leaders tend to be Black. Hence, White Baby Boomers may feel excluded from the senior echelons in the public sector similarly to Black South Africans who feel excluded from senior echelons in the private sector. This finding is discussed in more detail in the following section, which details and discusses how Generation X experiences race in the workspace in present-day South Africa. At this juncture, though, it is noteworthy that this finding may be useful for diversity management practitioners and human resource practitioners who are responsible for effectively eliminating 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the country's workspace.

Participants from both cases experience race similarly in terms of the following themes and these findings have been discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3.1 and are not repeated here.

- Diversity in the workspace
- Leadership/management style
- Racial othering
- Transformation process.

4.2.2 How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from the Generation X social generation?

Table 13 below presents some participant quotes that have been extracted from Appendix 11, Table 6, to show the analytical process followed to transition from empirical data to theoretical concepts.

Table 13: Themes that depict how Black and White South Africans from the Generation X social generation experience race in the workspace

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
I find that Blacks are generally abled to manage better as they often are qualified or educated whilst Whites generally have more work experience but less qualifications than Blacks. Whites are still privileged in this regard as they are more likely to secure jobs than Blacks are. I battle to be managed by Whites who are more experienced but less qualified than me.	Blacks generally manage better. Blacks often are qualified and educated. Whites generally have more experience but less qualifications than Blacks. Whites still privileged as they secure jobs over Blacks. Battle to be managed by Whites	Managing Privileging Battling	Attributes	Leadership/ management
I think Blacks sometimes offend us because they eat food that smells, and they put it in the same microwave that we must use. then, if a White person objects to the nasty smell of their food, they interpret it as the person violating their right, without considering that the bad smell violates the	Blacks offend us with their food that smells and that they put in the same microwave we must use. If a White person objects to the nasty smell of their food, they feel the person is violating their rights.	Offending Objecting Violating Considering Experiencing	Attributes	Racial discrimination and/or prejudice

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
White person's rights just as well. So, we are all different and experience the workplace differently. In terms of company benefits, for example medical aid or the number of days sick leave. You see everyone access the same facilities and benefits are not age-based. Your package is determined by your provision and grade not your race.	They do not consider the bad smell of their food violates the rights of White people. We are all different. We all experience the workplace differently. Company benefits apply the same to all. Everyone has access to the same facilities and benefits. Package not determined by your race.			
It created a country where racism has been reversed. White males battle to find jobs today because we are paying for the mistakes made in the past.	Racism has been reversed. White males battle to get jobs today. We are paying for mistakes made in the past.	Racialising Reversing Battling Paying	Black privilege	
We are a generation can relate to the struggle - whether we struggled for freedom or struggled to keep the status quo of Apartheid, we know the struggle movement, nonetheless. We are motivated by the struggle and are determined not to fail. We therefore work hard. We also have a fear of failure because we carry the responsibility of supporting extended families that remain in poverty as a result of the effects of Apartheid. They must give us a chance to show them we can lead just like them, to even better than them.	We are a generation that can relate to the struggle – be it the struggle for freedom or the struggle to maintain Apartheid. We are motivated by the struggle and determined not to fail and therefore work hard. We have a fear of failure as we have to support extended families that are in poverty. They must give us a chance to lead to show them we can do even better than they have.	Relating Maintaining Motivating Failing Fearing Leading	Attributes	Transformation process
Whites tend to believe that they are superior to Blacks so is a challenge reporting to White people – especially when they hold perceptions about Blacks and our place in society. It is not easy being a Black woman in today's society because we are burdened with having to take financial responsibility for the extended family members who were deprived of opportunities to enter the economy. White managers don't always understand this stress and the level of financial burden that lies with us. Black managers are more experienced in this regard, and they have empathy for the struggle of my generation.	Whites believe that they are superior to Blacks. Challenging to report to Whites Especially when White hold perceptions about Blacks and our place in society. Not easy being a Black woman. We are burdened with the financial responsibility to care for extended family members who were historically disadvantaged. White managers don't understand this stress and level of financial burden. Black managers more experienced in this regard Black managers have empathy for the struggle of my generation.	Believing Challenging Burdening Caring Disadvantaging Understanding	Lived experiences	Diversity in the workspace
I think it depends on senior management. If senior management is relatively Black, then Black employees tend to be treated better and given more opportunities. Likewise, if senior management is relatively White, then White employees tend to be given more opportunities and are treated better than Black employees.	Depends on senior management. If senior management is relatively Black, then Black employees are treated better and given more opportunities. If senior management is relatively White, then White employees are treated better and given more opportunities	Treating		
Language, for example, unifies people. People who have culture, language, and history in common with each other tend to relate better to each other. The more one has in common with the next, the more one can talk about and share with the other, the better one can relate to him or her.	Language unifies people. People who have same culture, language, and history in common relate better to each other. The more one has in common with someone, the more one can relate to that person	Unifying Relating		
…we do not get jobs and even though we are more capable than them they get the jobs. Our White men are worst affected.	We do not get jobs even though we are more capable than them. They get the jobs. White men worst affected.	Affecting	Othering	Racial othering

According to the five themes outlined in Table 13 above, the local Generation X social generation, like the local Baby Boomer social generation, is not wholly homogenous and consists of Black and White generation units. Whereas the White generation unit felt that Employment Equity policies advantage Black South Africans, the Black generation unit felt that White people hold greater earning and positional power at work and are privileged in this regard. Hence, both generation units said that they experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' at work. Participants were prone to 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006) and, in terms of 'diversity in the workspace', the Black generation unit described their respective experiences of 'racial prejudice' at work. The section below elaborates on the findings pertaining to these themes; thereafter, the findings are analysed and discussed by race, followed by case. Generation X participants share similar themes with Baby Boomer participants: Leadership/management preference, Racial discrimination and/or prejudice, Transformation Process, Diversity in the workplace, and Racial othering. Each of these themes are discussed in more detail below.

In terms of 'leadership/management', Generation X participants felt that they manage subordinates according to the subordinates' capabilities and this makes their 'leadership/management' styles flexible. On the one hand, some participants believed that Black South Africans have a better 'leadership/management' style than White people do, stating that whilst Black South Africans tend to be 'qualified' and 'educated', White people tend to 'have more work experience' but fewer qualifications than Black South Africans hold. On the other hand, some participants said that Black South Africans in senior jobs 'treat junior Black South Africans badly' so that they are 'elevated' at the expense of their Black subordinates. Participants said White leaders/managers favour White workers and 'deprive' Black South Africans of 'opportunities'. Participants believed they experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. Some participants felt that Black South Africans are privileged, and some felt that White people are privileged. Black privilege was described as 'racism being reversed' in South Africa today (Ruhiiga, 2013; Statman, 2002) and that this resulted in White people 'battling to find jobs' and being punished for 'mistakes that were made in the past'. White privilege was described as White people earning more than Black South Africans and, hence, White people having greater earning and positional power in the workspace. Participants also said that language is used to either unify or segregate people in the workspace. In this regard, they described how the selective use of language may contribute to one experiencing 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. This finding is similar to studies that discuss the use of language as a tool in both the Apartheid and democratic regimes in South Africa (Bokamba, 1995; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004; Keiser, 2007; Léglise & Migge, 2007). In addition, participants said that workers' lived experiences depend on the race of senior managers in the firm. As with Baby Boomer participants, Generation X participants were prone to 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006). But, despite this, in addition to expressing lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workplace, participants said that the 'transformation process' has brought about parity in the workspace as 'it is now equal for everyone'.

Theme 1: Leadership/management

Although some participants said that Black and White managers lead/manage all workers in the same way, some participants preferred Black managers, believing that Black managers are more qualified/educated than White managers and that White managers have more work experience than Black managers. The study therefore found that participants rank qualifications and formal education above work experience. However, a contrasting finding was that, when asked how they define Generation Y, Generation X participants said that they have a preference for 'older managers' as older managers have more work experience than Generation Y. Hence, the study found that Generation X participants selectively place importance on work experience and qualifications/formal education. In this regard, when race intersects with social generation, Generation X participants rank qualifications and education above work experience, and when social generations are explored in isolation from race,

Generation X participants correlate age with work experience and have a preference for 'older managers' as they believe them to have more work experience than 'young managers'. This finding may be of relevance to scholars in intersectionality and diversity management studies, as well as to diversity management practitioners.

In addition, Black managers were perceived to be caring, and nurturing, whereas White managers were perceived to be uncaring, and autocratic. Participants said the following:

> I find that Blacks are generally abled to manage better as they often are qualified or educated whilst Whites generally have more work experience but less qualifications than Blacks. Whites are still privileged in this regard as they are more likely to secure jobs than Blacks are. I battle to be managed by Whites who are more experienced but less qualified than me. (Participant 21, Black, Gen X, BOM)

> I think it is better to be managed by Black people because they are more understanding. I had horrible experiences being managed by White people; they can be uncaring. As a single mother, Whites are not sympathetic of our challenge. They tend to threaten me that I will lose my job, but Black people understand the challenges that come with being a single parent. (Participant 35, White, Gen X, BOM)

The study found that White participants from all three social generations said that they either feel guilty about the historic Apartheid regime in the country or are made to feel guilty about it by Black South Africans. In addition, White participants said that, in their view, Black South Africans have a sense of entitlement and feel as if they are more deserving than White South Africans because of the historic system of Apartheid, which discriminated against Black South Africans. White participants said that, given the socio-historic Apartheid regime, White people carry the burden of guilt and are portrayed as perpetrators of racism (Gachago, Bozalek, & Ng'ambi, 2018; Horrell, 2008; Ivey & Sonn, 2020). Hence, to avoid being perceived as racist, White leaders/managers may adopt a one-size-fits-all type of leadership/management style. In contrast, Black management has autonomy and flexibility in terms of its leadership/management style. This is because, by virtue of their skin colour, Black South Africans are perceived to be victims of racism and are therefore, automatically exempt from the type of guilt that their White counterparts feel burdened by (Horrell, 2008). In South Africa, an inverse example pertains to crime, where Black South Africans are viewed as perpetrators and White people as victims. Black South Africans are often perceived to be perpetrators of crime, with White people being the victims (Dixon, 2008). The following quote bears reference:

There are many angry Blacks in South Africa, and the crime level is very high due to this. We also do not get jobs easily as jobs are reserved for Blacks. There is more corruption today than there was 20 years ago, and this is because Blacks have a sense of entitlement, they do not want to work hard, but [Blacks] want to have everything given to them. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

Whilst various studies commonly explore the perpetrator-victim relationship in the context of gender-based violence (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Anderson, 2002; Ayala, Kotary, & Hetz, 2018; Kaukinen, 2004; Lawyer, Ruggiero, Resnick, Kilpatrick, & Saunders, 2006), little is known about the perpetrator-victim relationship in the context of race in South Africa, and this finding may be useful to scholars who wish to explore this phenomenon. This finding may also be useful to diversity management practitioners and management practitioners who explore how race may influence 'leadership/management styles' in countries such as South Africa where White managers tend to lead/manage all subordinates in the same way out of fear of being perceived to favour White people.

White managers were, however, not exclusively blamed for racism and racial prejudice, as Black managers were also accused of treating Black subordinates poorly, as demonstrated by the following quote:

> Black people in senior roles sometimes treat junior Blacks badly, they degrade a junior person and want to be elevated at their expense. But there are also some very supportive Black managers. In the same way, some White managers are fair but generally treat Whites better than we Blacks. (Participant 30, Black, Gen X, GMA)

White superiority is an ideology and, like all ideologies, White superiority infiltrates and permeates the belief systems of both Black and White South Africans (Manning, 2004; Msimang, 2018; Weitzer, 2000). However, in South Africa, White superiority is commonly believed to be a complex from which Black South Africans are inoculated and exempt. As a result, overt and covert forms of Black-on-Black racism (Addae & Quan-Baffour, 2022; Chude-Sokei, 2006; Khalifa, 2015) may be overlooked in the workspace. This finding may be relevant to human resource practitioners tasked with creating effective social cohesion and teamwork in the workspace.

In addition, some participants felt that White leaders/managers favour White employees to the detriment of Black employees. Other participants believed that Black managers have limited skills and competence in relation to White people. The following quote is relevant.

I prefer to be managed by a White manager as I relate easier, and I think I can learn more from him. I find Blacks to be a bit lacking in terms of the skills that they have. (Participant 33, White, Gen X, BOM)

Theme 2: Racial discrimination and/or prejudice

Like Baby Boomer participants, participants said they experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. Some participants felt that Black South Africans were privileged, and some felt that White people were privileged. Black privilege was described as 'racism being reversed' in present-day South Africa, thereby 'limiting' White people from finding jobs and 'punishing' White people for 'mistakes that were made in the past' (Ruhiiga, 2013; Statman, 2002). The following quotes are relevant in this regard:

> It [the system of Apartheid] created a country where racism has been reversed. White males battle to find jobs today because we are paying for the mistakes made in the past. (Participant 33, White, Gen X, BOM)

> As an Afrikaner [White] woman, I have a different frame of mind to Blacks and naturally lean towards supporting another Afrikaner even though I try to focus on merit and who is the most deserving person for the job. I tend to empathise with Whites' struggle for jobs in this country because it is harder for Whites to get jobs [than it is for Blacks]. (Participant 32, White, Gen X, BOM)

In contrast, Black participants said that White people are privileged in the workspace. Participants described White privilege as White people having greater earning and positional power in the workspace and said that White people prevent Black people from obtaining work opportunities.

> I think that most times, Whites are often advantaged over Blacks. They tend to earn better salaries than Blacks even if they are less qualified than their Black counterparts. (Participant 21, Black, Gen X, BOM)

The study found that Baby Boomer and Generation X participants shared similar views with regard to their respective lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. Both social generations expressed their lived experiences of Black and White privileges in the country today. The following recommendation made to stakeholders in section 4.3.1.1 that explored Baby Boomers' experience of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace is applicable here and this finding may be useful for scholars in diversity management as it suggests an opportunity for scholars to add White lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in South Africa to the body of knowledge, which currently centres on the Black lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the country.

Theme 3: Diversity in the workspace

Participants related their personal experiences of racial discrimination and/or prejudice in the workspace, and a participant gave an example of where he resigned within a few months of starting a new job because of his experience of racial discrimination and prejudice from his manager.

> I have personally had only one negative experience where I was managed by a White male who demonstrated racist prejudices. I knew that the relationship could not work, so I resigned from that company within a few months. If a person is willing to change, I can work effectively with him or her, but if I can see that an individual is content to be the way that he or she is and is uncompromising, then I will rather leave the company, so I do not have to work with the person. (Participant 22, Black, Gen X, BOM)

A participant said that the Afrikaans language is used as a tool to segregate workers. Generation X and Generation Y participants said that language is used to unify or exclude people. Generation X participants said the following:

> Language, for example, unifies people. People who have culture, language, and history in common with each other, tend to relate better to each other. The more one has in common with the next, the more one can talk about and share with the other, the better one can relate to him or her. (Participant 22, Black, Gen X, BOM)

In addition, participants said that workers' lived experiences depend on the race of the most senior managers in the company. In this regard, participants said that when top management is White, White workers are advantaged, and likewise, when top management is Black, Black workers are advantaged.

I think it depends on senior management. If senior management is relatively Black, then Black employees tend to be treated better and given more opportunities. Likewise, if senior management is relatively White, White employees are given more opportunities and treated better than Black employees. (Participant 22, Black, Gen X, BOM)

As discussed in Section 4.3.1, which examined the findings pertaining to Baby Boomers and their lived experiences of race in the workspace, the study found that participants correlate the race of leaders/managers with the lived experiences of Black and White subordinates. This finding may be of interest and of relevance to leaders/managers and practitioners in human resources and diversity management, as it indicates that diverse leadership/management teams may aid in creating equal spaces and places for Black and White workers. This finding is expanded on with the findings pertaining to research question three (How is the locale (space and

place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation*?).*

Theme 4: Racial Othering

As previously discussed, the study found that Black and White participants commonly use 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006). The quote below is an example of racial othering.

> …we do not get jobs and even though we are more capable than them they get the jobs. Our White men are worst affected. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

The intentional or unintentional use of 'racial othering' indicates the level of social cohesion, or lack thereof, in given spaces (Johnson et al., 2004; Papadopoulos, 2009; Pillay et al., 2007; Sadler Jr, 2006). As mentioned, diversity management practitioners may consider this finding in the context of their respective plans that seek to establish and enhance social cohesion and teamwork in the workspace.

Theme 5: Transformation process

Generation X as a social generation witnessed the transition from one political regime to the next in South Africa and, in this sense, Generation X has experience of both the Apartheid and the democratic regimes in the country. Participants said that the 'transformation process' has brought about parity in the workspace and that 'it is now equal for everyone'. In addition, participants self-identified with the struggle movements in the country, and said the following:

> Nonetheless, we, as a generation, can relate to the struggle. Whether we struggled for freedom or struggled to keep the status quo of Apartheid, we know the struggle movement. We are motivated by the struggle and are determined not to fail. We therefore work hard. We also have a fear of failure because we carry the responsibility of supporting extended families that remain in poverty as a result of the effects of Apartheid. They [White people] must give us [Black people] a chance to show them we can lead just like them, even better than them. (Participant 30, Black, Gen X, GMA)

The quote above highlights Generation X has desire to lead and succeed, given their past struggles in South Africa. As an antithesis to perceptions that Black South Africans are incompetent, Generation X participants argued that if Black South Africans were given the opportunity to occupy top jobs in the workplace, they would demonstrate their competence to hold such positions. Human resource practitioners may find this useful as they are often tasked with recruitment processes. Such knowledge may also help them to mitigate the revolving door syndrome (Diaz & Dunican Jr, 2011; Hafen, 2004; Naidoo, Stanwix, & Yu, 2004) where workers resign soon after being appointed, in this way increasing recruitment costs and skills' gaps in a firm. Human resource practitioners should therefore consider how workers experience 'transformation processes' in their respective firms, and what they may do to enhance their lived experiences to avoid workers feeling the need to resign to be heard.

In addition, some participants said that workers are treated in accordance with the same set of company policies and the labour law, regardless of race, and, in this way, they believed that the space in the workspace is experienced similarly by both races.

> In the past we used to have more White male managers but now there's equality among races and generations. The company policy now treats everyone equally and hence they [Black and White South Africans] should have the same experience. (Participant 32, White, Gen X, BOM)

> We all have the same company policies to adhere to. There is no difference between race at work. (Participant 40, White, Gen X, GMA)

On the other hand, some participants felt that Employment Equity policies in the workspace favour Black South Africans. These policies 'reverse the Apartheid system' in the workspace and disadvantage White people and advantage Black South Africans (Ruhiiga, 2013; Statman, 2002). The following quote is relevant in this regard:

> I think it is different for the different generations because of government policies such as Employment Equity, it is worst for the older White generation as they cannot find a place in the new South Africa; [there are] no opportunities for them at work. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

As revealed in the quote below, some participants felt that White people, particularly White males, are excluded from the public sector, but not from the private sector.

> I think we all understand the goal that needs to be achieved and the work environment we are operating in. I think there is a difference for White males in terms of how they experience the public sector workplace; there they are generally excluded but I find that the private sector is by far more inclusive and as a White male I therefore do not feel that opportunities in the private sector is off limits to me. (Participant 36, White, Gen X, GMA)

As mentioned, participants correlate the race of leaders/managers with workers' lived experiences of race in the workspace. Essentially, participants said that when White people occupy top jobs, White workers are advantaged, and, likewise, when Black South Africans occupy top jobs, Black workers are advantaged.

> I think it depends on senior management. If senior management is relatively Black, then Black employees tend to be treated better and given more opportunities. Likewise, if senior management is relatively White, White employees are given more opportunities and treated better than Black employees. (Participant 22, Black, Gen X, BOM)

White people, particularly White males, are overrepresented in top jobs in the private sector in South Africa. Similarly Black males are overrepresented in top jobs in the public sector, particularly in government and in the leading political party in the country. This may be one reason participants feel that the private sector is more inclusive of White males than the public sector. While this study does not explore the social construct of gender, comments pertaining to gender support the view that social constructs should be explored from the perspective of intersectionality rather than as individual social constructs. *locale*

Essentially, the study found that the process of 'transformation' is experienced differently in the public and private sectors due to the race of senior leaders/managers in those respective sectors. The lived experiences related to one's membership to minority and majority race groups in the country may be an additional social construct that intersects with one's experience of transformation and race in the workspace in South Africa. As mentioned, in parts of the globe, Black people are a minority group and are portrayed as such by studies that explore race as well as by studies on intersectionality (Blosnich, 2017; Frederick & Shifrer, 2019; Gattamorta et al., 2019). In these parts of the world, Black people are not only disadvantaged by skin colour but also by being a member of a minority race

group. In South Africa and large parts of Africa, Black people constitute the majority race group in the country. This means that even though Black people remain disadvantaged by skin colour, as with White people in the US and Europe Black people in South Africa are advantaged by their membership of a majority race group in the country. However, studies tend to portray Black people in South Africa as if they are a minority race group as they are in the US and in Europe (Southall, 2016; Swanepoel, 2019). As a result, less is known about the White lived experiences as a minority group in the country and workspace. Overlooking the lived experiences of the White minority in South Africa is tantamount to silencing the White minority and further exacerbating their feeling of exclusion (Ebert & Pillay, 2022; Hook, 2020; Visser, 2003; Wambugu, 2005). When people feel silenced and excluded, they are likely to seek out alternative spaces that are more inclusive, and, hence, White participants said that they "cannot find a place in the new South Africa" (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA), and leave the country in search of jobs.

In contrast, Black participants similarly expressed feeling excluded in the private sector workspace and having little option but to resign from their jobs.

> I have personally had only one negative experience where I was managed by a White male who demonstrated racist prejudices. I knew that the relationship could not work, so I resigned from that company within a few months. If a person is willing to change, I can work effectively with him or her, but if I can see that an individual is content to be the way that he or she is and is uncompromising, then I will rather leave the company, so I do not have to work with the person. (Participant 22, Black, Gen X, BOM)

The study therefore found that in terms of 'transformation processes' in the country, despite participants saying that the same labour law and company policies apply to Black and White workers alike, Black participants feel excluded and discriminated against in the private sector, where White people occupy top jobs. Similarly, White participants feel excluded and discriminated against in the public sector, where Black South Africans occupy political leadership positions, and in the private sector because of Employment Equity policies 'limiting' White people from obtaining job opportunities. Whilst this finding is explored in more depth in the section that examines research question three, this finding may be of interest to scholars, diversity management practitioners, and policy makers in the country, as it suggests that transformation efforts in the country have not effectively created equal experiences for Black and White South Africans in the private and public sectors.

4.2.2.1 Findings by race

As per Appendix 11, Tables 7 and 8, and based on the responses by Black and White participants, the study found that Black and White Generation X participants shared similar views regarding some themes and different views regarding others. Participants' views differed by race in terms of the themes discussed below.

Leadership/management:

Whilst some Black and White participants said that they prefer Black managers to White managers, believing Black managers to be more nurturing and caring than White managers are, some White participants expressed a preference for White managers, saying that White managers have more experience and are more knowledgeable than Black managers are. In addition, White participants said that they prefer older managers to younger managers, ideally older White managers, saying that older managers are more experienced than younger managers. Hence, some White participants preferred older White managers over young Black or White managers, as well as older Black managers. The following quotes bear reference:

> I prefer to be managed by a White manager as I relate easier, and I think I can learn more from him. I find Blacks to be a bit lacking in terms of the skills that they have. (Participant 33, White, Gen X, BOM)

> Older White and Black managers are easier to be managed by than younger White or Black females. But generally, I find that older White managers are more knowledgeable than older Black managers. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, BOM)

Black participants said that they experience White people, and in particular older White people, to be racially prejudiced, as they deny Black people opportunities that are made available to White people. Black participants also said that Black people have more qualifications and formal education than White people have, and White people have more work experience than Black people have. In this regard, Black participants rank qualifications and formal education above work experience, whereas their White counterparts value work experience and feel that Black people are incompetent as they lack work experience. Furthermore, while White Generation X participants said that they prefer older White managers over young Black or White managers, Black Generation X participants said that they prefer reporting to young White managers over young Black managers. Hence, Black Generation X participants have a preference for either older Black managers or younger White managers, and White Generation X participants have a preference for older White managers over younger Black or White managers.

> Whilst it can be pleasant to be managed by an older Black person, it is often challenging to be managed by older White people who are often times still stuck in the past Apartheid mentality. Reporting to young Black people can be challenging as they sometimes feel the need to demonstrate authority but reporting to a younger White person can be liberating as you may find young White people have less hiccups with race than their elders do. (Participant 23, Black, Gen X, BOM)

Notably, some Black participants felt that Black workers in senior positions degrade Blacks in junior positions.

> Black people in senior roles sometimes treat junior Blacks badly – they degrade a junior person and want to be elevated at their expense. (Participant 30, Black, Gen X, GMA)

Black-on-Black racism or intra-racial prejudice (Addae & Quan-Baffour, 2022; Booysen, 2007a; Khalifa, 2015; Mtose, 2011) is often overlooked by diversity management practitioners and scholars alike, as they tend to focus on exploring inter-racial differences and discrimination/prejudice. This finding may be useful to diversity management practitioners who seek to build and enhance social cohesion and teamwork in the workspace in South Africa.

Black and White participants shared the themes of 'racial othering' and the 'transformation process' in common, and the findings with regard to these themes have been discussed in previous sections and therefore are not repeated here.

As mentioned, both Black and White participants said that workers are treated according to the same set of company policies and procedures, and that the same labour law applies to all workers irrespective of their race. Hence, participants felt that the space in the workspace is experienced similarly by Black and White workers. However, participants respective lived experiences of race in the private and public sectors suggest that the lived experiences of place (ambience) in the workplace vary according to race. This finding is explored more deeply in the section examining research question three.

Diversity management in the workspace:

Black and White participants expressed having different lived experiences of race in the workspace in South Africa. However, Black and White people alike felt disadvantaged by their respective race, believing that their counterparts are advantaged by their race. In this sense, the study found that Black and White South Africans have a shared experience of 'diversity management in the workspace'.

Racial discrimination and/or prejudice:

Similarly, whereas Black participants described racial discrimination in terms of White people having privileges that Black people are exempt from, White participants said that Black people have privileges that White people are exempt from. The study therefore found that Black and White South Africans have a shared experience of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace.

4.2.2.2 Findings by case

As per Appendix 11, Tables 9 and 10, the study found that participants from both cases shared similar views with regard to each of the themes, aside from the theme, 'transformation process'. In this regard, participants from the GMA said that White males are excluded from the public sector but not from the private sector. As discussed, the study found that White South Africans feel excluded in the public sector and Black South Africans feel excluded in the private sector. The reason for this is two-fold, as previously mentioned. First, participants place importance on the race of senior leaders/managers in both cases, and second, the lived experiences of one's membership of minority and majority race groups in the country intersect with one's lived experience of race in the workspace. This finding is discussed in more detail together with findings pertaining to research question three. The following quote however bears reference in this regard:

> I think there is a difference for White males in terms of how they experience the public sector workplace; there they are generally excluded but I find that the private sector is by far more inclusive and as a White male I therefore do not feel that opportunities in the private sector is off limits to me. (Participant 36, White, Gen X, GMA)

4.2.3 How is race in the workspace in South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans from the Generation Y social generation?

Table 14 below presents a few participant quotes that have been extracted from Appendix 11, Table 11. Table 14 highlights five themes that inform the theoretical proposition regarding how race is experienced by Black and White South Africans from the local Generation Y social generation.

Table 14: Themes that depict how Black and White South Africans from the Generation Y social generation experience race in the workspace

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
According to my Black culture, respect is important. Hence, I battle professionally to address an elder at work by his or her name, and this is irrespective of the person's job title. Even if the cleaner is older than I am, I cannot bring myself to address her by her name.	Respect is important according to my Black culture. I battle professionally to address elders by their name irrespective of their job title. If the cleaner is older than I am, I cannot bring myself to address her by her name.	Respecting Battling Addressing	Lived experiences	Diversity in the workspace
Blacks are disadvantaged in the workplace as our culture differs from Whites and the workplace is not accepting of our culture. The White culture is primary, and the Black	Blacks are disadvantaged in the workplace as our culture differs from Whites and the workplace is not accepting of our culture. The White culture is primary.	Disadvantaging Differing Accepting Trying		

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
culture is secondary in the workplace. If the workplace had to be allocated a race, I think it would be a White. And if the workplace was to be given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people, we tend to try to be entrepreneurs – we prefer to start our businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us.	The Black culture is secondary. If the workplace was allocated a race, it would be a White. If the workplace was allocated a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people we therefore try to be entrepreneurs as we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in the workplace. The workplace feels White and old to us.	Fitting Belonging		
I think it depends on the predominant race of the management team. If the management team is generally made up of White people, then Whites are likely to feel protected and empowered in the workplace. They will get more understanding and opportunities because management would relate better to them. If the management team is predominantly Black, then Blacks would likewise feel more empowered and understood.	It depends on the race of the management team. If management is mostly White, Whites feel protected, empowered, understood, and get opportunities in the workplace because management would relate better to them. If management is mostly Black, then Blacks would likewise feel more empowered and understood.	Depending Empowering Understanding Relating		
I am afraid to address poor work performance of Blacks because they always use the race card. They therefore get away with a lot because White managers are afraid to address performance issues with them. It is easier to manage Whites.	I am afraid to address poor work performance of Blacks. They always use the race card. They therefore get away with a lot. White managers are afraid to address performance issues. It is easier to manage Whites.	Addressing Using Managing Performing	Attributes	Leadership/ management
Black managers support Black employees and tend to nurture them. Being managed by Whites can generally be a very lonely experience as they do not take an interest in you as a person, it is just work-related. Yet they socialise with other White colleagues, but not with Blacks.	Black managers support Black employees and nurture them. Being managed by Whites can be a lonely experience as they do not take an interest in you as a person. It is just work-related. Yet they socialise with other Whites, but not with Blacks.	Supporting Managing Experiencing Socialising		
I manage different races differently. With Whites you have to be cautious how you treat them as they are networked.	I manage different races differently. Have to be cautious how you treat Whites as they are networked.	Managing Treating Networking		
I think due to Employment Equity practices Whites feel disadvantaged in the workplace as they do not get same job opportunities as Blacks get.	Whites feel disadvantaged due to EE. They don't get same job opportunities as Blacks do	Feeling	Black privilege	Racial discrimination and/or prejudice
And even though Apartheid is over in South Africa, we as Generation Y still experience the effects of Apartheid. We feel the need to prove ourselves, whereas Whites in our generation are more confident. They were more privileged than we were even when we were at school – I would take taxis to school, and they would be dropped off at the school gate. I would have to handwrite my assignments and they would have access to computers and printers.	Generation Y is experiencing the effects of Apartheid. We need to prove ourselves. Whites are more confident, and more privileged than Blacks. I would take a taxi to school. They were dropped off at the school gate. I had to handwrite my assignments; they would have access to computers and printers.	Experiencing Advantaging Proving Privileging	White privilege	
I would take taxis to school, and they would be dropped off at the school gate. I would have to handwrite my assignments and they would have access to computers and printers.	I would take a taxi to school. They were dropped off at school gate. I had to handwrite my assignments; they would have access to computers and printers.	Taking Dropping Handwriting Having	Othering	Racial othering
I think Blacks are generally discriminated against in the workplace. We often find Whites with less experience or qualifications earning more than Blacks. Whites also have their incomes subsidised by other means, like a farm, property handed down to them from their parents, and other investments because they tend to earn more. For us the workplace enables us to survive, it is our only bread and butter. The money we make is not enough	Blacks discriminated against. With less experience/qualifications, Whites earn more than Blacks. Whites income is subsidised by a farm/property inherited from their parents because they earn more. For us, the workplace enables us to survive, it is our bread and butter. The money we make is not enough to pay back and eat every day. I'm a Slasher. My friends too.	Experiencing Earning Subsidising Handing Enabling Surviving Paying Eating Slashing Needing Side-hustling	Negative attributes	Transformation process

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
to pay back and then to still eat every day. So, I'm a Slasher, my friends too, we need a side-hustle to top-up our income so we can help our families.	We need a side-hustle to top-up our income so we can help our families.	Topping-up Helping		
Once in the workplace it is designed to give everyone equal opportunities but to get into the workplace is a challenge as Whites are discriminated against and it's harder to get job opportunities than Blacks. We Whites are paying for the faults of the older generations	Workplace designed to give everyone equal opportunities but to get into the workplace is a challenge. Whites discriminated against, harder to get jobs than it is for Blacks. Whites are paying for the faults of the older generations.	Giving Getting Paying		
We have a very healthy diverse system. We have a mix of races, and everyone is comfortable with each other.	We have a healthy diverse system. We have a mix of races. Everyone is comfortable with each other.	Having Mixing	Positive attributes	

As with the local Baby Boomer and Generation X social generations, the local Generation Y social generation was not homogenous. Black and White generation units were identified in the local Generation Y social generation, which is commonly known as the 'Born Free' social generation since it was born post the demise of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. On the one hand, the Black generation unit participants said they are burdened with a financial responsibility to care for their extended family members. On the other hand, the White generation unit participants said that they are burdened with guilt (Horrell, 2008; Mahilall & Swartz, 2021) and remorse for the socio-historic system of Apartheid, which they did not personally orchestrate.

The Black generation unit referred to the financial responsibility or burden to care for their extended families as a 'Black tax' (Harper, 1975; Magubane, 2017; Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019; Prince, 2017; Stephen, 2007). They said they have multiple jobs to supplement their income to afford 'Black tax'. As such, the Black generation unit self-identified as 'Slashers' (Alboher, 2012) with multiple jobs, with each job title being separated by a slash, such as engineer/photographer/chef. The White generation unit said that, in addition to feeling guilt and remorse for the socio-historic Apartheid regime, they feel that they are punished by Employment Equity policies, which 'reserve jobs for Blacks'. As such, White participants said that they emigrate from South Africa as they feel that they do not belong in South Africa.

Similarly, their Black counterparts said that, at work, top jobs are commonly occupied by White people, who 'design' and create a workspace that is better suited to White South Africans than it is to Black South Africans. As such, whereas their White counterparts said that they emigrate from South Africa, the Black generation unit said that they experience the workspace as 'old and White' and therefore seek opportunities to be entrepreneurs to escape from traditional workspaces where White people are the architects of spaces. Whilst 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006) was least common amongst Generation Y participants, participants from the Black and White generation units said that they experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in present-day South Africa. The study therefore found that local Generation Y is born free of the structural system of Apartheid but not born free of the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid.

Participants of the so-called Born Free social generation in South Africa said that if the workspace was to be given a social generation, it would be either a Baby Boomer or Generation X, and that if it was given a race, it would be White. As such, in terms of 'diversity in the workspace', participants felt that Generation Y, particularly the Black generation unit in Generation Y, does not easily belong in the workspace. In addition, like Generation X participants, Generation Y participants said that the lived experiences of race in the workspace depend on the race of leaders/managers. In this regard, participants said that if the leadership/management team is predominantly White, then White workers are more advantaged than their Black counterparts. Likewise, if the

leadership/management team is predominantly Black, then Black workers are more advantaged than their White counterparts. As discussed, Baby Boomers emphasised earning and affording respect in the workspace. Generation Y participants equally placed importance on the value of respect, saying that culturally they are taught to show respect to their elders and, as such, they find it challenging to manage elders. In terms of 'leadership/management', whilst some participants said that they are afraid to address poor work performance with Black subordinates as the 'race-card' (Hammon, 2013; Mendelberg, 2017; Singer, 2013; Statman, 2002; Williams, 2020) gets used against them, some participants said that they are cautious about how they manage White people since White people are socially networked. Participants also said that whilst Black managers nurture and support Black subordinates, White managers focus purely on the work at hand and do not socialise with Black subordinates, making the experience of reporting to White managers a 'lonely' one.

Participants described their lived experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. Black participants described feeling burdened by a 'Black tax' from which they say their White counterparts are exempt, and White participants said that they are burdened by 'guilt' and remorse for the system of Apartheid, which they did not have a hand in. Black participants also said that they feel undermined by White people in top jobs. As mentioned, they said that the workspace feels 'old and White' to them, and they seek opportunities to be entrepreneurs so that they may exit/escape from the workspace. Conversely, White participants said that owing to 'Employment Equity policies', Whites are 'disadvantaged' in the workspace as they 'don't get the same job opportunities as Blacks' get. Hence, whilst some participants felt that 'transformation processes' have created diverse spaces in the workspace, some participants said that they feel burdened by the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid. Black participants self-identified as 'Slashers' who hold multiple jobs to supplement their income in order to afford 'Black tax'. White participants said that they feel burdened by guilt (Erickson, 2011; Horrell, 2005; Horrell, 2008; Mahilall & Swartz, 2021) and remorse for the socio-historic system of Apartheid. Whilst 'racial othering' (Johnson et al., 2004; Muhr, 2008) was least prominent amongst Generation Y participants, there were instances where participants used 'racial othering', suggesting that Generation Y is not wholly unprejudiced.

Theme 1: Diversity in the workspace

A quote that encapsulates how Generation Y, the so-called Born Free social generation in South Africa, experiences 'diversity in the workspace' is stated below:

> The White culture is primary, and the Black culture is secondary in the workplace. If the workplace had to be allocated a race, I think it would be a White. And if the workplace was to be given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people, we tend to try to be entrepreneurs [and] we prefer to start our [own] businesses because we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

The personification of the workspace describes how Generation Y experiences the workspace in present-day South Africa, and the participant describes the alienation and isolation that Generation Y experiences in the workspace. Whereas White participants from the two older social generations said that they feel that 'Apartheid has been reversed in South Africa' and that White people emigrate from the country in search of work opportunities (Dixon, 2008; Ruhiiga, 2013; Statman, 2002; Wambugu, 2005), Black participants from the youngest social generation said that they 'do not fit in or belong' in the workspace in South Africa They therefore prefer to start their own businesses in an effort to escape from the workspace. This finding may be useful to diversity management practitioners and policymakers in the country, as it shows that diversity management programmes and Employment Equity policies have been ineffective in creating equal spaces in the workspace. As a result, both Black

and White participants feel that they do not belong in the workspace, albeit for different reasons. White Generation X and Baby Boomer participants have work experience that they have accrued over time and are therefore needed in the workspace.

Similarly, young Black Generation Y participants are future leaders in the workspace and elsewhere in South Africa and they too are needed in both the workspace and in the country. In this sense, the study finds that there is a symbiotic relationship between and amongst social generations, with no single social generation being more valuable or useful than the next. Therefore, It is important for management practitioners, political leaders, and practitioners in diversity management and human resources to tactically create equal spaces and places for young and old alike. This finding is discussed in more detail later, together with finding pertaining to research question three (*How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the social generations?).*

In addition, like Generation X participants, Generation Y participants said that the experiences of race in the workplace depend on the predominant race of leaders/managers.

> I think it depends on the predominant race of the management team. If the management team is generally made up of White people, then Whites are likely to feel protected and empowered in the workplace. They [White people] will get more understanding and opportunities because management would relate better to them. If the management team is predominantly Black, then Blacks would likewise feel more empowered and understood. (Participant 41, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

> I think Whites are far more comfortable in [the] workplace. This is their haven, it has a legacy of White leaders, and the very culture of this company has been created by Whites, so they will feel more at home here than we do. (Participant 45, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

The study analyses the quotes by Black participants who said that they feel that they do not 'fit in' in the workspace, which feels 'White and old' to them, together with quotes by White participants who said that they feel that 'Apartheid has been reversed' in present-day South Africa and they emigrate because they feel they do not belong in the country (Ruhiiga, 2013; Statman, 2002). Essentially, the study finds that in the workspace in South Africa, Black people feel that they do not belong, saying the following:

> …if the workplace was to be given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people we therefore tend to try to be entrepreneurs. We prefer to start our businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

The above quote describes how Black people feel in the workspace and explains why they want to exit it. Similarly, the study finds that White participants emigrate from South Africa and the following quote describes how they feel about the government in present-day South Africa.

> …but the problem now is that their [Black people] government has lowered the standard of education to accommodate them [Black people] to get through the schooling system…So, the poor education system designed by their government is disadvantaging Blacks more than the Apartheid government did. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

Hence, in much the same way that Black South Africans feel that they do not 'fit in' in the workspace in present-day South Africa as White people occupy top jobs, White people feel that they do not 'belong' in South Africa as Black South Africans occupy top jobs in political leadership roles. Therefore, racial diversity is needed to permeate leadership/management teams in both the public and private sectors in South Africa for Black and White South Africans to experience spaces and places as equitable. This finding may be of relevance to leadership/management scholars, as well as to scholars and practitioners in diversity management.

It is also noteworthy that some participants said that whilst Black South Africans were historically disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid, in present-day South Africa Black South Africans are disadvantaged by 'their' government that has 'lowered the standard of education', in this way disadvantaging Black South Africans.

> Blacks were disadvantaged and not given the opportunities that Whites received but the problem now is that their government has lowered the standard of education to accommodate them [Black people] to get through the schooling system and this means that incompetent Black people are getting into the workplace. We [White people] are then disadvantaged and denied the opportunities that go to these incompetent guys [Black people]. This Employment Equity thing is nonsense; it means that we [White people] are not able to get work that we are skilled and experienced to do. Instead, Blacks get these jobs. So, the poor education system designed by their government is disadvantaging Blacks more than the Apartheid government did. They can't do the jobs that they get. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

This quote suggests that racial prejudice is prevalent in present-day South Africa and that Generation Y is not 'Born Free' of racial prejudice any more than the older social generations have been. The study finds that Black and White generation units co-exist within Generation Y, which results in Generation Y being as racially segmented as the two older social generations in the country. This finding may be useful to scholars in local social generations. It may also be useful to diversity management practitioners, as it suggests that diversity management programmes are needed to create spaces and places (ambience) in the workspace and elsewhere in South Africa that are experienced equitably by Black and White South Africans from each social generation.

Finally, the study found that in the same way as Baby Boomer participants, who place importance on earning and affording respect in the workspace, Generation Y participants also place importance on affording respect, particularly to elders, and said that they were taught to show respect to their elders and, as such, find it challenging to lead/manage elders in the workspace.

> According to my Black culture, respect is important. I battle professionally to address an elder at work by his or her name, and this is irrespective of the person's job title. Even if the cleaner is older than I am, I cannot bring myself to address her by her name. (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

Some participants said that older White people misinterpret 'respect' as 'weakness' and an opportunity to 'undermine' young people. The following quote bears reference:

> I treat older Black people with respect, but I find older White people to be troublesome to manage. They tend to be over-confident and have a false sense of superiority if their manager is Black. I have tried to treat older White people with the same respect I show to older Black people but quickly realised that this gets misinterpreted as me being weak, or easy to be undermined. I find it easier to manage Black and White South Africans of the younger generation as they tend to be easy going. (Participant 43, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

This finding reaffirms the synergy between the grandparent Baby Boomer social generation and the grandchild Generation Y. It suggests to scholars in social generations that in as much as there may be differences between and amongst local social generations, there may equally be similarities between and amongst them that render local social generations neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogeneous. In addition, this finding suggests to human resource practitioners that Generation Y in leadership/management roles may require training and development, and other forms of support, particularly when their subordinates are older than they are.

Theme 2: Leadership/management

This section first discusses how Generation Y leads/manages in terms of race, followed by how Generation Y experiences leadership/management in terms of race. As mentioned in the preceding section, some participants said that they find it challenging to manage older White people, who misinterpret respect as a weakness and see it as an opportunity to undermine young people. In addition, whilst some participants said that they feel afraid to address poor work performance with Black subordinates, fearing that Black South Africans will use the 'race-card' (Hammon, 2013; Mendelberg, 2017; Statman, 2002) against them, some participants said that they are wary of how they manage White people as White people are socially networked, making it challenging for Black South Africans to manage White people. The following quotes bear reference in this regard:

> I am afraid to address poor work performance of Blacks because they always use the race card. They therefore get away with a lot because White managers are afraid to address performance issues with them. It is easier to manage Whites. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

> I manage different races differently. With Whites you have to be cautious how you treat them as they are networked. (Participant 48, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

Participants said that Black and White South Africans have different leadership/management styles. In this regard, participants said that Black managers are inclusive in their decision-making processes, and nurture and support subordinates. In contrast, White managers are autocratic, focus purely on work, and do not socialise with Black subordinates. The following comment was made in this regard:

> I think Blacks tend to be more inclusive in their decision-making and management style because of their past personal experience of being excluded, and I appreciate this. Whites tend to be a bit autocratic, and this is not always pleasant. (Participant 60, White, Gen Y, GMA)

Like Generation X participants, Generation Y participants said Black managers abuse their authority and degrade Black South Africans in junior positions (Addae & Quan-Baffour, 2022; Booysen, 2007a). By exploring race from the perspective of intersectionality (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013; Crenshaw, 2005), rather than as a single social construct, the study found that Black South Africans are most marginalised in the workspace, as they experience 'degradation' from both Black and White managers. The following quote bears reference:

> Black managers abuse their authority and sometimes look down upon junior Blacks. White people also subject Blacks to the same degradation. White managers assume Blacks can't think for themselves so they want you to do things by the protocol and even if you suggest a new idea, they pretend they did not hear you but the next day they will table that same idea and take ownership of it as if it was from themselves. They then take the glory for it. (Participant 46, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

This finding indicates that Generation Y does not only lead/manage Black and White South Africans differently but that they are also lead/managed differently according to their race. In addition, participants said that women leaders/managers in Generation Y were micro-managers.

> In my case, my manager is the same age as me, and so we are of the same generation, but because she feels the need to justify her position and demonstrate that she is senior to me because she knows more than me, she is always condescending to me, finding fault with my work and nit-picking. This way she elevates herself but puts me down. (Participant 41, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

This finding indicates that when social generation intersects with gender, women leaders/managers are perceived to be condescending nit-pickers. It is unclear whether participants perceive male leaders/managers similarly or whether this perception stems from stereotypes of women leaders/managers. This finding does, however, suggest that more support by way of leadership/management training may be needed to equip Generation Y to lead/manage the older social generations in the workspace, and to equip women leaders/managers in the workspace. This finding may therefore be of relevance to human resource practitioners, who are often custodians of training and development programmes in the workspace.

Theme 3: Racial discrimination and/or prejudice

Generation Y is not immune to experiencing 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. Black participants described being burdened by a 'Black tax' (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021; Mhlongo, 2019; Sibiya, 2018) from which they say their White counterparts are exempt. White participants, on the other hand, said that they are subjected to 'guilt' (Erickson, 2011) and remorse for the system of Apartheid, which they did not directly orchestrate. Participants described Black tax as follows:

> Young Black and White professionals experience the workplace very differently. Blacks feel that Whites have been born into White privilege and therefore get opportunities that they are not always qualified for…Many of us [Black Generation Y] have not inherited a legacy or inheritance from our parents like White professionals our age have. This introduces the issue of Black tax that Whites are exempt from. We may run the same race, but we have not all started on an equal and fair basis. Whilst we have to pay back student loans, Whites are able to invest in property or a car. Many of us have to repay debt due by our parents and extended family. We therefore take longer than Whites to start making an improvement to our lives. (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

> I think Blacks are generally discriminated against in the workplace. We often find Whites with less experience or qualifications earning more than Blacks. Whites also have their incomes subsidised by other means, like a farm, property handed down to them from their parents, and other investments because they tend to earn more [than Blacks]. For us [Blacks], the workplace enables us to survive, it is our only bread and butter. The money we make is not enough to pay back [loans] and then to still eat every day. So, I'm a Slasher, my friends too, we need a side-hustle to top-up our income so we can help our families. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

Conceptually, Black tax represents a financial cost and social responsibility incurred by Generation Y to give care and support to extended family members who were historically disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid. In this sense, participants said that the aftermath and legacy effects of the system of Apartheid burden them. In order financially to sustain this so-called Black tax, they said that they resort to becoming 'Slashers' and sign-up for

multiple secondary jobs to supplement their primary income. The term 'Slasher', coined by Alboher in 2007, refers to the slash that one may have in one's job title as a result of holding multiple jobs (Alboher, 2007; Gachago, Bozalek, & Ng'ambi, 2018). Therefore, This study describes the Black generation unit within Generation Y as 'Slashers' who are burdened by a financial and social responsibility to support their extended families.

The 'fees must fall' movement (Bosch, 2016; Langa, 2017; Maringira & Gukurume, 2016) that recently befell the country saw many young people protest at various tertiary institutions for tertiary education to become financially accessible to all students, regardless of class. This movement demonstrates the plight of young people in present-day South Africa that is caused by, amongst other things, income inequality in the country (Bosch, 2016; Hodes, 2017; Langa, 2017; Maringira & Gukurume, 2016). The study found that whilst the demise of the system of Apartheid has brought about political freedom, it has not brought about economic parity or economic freedom and, as a result, in present-day South Africa, the historically disadvantaged Black community remains trapped in structural poverty, devoid of economic freedom (Statistics, 2019). Whilst Black participants in Generation Y are today granted the freedom to participate actively in the formal economy in South Africa, unlike Black people during the Apartheid regime, they feel economically worse-off in relation to their White counterparts for two reasons. The first is due to a perceived Black tax and the second to pay disparities between Black and White South Africans, especially since White people typically occupy top jobs in the workspace and Black people typically occupy junior positions in the workspace. This finding may be relevant to human resource practitioners and members of remuneration committees and social and ethics committees responsible for establishing, monitoring, and evaluating remuneration frameworks for firms based on racial parity and equality.

Similarly, as per the quote below, White participants said that they too feel burdened by the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid, saying that they carry guilt and remorse for the historic system of Apartheid, which they did not personally orchestrate.

> I get along with all people at work irrespective of their race but because of our political history I feel that Blacks have a view that we need to be sorry for what happened and treat them differently, but we were not the perpetrators so why must we keep saying sorry for a mistake we never made? This is what makes it a bit challenging to engage with Blacks. (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

Baby Boomer participants also said that they feel guilty for the system of Apartheid.

> There is more hostility in the workplace and the country in general because of Apartheid. Black people look at Whites as being perpetrators of [the system of] Apartheid and we [White people] see look at them [Black people] with guilt, even if we did not directly discriminate against them [Black people]. The result is that the workplace is divided along race lines. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

As the study equates Black tax with the financial and socio-political cost of Blackness in present-day South Africa, it equates White guilt and remorse with the socio-political cost of Whiteness in present-day South Africa. White participants from all three social generations said that they are disadvantaged not only because Black South Africans are privileged by the Employment Equity Act (Africa, 1998) but also because they carry guilt (Ivey & Sonn, 2020) for the atrocities of the Apartheid regime, even if they did not personally orchestrate or support the system of Apartheid. The study therefore likens the socio-political cost of Whiteness in present-day South Africa to an heirloom that has been passed on from the Apartheid regime to a social generation that was born into post-Apartheid South Africa. Essentially, the study found that social cohesion in the country is disrupted by the shadow of the historic system of Apartheid, which looms over present-day South Africa. This finding may be of use to,

amongst other role-players. These diversity management practitioners develop, implement, and monitor diversity management programmes to build social cohesion and teamwork in the workspace. Since the study views the workspace as a microcosm (Bigo, 2008) of general societies in the country, this finding may also be useful to leaders in the ruling political party in the country, who are responsible for not only spatially and racially integrating the country but also for enhancing social cohesion amongst citizens in the country.

In addition to feeling guilty (Erickson, 2011; Mahilall & Swartz, 2021; Swim & Miller, 1999) and remorseful regarding the historic system of Apartheid, some White Generation Y participants, in the same way as Baby Boomer and Generation X participants, said that they feel disadvantaged by Employment Equity policies.

> I think our past has resulted in policies like Employment Equity being introduced and these policies are making it more difficult for Whites to get opportunities. (Participant 54, White, Gen Y, BOM)

> This Employment Equity thing is nonsense. It means that we [White people] are not able to get work that we are skilled and experienced to do. Instead, Blacks get these jobs. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

Conversely, as shown in the quotes below, some White participants concurred with their Black counterparts, saying that, in relation to White workers, Black workers have to work harder to prove themselves. This suggests that whilst some White people perceive Employment Equity practices as a form of punishment, other participants perceive it as necessary to bring about racial parity in the workspace.

> Blacks still have to work harder to prove themselves and have to appeal to management for certain privileges that Whites obtain easily. (Participant 51, White, Gen Y, BOM)

> I think Blacks are still playing catch-up. They [Blacks] need to generally prove their worth and make their mark. I think it is still easier for Whites to build a successful career, we [White people] just have the life skills and tools that have been handed down to us by our parents. Blacks are sometimes missing this, which places them at a disadvantage. (Participant 60, White, Gen Y, GMA)

Theme 4: Transformation process

Some participants said that 'transformation processes' in the country have created a more diverse workspace, and some participants said that they feel burdened by the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid. Essentially, Generation Y participants feel that 'transformation processes' in the country have been ineffective in bringing about racial parity, and they said the following in this regard:

> …We may run the same race, but we have not all started on an equal and fair basis. Whilst we have to pay back student loans, Whites are able to invest in property or a car… (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

> We may all appear to be fighting the same battle, but our struggles are not the same; as Blacks we carry the historical burden and responsibility of caring and providing for extended families…so today, even though Apartheid is over, we are still disadvantaged as Whites do not carry the same financial burdens and responsibilities that we do… (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

The study also found that in the workspace, leaders/managers tend to be White male Baby Boomers, and in the public sector, as well as in the leading political party and in government, leaders tend to be Black male Baby Boomers. The Black generation unit in Generation Y therefore said the following:

> …we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

Similarly, the White generation unit in Generation Y said the following, indicating that they feel alienated from the present-day government:

> …their government has lowered the standard of education to accommodate them [Black people]…We [White people] are then disadvantaged and denied the opportunities…the poor education system designed by their government is disadvantaging Blacks… (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

These quotes imply that whilst the system of Apartheid was theoretically and legally abolished in the country some decades ago, the lived experiences of Generation Y in present-day South Africa suggest that young people grapple with the aftermath of the system of Apartheid. The study therefore found that 'transformation processes' in the country have been inadequate for creating the promised "rainbow nation" (Tutu, 2006), and young people remain burdened with various legacy effects of the system of Apartheid. As such, the study found that local Generation Y has not been wholly born free of the system of Apartheid, and neither is Generation Y a homogenous social generation in terms of its experiences of race in present-day South Africa. To leaders in the private and public sectors, these findings may suggest a need for more effective diversity management programmes aimed at both reconciling the lived experiences of race in present-day South Africa and effectively eradicating the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid. This finding may also be relevant to leadership/management practitioners as it suggests the need for leadership/management structures in both the private and public sectors to be redesigned to be more inclusive of Generation Y, which is not just a majority group in the country but the group from which future leaders will emerge in both these sectors.

Theme 5: Racial Othering

Whilst 'racial othering' was least prominent amongst Generation Y participants, there were instances where participants used 'racial othering' (Papadopoulos, 2009; Petros et al., 2006), as indicated in the quotes below:

> …we pay Black tax that they are exempt from. They have an inheritance from their parents that our parents were deprived of accumulating… (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

> …here a White person can be in a romantic relationship with another White employee, and no one sees it as a risk. But if this was Black people, there was going to be a policy to prohibit it. So, in this way, the workplace is designed and redesigned constantly to suit them and what they want. (Participant 50, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

> …their government has lowered the standard of education to accommodate them. We are then disadvantaged and denied the opportunities that go to these incompetent guys…we are not able to get work that we are skilled and experienced to do… (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

In addition to using terms such as 'we', 'they', 'us', and 'them,' participants said that language was often used to exclude people from conversations, which limits opportunities for inter- and intra-racial engagement. The following quote has relevance in this regard:

> It is easier to engage each other in [one's] own vernacular. But I have seen language being used as a tool to exclude a Black person. Without saying anything to you, the person would shift to speaking Afrikaans

> when we are in a group, and I immediately feel excluded. We [Black people] are doing this thing also. We switch to our vernac [vernacular] every now and then, even amongst us Blacks, we can speak a vernac [vernacular] and immediately exclude the next guy whose mother tongue is different. Language is powerful. (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)
>
> …Once I was sent an email in Afrikaans and I replied in isiZulu and my manager phoned me to explain myself and said I was being provocative. I told him I feel the same way when he emails me in Afrikaans and then he understood what I must feel like when I get emails in Afrikaans. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

As mentioned in Section 4.3.2, which discussed how Generation X participants experience race in the workspace in South Africa, Generation X participants, similar to Generation Y participants, said that language is sometimes a barrier to social cohesion. Generation X participants said the following in this regard:

This finding indicates that as much as language may be used to unify people, it may also be used to segregate people racially. Furthermore, shared views by Generation X and Generation Y participants are an example that shows that social generations are not wholly heterogeneous from each other and that, when local social generations intersect with race, there may be similarities between and amongst people belonging to different local social generations. The study also found that Generation Y is least prone to using racial othering, and this implies that Generation Y is socially aware and perhaps even more socially cohesive than the two older social generations. In fact, the study found that Black and White participants in Generation Y concurred with each other more often than Black and White participants did from the two older social generations, and this finding may serve as a measure of success of diversity management programmes in the workspace.

4.2.3.1 Findings by race

As per Appendix 11, Tables 12 and 13, and based on responses by Black and White participants, the study found that Black and White participants shared similar views regarding some themes and had different views regarding other themes. Participants' views differed by race in terms of the themes set out below.

Diversity in the workspace:

As with Generation X participants, participants from the Black generation unit in Generation Y said that White people are privileged in the workspace. Their White counterparts, in turn, said that Black South Africans are privileged in the workspace. In addition, as discussed in an earlier section, Black participants said that they are burdened by a Black tax from which their White counterparts are exempt, and White participants said that they are burdened by guilt and remorse for the system of Apartheid, which they did not orchestrate. The study therefore identified Black and White generation units within Generation Y, finding that local Generation Y is not a homogenous social generation, as studies (Johnston, 2013; Kruger & Saayman, 2015; van der Merwe et al., 2014) commonly portray it to be.

The study also found that the lived experiences of the Black and White generation units within Generation Y differ in the workspace and elsewhere in the country. In this regard, whilst Black participants said that the workspace was more favourable to White people since White people largely occupy top jobs and design the workspace culture to suit the White culture, White participants viewed the government of the country to be in favour of Black South Africans to the detriment of White people. In this regard, Black participants said they exit the workspace, seeking instead to become entrepreneurs. White participants said they emigrated from South Africa for a better

life for themselves and their respective families. The study therefore found that, according to Generation Y participants, the lived experiences of race in the workspace and elsewhere in the country differ. Since the findings outlined above have been discussed in detail earlier on, they are not rediscussed here.

Leadership/management:

Whereas Black participants said that they are cautious when leading/managing White people as White people are socially networked with each other in the workspace and occupy top jobs, White participants said that they are wary of addressing poor work performance with Black subordinates as the 'race card' (Mendelberg, 2017; Singer, 2013; Statman, 2002; Williams, 2020) is used by Black South Africans to evade having to discuss their poor work performance. Hence, White participants said that they lead/manage all subordinates similarly. Racism, and accusations of racism, adversely impact one's reputation in the workspace in present-day South Africa and, in fact, in many firms, racism and accusations of racism may lead to dismissal from one's job. In this regard, the study finds that White people may be more wary of managing Black South Africans than Black South Africans are of managing White people. Without having the 'race card' looming over them as it does for their White counterparts, Black leaders/managers are less constrained by race and are more likely to be flexible in their leadership/management style than White people are. This may be why participants commonly describe White people as autocratic, uncaring leaders/managers. This finding may be useful to leadership/management practitioners as it implies that race and the lived experiences of race may shape leadership/management styles; hence, support, training, and development may be needed to empower White leaders/managers.

Black and White participants share the following themes in common and the findings with regard to these themes have been discussed in previous sections and are not repeated here.

- Racial discrimination and/or prejudice
- Racial othering
- Transformation process

4.2.3.2 Findings by case

As per Appendix 11, Tables 14 and 15, the study found that Generation Y participants from both cases shared similar views for each of the five themes listed below and discussed in the previous sections. To avoid repetition, these findings are not reiterated in this section. Please refer to sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 above. However, it is noteworthy that the similarity of participants' views from both cases suggests that Generation Y is homogenous in terms of case. One possible reason for this is that the workspace is a microcosm (Bigo, 2008) of societies in the country and, hence, the lived experiences of workers in the private sector may overlap with those of workers in the public sector and vice versa.

- Diversity in the workspace
- Leadership/management
- Racial discrimination and/or prejudice
- Racial othering
- Transformation process

4.3 Findings pertaining to research question three and proposition three

Research question three: How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the social generations?

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, according to the theory of generations (Mannheim, 1927), social generations are shaped by socio-historic events that occur during the impressionable youth of the members of the social generation. Therefore, the locale in which a socio-historic event occurs is inseparable from the socio-historic event itself. Yet, studies on social generations often overlook locale and portray social generations as if they are homogenous groups of people the world over (Reisenwitz & Iyer, 2009; Seipert & Baghurst, 2014; Twenge et al., 2010; Wallace, 2006; Zeiss, 2006; Zemke et al., 2000). Studies that do consider locale often define it in terms of physical space only and overlook place (Grabham et al., 2008; Griffith, 2009; Hicks & Buccus, 2008; King, 2011; Mwabu & Schultz, 2000). Hence, whereas much is known about the lived experiences of spaces and spatial racial integration in South Africa (King, 2011; Logan, 2012; Monro, 2010; Neely & Samura, 2011; Ramoroka & Tsheola, 2014), little is known about places and the racial integration of places in the country. In addition, in terms of social generations, little is known about how local social generations experience spaces and places in the country today. Borrowing from spatial theory, which is situated in the sociology of space (Lefebvre, 1991), this study defines locale in terms of both space and place. Whereas space is defined as a physical setting (Gervais-Lambony, 2015; Griffith, 2009; Ramoroka & Tsheola, 2014), a place is defined as the ambience that is socially engineered in spaces (Buttimer & Seamon, 2015; Davoudi & Strange, 2008; Gieryn, 2000; Healey, 2004; Hunziker et al., 2007). To find a theoretical proposition for research question three, the study explores how Black and White South Africans from each local social generation experience spaces and places in present-day South Africa.

The first section below focuses on how spaces and places are experienced by Black and White Baby Boomers, and the second and third sections on how spaces and places are respectively experienced by Black and White participants from the Generation X and Generation Y social generations. The findings per social generation are then further analysed by race, followed by case. This study made two key findings in terms of this particular research question. Whilst each finding is briefly mentioned below, the findings are elaborated upon in the relevant sections that follow. At the outset, it is worth recapping that whereas studies tend to use the terms 'workspace' and 'workplace' interchangeably (Christiansen & Maglaughlin, 2003; Rioux & Pignault, 2013; Seagull, Ward, Mills, Goodrich, & Xiao, 2004), this study draws a terminological distinction between the two terms and relates spaces with the term 'workspace', and places with the term 'workplace'.

First, the study found that Black and White participants from all three local social generations feel that spaces in the workspace are experienced as racially integrated as a result of the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to workers, regardless of race. Participants felt that spaces have been racially and spatially integrated in present-day South Africa. However, in terms of place, the study found that the lived experiences of Black and White participants are polarised by race. White South Africans, on the one hand, feel that Black South Africans have a more favourable experience of place in the workplace and elsewhere in the country, and Black South Africans similarly feel that White South Africans have a more favourable experience of place in the workplace. Black participants feel that their White counterparts have greater earning and positional power in the workplace and are therefore more au fait with place in the workplace. White participants feel that Employment Equity policies advantage Black South Africans over White South Africans and that as a result Black South Africans are more au fait with place in the workplace.

In South Africa, the democratic government that was voted into power in the early 1990s invested resources to implement spatial reform measures by way of a legislative framework, coupled with infrastructure development projects that sought to integrate spaces that historically had been racially segregated racially (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Berrisford, 2011; Du Plessis, 2014; King, 2011; Schensul, 2009; Schoeman, 2015; Shabazz, 2009; Todes, 2012). As an example, the Employment Equity Act (Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998Africa, 1998) stems from such

a legislative framework, and the jurisprudence centres on redressing racial inequalities and criminalising racism in the country. Infrastructure development projects took form by way of bridges and roads that were built to connect villages to towns, and towns to cities, schools, and recreational facilities, as well as a host of other infrastructure development projects that erupted across the country to integrate spaces racially (Griffith, 2009; Neely & Samura, 2011). In contrast, there has been less of a dedicated focus on racially integrating places in the country. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (1992), which sought to establish social cohesion between Black and White South Africans by exploring the lived experiences of the atrocities suffered by Black South Africans during the Apartheid regime (Allan & Allan, 2000; Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1998; Ross, 2003), was one of the first initiatives undertaken by the then newly elected government to integrate places in the country racially. However, for some survivors, the TRC was found to be ineffective and was criticised for diminishing the sufferings of the survivors of the system of Apartheid (Hamber et al., 2000; Ross, 2003). Hence, whilst spaces in the workspace and elsewhere in the country have been racially integrated and experienced as such, places in the workplace and elsewhere remain somewhat racially polarised. The study therefore introduces the term 'placial planning' to refer to 'placial' reform measures that are necessary for racially integrating places in the workplace and elsewhere in the country. Placial planning is considered to be similar to spatial planning (Harrison & Todes, 2001; King, 2011; Logan, 2012; Schoeman, 2015; Shabazz, 2009; Spinks, 2001; Todes, 2012). Where spatial planning pertains to the racial integration of spaces (Neely & Samura, 2011; Reardon et al., 2009), placial planning pertains to racial integration of places. Placial planning differs from efforts to create inclusive workplace cultures in three key ways. First, placial planning should occur in conjunction with spatial planning activities and is therefore ideally conducted upfront as and when new spaces are being designed and spatially built.

Conversely, inclusive workplace cultures are created in existing spaces that have been spatially designed and built as is an ongoing process. Second, inclusive workplaces are co-created together with workers and their respective views and input are taken onboard. Placial planning differs in that it is a leadership function that requires forward thinking and planning to create places that will be conducive to the current workforce, as well as to newcomers. Creating inclusive workplaces is therefore a reactive task, ongoing task whereas placial planning is a proactive one. Third, whereas inclusive workplace cultures commonly take race, gender, and disability into consideration, placial planning extends to less common social constructs such as local social generations, and the intersectionality between and amongst social constructs.

Second, the study examined how local social generations experience space and place in present-day South Africa and found that Baby Boomers are perceived to be architects of spaces in the workspace and elsewhere in the country. As such, participants from all three social generations believe that Baby Boomers are most au fait with spaces in present-day South Africa. In addition, by virtue of being architects of spaces, Baby Boomers are perceived to be architects of places (ambience of spaces) as well. Conversely, Generation Y was perceived to be least au fait with spaces and places in the workspace, with participants saying that Generation Y 'do not fit in' in orthodox workspaces and are not at liberty to 'create' spaces to their liking, since they occupy junior jobs and do not have the requisite power to make changes to spaces in the workspace. In this regard, the study found a positive correlation between one's level of power in the workspace and one's lived experience of spaces and places, where the higher the level of one's power is in the workspace, the better one's lived experience of spaces and places. Since Baby Boomers occupy top jobs in the country's public and private sectors and have the requisite power and access to resources to create spaces and places to their liking, Baby Boomers are perceived to be most au fait with spaces and places in present-day South Africa. Available literature supports the view that Baby Boomers commonly occupy top jobs in the public and private sectors in South Africa (April & Ephraim, 2006; Grobbelaar, 2021; Jonck

et al., 2016; Jonck et al., 2017; Rudolph et al., 2018; Stanley, 2010) and, by virtue of this, are creators and architects of spaces and places in present-day South Africa. Hence, the study found that:

i. In terms of **race**, whilst spaces in the workspace are experienced as racially integrated, places in the workplace and the country in general are experienced as racially polarised. Black and White South Africans from all three social generations experience spaces equally, and places unequally. Effective 'placial planning' and spatial planning initiatives may result in spaces and places being similarly experienced by Black and White South Africans.
ii. Regarding **local social generations**, Baby Boomers are perceived to be architects of spaces and places and, hence, most au fait with spaces and places in South Africa. In contrast to this, Generation Y is perceived to be the least au fait with spaces and places in the country.

4.3.1 How are space and place experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to the Baby Boomer social generation?

For illustrative purposes, a few participant quotes have been extracted from Table 1, Appendix 12, and are presented in Table 15 below to show the analytical process that was followed to arrive at 'Themes' from the 'Participant quotes'.

Table 15: Themes that depict how Baby Boomers experience space and place in present-day South Africa

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
I think the older generation is more familiar with the workplace and how things are done.	Think the older generation is familiar with the workplace and how things are done.	Thinking	Place	Placial experience
Whilst democracy has happened in principle and in policy, the practice is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still remains White-dominated. This shows that the workplace is still geared toward Whites.	Democracy happened in principal and in policy, the practice is in favour of Whites. Top management still White-dominated. Shows that workplace still favourable for Whites.	Showing		
I think Whites are increasingly insecure of their jobs and career progression. With jobs being reserved for Blacks, many Whites have little option but to leave South Africa to go and find work.	White insecure of jobs and career progression. Jobs reserved for Blacks, so Whites have no option but to leave South Africa to find work.	Reserving Leaving		
Whites still benefit hugely at work because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us. As decision-makers, they still remain privileged over us Blacks.	Whites still benefit at workplace because Whites are in power. Whites support Whites. Whites are decision-makers and are privileged over Blacks.	Benefiting Supporting		
Whites remain in senior roles. Blacks still make the tea, clean the offices. True transformation will happen when these jobs are held by the opposite races.	Whites remain in senior roles. Blacks still make tea, clean the office. True transformation will happen when these jobs are held by the opposite races.	Transforming		
We provide training for all staff, and we have the same benefits.	Provide training for all staff. We have the same benefits.	Providing	Space	Rules, policies, and regulatory framework
The same policies apply to everyone, so the experience is governed by that.	Same policies apply to everyone. So, experience is governed by same policies applying to all.	Applying Equalising		
We all are subject to the same company rules and regulations.	All workers subjected to the same company rules and regulations.	Subjecting		
I think young people sometimes experience the workplace as intimidating. They grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace. It is because us older generation	Young people experience workplace as intimidating as they grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace.	Experiencing Enforcing		

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
liked all these rules that we find in the workplace. To the younger generation it can be viewed as a hinderance.	Older generation likes rules. To young people, rules = hinderance.			
We experience the same things in the company. If the company is struggling, we are all faced with the same experience of cost cutting, for example.	We experience the same things in the company. If the company struggles, all workers experience cost cutting.	Experiencing Struggling Equalising	Space	Spatial experience
Our workplace is designed to suit everyone and not just a particular race.	Workplace designed to suit everyone, and not a particular race.	Designing Suiting		
I think the older generation is intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with - using paper freely, manual processes etc. at the same time, the younger generation try to create a space that they are more familiar with - flexi-working, working from home, paperless. But in general, the workplace still largely remains more comfortable for the older generation.	Older generation intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with, example, using paper, manual processes. Younger generation try to create a space for themselves, example, flexi-working, working from home, paperless. In general, the workplace is more comfortable for the older generation.	Maintaining Creating		

As per the quotes and themes presented in Table 16 above, local Baby Boomer participants experience 'space' in the workspace as racially integrated, largely because the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' apply to all workers, regardless of race. In this regard, participants said that the same 'company rules and policies' apply to all workers, that workers get equal opportunities for training and development, and that the same company benefits apply to all workers at the same job level. Furthermore, participants said that the workspace 'is designed to suit everyone' and, hence, in terms of 'space', participants felt that there is racial parity in the workspace. The study describes racial parity in the workspace with the theme 'spatial experience'.

In terms of 'place', participants feel that the 'older generation' is the architect of spaces and places in the workspace and is therefore most comfortable at work in comparison with the 'young generations'. In addition, while some participants feel that White people are privileged in the workplace by having greater earning and positional power in relation to their Black counterparts, some participants feel that 'jobs are reserved for Blacks', leaving White people with little option but to emigrate in search of jobs. In this regard, participants feel that the experience of 'place' in the workplace in South Africa is polarised by race. Therefore, The study suggests to policy makers and practitioners in diversity management, management, and human resources that 'placial planning' is needed in the country in much the same way spatial planning was necessary to integrate spaces in the country racially.

Theme 1: Rules, policies, and regulatory framework

Baby Boomer participants said that whilst the older social generations like rules at work, the younger social generations are less fond of rules and experience the workspace as 'intimidating' because of rules imposed by the older social generations. The following quote bears reference:

> I think young people sometimes experience the workplace as intimidating. They grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace. It is because us older generation liked all these rules that we find in the workplace. To the younger generation it can be viewed as a hinderance. (Participant 8, Black, BB, GMA)

Furthermore, as mentioned above, and as shown in the quotes below, Baby Boomer participants said that they experience 'spaces' in the workspace to be racially integrated, largely because of the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to workers, regardless of race.

> Now there is fairness in the workplace and the company rules and policies apply to all. (Participant 16, White, BB, GMA)

> Today Blacks are allowed into the workplace and to move freely in society in general. This means that there is more diversity at work. (Participant 17, White, BB, GMA)

On the one hand, participants feel that in terms of **race**, the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' apply to all workers, and, hence, spaces in the workspace are experienced homogenously by workers. On the other hand, participants feel that, unlike the young social generation, the older social generation is more fond of rules in the workspace. In this regard, the young and old social generations are perceived to have diverse, rather opposing experiences of the 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' in the workspace. This finding may be of relevance to policy makers, diversity management practitioners in the workspace, and scholars on intersectionality as it suggests that when social constructs are examined through a lens of intersectionality, diverse findings may emerge. As an example, by exploring workers' lived experiences of race, space, and place in present-day South Africa, the study found that whilst spaces may be experienced homogenously by **race**, these same spaces may be experienced heterogeneously by **social generation**. Diversity management practitioners should consider this finding when planning and implementing diversity management programmes in the workspace. This finding may also be useful to change-management and management practitioners working to future-proof workspaces by preparing young people to be future leaders in spaces at work and elsewhere in the country. Practitioners in change management, and management should engage with young people to understand the types of spaces *and* places that they prefer. Their preferences should be considered when current and future workspaces and workplaces are designed, particularly if there is a vested interest in attracting and retaining young talent (Lyons & Schweitzer, 2017; Makiwane, 2011).

Theme 2: Spatial experience

As per the quote below, Baby Boomer participants said that, in terms of **race**, the workspace 'is designed to suit everyone' and, hence, in terms of 'space', participants felt that there is racial parity in the workspace. As mentioned above, the 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' in the country appear to have been instrumental in bringing about spatial racial integration the country (Griffith, 2009; Mapedzahama, Rudge, West, & Perron, 2012; Neely & Samura, 2011; Reardon et al., 2009). A participant said:

> We experience the same things in the company. If the company is struggling, we are all faced with the same experience of cost cutting, for example. (Participant 11, White, BB, BOM)

Regarding **social generation**, participants said that the workspace is more favourable to the older social generation and that, whilst the younger social generation tries 'to create a space that they are more familiar with', the older social generation is determined to maintain current spaces in the workspace. The following quotes are relevant in this regard:

> I think the older generation is intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with, using paper freely, manual processes etc. At the same time, the younger generation try to create a space that they

> are more familiar with, flexi-working, working from home, paperless. But in general, the workplace still largely remains more comfortable for the older generation. (Participant 17, White, BB, GMA)
>
> I think the older generation is more familiar with the workplace and how things are done. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

This finding may be useful to practitioners in diversity management and human resources as it shows that workers' experiences of the same spaces differ, depending on whether they view spaces through the lens of race or social generation. Hence, whereas in terms of race, workers may have a homogenous experience of spaces at work, in terms of social generations, workers may have diverse, heterogenous experiences of spaces at work. One possible reason for this is that since the onset of the democratic regime in the country in the early 1990s, diversity management practitioners and human resource practitioners have largely focused on spatially integrating spaces in the workspace in terms of race (Du Plessis, 2014). In this regard, the social construct of race has been their primary focus, and their efforts to optimise social relations and social experiences in the workspace have centred on the social construct of race. In so doing, less common social constructs such as social generations have been neglected. This finding may be useful to diversity--management practitioners and human resource practitioners as it shows that efforts to integrate spaces at work racially have been successful, but there is room for improvement in terms of racially integrating places in the workspace.

Theme 3: Placial experience

Whilst some Baby Boomer participants felt that White people are privileged as they have greater earning and positional power in the workspace than their Black counterparts, some Baby Boomer participants felt that 'jobs are reserved for Blacks', leaving White people with little option but to emigrate in search of jobs. Baby Boomer participants therefore offered varied lived 'placial experiences' of places in the workplace and said the following:

> Whilst democracy has happened in principle and in policy, the practice is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still remains White-dominated. This shows that the workplace is still geared toward Whites. (Participant 3, Black, BB, BOM)
>
> Blacks still need to get the same level of respect that Whites have. Whites still hold top jobs and still manage the overall company therefore setting policies and rules that suit themselves better. (Participant 4, Black, BB, BOM)
>
> I think Whites are increasingly insecure of their jobs and career progression. With jobs being reserved for Blacks, many Whites have little option but to leave SA [South Africa] to go and find work. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)
>
> Now, we [are] treated equally and fairly as set out by company policy. But there is leniency towards Blacks now as I should have been a senior manager by now but didn't get promoted because I am White. (Participant 12, White, BB, BOM)

This finding suggests that in racially integrated workspaces in present-day South Africa, places may be racially segregated. For places to be racially integrated as spaces are, planned 'placial' racial integration is required. However, since the demise of the Apartheid era, government policies have mainly focused on spatial racial integration initiatives (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Berrisford, 2011; Du Plessis, 2014; King, 2011; Schoeman, 2015; Todes, 2012). Little consideration has been given to the lived human experiences of spatially integrated places. As

a result, whilst spaces have been spatially, racially integrated, the study finds that places are racially polarised. This finding may be relevant and useful to policy makers, practitioners in diversity management, and human resources, who respectively dedicate resources and efforts to spatially, racially integrating spaces in the country and the workspace. The study recommends that, amongst other initiatives, leaders in public and private sectors in the country dedicate resources to 'placial planning' in much the same way as they have to spatial planning.

4.3.1.1 Findings by race

As per Appendix 12, Tables 2 and 3, and based on responses by Black and White participants, the study found that whereas Black and White participants differ in terms of their 'placial experiences', they concur in terms of their 'spatial experiences'. Black participants feel that 'places' in the workplace are favourable to White people since White people have greater earning and positional power in the workplace, as indicated in the quotes below:

> Whites still benefit hugely at work because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us [Black people]. As decision-makers, they [White people] still remain privileged over us Blacks. Whites remain in senior roles. Blacks still make the tea, clean the offices. True transformation will happen when the opposite races hold these jobs. (Participant 5, Black, BB, BOM)

> A White manager recently told me that he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. One can imagine the level of prejudice that Blacks in his team are subjected to. Racist attitudes cannot be stopped by a Constitution, no matter how great that Constitution is. White capital monopoly is a reality in SA. The bulk of our wealth remain in White hands and these same Whites will complain that there are no jobs for Whites in South Africa. (Participant 8, Black, BB, GMA)

In contrast, White Baby Boomers feel that Black people have a more favourable experience of 'place' in the workplace, believing that Employment Equity policies advantage Black people. White participants said the following:

> We all get the same salaries at the same job level, afforded the same benefits. There is no excuse to say the one race is treated better. If anything, Blacks are more favoured. My son can't get a job in this country because he is White. (Participant 18, White, BB, GMA)

As revealed in the quotes below, Black and White participants concur that, in relation to the younger social generations, the older social generations are more au fait with 'places' in the workplace.

> I think the older generation is intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with, using paper freely, manual processes etc. At the same time, the younger generation try to create a space that they are more familiar with, flexi-working, working from home, paperless. But in general, the workplace still largely remains more comfortable for the older generation. (Participant 17, White, BB, GMA)

> I think young people sometimes experience the workplace as intimidating. They grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace. It is because us older generation liked all these rules that we find in the workplace. To the younger generation it can be viewed as a hinderance. (Participant 8, Black, BB, GMA)

Furthermore, White Baby Boomer participants feel that 'spaces' in the workspace in present-day South Africa are spatially and racially integrated, largely through the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' that apply to all workers.

We provide training for all staff, and we have the same benefits. (Participant 13, White, BB, BOM)

In terms of **race**, the study found that whilst Black and White participants experience 'spaces' in the workspace similarly, their experiences of 'places' in the workplace are polarised by race. In addition, in terms of **social generations**, participants felt that the older social generations are more au fait with spaces and places at work. Hence, as mentioned, this finding shows that people are a sum of various social constructs and not simply Black or White, which, in South Africa, has come to be a primary social construct. As an example, diversity management programmes ought to expand to be more inclusive of various social constructs, such as local social generations, instead of focusing primarily on race.

4.3.1.2 Findings by case

As per Appendix 12, Tables 4 and 5, Baby Boomer participants from both cases shared similar views regarding each of the three themes. It is noteworthy that Baby Boomer participants are homogenous in terms of case. As mentioned previously, one possible reason for this is that the workspace often serves as a microcosm (Bigo, 2008) of societies in the country and, hence, the lived experiences of workers in the private sector may overlap with those of workers in the public sector and vice versa.

4.3.2 How are space and place experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation X social generation?

The participant quotes in Table 16 below have been extracted from Table 6, Appendix 12. Table 16 shows how 'Themes' have been arrived at from the empirical data gathered by the study.

Table 16: Themes that depict how Generation X experiences space and place in present-day South Africa

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
I think it is different for the different generations because of government policies such as Employment Equity, it is worst for the older White generation as they cannot find a place in the new South Africa – no opportunities for them at work.	Different generations have different experiences because of EE. It is worse for older White generation as they cannot find a place in the new SA; there are no opportunities for them at work.	Differing	Place	Placial experience
It [Apartheid regime] created a country where racism has been reversed. White males battle to find jobs today because we are paying for the mistakes made in the past.	The Apartheid regime created a country where racism has been reversed. White males can't find jobs today because they are paying for the mistakes made in the past.	Creating Paying		
I think older people are more comfortable as they have a legacy and have established relationships with others. Being young means being new to the workplace and this is a very different experience to knowing your way around.	Older people more comfortable in the workplace as they have a legacy and have established relationships with others. Being young means that one is new to the workplace. And this newness is different to knowing your way around.	Establishing		
Whites remain in positions of power and create opportunities for other White people whilst denying Blacks these opportunities. The workplace remains a White person's playground.	Whites remain in positions of power and create opportunities for other Whites. Whites deny Blacks opportunities. Workplace remains a White person's playground.	Remaining Denying		

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
Because of the past we have the need for Employment Equity today to ensure that all people are treated fairly in the workplace. Today recruitment practices are based on a candidate's qualifications and work experience and all people, or all races are given the opportunities to apply. Today salary increases are applied across the board – meaning all employees receive the same salary increase, it is not based on their race.	Because of past we have EE today to ensure all people treated fairly in workplace. In present-day, recruitment practices based on candidate qualifications and work experience and all people given the opportunity to apply. Salary increases are applied across the board, all employees receive same salary increase, which is not based on race.	Treating Applying Receiving Equalising	Space	Rules, policies, and regulatory framework
Working in the public transport industry, I see the importance of the work that we do in creating a country where public transport services the needs of both Black and White and not just Whites like in the Apartheid era.	Working in the public transport industry, I see importance of work we do in creating a country where public transport serves Black and White South Africans alike, and not just Whites as was the case during Apartheid era.	Creating Equalising	Space	Spatial experience

The theoretical proposition (Carmichael & Cunningham, 2017) is based on the above themes and suggests that, similar to Baby Boomer participants, Generation X participants experience 'space' in the workspace to be racially integrated, believing that the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' apply to all workers, regardless of race. Generation X participants said that 'space' was racially integrated unlike during the Apartheid era where public transport, as an example, was favourable to White people. However, in terms of 'place' in the workplace in present-day South Africa, and concurring with Baby Boomer participants, Generation X participants said that the 'older' social generation is 'more comfortable' in the workspace as they have a 'legacy and established relationships' with co-workers. In contrast, young people, 'being new to the workplace', need to find their way around and establish new relations/networks. Furthermore, in terms of 'race' and 'place', whilst some participants felt that White people have a favourable experience of place as White people are privileged, having greater earning and positional power than their Black counterparts, other participants felt that Black South Africans are privileged by Employment Equity policies that deprive White people of obtaining job opportunities, which are 'reserved' for Black South Africans. In this regard, White participants felt that Black South Africans have a favourable experience of 'place' in the workplace. Hence, when **'social generation'** intersects with 'place' in the workplace, participants felt that the older social generations have a more favourable experience of place. When **'race'** intersects with 'place' in the workplace, whilst some participants felt that White people have a favourable experience of place, other participants felt that Black South Africans have a favourable experience of place.

Theme 1: Placial experience

Generation X participants felt that in relation to 'young people', 'older people' are more comfortable in spaces in the workspace. This is because older people have established relationships in the workspace and have had time to develop their individual legacies, whereas young people entering the workspace have established neither relationships nor a legacy in the workspace. The following quote bears reference:

> I think older people are more comfortable as they have a legacy and have established relationships with others. Being young means being new to the workplace and this is a very different experience to knowing your way around. (Participant 33, White, Gen X, BOM)

In addition, participants felt that the space in the workspace is race-neutral and experienced similarly by Black and White South Africans, but that 'place' is experienced differently. The following quote is a case in point. This quote points to the fact that in spaces that are racially integrated and regulated by policies, as an example, places may be experienced as racially polarised. In other words, whilst Black and White workers have access to the same facilities and company benefits at work, their lived experiences may vary owing to racial nuisances and undercurrents that are more difficult to regulate through policy frameworks than spaces. This is because while space is tangible, place is less tangible, and can only be experienced (Hunziker et al., 2007; Parsaee et al., 2015; Saunders et al., 2011).

> I think Blacks sometimes offend us [White people] because they eat food that smells, and they [Black people] put it in the same microwave that we [White people] must use. Then, if a White person objects to the nasty smell of their food, they interpret it as the person violating their right, without considering that the bad smell violates the White person's rights just as well. So, we are all different and experience the workplace differently. In terms of company benefits, for example medical aid or the number of days sick leave, you see everyone access the same facilities and benefits are not age-based. Your package is determined by your provision and grade not your race. (Participant 34, White, Gen X, BOM)

Essentially, the study found that Black participants experience racist discrimination and/or prejudice in the workspace, saying that they choose to 'leave' or 'resign' as a result of their experiences of 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' at work. Similarly, White participants said that 'Apartheid was in reverse' and, as a result, White people 'cannot find a place in the new South Africa'. The following quotes by Black and White participants respectively bear reference in this regard:

> I have personally had only one negative experience where I was managed by a White male who demonstrated racist prejudices. I knew that the relationship could not work, and I therefore resigned from that company within a period of a few months. If a person is willing to change, I can work effectively with him or her, but if I can see that an individual is content to be the way that he or she is and is uncompromising, then I will rather leave the company, so I do not have to work with the person. (Participant 22, Black, Gen X, BOM)

> I think it is different for the different generations because of government policies such as Employment Equity, it is worst for the older White generation as they cannot find a place in the new South Africa; no opportunities for them at work… Nowadays Whites are victimised, it is Apartheid in reverse, we do not get jobs and even though we are more capable than them [Black people], they [Black people] get the jobs. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

Hence, the study found that when 'race' intersects with 'space', Black and White participants have a similar experience of space in the workspace. However, when 'race' intersects with 'place', whilst Black participants believe that White people have a more favourable experience of place in relation to Black South Africans, White participants believe that Black South Africans have a more favourable experience of place. Essentially, neither the Black nor the White generation unit feels a sense of belonging in present-day South Africa. As discussed with findings pertaining to research question two, Black South Africans experience place in the workplace as hostile, since leaders/managers tend to be White people, and White people experience place in the country as hostile, since political leaders tend to be Black. As such, Black participants report 'resigning', 'leaving', and seeking out 'entrepreneurial opportunities' in order to exit the formal workspace, whereas White participants say they 'emigrate' from South Africa in search of opportunities that they feel deprived of in the 'new South Africa'.

In this regard, the study identifies a correlation between 'race' and one's membership of a minority or majority race group in the country and the workplace. As participants said, in the workplace, White people are 'in positions of power' and 'create opportunities for other White people whilst denying Black people these opportunities'. Even though White people are a minority race group in both the public and private sectors in the country, by virtue of occupying top jobs in the workspace and having greater positional and earning power than Black people do, White people are seen to be the architects of spaces and places that are better suited to White people than to Black people. The following quotes are relevant in this regard:

> We come from different backgrounds and because of our race, we were afforded either opportunities or deprivation. Work is generally designed to suit White people who were schooled to fit in better in the workplace. The whole culture and language of the workplace is orientated toward the White race. (Participant 29, Black, Gen X, GMA)

Similarly, White participants feel that government policies 'victimise' White people and are experienced as 'Apartheid in reverse' as White people do not get jobs (Wambugu, 2005). The White voices, which represent a minority race group, are often drowned out by the Black majority voices. As a result, White people feel as if there is 'no place for White people in the new South Africa', and as Black South Africans 'resign' from the workplace, White people emigrate from the country.

This finding may be of relevance to policy makers, and to practitioners in diversity management, management, and human resources, as it implies that for 'places' in the workplace and in the country to be experienced homogenously by Black and White South Africans alike, similar to how spaces are experienced by Black and White South Africans, effective 'placial planning' is necessary to overhaul the ambience in spaces in the country. When places are racially integrated, then Black and White South Africans may have a sense of belonging in different spaces in the so-called 'new South Africa'.

Theme 2: Rules, policies, and regulatory framework

Participants said that at work 'space' is racially integrated, and the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' apply to all workers, irrespective of race. The following quotes are relevant in this regard:

> Because of the past we have the need for Employment Equity today to ensure that all people are treated fairly in the workplace. Today, recruitment practices are based on a candidate's qualifications and work experience and all people, or all races are given the opportunities to apply. Today salary increases are applied across the board, meaning all employees receive the same salary increase, it [salary increase] is not based on their race. (Participant 27, Black, Gen X, GMA)

> Everyone has access to [the] same facilities and benefits are not age based. Your package is determined by your position and grade. (Participant 25, Black, Gen X, BOM)

Essentially, participants felt that spaces in the workspace are experienced similarly regardless of race or social generation owing to the same company rules, policies, and/or regulatory framework applying to all workers. This finding may be useful to human resource practitioners and policy makers, as it shows that rules, policies, and the regulatory framework contribute to spatial integration in South Africa.

Theme 3: Spatial experience

As mentioned above, and similar to Baby Boomer participants, Generation X participants said that they experience 'space' in the workspace to be racially integrated unlike during the Apartheid era where public transport, as an example, was favourable for White people. The following quote bears reference:

> Working in the public transport industry, I see the importance of the work that we do in creating a country where public transport services the needs of both Black and White and not just White people like in the Apartheid era. (Participant 28, Black, Gen X, GMA)

The finding and discussion pertaining to this theme are intertwined with the above-mentioned theme and not repeated here.

4.3.2.1 Findings by race

As per Appendix 12, Tables 7 and 8, whilst Black and White participants shared the same themes in common, views differed according to race. The quotes revealed that Black participants believed that, at work, 'space' is racially integrated, but 'place' is favourable to White people. White participants believed that at work as well as in the country as a whole, 'space' is racially integrated, but 'place' is favourable to Black South Africans. As revealed in the quotes shared in the sections above, Black participants said that White people have greater earning and positional power in the workspace and, by virtue of their positional power, White people have the liberty to create 'places' in the workplace that are experienced favourably by White people. White participants, on the other hand, said that in the workspace and other spaces in South Africa, White people have 'no place' and therefore emigrate from South Africa.

Hence, the study finds that when 'race' intersects with 'space', Black and White South Africans have a similar experience of space in the workspace, but when 'race' intersects with 'place', Black and White South Africans have diverse experiences. As mentioned, this finding may be useful to policy makers and practitioners in diversity management, management, and human resources, as it suggests the need for 'placial planning' and places to be placially and racially integrated.

4.3.2.2 Findings by case

As per Appendix 12, Tables 9 and 10, participants from both cases shared similar views for the three themes discussed in the sections above. The similarities in terms of their views suggest that Generation X participants are homogenous in terms of case, possibly because the workspace is a microcosm (Bigo, 2008) of societies in the country and, hence, the lived experiences of workers in the private sector may overlap with workers in the public sector and vice versa.

4.3.3 How are space and place experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation Y social generation?

Table 17 below shows a few participant quotes that have been extracted from Table 11, Appendix 12.

Table 17: Themes that depict how Generation Y experiences space and place in present-day South Africa

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
To young people the work environment is new and different, they need to adjust to perceptions that because you are young, you	Workplace is new to young people who must adjust to being undermined.	Adjusting Undermining Accepting		

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
don't know what you are doing. You find yourself in an environment where you are undermined. Older people are more easily accepted.	Perceptions = young people don't know what they are doing. Older people are accepted in the workplace.			
Blacks are disadvantaged in the workplace as our culture differs from Whites and the workplace is not accepting of our culture. The White culture is primary, and the Black culture is secondary in the workplace. If the workplace had to be allocated a race, I think it would be a White. And if the workplace was to be given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people we therefore tend to try to be entrepreneurs – we prefer to start our businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us.	Blacks are disadvantaged in the workplace as our culture differs from Whites and the workplace is not accepting of our culture. The White culture is primary. The Black culture is secondary. If the workplace was allocated a race, it would be a White. If the workplace had a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer/Generation X, not Generation Y. Young Black people try to be entrepreneurs and feel they do not fit in in the workplace. The workplace feels White and old to them.	Disadvantaging Differing Unaccepting Fitting-in Feeling	Place	Placial experience
Young Black and White professionals experience the workplace very differently. Blacks feel that Whites have been born into White privilege and therefore get opportunities that they are not always qualified for. Blacks still have a sense of injustice against them, and this is perpetuated by the media. Many of us have not inherited a legacy or inheritance from our parents like White professionals our age have. This introduces the issue of Black tax that Whites are exempt from. We may run the same race, but we have not all started on an equal and fair basis. Whilst we have to pay back student loans, Whites are able to invest in property or a car. Many of us have to repay debt due by our parents and extended family. We therefore take longer than Whites to start making an improvement to our lives.	Young Black and White professionals experience the workplace differently. Blacks feel Whites are born into White privilege and get opportunities they not always qualified for. Blacks feel there's injustice against them; this is perpetuated by the media. Blacks don't get an inheritance. Whites get an inheritance. This introduces issue of Black tax. Whites exempt from Black tax. We run the same race, but we don't start on an equal, fair basis. Blacks pay back student loans, etc. Whites invest in car/property. Blacks repay debt due by parents and extended family. Blacks therefore delay making an improvement to their lives.	Experiencing Feeling Paying Repaying		
I think the same rules apply to all races and all people.	Same rules apply to all people.	Applying Equalising	Space	Rules, policies, and regulatory framework
Once in the workplace it is designed to give everyone equal opportunities but to get into the workplace is a challenge as Whites are discriminated against and find it harder to get job opportunities than Blacks. We Whites are paying for the faults of the older generations.	Once in the workplace, everyone is equal. To get into the workplace is a challenge for Whites. Whites are paying for the faults of the older generations.	Challenging Paying		

Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
Today things are equal for all people.	Today things are equal for all.	Equalising	Space	Spatial experience

Generation Y participants, similar to Baby Boomer participants, perceive 'spaces' in the workspace to be spatially integrated in terms of **race** and believe that the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' apply to all workers, irrespective of race. However, in terms of **social generation**, participants feel that the older social generations are more au fait with 'spaces' in the workspace than is Generation Y.

In terms of 'place', Generation Y participants said that 'places' in the workplace are polarised by race. On the one hand, Black participants said that they 'do not fit in' in the workplace and are burdened by Black tax; on the other hand, White participants said that they feel guilty and remorseful for the system of Apartheid, which they did not have a hand in.

Theme 1: Placial experience

With regard to 'places' in the workplace, the study made two findings, with the first pertaining to social generation, and the second to race. First, Generation Y participants said that the older social generations are the architects of spaces in the workplace and have greater positional power in relation to Generation Y. Participants felt that the older social generations use their positional power to create spaces that are favourable to the older generations but less so for Generation Y. Hence, Generation Y believes that when 'social generation' intersects with 'place', the older social generations are more comfortable and au fait with 'place' in the workplace and elsewhere in the country than Generation Y is. In this regard participants said the following:

> I think the younger generation is more socially aware and open to discussing social issues like racism, but the older generations tend to want to shy away from talking about these issues. They [older generations] want to avoid it and pretend it doesn't exist. We therefore experience the workplace differently. We feel constrained in terms of what we can talk about and what we can't. Also, organisations are generally managed by an older generation and that in itself means that they have more power than the younger generation. This power imbalance means we, younger generation, have to fit in with what the older generation expects of us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

> The workplace was built by the older generation and the concept of a workplace is their idea. They [older generation] are therefore more comfortable here [in the workplace]. We, [the] younger generation, would design a completely different set-up [configuration of the workplace] if allowed the room to do so. We would prefer to work from home and use technology to communicate, for example, but this would not be agreed to by the older generation that remains in charge and in power. (Participant 46, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

Second, the study found that the Black and White generation units belonging to Generation Y have diverse experience of 'places' in the workplace. Black participants said that White people not only have greater earning and positional power in the workspace but also inherit a legacy of financial wealth from their parents and families, whereas Black South Africans are burdened by a 'Black tax' from which their White counterparts are 'exempt'. To afford 'Black tax', Black participants said that they take on multiple secondary jobs and therefore self-identify as

'Slashers', a term coined by Alboher (2007) that refers to the slash that one may have in their job title as a result of holding multiple jobs. Black participants said the following in this regard:

> Young Black and White professionals experience the workplace very differently. Blacks feel that Whites have been born into White privilege and therefore get opportunities that they are not always qualified for…Many of us have not inherited a legacy or inheritance from our parents like White professionals our age have. This introduces the issue of Black tax that Whites are exempt from. We may run the same race, but we have not all started on an equal and fair basis. Whilst we have to pay back student loans, Whites are able to invest in property or a car. Many of us have to repay debt due by our parents and extended family. We therefore take longer than Whites to start making an improvement to our lives. (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

> We often find Whites with less experience or qualifications earning more than their Black counterparts. Whites also have their incomes subsidised by other means, like a farm, or property handed down to them from their parents, and other investments because they [their parents] [are] earning more. For us, [Black people] we work to survive, it is bread and butter…the money we make is not enough to pay back and then to still eat every day. So, I'm a Slasher, my friends too, we need a side-hustle to top-up our income so we can help our families. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

Furthermore, Black participants said that the culture in the workspace is aligned to the 'White culture', and that Black South Africans are disadvantaged in this regard. The following quote bears reference:

> Blacks are disadvantaged in the workplace as our culture differs from Whites and the workplace is not accepting of our culture. The White culture is primary, and the Black culture is secondary in the workplace. If the workplace had to be allocated a race, I think it would be a White. And if the workplace was to be given a generation, it would be a Baby Boomer or a Generation X, not my generation. As young Black people we therefore tend to try to be entrepreneurs – we prefer to start our businesses because we feel we do not fit in or belong easily in this workplace that feels White and old to us. (Participant 42, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

White participants, in contrast, said that they feel burdened by guilt and remorse for the Apartheid regime, which they did not perpetuate, and they said the following:

> I get along with all people at work irrespective of their race but because of our political history I feel that Blacks have a view that we need to be sorry for what happened and treat them differently, but we were not the perpetrators so why must we keep saying sorry for a mistake we never made? This is what makes it a bit challenging to engage with Blacks. (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> The workplace has had to introduce Employment Equity policies to address the imbalances caused during [the] Apartheid [regime], but these policies punish the wrong generation. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

In addition, White participants expressed feeling 'afraid' to address poor work performance of Black people in the workspace, saying that Black people 'use the race card' against White people. The following quote bears reference:

> I am afraid to address poor work performance of Blacks because they always use the race card. They therefore get away with a lot because White managers are afraid to address performance issues with them. It is easier to manage Whites. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

Finally, Black participants associate leadership/management in the workspace with the White race, saying that White people have greater positional power at work. White participants similarly associate the government in the country with the Black race, referring to it as 'their government', as per the quote below. White participants also said that 'the majority Blacks now have more rights than the minority Whites'.

> Blacks were disadvantaged and not given the opportunities that Whites received but the problem now is that their government has lowered the standard of education to accommodate them [Black people] to get through the schooling system and this means that incompetent Black people are getting into the workplace. We [White people] are then disadvantaged and denied the opportunities that go to these incompetent guys [Black people]. This Employment Equity thing is nonsense; it means that we [White people] are not able to get work that we are skilled and experienced to do. Instead, Blacks get these jobs. So, the poor education system designed by their government is disadvantaging Blacks more than the Apartheid government did. They can't do the jobs that they get. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

> [The] Apartheid [regime] gave arise to the need for Employment Equity and other new laws so that the majority Blacks now have more rights than the minority Whites. (Participant 57, White, Gen Y, GMA)

The study found that whereas Black participants feel that they 'do not fit in' in the workplace, White participants feel that they do not belong in present-day South Africa. Hence, neither the White nor the Black generation units in Generation Y self-identify as a 'Born Free' social generation (Cassuto & April, 2019; Mattes, 2012; Norgaard, 2015; Ronnie, 2018a, 2018b). Instead, the Black generation unit self-identifies as 'Slashers' (Alboher, 2012) who are burdened by a 'Black tax' (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021; Magubane, 2017; Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019; Matlala & Shambare, 2017; Mhlongo, 2019; Sibiya, 2018; Stephen, 2007). At the same time, the White generation unit self-identifies with guilt (Erickson, 2011; Ivey & Sonn, 2020) and remorse for the socio-historic system of Apartheid, which they have not had a hand in. The Black generation unit said that they therefore prefer to be entrepreneurs as an escape route to working in workspaces where White people have greater earning and positional power than Black South Africans. For its part, the White generation unit said that 'the [Black] government' was responsible for, amongst other things, implementing Employment Equity policies that reserve jobs for Black South Africans, resulting in White people emigrating from South Africa as they feel that they do not belong in the 'new South Africa' (Ivey & Sonn, 2020).

This finding may be relevant to scholars in social generations, diversity management, and practitioners in diversity management, human resources, management, and change management, as it portrays the racially polarised 'placial' experiences of young people in South Africa today. Generation Y will be the future leaders in various spaces in the country, and it is therefore important for their lived experiences to be taken into consideration when current leaders plan spaces and places in the workspace and elsewhere in the country. If current leaders fail to 'placially' integrate spaces in South Africa, the country may, in the future, experience a leadership shortage, as young people may be presented with spaces that they neither identify with nor are willing to preside over. This may have dire consequences for economies in South Africa, and it is therefore important for current leaders to consider the voices and the lived experiences of the young majority when they plan for spaces and places in the workspace and elsewhere in the country.

Theme 2: Rules, policies, and the regulatory framework

Similar to Baby Boomer and Generation X participants, Generation Y participants felt that spaces in the workspace are spatially and racially integrated because of the same 'rules, policies, and the regulatory framework' that apply to everyone in the workspace and in the country. Essentially, as per the quotes below, Generation Y participants said that, in the workspace, the same company rules apply to all workers, regardless of race.

> I think the same rules apply to all races and all people. (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> I feel that currently there is equal treatment regardless of Generation or race. It's determined by company policy. (Participant 52, White, Gen Y, BOM)

Theme 3: Spatial experience

As mentioned above, Generation Y believed that spaces in the workspace are spatially integrated in terms of **race** because the same 'rules, policies and regulatory framework' apply to all workers. However, in terms of **social generations**, participants felt that the older social generations are the architects of spaces in the workspace and are therefore more comfortable and au fait with 'spaces' in the workspace than the young social generations are. The following quotes are relevant in this regard:

> I think the older generation are a lot more comfortable in orthodox work environments and younger generations more comfortable in dynamic, technologically advanced environments. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

> The workplace was built by the older generation and the concept of a workplace is their idea. They [the older social generations] are therefore more comfortable here [in the workplace]. We, [the] younger generation, would design a completely different set-up [configuration of the workplace] if allowed the room to do so. We would prefer to work from home and use technology to communicate, for example, but this would not be agreed to by the older Generation that remains in charge and in power. (Participant 46, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

This finding may be useful for diversity management practitioners, who are tasked with, amongst other things, creating spaces for effective social relations and teamwork to flourish in the workspace. However, diversity management programmes in South Africa commonly examine race and how spaces in the workspace may be integrated in terms of race (Moodley & Adam, 2000; Oppenheimer et al., 2014; Posel, 2001; Seekings, 2008; Walker, 2005). Consequently, social constructs, such as social generations, are overlooked. This finding suggests to diversity management practitioners that there is an opportunity for spaces in the workspace to be integrated in terms of social generations so that workers, young and old alike, may feel a sense of belonging in workspaces in the country. It is important for Generation Y to feel that they 'have a place' in the workplace because this social generation is home to future leaders. It is equally important for the older social generations to feel that they 'belong' in the workspace, as the older social generations are home to current leaders who have acquired skills and work experience that, according to them, they are willing to 'teach' and 'share' with young people.

4.3.3.1 Findings by race

As per Appendix 12, Tables 12 and 13, the study found Black and White generation units in Generation Y. The Black generation unit said that their White counterparts are privileged in the workspace and inherit financial wealth from their respective families whereas they are burdened with a 'Black tax'. The White generation unit said that their

Black counterparts are privileged by Employment Equity policies that punish White people for mistakes made by the older social generations (Ruhiiga, 2013; Statman, 2002). The White generation unit further said that they feel burdened with guilt (Erickson, 2011; Mahilall & Swartz, 2021) and remorse for the socio-historic system of Apartheid, which they said they did not orchestrate. Hence, in terms of 'place', both Black and White participants feel that places are racially polarised. Similarly, in terms of space, Black and White participants concur that spaces are racially integrated in the workspace.

4.3.3.2 Findings by case

As per Appendix 12, Tables 14 and 15, Generation Y participants from both cases shared similar views for the three themes discussed in the sections above. To avoid repetition, these findings are not reiterated. Please refer to section 4.3.2 above. Finding no difference by case suggests that Generation Y participants are homogenous in terms of case. This may be because the workspace is a microcosm (Bigo, 2008) of societies in the country, which means that the lived experiences of workers in the private sector may be similar to those of workers in the public sector and vice versa.

4.4 Findings pertaining to research question four and proposition four

Research question four: When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the different social generations experience this intersection?

This section examines the intersectionality of each of the social constructs that the three previous research questions have explored. The data presented in Appendices 10, 11, and 12 that pertains to research questions one, two, and three, respectively, is therefore relevant to this section, and the findings and discussions pertaining to research question four are presented in three sections below. The first section discusses how Black and White Baby Boomers experience the intersection of race, social generation, and locale (space and place) in the workspace in South Africa, and the second and third sections pertain to how Black and White participants from Generation X and Generation Y, respectively, experience the intersection of these same social constructs.

In present-day South Africa, social constructs such as race, social generation, age, and gender are commonly explored and understood as single identities, in a rather siloed approach (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 2015; Crenshaw, Yuval-Davis, & Fine, 2010), and scholars seldom explore the intersectionality (Carbado et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 2010) of social constructs in South Africa and elsewhere. Hence, as opposed to gaining deeper understandings of human beings and their lived experiences as a sum of various intersecting social constructs, scholars tend to explore lived, human experiences in terms of single, individual social constructs (Muhr, 2008; Papadopoulos, 2009), such as race, or gender, as if people are only Black or White, or only male or female. When social constructs are not explored using this siloed approach, where race, as an example, is understood as either Black or White, then social constructs are explored as dyads, where race is understood as Black and White (Baugh, Scandura, & Cogliser, 2003; Esprey, 2017; Goldberg & McKay, 2015). Hence, social constructs are commonly understood either as *this or that* (Black **or** White), or *this and that* (Black **and** White). The problem with examining social constructs using a siloed and/or a dyad approach is that the full/complete lived experiences of participants may be neglected. In contrast, when scholars examine phenomena and lived experiences through a lens of intersectionality (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 2005, 2015; Crenshaw et al., 2010; Crenshaw, 2010; Crenshaw, 2018, 2019), they may gain a more complete picture of the lived experiences of participants and deeper insight into the phenomena that they are exploring.

In South Africa, Employment Equity policies, which participants commonly referred to, as shown in the quotes provided thus far, require many employers to report quantitatively on, amongst other things, the number of Black and White workers in various echelons in their respective firms. Employment Equity policies assign little importance to qualitative reporting and to workers' lived experiences, and even less importance to workers' lived experiences when social constructs such as race and gender intersect. As a result, whereas policy makers, and other key stakeholders, may know the number of Black and White, male and female workers in different echelons in workspaces in the country, they know little about the lived experiences of these workers. This study explored the lived experiences of workers in present-day South Africa when the social constructs of race, social generation, and locale (space and place) intersect, and the study adds local findings to the existing body of knowledge pertaining to intersectionality, local social generations, race, and locale (space and place). Essentially, the study made five key findings in terms of research question four. These findings are outlined below and then further elaborated upon in the following sections.

First, in terms of research question one, the study found that local social generations are not homogenous and consist of Black and White generation units within each local social generation. The study found that when race intersects with local social generation, Black and White generation units are identified in social generations. Furthermore, the study found that local social generations are specific to locale (spaces and places) in South Africa and are therefore not identical to social generations as described by the generational theory (Strauss & Howe, 2009), which examines social generations in the context of the US. Instead, the study found that the so-called Baby Boomer social generation in South Africa identified with African leadership, and with African practices such as Hlonipha and Ubuntu, rather than with a spike in the birth rate post the Second World War, as Baby Boomers in the US do (Birns, 2016; Bristow, 2015a; Strauss & Howe, 2009). Similar to how the middle child is often perceived in the family setting (Antonini, 2016), the study found that the local Generation X social generation was commonly overlooked by participants, who regularly made reference to either the older or younger social generations. In this regard, the study found that, in South Africa, the social construct of age outweighs the social construct of social generation. In terms of local Generation Y, the study found that despite being known as a Born Free social generation in South Africa, Black and White generation units co-exist in the local Generation Y social generation and both generation units say that they are burdened, albeit differently so, by legacy effects that stem from the socio-historic system of Apartheid in the country. In this regard, the study found that the local Generation Y is not wholly born free of the system of Apartheid.

Second, with regard to research question two, the study found that when social generations intersect with race, local social generations are not wholly homogenous, as studies commonly portray them to be (Chungu & Kalula, 2020; Johnston, 2013; Makiwane, 2010; Makiwane, 2011; Martins & Martins, 2014). Instead, the study found that the social construct of race is a source of intra-generational differences within local social generations and that there are Black and White generation units within local social generations. Furthermore, the study found that participants from the Black and White generation units share some common themes; hence, when race intersects with local social generations, there are intra-generational differences *within* Black and White generation units in as much as there are intra-generational differences within social generations. Essentially, the study found that Black and White generation units are neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogenous, and, instead, there are shades of Blackness and Whiteness within the respective Black and White generation units in local social generations.

Third, and particularly with reference to research question three, by describing locale in terms of both space and place, and by exploring the intersection of race, space, and place, the study found that racially integrated spaces

may be experienced as racially disintegrated. Following the findings pertaining to space and place, the study draws a distinction between the terms 'workspace' and 'workplace', terms that are often used interchangeably in South Africa and elsewhere (Christiansen & Maglaughlin, 2003; McGregor, 2000; Rioux & Pignault, 2013; Seagull et al., 2004). For this study, whereas 'workplace' refers to the ambience in the workspace and, hence, to workers' lived experiences of places/ambience in the workspace, 'workspace' relates to physical spaces in which workers perform their respective work. When social generation intersects with space, the study found that local Baby Boomers are believed to be most au fait with spaces in the workspace. Participants from all three social generations considered local Baby Boomers to be the 'architects' of spaces in the workspace and said that Baby Boomers design spaces that they are most comfortable with working in. Generation Y participants, in contrast, said that they feel they do not belong in current workspaces and that they prefer to work in non-traditional workspaces that are not necessarily office bound. The study therefore found that when social generation intersects with space in the workspace in South Africa, whereas the local Baby Boomer social generation is most comfortable with spaces in the workspace, the local Generation Y social generation is least comfortable with these same spaces.

Fourth, when social generation, space, and race intersect, Black and White participants from all three social generations perceive spaces in the workspace to be racially integrated. They feel that Black and White South Africans have a similar experience of space as the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' apply to all workers, regardless of race. Basically, participants said that unlike during the Apartheid era, today, the labour law, as along with rules and company policies, applies to all workers, thereby creating a similar workspace for workers.

Lastly, still with reference to research question three, the study found that when local social generations intersect with race and place, the Black and White generation units from each social generation have diverse experiences of places in the workplace and the country. Whereas participants from each of the Black generation units feel that White people are advantaged by having greater earning and positional power in relation to their Black counterparts, participants from each of the White generation units feel that Black South Africans are advantaged by Employment Equity policies in the workplace, as well as by the ruling government in the country. In this regard, the study found that Black South Africans from each of the three local social generations share a similar experience of place in the workplace, as do White people from each of these local social generations.

Furthermore, exploring the intersectionality of local social generation, race, and place, the study found that there are Black and White generation units within each local social generation. The Black generation unit in Generation Y was perceived to be least au fait with workplace and country places, and the White generation unit in the Baby Boomer social generation was perceived to be most au fait with places in the workplace. Essentially, the study found that the Black and White generation units from all three social generations feel that places in the workplace are racially polarised. This suggests to policy makers and practitioners in diversity management and human resources the need for 'placial planning' to be conducted in the country so that places may be racially integrated. Had the study solely explored the intersectionality of local social generations with place to the exclusion of race, the study may have overlooked this finding. Scholars should therefore consider exploring the intersectionality of social constructs to gain deeper understandings of phenomena. Each of the five above-mentioned findings are discussed in more detail, and by social generation, in the sections below.

4.4.1 When race, social generation, and locale (space and place) intersect in the workspace in South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to the Baby Boomer social generation experience this intersection?

The study found that when local social generations are examined as individual social constructs, intra-generational and inter-generational differences are found. A source of intra-generational differences in the Baby Boomer social generation is race, and, in this regard, the study found Black and White generation units in the local Baby Boomer social generation. Hence, when social generation intersects with race, Black and White generation units co-exist in the local Baby Boomer social generation. As shown in the quotes below, on the one hand, White participants feel that Black South Africans receive 'more opportunities' at work than White people do owing to Employment Equity policies in the country, and, on the other hand, Black participants feel that White people have greater earning and positional power than Black South Africans have in the workplace.

> Blacks have more job opportunities and can get promoted with greater ease, with or without experience or skills. (Participant 20, White, BB, GMA)

> Whilst democracy has happened in principle and in policy, the practice is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still remains White-dominated. This shows that the workplace is still geared toward Whites. (Participant 3, Black, BB, BOM)

The study found that local Baby Boomers are neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogenous. Despite perceived intra-generational differences according to race, the study found that local Baby Boomer participants share similar lived experiences in terms of 'workplace values', as an example. In this regard, local Baby Boomers, Black and White alike, said the following:

> We grew up in at a time where people were forced to work long hours and had to respect rules and regulations. Because of it, we are more disciplined, committed, and loyal. (Participant 16, White, BB, GMA)

By further exploring how the Black and White generation units in the local Baby Boomer social generation experience locale (space and place) in the present-day workspace, the study found that, in terms of 'space', participants believe that Baby Boomers are most comfortable with 'spaces' in the workspace and they self-identify as 'architects' of spaces in the workspace. Baby Boomer participants said that they enjoy the concept of physical spaces in which to work, whereas Generation Y participants said that they prefer to work from home, and in other non-traditional spaces. The following quotes from all these social generations are relevant in this regard, and this finding is discussed in more detail in the section below that discusses findings pertaining to Generation Y.

> …the older generation is more familiar with the workplace and how things are done. (Participant 14, White, BB, BOM)

> …older people are more comfortable as they have a legacy and have established relationships with others. Being young means being new to the workplace and this is a very different experience to knowing your way around. (Participant 33, White, Gen X, BOM)

> I think the older generation are a lot more comfortable in orthodox work environments and younger generations more comfortable in dynamic, technologically advanced environments. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

When exploring the intersectionality of local social generations with 'places' at work, Black and White generation units were once again identified in the Baby Boomer social generation. The Black generation unit feels that its White counterparts have a more favourable experience of 'places' in the workplace owing to White people having greater earning and positional power. However, the White generation unit feels that Employment Equity policies advantage its Black counterparts. White Baby Boomers said that these policies have the effect of 'reversing' (Ruhiiga, 2013; Statman, 2002) the Apartheid regime in present-day South Africa and 'limiting' White people from obtaining job opportunities in the country. The following comments by Black and White participants, respectively, bear reference:

> Whilst democracy has happened in principle and in policy, the practice is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still remains White-dominated. This shows that the workplace is still geared toward Whites. (Participant 3, Black, BB, BOM)

> Now, we [are] treated equally and fairly as set out by company policy. But there is leniency towards Blacks now as I should have been a senior manager by now but didn't get promoted because I am White. (Participant 12, White, BB, BOM)

By examining the intersection of 'race', the 'local Baby Boomer social generation', and 'locale' (space and place), the study found that, on the one hand, there are Black and White generation units in the local Baby Boomer social generation and, on the other hand, in terms of themes such as 'workplace values', there are inter-generational differences amongst local social generations. In this regard, the local Baby Boomer social generation can neither be defined as Baby Boomers in the US and in terms of the generational theory (Strauss & Howe, 2009), nor as a wholly homogenous or wholly heterogenous social generation. Instead, the local Baby Boomer social generation has been shaped by the socio-historic event of the system of Apartheid in South Africa, which was steeped in racial discrimination and prejudice. This social generation is composed of Black and White generation units and experiences intra-generational and inter-generational differences. Had the study explored local social generations as a single social construct in isolation from the social construct of 'race', local Baby Boomers may have appeared to be homogenous, and intra-generational differences may have been overlooked. It may therefore be useful for scholars to conceptualise and examine social constructs through a lens of intersectionality (Crenshaw et al., 2010; Khazaei, 2018; Kurtiş & Adams, 2016), rather than from a siloed or dyad approach (Esprey, 2017). Participants are a sum of multiple identities and when their lived experiences are examined through a lens of intersectionality, rich findings, which may otherwise go unnoticed, may be uncovered.

Furthermore, by expanding on the definition of locale to include both 'spaces' and 'places', and by exploring the intersection of 'spaces' and 'places', the study found that, in present-day South Africa, 'placial' 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' may be experienced in 'spaces', similar to how spatial 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' was experienced during the Apartheid era in the country (Msimang, 2018; Mtose, 2011; Ramutsindela, 2001). Hence, 'racially integrated' spaces' do not necessarily have places organically experienced as racially integrated. Instead, for 'spaces' to be experienced as racially integrated, key stakeholders that are the 'architects' of 'spaces' should equally be architects of 'places' and embark on 'placial planning' to develop 'places' that are experienced by both Black and White South Africans as inclusive. This finding may be useful to diversity management practitioners and to policy makers in the country, as it shows that 'placial', racial integration is needed in conjunction with spatial racial integration for 'spaces' *and* 'places' in the country to be experienced as racially integrated. This finding further shows that in the absence of exploring the intersection of 'spaces' and 'places' with 'race', the finding pertaining to 'place', which is outlined above, may have been overlooked by the study. The study therefore advocates that

scholars examine social constructs, such as social generations, race, space, and place using a lens of intersectionality.

4.4.2 When race, social generation, and locale (space and place) intersect in the workspace in South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation X social generation experience this intersection?

The study found that when asked to define Generation X, participants from all three social generations commonly referred to 'age' rather than the Generation X social generation. In this regard, as opposed to referring to the social generation as 'Generation X', participants referred to either 'old' or 'young people'. Since Generation X is neither the youngest nor the oldest social generation in the workspace, the study equates Generation X to the middle child, who is commonly perceived to be overlooked in the nuclear family structure (Humayun et al., 2015; Lohier, 2016). The following quote is relevant:

> I think young people feel challenged as they are often restricted from bringing in their own way of doing work. The older generation tend to feel stressed when young people introduce new elements into the workplace. (Participant 30, Black, Gen X, GMA)

As per the quote below, Generation X participants also said they prefer to be managed by 'older people', believing that 'older people' have more experience and skills than younger managers.

> The older the wiser. Age gives experience and knowledge. My generation is more disciplined compared to the younger generation hence they are more responsible. (Participant 31, White, Gen X, BOM)

When the study examined local Generation X as a social generation, the study identified both intra-generational and inter-generational differences. As with the local Baby Boomer social generation, 'race' was a catalyst for intra-generational differences in Generation X and, in this regard, the study found Black and White generation units in the local Generation X social generation. As per the quotes below, White participants felt that Black South Africans are privileged, and Black participants felt that Whites are privileged.

> With Employment Equity, Whites are discriminated against today, we [White people] do not get the same opportunities that Blacks get even though we [Whites] have more experience or education [than Black people do]. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

> Whites remain in positions of power and create opportunities for other White people whilst denying Blacks these opportunities. If we do get opportunities, we are expected to take their instructions and do exactly as they say and not think for ourselves. They often set us up for failure and try to sabotage our efforts. The workplace remains a White person's playground. (Participant 30, Black, Gen X, GMA)

The study found that when **'local social generations'** intersect with 'space' in the present-day workspace, the 'older generation' is believed to be most comfortable with 'spaces' in the workspace, and when **'race'** intersects with 'space', participants felt that all workers, regardless of 'race', have access to the 'same [company] facilities and benefits'. Hence, in terms of 'race', 'spaces' in the present-day workspace are perceived to be racially integrated owing to the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to all workers. However, as indicated in the quotes below, when exploring the intersectionality of 'race' and 'place' in the workplace, the study found that Black and White South Africans have diverse, polarised experiences of 'place'. In the same way as Black participants believe that Whites are 'placially' advantaged by having a more favourable experience of 'place' in the workplace

in relation to Black South Africans, Black participants believe that Whites are 'placially' advantaged in relation to Black South Africans. The quote by Participant 34 below demonstrates that racial discrimination and/or prejudice may prevail in 'spaces' that are perceived to be spatially and racially integrated.

> I think Blacks sometimes offend us because they eat food that smells, and they put it in the same microwave that we must use. Then, if a White person objects to the nasty smell of their food, they interpret it as the person violating their right, without considering that the bad smell violates the White person's rights just as well. So, we are all different and experience the workplace differently. In terms of company benefits, for example medical aid or the number of days sick leave, you see [that] everyone [has] access [to] the same facilities and benefits [which] are not age-based. Your [salary] package is determined by your provision and grade not your race. (Participant 34, White, Gen X, BOM)

> We come from different backgrounds and because of our race, we were afforded either opportunities or deprivation. Work is generally designed to suit Whites who were schooled to fit in better in the workplace. The whole culture and language of the workplace is orientated to[ward] the White race. (Participant 29, Black, Gen X, GMA)

Although this study did not examine the social construct of gender, Generation X participants often made reference to their respective lived experiences in terms of gender, and the quotes below are applicable.

> I find younger managers to be difficult to get along with, especially younger females. Older women think like men, so it is easier to work with them [as] they understand things better and are more competent. But young women, irrespective of their race, are not very competent and are therefore difficult to get along with and work with. Young men are easier to work with, they are more tolerable [to work with] than young women… Older White and Black managers are easier to be managed by than younger White or Black females. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

> It is not easy being a Black woman in today's society because we are burdened with having to take financial responsibility for the extended family members who were deprived of opportunities to enter the economy. (Participant 29, Black, Gen X, GMA)

Whilst the finding pertaining to gender is irrelevant to this study, it is relevant in terms of the phenomena of social generations and intersectionality. Findings pertaining to gender may therefore be of relevance to scholars in the fields of social generations and intersectionality, and to practitioners in diversity management.

Regarding social generation, according to the generational theory (Strauss, 2009), Generation X is perceived to be the first social generation to be raised in homes where both parents, fathers and mothers, went to work. Given their reference to gender in the workplace, it may appear that local Generation X shares this trait in common with Generation X, as defined by the generational theory (Strauss, 2009). However, when the local social generation intersects with 'race', this finding morphs into reflecting the lived experiences of Black Generation X participants in present-day South Africa, given that participants commonly spoke of their lived experiences as 'Black women' in the workplace.

In addition, in terms of intersectionality, and, more specifically, the intersectionality of 'race' and local social generation, the study found that the Black generation unit in Generation X experiences a financial burden of care for extended family members who the system of Apartheid has historically disadvantaged. In this regard, the experience of the Black generation unit in Generation X dovetails with that of the Black generation unit in the

Generation Y social generation, as will be further discussed in the next section. Essentially, the study found the Black generation units from both Generation X and Generation Y to say that they feel financially burdened by the socio-historic system of Apartheid in the country. As such, the study found that in as much as there are inter-generational differences between the local Generation X and Generation Y social generations, there are also similarities between the two, and these differences and similarities become evident when participants' lived experiences are explored through a lens of intersectionality. Scholars in social generations, and diversity management, may therefore find it useful to examine local social generations from the perspective of intersectionality, rather than as silos or stand-alone social constructs (Esprey, 2017).

Similarly, the study found that the White generation units from all three social generations feel that Employment Equity policies in the country disadvantage White people, and, in this regard, the White generation units from the three local social generations share the lived experience of 'places' in the workplace in South Africa. The following quotes by White Generation X participants are relevant in this regard:

> …with Employment Equity policies, White men tend to battle to get work opportunities, and, in this sense, they [White men] experience discrimination similar to what Blacks experienced during [the] Apartheid [regime]. (Participant 35, White, Gen X, BOM)

> …I feel disadvantaged being White as it is going to be difficult for me to get a job when I am over 50 [years old]. (Participant 39, White, Gen X, GMA)

Principally, when 'race' intersects with local social generations, the study found that whilst the Black generation units in Generation X and Generation Y both feel that they are burdened by legacy effects of the system of Apartheid, the White generation units in all three social generations feel that Employment Equity policies in the country disadvantage White people. Hence, the study found that when exploring the intersectionality of local social generations, 'race', and 'locale' (space and place), social generations are not wholly homogenous. Instead, local social generations consist of Black and White generation units that may share lived experiences with their respective Black and White counterparts. This finding may be of relevance and interest to scholars in social generations, and diversity management, as well as to practitioners in diversity management, as it illustrates that local social generations are neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogenous, as studies commonly portray them to be (Moore & Bussin, 2012; Rudolph et al., 2018; Scheef & Thielfoldt, 2004; Williams & Page, 2011; Zemke et al., 2000).

4.4.3 When race, social generation, and locale (space and place) intersect in the workspace in South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to the Generation Y social generation experience this intersection?

When local Generation Y was examined as a silo in relation to the other two local social generations, as well as to the social constructs of 'race', and 'locale' (space and place), the study found that it differs from Generation Y elsewhere, as defined by the generational theory (Strauss & Howe, 2009). According to the generational theory (Strauss & Howe, 2009), Generation Y is commonly known as the first social generation to grow up with computers being a central feature of their lives (Howe & Strauss, 2000; McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2010), but, in South Africa, the socio-historic system of Apartheid has created income inequalities between Black and White South Africans (Bornman, 2016; Nyahodza & Higgs, 2017; Seekings, 2008; Statistics, 2019), with 'unequal access' to technology being a legacy ill-effect of the system of Apartheid. Although Generation Y is often referred to as a Born Free social generation in the country (Cassuto & April, 2019; Mattes, 2012; Norgaard, 2015; Ronnie, 2018a), the study found

that participants from Generation Y do not self-identify as a Born Free social generation, or as a social generation that grew up with technology being central to their lives. Instead, participants say that they are burdened, albeit differently so, by the legacy ill-effects of the system of Apartheid, and, hence, when Generation Y intersects with 'race', the study found Black and White generation units in local Generation Y. The following quote bears reference.

> …even though [the system of] Apartheid is over in South Africa, we as Generation Y still experience the effects of [the system] of Apartheid…They [White people] were more privileged than we [Black people] were even when we were at school. I would take taxis to school and they [White people] would be dropped off at the school gate. I would have to handwrite my assignments and they would have access to computers and printers. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

This finding may be useful to scholars who examine social generations, particularly in South Africa, as it shows that locale-specific socio-historic events define local social generations and therefore differ from social generations elsewhere. Hence, the study suggests that scholars consider using a relational framework (Syed & Özbilgin, 2009) underpinned by a contextual and intersectionality conceptualisation of social generations to explore local social generations.

Furthermore, the study found that when 'race' intersects with local Generation Y, and 'place', neither the Black nor the White generation units self-identify as a Born Free (Cassuto & April, 2019; Mattes, 2012; Norgaard, 2015; Ronnie, 2018a) social generation. Unlike participants from the local Baby Boomer and Generation X social generations, participants from the local Generation Y social generation have been born into a post-Apartheid regime in the country. This means that Black Generation Y participants do not have first-hand experience of the atrocities of the Apartheid regime any more than their White counterparts have personally orchestrated the Apartheid regime. Yet, Black participants in Generation Y say that their White counterparts are privileged in the workplace and are 'exempt' from a 'Black tax' that they say Black South Africans are burdened with as a result of having to take financial care of extended families who have been adversely affected by the Apartheid regime in the country. To afford 'Black tax', Black participants self-identify as 'Slashers', saying that they perform multiple secondary jobs to supplement their primary income, with the term 'Slasher' stemming from the slash that appears between the titles of multiple secondary jobs.

> …the money we make is not enough to pay back and then to still eat every day. So, I'm a Slasher, my friends too, we need a side-hustle to top-up our income so we can help our families. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

In addition, as per the quote below, Black participants said that language is used as a tool to alienate people from conversations or discussions in the workplace.

> Once I was sent an email in Afrikaans and I replied in isiZulu and my manager phoned me to explain myself and said I was being provocative. I told him I feel the same way when he emails me in Afrikaans, and then he understood what I must feel like when I get emails in Afrikaans. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

In contrast, White participants in Generation Y said that their Black counterparts are privileged by Employment Equity policies. White participants expressed feeling burdened by 'guilt' and remorse for the Apartheid regime, which they have not personally orchestrated. In addition, participants expressed being 'afraid' to address poor work performance with Black South Africans, saying that Black South Africans use the 'race card' (Hammon, 2013; Singer, 2013; Statman, 2002; Williams, 2020).

> …to get into the workplace is a challenge as Whites are discriminated against and have it harder to get job opportunities than Blacks. We Whites are paying for the faults of the older generations…The workplace has had to introduce Employment Equity policies to address the imbalances caused during [the] Apartheid [regime] but these policies punish the wrong generation. (Participant 55, White, Gen Y, BOM)

White participants said that they understand that Employment Equity policies are needed to redress inequalities created by the socio-historic system of Apartheid, and that they empathise with the challenges that their Black counterparts encounter in the workplace. However, they said that they nonetheless perceive Employment Equity policies as 'punishment' for the wrongs of the older social generations. The quotes by Participant 55 above and Participant 60 below show that White participants acknowledge that their Black counterparts are disadvantaged in the workplace.

> I think Blacks are still playing catch-up. They [Black people] need to generally prove their worth and make their mark. I think it is still easier for Whites to build a successful career, we just have the life skills and tools that have been handed down to us by our parents. Blacks are sometimes missing this, which places them at a disadvantage. (Participant 60, White, Gen Y, GMA)

The quote below shows that participants in the Black generation unit believe that whilst Black South Africans are today given equal opportunities to 'run the same race' as White people do, they believe that Black South Africans do not 'start' this race on an 'equal and fair' basis as the legacy ill-effects of the system of Apartheid burden Black South Africans.

> …we may run the same race, but we have not all started on an equal and fair basis. Whilst we [Black people] have to pay back student loans, Whites are able to invest in property or a car. (Participant 49, Black, Gen Y, GMA)

This finding may be useful to scholars in social generations in South Africa, as it shows that when social generations intersect with 'race', and 'place', local Generation Y may be born free of the system of Apartheid and born free of 'spaces' that are racially segregated, but Generation Y is not born free of legacy ill-effects of the socio-historic system of Apartheid.

When Generation Y intersects with 'space', participants said that the 'older generations' are more au fait with 'spaces' in the workspace than 'young people' are, adding that power is concentrated amongst the 'older generations' in the workspace. The following quotes are relevant in this regard.

> I think the workplace is more geared toward the older generation because things still get done in the way it has always been done. The way meetings are conducted, for example, have not changed. I am happy to have skype meetings, but they want to sit across a table from the next person and find it offensive if we use our phones during this time. (Participant 59, White, Gen Y, GMA)

> We want more flexible hours and [to] be able to work from home but the older generation wants a normal 09h00 to 17h00 working day. (Participant 58, White, Gen Y, GMA)

Empirical data for this study was gathered before the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, and from the start of this pandemic many firms the world-over embraced a work-from-home strategy to mitigate the spread of the virus (Bick, Blandin, & Mertens, 2020; Jaiswal & Arun, 2020; Susilo, 2020). Whilst more research may be needed to show how each of the local social generations experienced working from home, particularly over the duration of the

various levels of national lock-down in the country, the quotes by Generation Y participants above suggest that local Generation Y may have been more au fait with working from home than the two older social generations were.

Concerning the intersection of social generation with 'space', as well as 'race', participants said that 'spaces' in the workspace are experienced similarly by Black and White workers owing to the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to all workers, regardless of 'race'. In this regard, the study found that, while 'older social generations' are perceived to be architects of 'spaces' in the workspace and as more au fait in such 'spaces', when 'race' intersects with 'space' participants feel that 'spaces' in the workspace are racially integrated. However, as mentioned earlier, when Generation Y intersects with 'race', and 'place', the study found that the Black and White generation units experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in 'places' in the workplace. Hence, whilst 'spaces' may be spatially and racially integrated by 'rules, policies, and regulatory frameworks', 'spaces' may be *placially experienced* as racially unintegrated owing to lived experiences of real or perceived 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in such 'spaces'. This finding may be useful for political leaders and policy makers in the country who are architects of 'places' in the country and leaders in the private sector who, likewise, are architects of 'places' in the workplace. For 'places' to be experienced as racially integrated as 'spaces' are, public and private sector leaders should consider developing and implementing 'placial plans' that systematically and intentionally shift the ambience (place) in spaces in the country and workplaces.

Spatial plans (Berrisford, 2011; Du Plessis, 2014; Schoeman, 2015; Todes, 2012) implemented in the post-Apartheid regime in South Africa have, according to this study, created 'equal spaces' in the workspace through the implementation of 'rules, policies, and a regulatory framework'. However, these spatial plans have not organically created equal 'places' in these 'spaces'. According to the responses of the participants from all three local social generations, Black South Africans, on the one hand, believe that White South Africans are privileged and advantaged in the workplace by having greater earning and positional power in relation to Black South Africans, and White South Africans, on the other hand, believe that Black South Africans are privileged and advantaged by Employment Equity policies in the country. White participants said that White South Africans emigrate from South Africa as they feel that they do not belong in the country and experience Employment Equity policies as 'disadvantaging', 'reversing Apartheid', and 'limiting'. Black participants said that Black South Africans feel that they do not 'fit in' in the workplace, which they experience as 'old and White', and as a result they 'resign' or become entrepreneurs to emigrate from the workplace. Hence, the study shows that 'places' are not organically transformed or racially integrated when 'spaces' are transformed or racially integrated. In the absence of effective 'placial planning', Black and White generation units in local social generations will continue to experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in workplaces as well as in other places in South Africa.

Finally, the study found that Generation Y participants, similar to Generation X participants, often made reference to gender, and in particular to women in the workspace. Whilst this study does not examine the social construct of gender, findings pertaining to gender are relevant in terms of both social generation and intersectionality. In terms of social generations, the finding shows that, in as much as there are Black and White generation units in local social generations, there may be male and female generation units within social generations and more research may be required in this regard. In terms of intersectionality, this finding highlights to scholars the importance of exploring and conceptualising social generations in terms of intersectionality since participants are a sum of various social constructs and identities. Quotes such as those listed below describe how participants perceive Generation Y women in leadership/management roles and how Generation Y women say that they experience the workplace.

> …my manager is the same age as me, and so we are of the same generation, but because she feels the need to justify her position and demonstrate that she is senior to me because she knows more than me, she is always condescending to me, finding fault with my work and nit-picking. [And] this way she elevates herself but puts me down. (Participant 41, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

> …As a Black women I am often undermined by White men who are more senior to me. (Participant 44, Black, Gen Y, BOM)

> …I have found it very difficult to report to White females. They are bossy and difficult for the sake of it. I find it easier to be managed to Black managers as I feel they have more empathy and are understanding when one needs to take care of their children of members of [their] family. (Participant 57, White, Gen Y, GMA)

In addition, the following quote by a Generation X participant shows that 'younger females' in leadership/management roles are perceived to be incompetent.

> I find younger managers to be difficult to get along with, especially younger females. Older women think like men, so it is easier to work with them, they understand things better and are more competent, but young women, irrespective of their race, are not very competent and are therefore difficult to get along with and work with. Young men are easier to work with, they are more tolerable than young women. (Participant 37, White, Gen X, GMA)

This finding indicates that when Generation Y intersects with gender, women in leadership/management roles are perceived to be 'incompetent', 'condescending', 'nit-pickers'. This finding further suggests that more support by way of leadership/management training may be needed to equip women in Generation Y to lead/manage teams in the workplace. Training can also be offered to address gender prejudice and stereotypes amongst workers in the workplace. This finding may therefore be relevant to diversity management practitioners and human resource practitioners, who are custodians of training and development programmes in the workspace.

Essentially, the study notes that Generation Y houses future leaders for both the public and private sectors in South Africa, and if Generation Y members continue to feel that they 'do not belong' in 'spaces' in present-day South Africa and, instead, decide that they need to 'emigrate' from the country and/or the workplace, South Africa will invariably experience a leadership deficit in time to come, which will have dire consequences for the economies in the country. This study therefore urges current leaders in both the public and private 'spaces' to develop, implement, and monitor 'placial plans' to 'placially' integrate 'spaces' in South Africa in conjunction with Generation Y. This will have the effect that when the time comes for Generation Y to take the leadership batons from current leaders, they are not handed over 'spaces' and 'places' that are foreign to them, nor will they opt to pass up the opportunity to preside over or lead in such 'spaces'.

Table 18: The consistency table presents a high-level summary of the research questions, propositions, and findings of the study

Research question	Proposition	Findings from the study
1. Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?	1. In South Africa, social generations tend to be understood and termed according to socio-historic events that occurred elsewhere. As a result, little is known about local social generations in South Africa and elsewhere.	• Local social generations are context-specific, shaped by socio-historic events that have occurred in South Africa and by the legacy effects of such events. • Local social generations are neither homogenous nor heterogeneous, and each local social generation consists of Black and White generation units. • There are inter-generational differences between and amongst local social generations and intra-generational differences within each local social generation. • The study found that local social generations relate to local cultures, and, in this sense, their respective 'leadership/management styles' were believed to be influenced by Hlonipha (Luthuli, 2007) and/or Ubuntu (Masango, 2006; Mbigi, 2007b). • Whilst participants believed the local Baby Boomer social generation to be 'nurturing', and 'supportive' of young people, as well as a social generation that values giving and earning 'respect', the local Generation X was generally overlooked by participants, who commonly referred to either 'young' or 'old' people. The local Generation Y social generation was defined as a social generation on a learning curve, and the study found a positive synergy between the local Baby Boomers and the local Generation Y social generations. Using nuclear family members for analogy purposes, the study associates the local Baby Boomer social generation with the grandparent, the local Generation Y with the grandchild, and the local Generation X with the middle child.
2. How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?	2. Black and White South Africans have a unique experience of race in the workplace in South Africa. Whilst the White minority commonly feels alienated, invisible, and unvoiced, the Black majority feels deprived of power, which it believes is concentrated in White hands. Social generations are conceptualised as homogenous groups of people, and little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience race. Instead, studies tend to homogenise the Black and the White experiences of race as if all Black South Africans share a common experience of race and, likewise, as if all White people share a common experience of race, irrespective of which social generation they may belong to.	• Employment Equity policies in the country require many firms to report quantitatively on the number of Black and White workers in various company echelons. Hence, whilst much is known about the Employment Equity statistics within firms, little is known about the Black and White lived experiences in the workspace in present-day South Africa. The legislative framework has had little effect on promoting racial integration in the South African workspace, as evidenced by claims of reverse discrimination by White participants. Black participants have similarly complained that White people are advantaged in the workplace as top jobs tend to be occupied by White people. • In South Africa, race tends to be understood in terms of skin colour rather than as a social construct. People identify as either Black or White; hence, race was commonly understood as a dyad. In addition, racial othering is common practice in present-day South Africa, as is evidenced by comments such as, "…because they are mostly in power, and they [White people] support each other and ensure that they [White people] benefit over us [Black people]. As decision-makers, they [White people] remain privileged over us Blacks." (Participant 1, Black, BB, BOM) • Whereas Black participants feel that White people are privileged and advantaged in the workspace by having greater positional and earning power concerning their Black counterparts, White participants feel that their Black counterparts are privileged and advantaged by Employment Equity policies in the country. This implies that Employment Equity measures have been ineffective in creating equality in the workplace, and diversity management measures have equally been ineffective in creating racial harmony and synergy in the workplace. Employment Equity measures have not been effective in creating equality in the workplace, and more than diversity management measures have been effective in creating racial harmony and synergy in the workplace. • Despite being commonly referred to as a Born Free social generation in South Africa, Generation Y participants said they experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. Whereas participants from the White generation unit in Generation Y said that they 'emigrated' from South Africa as they felt that they did not belong in spaces in present-day South Africa, their Black counterparts said that they 'do not fit in' in the workspace and seek opportunities to be entrepreneurs as an escape from the workspace.
3. How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South	3. Since 1994, racial and spatial integration has been ongoing in workplaces in South Africa. Space in the workplace in South Africa tends to be experienced differently by Black and White South Africans as spaces transform. Little is known about how Black and White South	• The study found a positive correlation between power and the experience of spaces and places. Baby Boomers, who tend to hold positional and earning power in the workspace in present-day South Africa, are believed to be architects of spaces and places and, therefore, to be most au fait with spaces and places in the workspace. • Concerning Baby Boomers and Generation X, Generation Y has the least positional and earning power in present-day South Africa and is therefore perceived to be the least au fait with spaces and places in the workspace.

Research question	Proposition	Findings from the study
Africans belonging to each social generation?	Africans from each social generation experience space in the workplace since social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people. The literature shows that Black and White South Africans have a unique experience of space, irrespective of their social generation, which is seldom explored by studies. Whilst a concerted effort has been made to racially integrate spaces in the workplace in South Africa since 1994, little consideration has been given to the experience of places in the workplace in South Africa, and studies tend to focus on the experience of spaces rather than places. Hence, little is known about the experience of place in the workplace in South Africa. Furthermore, since social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people, little is known about how Black and White South Africans from each social generation experience place.	• Whereas the experiences of spaces and places differ by social generation, as outlined above, the experiences of spaces and places are similar across race. Both Black and White participants felt that spaces in the workspace and elsewhere in South Africa are similarly experienced by Black and White South Africans, owing to the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to everyone, regardless of race. However, in terms of place, both Black and White participants felt that their counterparts are advantaged. Black South Africans felt that their White counterparts have a more favourable experience of places in the workplace, as they have greater earning and positional power in the workplace and are viewed as the architects of places in the workplace. White people felt that Employment Equity policies advantage Black South Africans and have more opportunities to acquire jobs in the workplace owing to Employment Equity policies. White participants said that they experience Employment Equity policies as 'limiting' and 'disadvantaging', and as 'reversing Apartheid' in the country. • The Black generation unit in Generation Y said that they are subjected to a 'Black tax' from which their White counterparts are exempt, as they carry the social and financial responsibility of caring for members of their extended families who have been historically disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid in the country. The White generation unit in Generation Y said that they are burdened by 'guilt' and remorse for the system of Apartheid, which they did not personally orchestrate. In this regard, both Black and White generation units in Generation Y said that they feel burdened by the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid. • Black participants from all three local social generations said that they feel that White people are advantaged over Black South Africans and therefore have greater access to top jobs in the country. White participants from all three social generations said that Employment Equity policies advantage Black South Africans. As a result White people emigrate from South Africa to secure jobs and a better future for themselves and their respective families. • Essentially, the study found that spatially, racially integrated spaces, such as the workspace in present-day South Africa, do not organically create places that are experienced as racially integrated. Instead, spaces that are racially and spatially integrated by the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to all people may be placially experienced as racialised. • Hence, the study suggests that spatial planning should be conducted in conjunction with 'placial planning' for spaces and places to be experienced as racially integrated by all people, regardless of race.
4. When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation experience this intersection?	4. In South Africa, social categories such as race, and social generations are commonly explored as single social constructs. The Employment Equity Policy mandates firms to report quantitatively on social categories such as disability, gender, and race. Whilst some studies have explored the intersectionality of the social categories of race, gender, and disability in the workplace in South Africa, little is known about the intersectionality of less common social constructs such as social generations, race, and locale (space and place). Also, social generations tend to be portrayed as homogenous social categories of people, which limits the understandings of intra-generational differences.	• The study defines locale in terms of spaces and places and, in so doing, found that. In contrast, spaces are experienced as racially, spatially integrated, places are experienced as racialised and polarised in terms of race. • The study associates spaces with the term 'workspace' and places with the term 'workplace'. The study draws a terminological distinction between workspaces and workplaces in this regard. • By exploring the intersectionality of local social generations, race, and space, and place, the study found that in present-day South Africa: – In terms of race, Black and White South Africans experience spaces to be racially integrated but places to be racially polarised. – In terms of social generations, Baby Boomers are perceived to be most au fait with spaces and places. – In terms of the intersectionality of race and social generations, whereas White Baby Boomers are most au fait with spaces and places, Black and White South Africans in Generation Y are least au fait with spaces and places. • Placial planning is needed to integrate places racially, as spatial planning has racially integrated spaces.

As an example, and for illustration purposes, Figure 11 below shows the intersection amongst the local Baby Boomer social generation, locale (space and place), and race. The different points of intersection are numerically labelled to show distinct Black and White experiences of locale in present-day South Africa. The same is found when the local Generation Y and Generation X social generations intersect with race and locale.

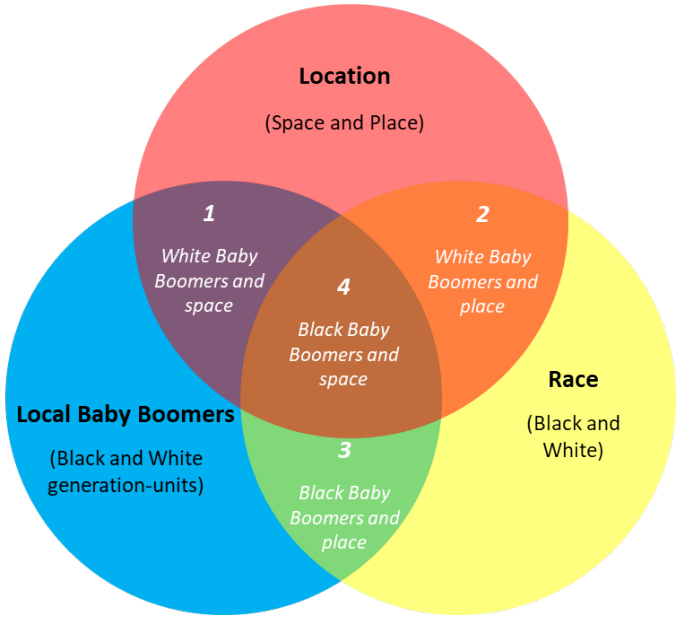


Figure 11: For illustration purposes, the figure above depicts the intersection of the local Baby Boomer social generation, race, and locale (space and place), and shows the various points at which the lived experiences of Black and White generation units may intersect in terms of spaces and places

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This final chapter of the dissertation begins by sequentially presenting the conclusions for each of the four research questions, and a series of recommendations to various relevant stakeholders follow this. Next, the chapter presents suggestions for future research, particularly future research on social generations and intersectionality. The chapter ends with a discussion of the study's contributions to knowledge.

5.2 Conclusions regarding research question one: How may social generations be defined in South African terms based on socio-historic events in South Africa?

The key findings pertaining to research question one is listed below:

- Local social generations are context-specific, shaped by socio-historic events that have occurred in South Africa and legacy effects of socio-historic events.
- Local social generations are neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogeneous, and each local social generation consists of Black and White generation units.
- There are inter-generational differences between and amongst local social generations and intra-generational differences within each local social generation.
- Local social generations relate to local cultures and their respective 'leadership/management styles' are influenced by Hlonipha (Luthuli, 2007) and/or Ubuntu (Masango, 2006; Mbigi, 2007b).
- The local Baby Boomer social generation is defined as 'nurturing', and 'supportive' of young people, and a social generation that values giving and earning 'respect'. The study defines this social generation as the **Elders** in the South African context.
- The local Generation X social generation was generally overlooked, as participants commonly focused on 'young' or 'old' people. The study defines local Generation X as the **Adult**.
- The local Generation Y social generation was generally referred to as 'young,' and the study defines it as the young adults' social generation. Although commonly known as the Born Free social generation in South Africa, Black and White participants said that legacy effects and the aftermath of the Apartheid regime burden them. Hence, whilst being born free of the Apartheid regime, local **Young adults** are not born free of the legacy effects of the Apartheid regime.
- When race intersects with local social generations, Black and White generation units within local social generations are studied. Each of these generation units are defined as per the table below:

Table 19: Local definitions of South African social generations and definitions of the Black and White generation units within local social generations

Definitions of social generations elsewhere	Definitions of local social generations	Definitions of Black generation units within local social generations	Definitions of White generation units local social generations
Baby Boomers	Elders	Victim Elders	Guilty Elders
Generation X	Adults	Victorius Adults	Nostalgic Adults
Generation Y	Young adults	Black-taxed (Young adults)	Remorseful (Young adults)

Figure 12 below expands on Figure 11 and diagrammatically shows that local social generations are not homogenous in South Africa. Instead, the intersection of race and social generations produce Black and White generation units within social generations. Different colours were used in the figure to show each social generation. When the social generations overlap, the different shades of colours depict the intersection and the generation units within the social generations.

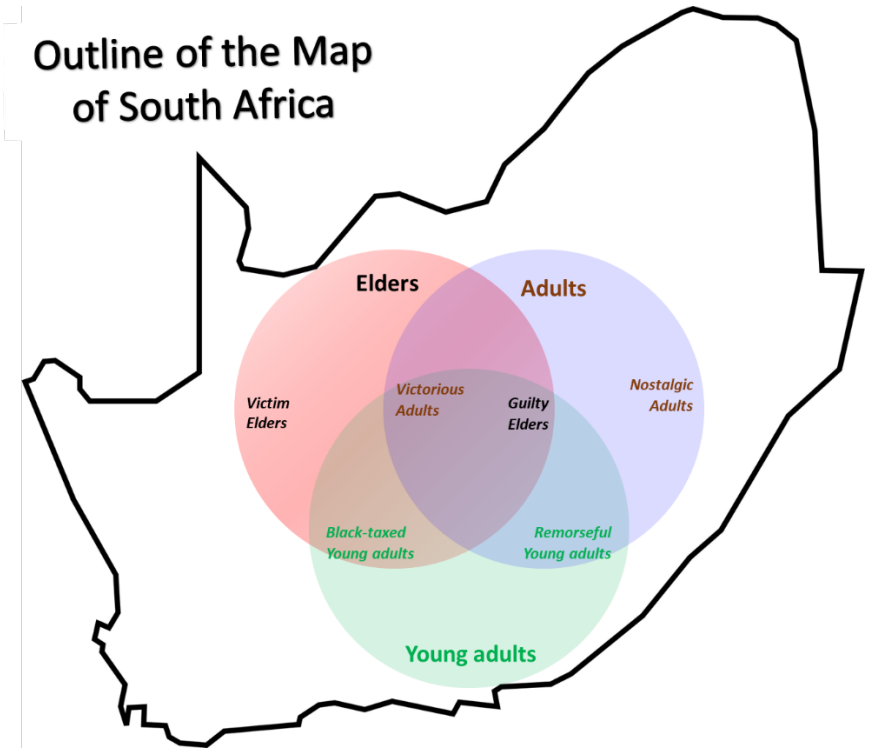


Figure 12: In South Africa, social generations are not homogenous. When social generations intersect with race, there are Black and White generation units within each social generation

The propositional statement for research question one is as follows:

Local social generations in South Africa have been shaped by local socio-historic events such as the system of Apartheid and have intra-generational and inter-generational differences, as well as Black and White generation units within each social generation. As such, local social generations are neither wholly homogenous, nor wholly heterogenous.

5.3 Conclusions regarding research question two: How do Black and White South Africans experience race in the workspace in South Africa from each social generation?

Listed below are the four key findings that the study made with regard to research question four:

- Employment Equity policies in the country require applicable firms to report quantitatively on the number of Black and White workers in various echelons in their respective firms. Hence, whilst government make know much about Employment Equity statistics within firms in the country, government knows little about the lived experiences of Black and White worker in the workspace in present-day South Africa.

- In South Africa, race tends to be understood in terms of skin colour rather than as a social construct. People identify as either Black or White; hence, race is commonly understood as a dyad, in keeping with the legislative use of the term in South Africa. In addition, racial othering was found to be common practice in both cases.
- Whereas Black participants feel that White workers are privileged and advantaged in the workspace by having greater positional and earning power in relation to their Black counterparts, White participants feel that Black workers are privileged and advantaged by Employment Equity policies in the country. As previously mentioned, this implies that Employment Equity measures have been ineffective in creating equality in the workplace and diversity management measures have equally been ineffective in creating racial harmony and synergy in the workplace.
- Even though the Employment Equity Act has been ineffective in racially transforming senior echelons in the workplace in South Africa, it is perceived to privilege Black workers.

Despite being commonly referred to as a Born Free social generation in South Africa, participants belonging to the Young Adults social generation said that they experience 'racial discrimination and/or prejudice' in the workspace. Whereas the Remorseful Young adults generation unit in the Young adults social generation said that they 'emigrate' from South Africa as they feel that they do not belong in spaces in present-day South Africa, their Black counterparts said that they 'do not fit in' in the workspace and seek opportunities to be entrepreneurs as an escape from the workspace.

In contrast to Figure 8 (presented in Chapter 2), which shows how race is often explored as a separate phenomenon in the literature, race in South Africa is neither wholly homogenous, nor wholly heterogenous. Instead, as shown in Figure 13 below, the study found that in present-day South Africa, race cannot be defined as static, individual groups, but rather as a fluid social construct with both differences and similarities between groups. In as much as the silo or dyad conceptualisation of race may be simple and commonly expressed by way of racial othering and legislation in the country, the complex realities are that race is not silo and there are intra-racial and inter-racial differences with shades of Whiteness and shades of Blackness within race in South Africa.

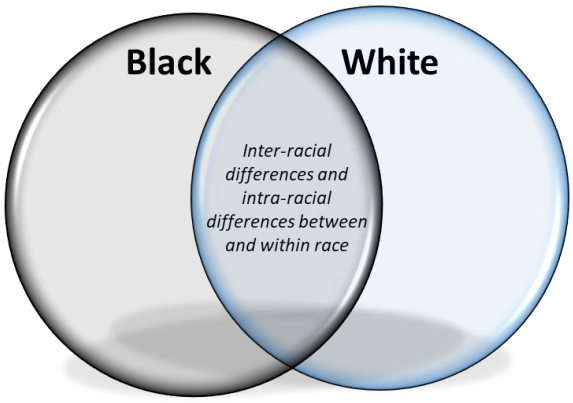


Figure 13: Race in South Africa is experienced as neither wholly homogenous nor wholly heterogenous; yet, by way of racial othering, it is spoken about as if it is wholly homogenous. This figure shows the intersection between the Black and White races in South Africa

5.4 Conclusions regarding research question three: How is locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each social generation?

Whereas studies that explore social generations commonly define locale in terms of space only, this study expanded on the definition of locale to include both space and place. In exploring how Black and White South Africans experience spaces and places from each of the local social generations, the study found the following:

- Spatially, racially integrated spaces, such as the present-day workspace in South Africa, do not organically create *places* that are experienced as racially integrated. Instead, spaces that are racially and spatially integrated by the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to all people may be placially experienced as racialised.
- The Elders who tend to hold positional and earning power in both the public and private sectors in present-day South Africa are believed to be the architects of spaces and places in their respective workplaces and are believed to be most au fait with spaces and places in the workspace.
- Concerning Elders and Adults, Young adults is believed to have the least positional and earning power in the public and private sector workplace in South Africa and is perceived to be the least au fait with spaces and places in the workspace.
- Whereas the experiences of spaces and places differ by social generation, as outlined above, the experiences of spaces and places are similar across race and both Black and White participants felt that spaces in the workspace and elsewhere in South Africa are experienced similarly by Black and White South Africans due to the same 'rules, policies, and regulatory framework' applying to everyone, regardless of race. However, in terms of *place*, both Black and White participants felt that their counterparts are advantaged in spaces in the workplace in elsewhere in South Africa. Black South Africans felt that their White counterparts have a more favourable experience of places in the workplace as they have greater earning and positional power in the workplace and are viewed as the architects of spaces in the workplace. White participants felt that Employment Equity policies advantage their Black counterparts and have more opportunities to acquire jobs in the workplace owing to Employment Equity policies. White participants said that they experience Employment Equity policies as 'limiting' and 'disadvantaging', and as 'reversing Apartheid' in the country.
- The Black-taxed generation unit in Young Adults said that they are subjected to a 'Black tax' from which their White counterparts are exempt, as they carry the social and financial responsibility of caring for members of their extended families who have been historically disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid in the country. The Remorseful generation unit in Young adults said that they are burdened by 'guilt' and remorse for the system of Apartheid, which they did not personally orchestrate. In this regard, both Black and White generation units in Young adults said that they feel burdened by the legacy effects of the system of Apartheid.
- Black participants from all three local social generations said that they feel that White people are advantaged over Black people and have greater access to top jobs in the country. White participants from all three social generations said that Black people are advantaged by Employment Equity policies and White people therefore emigrate from South Africa to secure jobs and a better future for themselves and their respective families.

Hence, the study suggests that spatial planning should be conducted in conjunction with 'placial planning' for both spaces and places to be experienced as racially integrated by all people, regardless of race. As explained in the previous chapter in section 4.3, placial planning differs from efforts to create inclusive workplace cultures.

In terms of race, whilst spaces in the workspace are experienced as racially integrated, places in the workplace and the country in general are experienced as racially polarised. Figure 14 below diagrammatically shows that Black and White South Africans from all three social generations experience spaces equally, and places unequally.

Effective 'placial planning' and spatial planning initiatives may result in spaces and places being similarly experienced by Black and White South Africans. Once that happens, Black and White South Africans may experience spaces and places equally. Ideally, when Black and White South Africans from all these social generations experience racially integrated spaces and places, the red cross in the figure below would be marked accordingly.

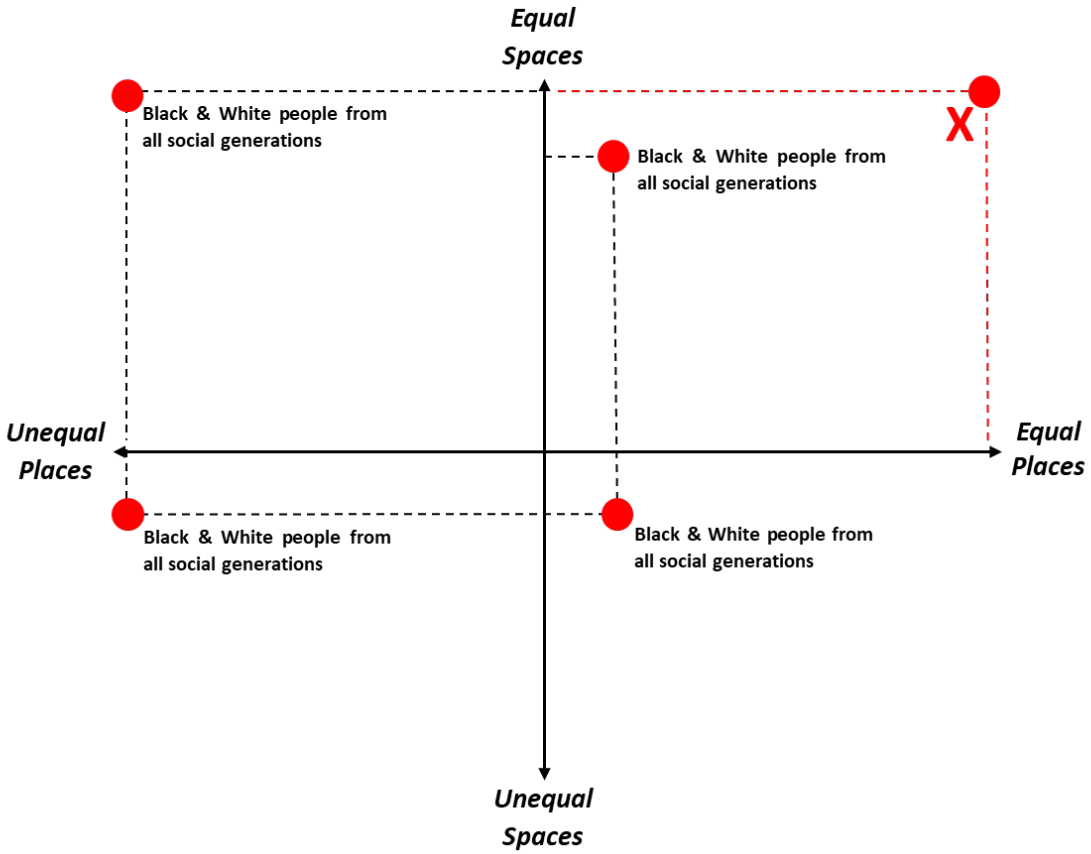


Figure 14: A diagrammatic presentation of the findings pertaining to the experiences of Black and White participants of spaces and places in present-day South Africa

i. In terms of local social generations, the Elders social generation is perceived to be architects of spaces and places in both the public and private sectors and are believed to be most au fait with spaces and places in the workplace. In contrast, The Young adult's social generation is perceived to be least au fait with spaces and places in the country. Figure 15 below diagrammatically presents this finding, showing that whilst the Elders have the most favourable experience of spaces and places, The Young adults have the least favourable experience of spaces and places in the workplace in South Africa.

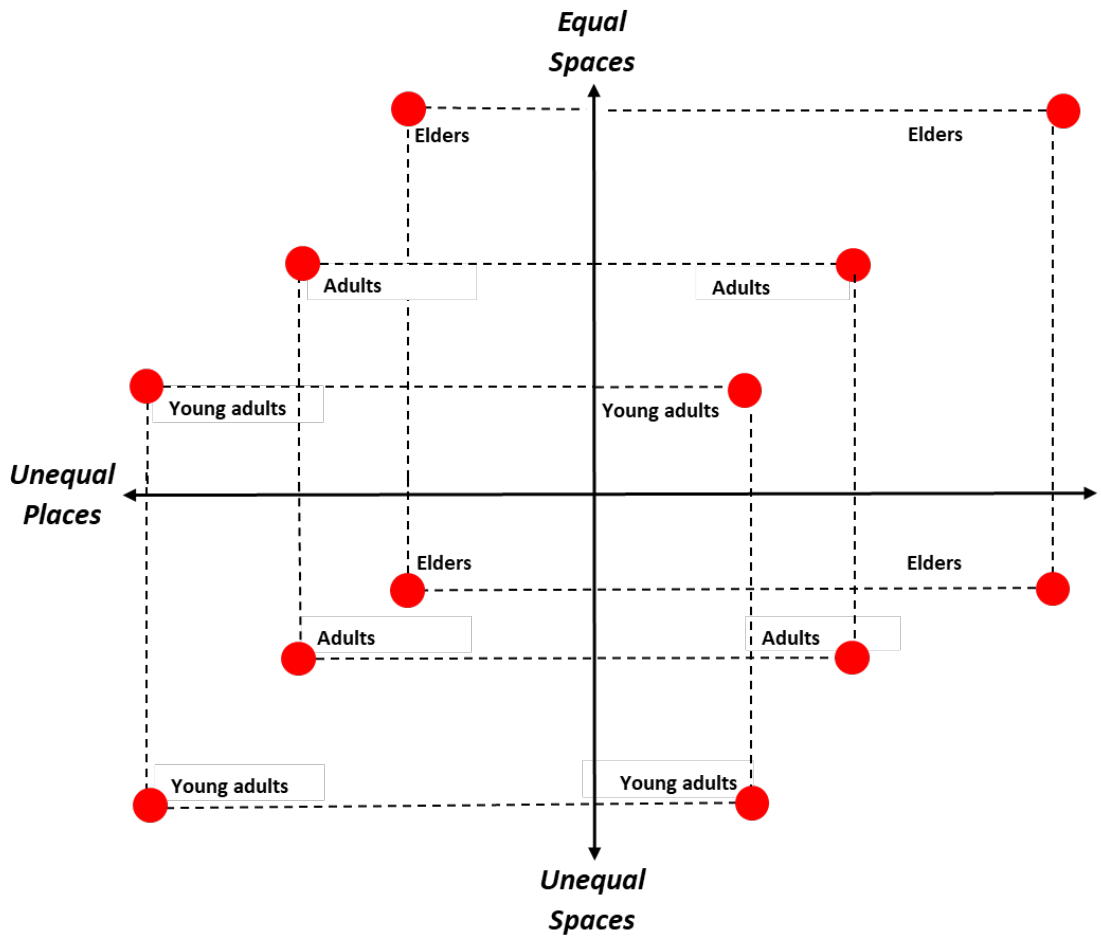


Figure 15: A diagrammatic presentation of the finding pertaining to how local social generations experience spaces and places in the workplace in present-day South Africa

5.5 Conclusions regarding research question four: When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the different social generations experience this intersection?

The study made the following key findings in terms of research question four, which essentially presents the findings of the first three research questions through a lens of intersectionality:

- In terms of race, Black and White South Africans experience spaces to be racially integrated but places to be racially polarised.
- In terms of social generations, the Elders are perceived to be most au fait with spaces and places in the workplace in South Africa.
- In terms of the intersectionality of race and social generations, whereas the Guilty generation unit in the Elders social-generation is most au fait with spaces and places in the workplace today, the Black-taxed generation unit in the Young adults social generation is least au fait with spaces and places in today's workplace.

Placial planning is needed to integrate places racially, as spatial planning has racially integrated spaces.

Figure 16 below diagrammatically juxtaposes Figures 14 and 15 to show the intersectionality of local social generations, space, and place in the workplace in present-day South Africa. Essentially, points have been plotted

on the graph below to depict how participants from each of the local social generation said that they experience spaces and places in the workplace. For ease of reference, race has not been plotted in the graph below. Race is however depicted in Figure 17.

Figure 16 below indicates the main quadrants with which each social generation identifies in terms of space and place in the workplace. At a glance, it becomes evident that:

- Local social generations are not wholly homogenous. Instead, they intersect with one another.
- The Elders social generation are most au fait with spaces and places.
- The Young adults social generation is least au fait with spaces and places.

In keeping with how the study defines the local Adult, it is plotted in the middle between Elders and the Young adults, which indicates this social generation is neither as advantaged as Elders nor as disadvantaged as Young adults.

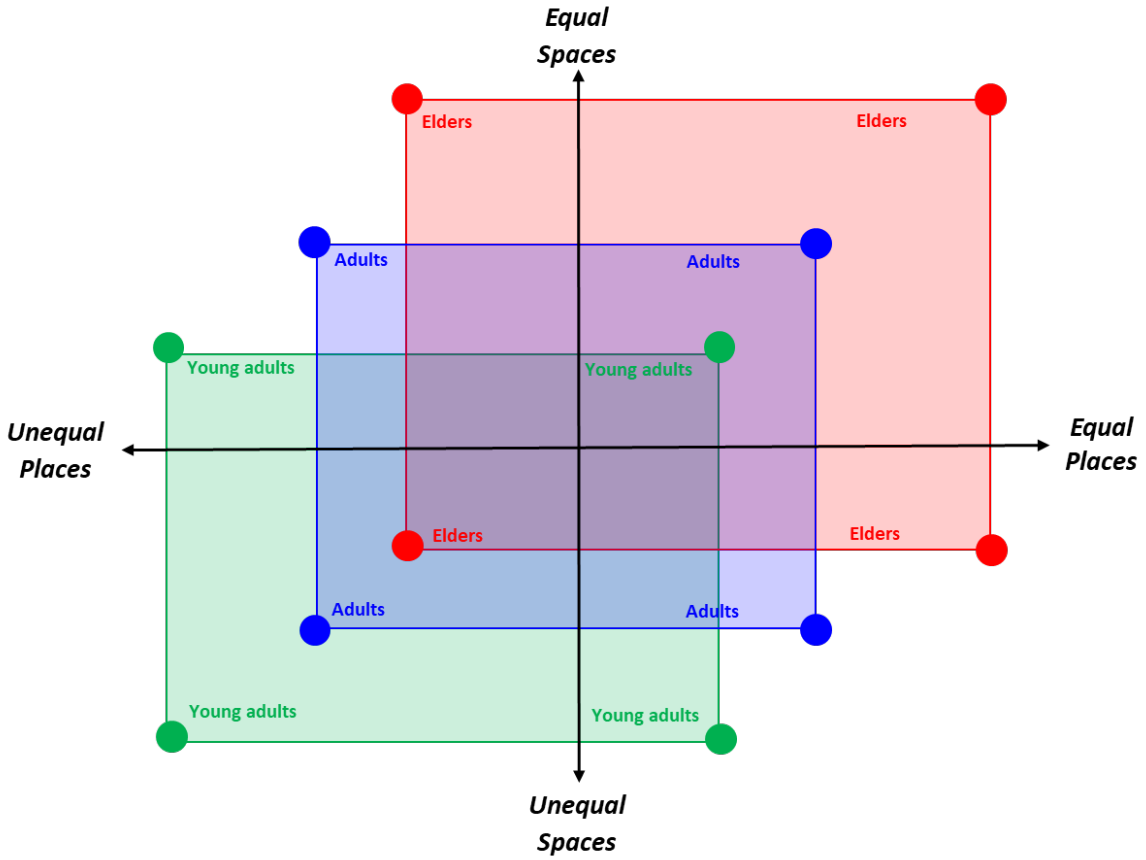


Figure 16: This figure shows the intersectionality of local social generations and locale (space and place) in the workplace in present-day South Africa

Figure 17 below depicts the intersectionality between local social generations, race, and locale (space and place). Adding to Figure 16 above, this figure incorporates the social construct of race. Whereas the blocks with the solid lines depict the White generation units in the respective local social generations, the blocks indicated by dotted/broken lines depict the Black generation units in the respect social generations. The figure shows that:

- The Black generation unit from each local social-generations is less au fait with spaces and workplace spaces than the White generation units.
- The Guilty generation unit in the Elders social generation is most au fait with spaces and places in the workplace.
- The Black-taxed generation unit in the Young adults social generation is least au fait with spaces and places in the workplace.
- In relation to its White counterparts, the Victorius generation unit in the Adults social generation is similarly less au fait with spaces and places in the workplace.

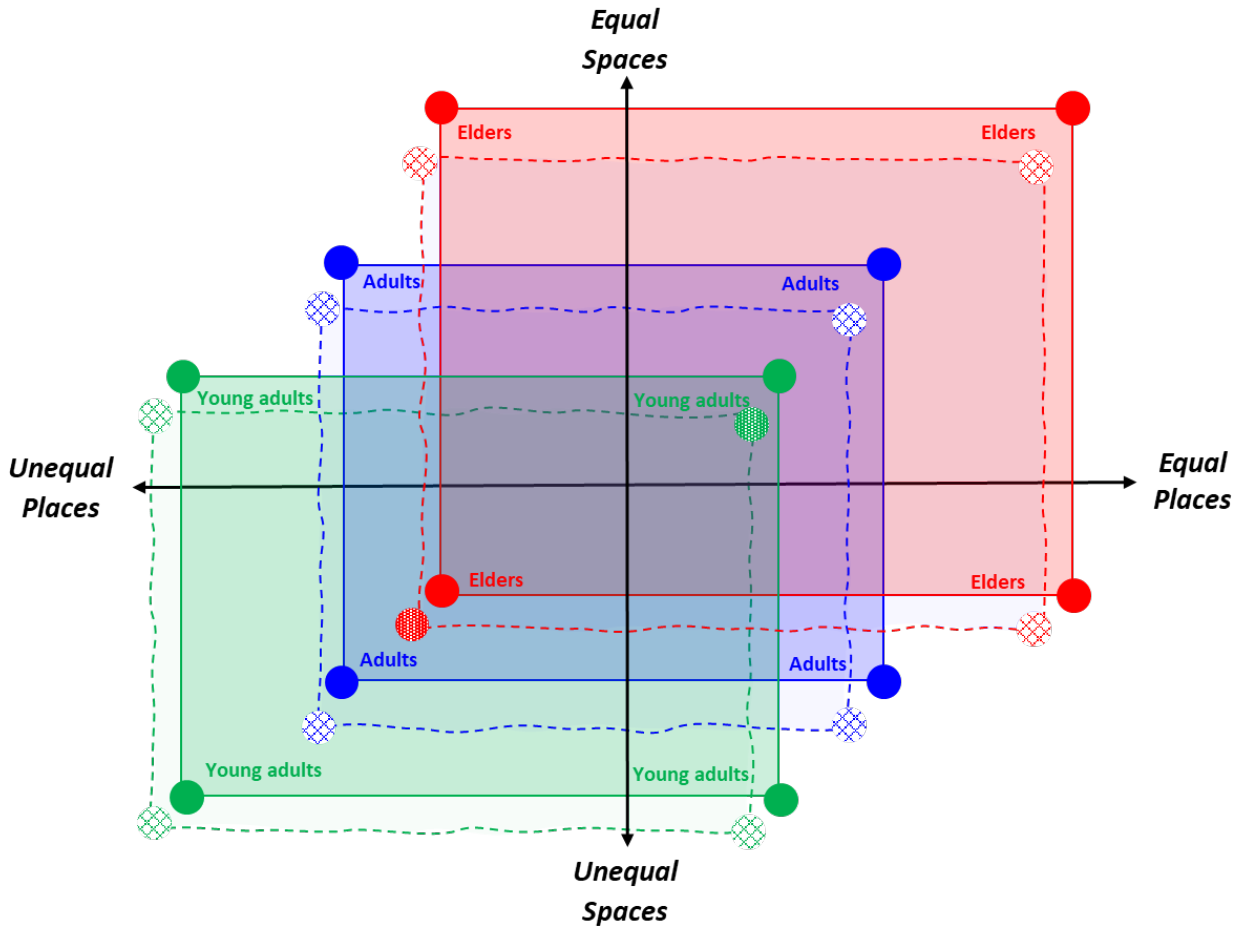


Figure 17: This figure shows the intersectionality of local social generations, race, and locale (space and place) in the workplace in present-day South Africa

5.6 Recommendations

This study makes the following recommendations for scholars on social generations, intersectionality, and diversity management; practitioners in human resources, diversity management, and management; and political leaders and policy makers. These recommendations are set out accordingly in the relevant sections below.

5.6.1 Recommendations for scholars on social generations, intersectionality, and diversity management

Scholars on social generations should consider the following when examining the phenomena of local social generations, intersectionality, and diversity management:

- Having expanded on the definition of locale to include spaces and places and conceptualised spaces and places in terms of sociology as opposed to geography, the study found that racially integrated spaces may be placially unintegrated. Spatial planning should therefore be supported and accompanied by placial planning for people regardless of race to have similar lived experiences of spaces and places. Scholars are therefore recommended to conceptualise locale as both space and place as opposed to space only so that they may gather more full lived experiences from participants.
- When examining social constructs such as social generations and race, the study recommends that scholars examine the intersectionality between and amongst such social constructs as opposed to examining each social construct as if it were a silo. In so doing, scholars may uncover findings that may otherwise be overlooked.
- Similarly, when examining social generations, scholars should consider the intersectionality between and amongst social generations as opposed to examining social generations as if they are homogenous groups of people. Intra-generational differences often go unexplored because scholars tend to conceptualise social generations as homogenous groups of people. By exploring the intersectionality between and amongst social generations, intra-generational differences may be identified to further enhance understandings of social generations.
- The generational theory (Strauss & Howe, 2009) is centred on social generations which have been shaped by socio-historic events that have unfolded elsewhere. Social generations are not global. Instead, as this study found, local social generations differ from social generations elsewhere. This study therefore recommends that scholars explore local social generations in relation to local socio-historic events that shape social generations.
- Scholars commonly explore the intersectionality of social constructs such as race and gender and overlook the intersectionality of less common social constructs, such as space and place, and social generations. This study recommends that scholars examine the intersectionality of less common social constructs so that studies may add local understandings of intersectionality to the body of existing knowledge.

5.6.2 Recommendations for practitioners in diversity management, human resources, and management

Practitioners in diversity management, human resources, and management may find the following recommendations useful, whether they work in the public or private sectors in South Africa.

- Having found that places in the workplace are experienced as racially polarised, the study recommends that practitioners in the public and private sectors conduct effective placial planning to racially integrate places, similar to how spatial planning has racially integrated spaces in the country. Placial and spatial planning may help create equal spaces and places for Black and White workers, enhancing social relations and optimising teamwork.
- Diversity management practitioners commonly seek to redress racial inequalities that stem from the Apartheid regime by effecting Employment Equity policies and racially integrating spaces in the workplace. However, in so doing they may inadvertently exclude White workers, making them feel out of place and 'discriminated against'. Managing diversity to enhance inclusion to optimise workplace productivity requires diversity management practitioners to be knowledgeable of how Black and White workers experience spaces

and places in the workplace. Hence, the study recommends that diversity management practitioners gather qualitative data that details workers' lived experiences in the workplace instead of exclusively gathering and reporting on quantitative data.

- Furthermore, managing diversity through quantitative reporting has not in itself created racial equality at senior echelons in the workplace in South Africa. Instead, Black workers from each local social generation said they do not have a sense of belonging in the workplace. Therefore, this study recommends diversity management practitioners to gather and analyse both qualitative and quantitative data to understand the lived experiences of Black and White workers fully and to manage diversity effectively.
- The study recommends practitioners in human resources and diversity management to engage with workers to understand how they may experience Black tax and what level of support may be needed to optimally manage this social cost they inherited from the Apartheid regime. By narrowing the proverbial pay gap between Black and White South Africans in their respective firms, human resource practitioners may assist to alleviate the perceived burden of Black tax.
- Similarly, the Remorseful generation unit from the Young adults social generation said that they feel burdened by guilt and remorse for the Apartheid regime, which they did not personally orchestrate. This study recommends that diversity management practitioners and human resource practitioners implement diversity management plans to help mitigate this burden experienced by young White workers in present-day South Africa.
- The study recommends management practitioners to assess racial power in their respective firms and, where necessary, implement plans to rebalance racial power in the workspace so that one race is not empowered to the detriment of the next.
- The Young adult social generation is known as the Born Free social generation in South Africa. However, this study found that Black and White South Africans in the Young adult social generation feel burdened, albeit differently so, by legacy effects of the Apartheid regime, and are therefore not born free of the legacy of Apartheid. The study recommends that diversity management, human resources, and management practitioners consider this finding when developing and implementing diversity management plans in the workspace.

5.6.3 Recommendations for political leaders and policymakers

The study makes the following recommendations for political leaders and policymakers in the country:

- Placial planning is needed for places to be experienced as racially integrated. While spatial planning has resulted in spaces being largely racially integrated in South Africa, there is an opportunity for political leaders and policymakers to embark on political planning to integrate places in the country racially.
- Employment Equity policies have not successfully brought about racial parity in senior echelons in the workspace. Top jobs tend to be occupied by White people, and Black people are perceived to be incompetent. In addition, White people perceive Employment Equity policies as a punishment for the Apartheid regime and say they feel disadvantaged by these policies. Overall, Employment Equity policies are perceived to be ineffective in bringing about racial parity in the workspace and building social cohesion. The study, therefore recommends political leaders and policy makers to relook at Employment Equity policies and how these are conceptualised and implemented in the country.
- If and when Employment Equity policies are reviewed, the study recommends that these policies supplement the quantitative reporting requirements with a qualitative reporting requirement so that workers' lived experiences may be considered in conjunction with quantitative statistics.

5.7 Suggestions for further research

Below, the study highlights a few researchable concepts that emerged from the research.

- First, the issue of Black Tax and the rise of Slashers highlighted by Black participants in this study are concepts that have been gaining colloquial prominence in South Africa and elsewhere. Further research into the phenomenon of Black tax and what tangible value this perceived tax may equate to may provide scholars with a deeper understanding of the extent of this perceived burden in South Africa. Similarly, more research into the phenomenon of Slashers and its implications for the secondary economy in the country may help scholars to understand whether the rise of Slashers is a common practice amongst Black South Africans belonging to Generation Y only, or if participants from this social generation were simply more vocal about it than Black South Africans were in the older social generations. Likewise, further empirical research into White guilt and remorse may help scholars determine the extent to which the social cost of being White in South Africa may have implications for both the workspace and the country.
- Second, the study introduces the term 'placial planning', which essentially refers to the racial integration of places in the workplace and elsewhere in the country. Scholars could further explore the social construct of place in present-day South Africa to enhance social cohesion in the country.
- Third, further research on local social generations may help to curtail the practice of Americanising social generations. Scholars may begin introducing South African-specific social generations when this is achieved. More may be known about local social generations in the context of the workspace, the country, and the world as a whole.
- Fourth, the study overlooked gender, particularly the lived experiences of women when race intersects with gender and social generation and the study recommends future studies to explore this.
- Finally, the intersectionality of local social generations, race, and locale (space and place) shows that the Black generation unit in Generation Y is most marginalised in South Africa today. The study suggests that scholars further explore the intersectionality of local social generations with other social constructs, such as class and sexuality, so that more may be known about the lived experiences of people from the local social generations.

5.8 Contributions to knowledge

The study contributes to studies in diversity management in three ways, as outlined below.

First, the study introduces the concept of placial planning and recommends diversity management practitioners, amongst other key stakeholders in the workplace to employ placial planning to create spaces in the workplace that are similarly experienced by all workers, regardless of race. Essentially, the term placial planning was conceptualised to entail the social re-engineering of the ambience in the workplace so that Black and White South Africans from local social generations may have similar experiences of place in the workplace.

Second, the study defines and labels local social generations in accordance with its findings. Furthermore, having identified Black and White generation units within local social generations the study introduced terms for each of the Black and White generation units. If these new terms were to gain prominence in South Africa, it will replace the common usage of the terms Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Y which, according to the study, are irrelevant to South Africa.

Third, the study suggests that the analytical framework of intersectionality should be extended to less common social constructs such as social generations, space, and place, and it expands the definition of intersectionality to include the construct of locale. The locale in which the framework of intersectionality is applied is important as

race, as an example, is not homogenous the world over. As such, the study defines intersectionality as a locale specific analytical framework used to understand how an individual's various social and political identities may result in experiences of discrimination and privilege.

References

Aboim, S., & Vasconcelos, P. (2014). From political to social generations: A critical reappraisal of Mannheim's classical approach. *European Journal of Social Theory, 17*(2), 165-183.

Adams-Jack, U. (2015). Rethinking the South African crisis. Nationalism, populism, hegemony. *Politikon*, *42*(1), 149-151, DOI: 10.1080/02589346.2015.1008675

Adamson, M., Kelan, E., Lewis, P., Śliwa, M., & Rumens, N. (2021). Introduction: Critically interrogating inclusion in organisations. *Organization, 28*(2), 211-227.

Addae, D., & Quan-Baffour, K. P. (2022). Afrophobia,"black on black" violence and the new racism in South Africa: The nexus between adult education and mutual co-existence. *Cogent Social Sciences, 8*(1), 2130458.

Adhikari, M. (2005). Contending approaches to coloured identity and the history of the coloured people of South Africa. *History Compass, 3*(1), 1-16.

Adjai, C., & Lazaridis, G. (2013). Migration, xenophobia and new racism in post-Apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Social Science Studies, 1*, 192.

Africa, C. (2015). Reproducing toxic election campaigns-negative campaigning and race-based politics in the Western Cape. *Journal of African Elections, 14*(1), 124-148.

Agboola, C., & Rabe, M. (2018). Intersectionality and crime: Reflections from female ex-inmates in South Africa. *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology & Victimology, 31*(1), 1-18.

Agocs, C., & Burr, C. (1996). Employment equity, affirmative action and managing diversity: Assessing the differences. *International Journal of Manpower, 17*(4/5), 30-45. https://doi.org/10.1108/01437729610127668

Aguilar, F. J. (1967). *Scanning the business environment*: New York, NY: Macmillan.

Alase, A. (2017). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA): A guide to a good qualitative research approach. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies, 5*(2), 9-19.

Alber, E., Van Der Geest, S., & Whyte, S. R. (2008). *Generations in Africa: Connections and conflicts* (Vol. 33). LIT Verlag Münster.

Alboher, M. (2007). *One person multiple careers*:New York, NY: Warner Business Books.

Alboher, M. (2012). *One person/Multiple careers: The original guide to the slash career.* BookBaby.

Alderfer, C. P., Alderfer, C. J., Tucker, L., & Tucker, R. (1980). Diagnosing race relations in management. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 16*(2), 135-166.

Alexander, L., & Tredoux, C. (2010). The spaces between us: A spatial analysis of informal segregation at a South African university. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*(2), 367-386.

Alexander, N. (2007). Affirmative action and the perpetuation of racial identities in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa, 63*(1), 92-108.

Allan, A., & Allan, M. M. (2000). The South African truth and reconciliation commission as a therapeutic tool. *Behavioral Sciences & The Law, 18*(4), 459-477.

Allanson, P., & Atkins, J. P. (2005). The evolution of the racial wage hierarchy in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Development Studies, 41*(6), 1023-1050.

Allanson, P., Atkins, J. P., & Hinks, T. (2002). No end to the racial wage hierarchy in South Africa? *Review of Development Economics, 6*(3), 442-459.

Alvaredo, F., & Atkinson, A. B. (2010). *Colonial rule, Apartheid and natural resources: Top incomes in South Africa, 1903-2007*. CEPR Public Policy WP No (2010), p. 8155.

Alwin, D. F. (2002). Generations X, Y and Z: Are they changing America? *Contexts, 1*(4), 42-51.

Alwin, D. F., & McCammon, R. J. (2007). Rethinking generations. *Research in Human Development, 4*(3-4), 219-237.

Amadiume, I. (1997). *Re-inventing Africa: Matriarchy, religion and culture.* New York, NY: Zed Books.

Amaratunga, D., Baldry, D., Sarshar, M., & Newton, R. (2002). Quantitative and qualitative research in the built environment: Application of "mixed" research approach. *Work Study, 51*(1), 17-31. https://doi.org/10.1108/00438020210415488

Amoateng, A. Y., & Richter, L. M. (2007). Social and economic context of families and households in South Africa. In: A. Y. Amoateng & T. B. Heaton (Eds). *Families and households in post-Apartheid South Africa: Socio-demographic perspectives*, 1-25. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 1-26. http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11910/5959

Anderson, G. M. (2003). Racial identity, the Apartheid state, and the limits of political mobilization and democratic reform in South Africa: The case of the University of the Western Cape. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 3*(1), 29-52.

Anderson, K. L. (2002). Perpetrator or victim? Relationships between intimate partner violence and well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 64*(4), 851-863.

Andreasen, R. (2000). Race: Biological reality or social construct? *Philosophy of Science*, S653-S666.

Antonini, R. (2016). Caught in the middle: Child language brokering as a form of unrecognised language service. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 37*(7), 710-725.

Aoki, K. (1992). Race, space, and place: The relation between architectural modernism, post-modernism, urban planning, and gentrification. *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 20(4), 699.

April, K., & Ephraim, N. (2006). *Implementing African leadership: An empirical basis to move beyond theory.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Values-Based Leadership, Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

April, K., Ephraim, N., & Peters, K. (2012). Diversity management in South Africa: Inclusion, identity, intention, power and expectations. *African Journal of Business Management, 6*(4), 1749-1759.

April, K., Dreyer, S., & Blass, E. (2007). Gender impediments to the South African executive boardroom. *South African Journal of Labour Relations, 31*(2), 51-67.

Arsenault, P. M. (2004). Validating generational differences: A legitimate diversity and leadership issue. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 25*(2), 124-141.

Aryal, T. R. (2007). Age at first marriage in Nepal: Differentials and determinants. *Journal of Biosocial Science, 39*(5), 693-706.

Aßmann, A. (2014). Differentiating scholarly generations: On Hitler's child soldiers, 60's revolutionaries and forgotten connections. *Phenomenology & Practice, 8*(2), 26-33.

Ashmore, J. (2013). 'Going private': a qualitative comparison *of medical specialists' job satisfaction in the public and private sectors of South Africa. Human Resources For Health, 11*, 1-12.

Atuahene, B. (2011). South Africa's land reform crisis: Eliminating the legacy of Apartheid. *Foreign Affairs, 90*, 121.

Audi, R. (2010). *Epistemology: A contemporary introduction to the theory of knowledge.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Ayala, E. E., Kotary, B., & Hetz, M. (2018). Blame attributions of victims and perpetrators: Effects of victim gender, perpetrator gender, and relationship. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 33*(1), 94-116.

Azaryahu, M. (2000). The Golden arches of McDonald's: On the" Americanization" of Israel. *Israel Studies, 5*(1), 41-64.

Banjo, A., & Jili, N. (2013). Youth and service delivery violence in Mpumalanga, South Africa. *Journal of Public Administration, 48*(2), 251-266.

Bank, L. (2015). City slums, rural homesteads: Migrant culture, displaced urbanism and the citizenship of the serviced house. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 41*(5), 1067-1081.

Bannerji, H. (2005). Building from Marx: Reflections on class and race. *Social Justice, 32*(4), 144-160.

Barile, K. S. (2004). Race, the National Register, and cultural resource management: Creating an historic context for postbellum sites. *Historical Archaeology, 38*(1), 90-100.

Bartelt, V. L., & Dennis, A. R. (2014). Nature and nurture. *MIS Quarterly, 38*(2), 521-A524.

Basson, Y. (2017). Selected developments in South African labour legislation related to persons with disabilities. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal/Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad, 20*(1), 1-21.

Baugh, S. G., Scandura, T. A., & Cogliser, C. C. (2003). LMX and mentoring diverse followers. *Dealing with Diversity, 1*, 91-115.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13, 544-559.

Beall, J., Gelb, S., & Hassim, S. (2005). Fragile stability: State and society in democratic South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 31*(4), 681-700.

Beck, R. B. (2013). *The history of South Africa.* Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood.

Beckwith, F. J., & Jones, T. E. (1997). *Affirmative action: Social justice or reverse discrimination?* Amherst: Prometheus Books.

Bekhet, A. K., & Zauszniewski, J. A. (2012). Methodological triangulation: An approach to understanding data. *Nurse researcher, 20*(2), 40-43.

Ben-Moshe, L., & Magaña, S. (2014). An introduction to race, gender, and disability: Intersectionality, disability studies, and families of color. *Women, Gender, and Families of Color, 2*(2), 105-114.

Bengtson, V. L. (1970). The generation gap: A review and typology of social-psychological perspectives. *Youth & Society, 2*(1), 7-32.

Bengtson, V. L., Furlong, M. J., & Laufer, R. S. (1974). Time, aging, and the continuity of social structure: Themes and issues in generational analysis. *Journal of Social Issues, 30*(2), 1-30.

Bennett, S. (2012). Digital natives. In Z. Yan (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of cyber behavior* (Vol 1, pp. 212-219): IGI Global. United States: IGI Global.

Berdahl, J. L., & Moore, C. (2006). Workplace harassment: Double jeopardy for minority women. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*(2), 426-436.

Berrisford, S. (2011). *Unravelling Apartheid spatial planning legislation in South Africa. Urban Forum*, *22,* 247-263.

Beshers, J. M., Laumann, E. O., & Bradshaw, B. S. (1964). Ethnic congregation-segregation, assimilation, and stratification. *Social Forces, 42*(4), 482-489.

Bethke, F. S. (2011). Divide-and-rule-elite management and political survival in Africa South of the Sahara. *Communications, 201*, 02-22.

Bevan-Dye, A. L., & Akpojivi, U. (2016). South African Generation Y students' self-disclosure on Facebook. *South African Journal of Psychology, 46*(1), 114-129.

Bevan-Dye, A. L., & Meyer, N. (2018). South African Generation Y students' conflict resolution styles. *International Journal of Business and Management Studies, 10*(2), 68-82.

Bhorat, H., & Kanbur, S. R. (2006). *Poverty and policy in post-Apartheid South Africa.* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Bick, A., Blandin, A., & Mertens, K. (2020). *Work from home after the COVID-19 Outbreak.* In: Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Research Department.

Bigler Jr, W. R. (1985). *Perspectives on the management of diversity: A dynamic viewpoint*. SMU, Cox School of Business, Historical Working Papers, 129.

Bigo, V. (2008). Explaining modern economics (as a microcosm of society). *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 32*(4), 527-554.

Birns, N. (2016). Baby Boomers and generational conflict. *Theory in Action, 9*(3), 78-92.

Blackburn, D. G. (2000). Why race is not a biological concept. *Race and Racism in Theory and Practice*, 3-26.

Blanchflower, D. G. (2009). Minority self-employment in the United States and the impact of affirmative action programs. *Annals of Finance, 5*(3), 361-396.

Blosnich, J. R. (2018). *The intersectionality of minority identities and health*. In M. R. Kauth & J. C. Shipherd (Eds.), *Adult Transgender Care* (pp. 30-43). New York, NY: Routledge. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.4324/9781315390505-3

Bokamba, E. G. (1995). The politics of language planning in Africa: Critical choices for the 21st century. *Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 69*, 11-11.

Bolden, R., & Kirk, P. (2009). African leadership: Surfacing new understandings through leadership development. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 9*(1), 69-86.

Bond, P., & Mottiar, S. (2013). Movements, protests and a massacre in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 31*(2), 283-302.

Booysen, L. (2001). The duality in South African leadership: Afrocentric or Eurocentric. *South African Journal of Labour Relations, 25*(34), 36-64.

Booysen, L. (2007a). Barriers to employment equity implementation and retention of blacks in management in South Africa. *South African Journal of Labour Relations, 31*(1), 47-71.

Booysen, L. (2007b). Societal power shifts and changing social identities in South Africa: Workplace implications. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences, 10*(1), 1-20.

Booysen, L. A., & Nkomo, S. M. (2010). Gender role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics: The case of South Africa. *Gender in Management: An international Journal, 25*(4), 285-300.

Booysen, L.A.E., & Nkomo, S.M. (2014). New developments in employment equity and diversity management in South Africa. In L.A.E. Booysen, A. Klarsfeld, E. Ng, and A. Tatli (Eds.), *International handbook on diversity management at work: Country perspectives on diversity and equal treatment, Vol. 2* (pp. 131–182). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Booysen, L. A., & van Wyk, M. W. (2007). Culture and leadership in South Africa. In J. S. Chhokar, F. C. Brodbeck, & J. R. House (Eds), *Culture and leadership across the world: The GLOBE book of in-depth studies of 25 societies* (pp. 433-474). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Bornman, E. (2016). Information society and digital divide in South Africa: Results of longitudinal surveys. *Information, Communication & Society, 19*(2), 264-278.

Bosch, A., Rossouw, J., Claassens, T., & Du Plessis, B. (2010). *A second look at measuring inequality in South Africa: A modified Gini coefficient.* University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Development Studies.

Bosch, T. (2016). Twitter and participatory citizenship: # FeesMustFall in South Africa. In *Digital activism in the social media era* (pp. 159-173). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-40949-8_8

Bowen, P., Cattell, K., & Distiller, G. (2008). South African quantity surveyors: Issues of gender and race in the workplace. *Acta Structilia: Journal for the Physical and Development Sciences, 15*(1), 1-21.

Bristow, J. (2015a). *Baby boomers and generational conflict.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bristow, J. (2015b). Conclusion—The problem of generations today. In *Baby Boomers and generational conflict* (pp. 183-190). London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/97811374547378.

Bristow, J. (2015c). Understanding generations historically. In *Baby Boomers and generational conflict* (pp. 19-41). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brock-Utne, B., & Holmarsdottir, H. B. (2004). Language policies and practices in Tanzania and South Africa: Problems and challenges. *International Journal of Educational Development, 24*(1), 67-83.

Brookes, H. (2021). 3 Rethinking Youth Language Practices in South Africa: An Interactional Sociocultural Perspective. *Youth Language Practices and Urban Language Contact in Africa*, 66.

Brown, C., & Czerniewicz, L. (2010). Debunking the 'digital native': Beyond digital Apartheid, towards digital democracy. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning, 26*(5), 357-369.

Bryman, A. (2015). *Social research methods.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burger, R., Jafta, R., & von Fintel, D. (2016). *Affirmative action policies and the evolution of post-apartheid South Africa's racial wage gap,* (No. 2016/66). WIDER Working Paper, No. 2016/66, ISBN 978-92-9256-109-3.

Burnard, P., Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Analysing and presenting qualitative data. *British Dental jJournal, 204*(8), 429-432.

Burnett, T. (2003). Inclusion: Our biggest organisational challenge. *Footprints, 1*(2), 156-159.

Burrows, C. D. (2016). Writing while black: The black tax on African American graduate writers. *Praxis: A Writing Center Journal*. *Vol.14*, 15–20.

Bussin, M. H., Serumaga-Zake, P., & Mohamed-Padayachee, K. (2019). A total rewards framework for the attraction of Generation Y employees born 1981–2000 in South Africa. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management, 17*(1), 1-14.

Butler-Adam, J. (2018). The fourth industrial revolution and education. *South African Journal of Science, 114*(5-6), 1-22.

Buttimer, A., & Seamon, D. (2015). *The human experience of space and place.* Routledge.

Caballero, M., & Baigorri, A. (2019). Glocalising the theory of generations: The case of Spain. *Time & Society, 28*(1), 333-357.

Cansler, C. W. (1939). *Three generations: The story of a colored family of Eastern Tennessee.* Priv. print.[Kingsport Press, Incorporated,].

Callinicos, L. (1999). Oliver Tambo and the politics of class, race and ethnicity in the African National Congress. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie, 3*(1), 130-151.

Carbado, D. W., Crenshaw, K. W., Mays, V. M., & Tomlinson, B. (2013). Intersectionality: Mapping the movements of a theory. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race, 10*(2), 303-312.

Carmichael, T., & Cunningham, N. (2017). Theoretical data collection and data analysis with gerunds in a constructivist grounded theory study. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods, 15*(2), 59-73.

Carpenter, R., & Phaswana, M. (2021). Black tax: An international exploratory study in the South African context. *Journal of Economic and Financial Sciences, 14*(1), 612.

Carter, M. R., & May, J. (2001). One kind of freedom: Poverty dynamics in post-Apartheid South Africa. *World Development, 29*(12), 1987-2006.

Cassell, C.M. and Kele, J. (2021), Managing diversity and inclusion, in Wilkinson, A. Dundon, T. and Redman, T. (Eds), *Contemporary Human Resource Management: Text and Cases*, 6th ed., Sage, London.

Cassuto, P., & April, K. (2019). Non-racial identities of South African born frees: Implications for HR management. *Effective Executive, 22*(1), 38-77.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. London: Sage.

Chaturvedi, A. R., Dolk, D. R., & Drnevich, P. L. (2011). Design principles for virtual worlds. *MIS Quarterly*, 673-684.

Chauvel, L., & Smits, F. (2015). The endless Baby Boomer Generation: Cohort differences in participation in political discussions in nine European countries in the period 1976–2008. *European Societies, 17*(2), 242-278.

Chen, X., Beveridge, A. J., & Fu, P. P. (2018). *Put yourself in others' age: How age simulation facilitates inter-generational cooperation.* Paper presented at the Academy of Management Proceedings.

Chibba, M., & Luiz, J. M. (2011). Poverty, inequality and unemployment in South Africa: Context, issues and the way forward. *Economic Papers: A Journal of Applied Economics and Policy, 30*(3), 307-315.

Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 38*(4), 785-810.

Christiansen, N., & Maglaughlin, K. (2003). Crossing from physical workplace to virtual workspace: Be AWARE! *Human-Computer Interaction: Theory and Practice* (part 1). Volume 1 of the Proceedings of HCI International 2003, 10th International Conference on Human-Computer Interaction Symposium on Human Interface (Japan) 2003.

Chude-Sokei, L. (2006). The last "darky": Bert Williams, black-on-black minstrelsy, and the African diaspora. Duke University Press.

Chungu, C., & Kalula, E. (2020). Solidarity between generations in South Africa: Contemporary challenges and prospects. Solidarity Across Generations, 279-303.

Clark, K. R. (2017). Managing multiple generations in the workplace. *Radiologic Technology, 88*(4), 379-396.

Cohen, C. J., Fowler, M., Medenica, V. E., & Rogowski, J. C. (2017). The 'Woke' Generation? Millennial attitudes on race in the US. GenForward Survey.

Coleman, L. J., Hladikova, M., & Savelyeva, M. (2006). The baby boomer market. *Journal of Targeting, Measurement and Analysis for Marketing, 14*(3), 191-209.

Collins, P. H. (2012). Social inequality, power, and politics: Intersectionality and American pragmatism in dialogue. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, 26*(2), 442-457.

Collins, W. A., Maccoby, E. E., Steinberg, L., Hetherington, E. M., & Bornstein, M. H. (2000). Contemporary research on parenting: The case for nature and nurture. *American Psychologist, 55*(2), 218.

Comte, A. (1880). *A general view of positivism.* Trübuer and Company.

Conaghan, J. (2008). *Intersectionality and the feminist project in law*. In D. Cooper (Ed.), Law, power and the politics of subjectivity: Intersectionality and beyond. London: Routledge-Cavendish.

Connelly, L. M. (2016). Trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Medsurg Nursing, 25*(6), 435.

Cowell, E. L., & Kupritz, V. W. (2005). *Human resources and the future of communication in the workplace: a cross-generational perspective*. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Cox, T. H., & Blake, S. (1991). Managing cultural diversity: Implications for organizational competitiveness. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 5*(3), 45-56.

Cox T. (2001). *Creating the multicultural organization: A strategy for capturing the power of diversity*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Crabtree, B. F. (1999). *Doing qualitative research.* London: Sage.

Craig, C. S., Douglas, S. P., & Bennett, A. (2009). Contextual and cultural factors underlying Americanization. *International Marketing Review*.

Cran, C. (2010). *101 ways to make generations X, Y and Zoomers happy at work.* Cheryl Cran.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). *Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics.* Paper presented at the University of Chicago Legal Forum.

Crenshaw, K. (2005). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color (1994). In R. K. Bergen, J. L. Edleson, & C. M. Renzetti (Eds), *Violence against women: Classic papers* (pp. 282-313). Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Education.

Crenshaw, K. (2015). Why intersectionality can't wait. *The Washington Post, 24*.

Crenshaw, K., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (1995). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement.* New York, NY: The New Press.

Crenshaw, K., Yuval-Davis, N., & Fine, M. (2010). A conversation with founding scholars of intersectionality. *The Intersectional Approach*, 61-86.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1997). Color blindness, history, and the law. *The House that Race Built*, 280-288.

Crenshaw, K. W. (2010). Close encounters of three kinds: On teaching dominance feminism and intersectionality. *Tulsa Law Review., 46*, 151-172.

Crenshaw, K. W. (2018). Beyond racism and misogyny: Black feminism and 2 Live Crew. In M. J. Matsuda (Ed.), *Words that wound*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Crenshaw, K. W. (2019). *Seeing race again: Countering colorblindness across the disciplines.* University of California Press.

Crush, J. (2001). The dark side of democracy: Migration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa. *International Migration, 38*(6), 103-133.

Dahodwala, Z. (2021). Black Tax. *Eidos, 11*(1), 91-94.

Dant, T. (1991). *Knowledge, ideology and discourse. A sociological perspective*. London: Routledge.

Davids, N., Tyson, K., Driscoll, K., Della Sudda, M., Terriquez, V., & Zayas, V. (2021). White privilege: What it is, what it means and why understanding it matters. *The Conversation*.

Davidsson, P., & Wiklund, J. (2006). Conceptual and empirical challenges in the study of firm growth. *Entrepreneurship and the Growth of Firms, 1*(1), 39-61.

Davis, A. N. (2015). Intersectionality and international law: Recognizing complex identities on the global stage. *Harvard Human Rights Journal, 28*, 205-228.

Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory, 9*(1), 67-85.

Davoudi, S., & Strange, I. (2008). *Conceptions of space and place in strategic spatial planning* (Vol. 17). Routledge.

De Weerd-Nederhof, P. C. (2001). Qualitative case study research. The case of a PhD research project on organising and managing new product development systems. *Management Decision, 39*(7), 513-538. doi:10.1108/EUM0000000005805

Deckha, M. (2004). Is culture taboo? Feminism, intersectionality, and culture talk in law. *Canadian Journal of Women & Law, 16*, 14-31.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory.* NYU Press.

Delli Carpini, M. X. (1989). Age and history: Generations and sociopolitical change. In R. S. Sigel (Ed.), *Political learning in adulthood: A sourcebook of theory and research* (pp. 11-55). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/12

Dennis, H., & Thomas, K. (2007). Ageism in the workplace. *Generations, 31*(1), 84-89.

Dennison, S., Bijleveld, C., & van de Weijer, S. (2017). Intergenerational continuity in incarceration: Evidence from a Dutch multi-generation cohort. In *The Routledge international handbook of life-course criminology* (pp. 450-473). Routledge.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. (2000). *Qualitative research* (pp. 413-427). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Desai, A. (2002). *We are the poors: Community struggles in post-Apartheid South Africa.* NYU Press.

Devey, R., & Møller, V. (2002). Closing the gap between rich and poor in South Africa. In *Rich and poor* (pp. 105-122). Springer.

Diala, I. (2001). Nadine Gordimer, JM Coetzee, and Andre Brink: Guilt, expiation, and the reconciliation process in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Modern Literature, 25*(2), 50-68.

Diaz, L. J., & Dunican Jr, P. G. (2011). Ending the revolving door syndrome in Law. *Seton Hall Law Review, 41*(3), 947.

Dilthey, W. (1988). Introduction to the human sciences: An attempt to lay a foundation for the study of society and history. Wayne State University Press.

Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., Thomae, M., Tredoux, C., Kerr, P., & Quayle, M. (2015). Divide and rule, unite and resist: Contact, collective action and policy attitudes among historically disadvantaged groups. *Journal of Social Issues, 71*(3), 576-596.

Dixon, T. L. (2008). Who is the victim here? The psychological effects of overrepresenting white victims and black perpetrators on television news. *Journalism, 9*(5), 582-605.

Djamba, Y. K. (2002). Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. *Teaching Sociology, 30*(3), 380-402.

Dobransky-Fasiska, D. G. (2002). *A discriminant analysis of entrepreneurial personality characteristics for each of three generational cohorts: The silent generation, the baby boomers, and generation X.* University of Pittsburgh,

Dodson, B. (2010). Locating xenophobia: Debate, discourse, and everyday experience in Cape Town, South Africa. *Africa Today, 56*(3), 2-22.

Donalek, J. G. (2004). Phenomenology as a qualitative research method. *Urologic Nursing, 24*(6), 516-531.

Donnelly, D. A., Cook, K. J., Van Ausdale, D., & Foley, L. (2005). White privilege, color blindness, and services to battered women. *Violence against Women, 11*(1), 6-37.

Dorris, R. (2009). *Race as a social construct: The impact on education.* Paper presented at the Forum on Public Policy Online.

Dowling, M. (2006). Approaches to reflexivity in qualitative research. *Nurse Researcher, 13*(3), 7-21.

Dromel, J. (1862). La loi des revolutions, les generations, les nationalites, les dynasties, les religions. *Chap. III) Dromel will entdeckt haben, daß alle, 15*, 16. Paris: Librairie Academique.

Dronne, R. E., & Minter, T. (2009). *Talking'bout my generation.* Paper presented at the ASSE Professional Development Conference and Exhibition.

Du Plessis, D. (2014). *A critical reflection on urban spatial planning practices and outcomes in post-Apartheid South Africa.* Paper presented at the Urban Forum.

Du Toit, S. H., Böning, W., & Van Der Merwe, T. R. (2014). Dignity and respect: Facilitating meaningful occupation for SeSotho elders. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy, 21*(2), 125-135.

Dubow, S. (1992). Afrikaner nationalism, Apartheid and the conceptualization of 'race'. *Journal of African History, 33*(2), 209-237.

Dubow, S. (1995). *Scientific racism in modern South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duh, H., & Struwig, M. (2015). Justification of generational cohort segmentation in South Africa. *International Journal of Emerging Markets, 10*(1), 89-101.

Dunham, Y., Stepanova, E. V., Dotsch, R., & Todorov, A. (2015). The development of race-based perceptual categorization: Skin color dominates early category judgments. *Developmental Science, 18*(3), 469-483.

Durrant, S. (2013). The invention of mourning in post-Apartheid literature. In *Connecting Cultures* (pp. 55-64). Routledge.

Duverger, M., & Tinnin, A. (1955). Generations in Conflict. *Yale French Studies,* (15), 12-16.

Ebert, S., & Pillay, K. (2022). "Swimming upstream": White privilege and racial justice activism in education in South Africa. *Cogent Social Sciences, 8*(1), 2040128.

Edmunds, J., & Turner, B. S. (2005). Global generations: social change in the twentieth century. *The British Journal of Sociology, 56*(4), 559-577.

Egri, C. P., & Ralston, D. A. (2004). Generation cohorts and personal values: A comparison of China and the United States. *Organization Science, 15*(2), 210-220.

Erevelles, N., & Minear, A. (2010). Unspeakable offenses: Untangling race and disability in discourses of intersectionality. *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies, 4*(2), 127-145.

Erickson, P. (2011). Probing white guilt, pursuing white redemption: William Kentridge's 9 drawings for projection. *Journal Of Contemporary African Art, 2011*(28), 34-47.

Erwin, K. (2010). Theory and practice in the field of race and race thinking: Critical reflections for South Africa and beyond. Paper presented at the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity (ccrri), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus.

Esprey, Y. M. (2017). The problem of thinking in black and white: Race in the South African clinical dyad. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues, 27*(1), 20-35.

Ettang, D. (2014). Factors for successful nonviolent action in Africa. *Peace Review, 26*(3), 412-419.

Everatt, D. (2009). The origins of non-racialism: White opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s. NYU Press.

Everatt, D. (2016). The era of ineluctability? Post-apartheid South Africa after 20 years of democratic elections. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 42*(1), 49-64.

Eyerman, R., & Turner, B. S. (1998). Outline of a theory of generations. *European Journal of Social Theory, 1*(1), 91-106.

Eysenck, H. J. (1976). Introduction. In H. J. Eysenck (Ed.), *Case studies in behaviour therapy.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Faris, R. E. (1947). Interaction of generations and family stability. *American Sociological Review*, 159-164.

Farred, G. (2006). ‘‘Shooting the White Girl First’’: Race in post-Apartheid South Africa. In D. A. Thomas & K. M. Clarke (Eds), *Globalization and race: Transformations in the cultural production of blackness* (pp. 226-248). Durham: Duke University Press.

Fein, E. C., Tziner, A., & Vasiliu, C. (2010). Age cohort effects, gender, and Romanian leadership preferences. *Journal of Management Development, 29*(4), 364-376.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(1), 80-92.

Ferrari, G. (1860). *Histoire de la raison d'Etat.* M. Lévy frères.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(2), 219-245.

Fongwa, S. N. (2019). Interrogating the public good versus private good dichotomy:‘black tax’as a higher education public good. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1-16.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry, 8*(4), 777-795.

Foucault, M., & Miskowiec, J. (1986). Of other spaces. *Diacritics, 16*(1), 22-27.

Franceschi, K., Lee, R. M., Zanakis, S. H., & Hinds, D. (2009). Engaging group e-learning in virtual worlds. *Journal of Management Information Systems, 26*(1), 73-100.

Franchi, V. (2003). The racialization of affirmative action in organizational discourses: A case study of symbolic racism in post-Apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 27*(2), 157-187.

Frederick, A., & Shifrer, D. (2019). Race and disability: From analogy to intersectionality. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 5*(2), 200-214.

Frenkel, M., & Shenhav, Y. (2003). From Americanization to colonization: The diffusion of productivity models revisited. *Organization Studies, 24*(9), 1537-1561.

Fuchs, S. (1992). *The professional quest for truth: A social theory of science and knowledge.* Suny Press.

Fuller, K. (2018). New lands, new languages: Navigating intersectionality in school leadership. *Frontiers in Education, 3*(25). https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2018.00025

Gachago, D., Bozalek, V., & Ng'ambi, D. (2018). White guilt and shame: students’ emotional reactions to digital stories of race in a South African classroom. In L. Smith, M., Wetherell, & G. Campbell (Eds), *Emotion, affective practices, and the past in the present* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351250962

Gardiner, S., Grace, D., & King, C. (2015). Is the Australian domestic holiday a thing of the past? Understanding baby boomer, Generation X and Generation Y perceptions and attitude to domestic and international holidays. *Journal of Vacation Marketing, 21*(4), 336-350.

Gattamorta, K. A., Salerno, J. P., & Castro, A. J. (2019). Intersectionality and health behaviors among US high school students: Examining race/ethnicity, sexual identity, and sex. *Journal of School Health, 89*(10), 800-808.

Gauteng Provincial Government. (2015). *Gautrain Management Agency Integrated Annual Report.* Johannesburg: Government Printer. Retrieved from http://gma.gautrain.co.za/uploads/doc/GMA-Annual-Report-2015.pdf

Gerdts, C., Raifman, S., Daskilewicz, K., Momberg, M., Roberts, S., & Harries, J. (2017). Women’s experiences seeking informal sector abortion services in Cape Town, South Africa: A descriptive study. *BMC Women's Health, 17*(1), 1-10.

Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? *American Political Science Review, 98*(2), 341-354.

Gervais-Lambony, P. (2015). Meetings in Vosloorus (Ekurhuleni): Democratic public spaces or spaces for grievances. In C. Bénit-Gbaffou (Ed.) *Popular politics in South African cities: Unpacking community participation* (pp. 196-213). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Ghaill, M. M. (2000). The Irish in Britain: The invisibility of ethnicity and anti-Irish racism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 26*(1), 137-147.

Gieryn, T. F. (2000). A space for place in sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 463-496.

Gilal, F. G., Gilal, N. G., Tariq, B., Gilal, R. G., Gilal, R. G., Gong, Z., & Channa, N. A. (2020). Intergenerational differences in fans' motivation to watch the T20 world cup: A generation cohort theory perspective. *International Journal of Sports Marketing and Sponsorship, 22*(2), 197-219. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSMS-09-2019-0094

Gilleard, C. (2004). Cohorts and generations in the study of social change. *Social Theory & Health, 2*(1), 106-119.

Gilleard, C., & Higgs, P. (2007). The third age and the baby boomers. *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life, 2*(2), 13-30.

Gilmore, H. W. (1932). Five generations of a begging family. *American Journal of Sociology, 37*(5), 768-774.

Glass, A. (2007). Understanding generational differences for competitive success. *Industrial and Commercial Training, 39*(2), 98-103.

Glenn, E. N. (1999). The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race. *Revisioning Gender*, 3-43.

Glenn, N. D. (1977). *Cohort analysis*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Goettner-Abendroth, H. (2018). Re-thinking 'Matriarchy'in modern matriarchal studies using two examples: The khasi and the mosuo. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies, 24*(1), 3-27.

Goldberg, C., & McKay, P. F. (2015). Diversity and LMX development. In T. N. Bauer & B. Erdogan (Eds), *The Oxford handbook of leader–member exchange* (pp. 381-396). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goldblatt, B., & Meintjes, S. (1998). Dealing with the aftermath: Sexual violence and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Agenda, 13*(36), 7-18.

Goodson, I. (2001). The story of life history: Origins of the life history method in sociology. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 1*(2), 129-142.

Goodwin, P., McGill, B., & Chandra, A. (2009). *Who marries and when?: Age at first marriage in the United States: 2002.* NCHS Data Brief. Jun(19), 1-8. PMID: 19567016.

Gouws, A. (2017). Feminist intersectionality and the matrix of domination in South Africa. *Agenda, 31*(1), 19-27.

Grabham, E., Cooper, D., Krishnadas, J., & Herman, D. (2008). *Intersectionality and beyond: Law, power and the politics of location.* Routledge.

Graham, L., Bruce, D., & Perold, H. (2010). *Ending the age of the marginal majority: An exploration of strategies to overcome youth exclusion, vulnerability and violence in Southern Africa*. Midrand: Southern Africa Trust.

Griffith, F. M. (2009). *Race and space in post-Apartheid South Africa, 1996–2001* (Ph.D. thesis). University of Pennsylvania. https://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3381970

Groenmeyer, S. (2011). Intersectionality in Apartheid and post-Apartheid South Africa: Unpacking the narratives of two working women. *Gender, Technology and Development, 15*(2), 249-274.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). London: Sage.

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., & Namey, E. E. (2012). Validity and reliability (credibility and dependability) in qualitative research and data analysis. *Applied Thematic Analysis, 79*, 106.

Gursoy, D., Maier, T. A., & Chi, C. G. (2008). Generational differences: An examination of work values and generational gaps in the hospitality workforce. *International Journal of Hospitality Management, 27*(3), 448-458.

Gusfield, J. R. (1956). The problem of generations in an organizational structure. *Social Forces, 35*, 323-330.

Hafen, S. (2004). Organizational gossip: A revolving door of regulation and resistance. *Southern Journal of Communication, 69*(3), 223-240.

Hall, R., Wisborg, P., Shirinda, S., & Zamchiya, P. (2013). Farm workers and farm dwellers in Limpopo Province, South Africa. *Journal of Agrarian Change, 13*(1), 47-70.

Halvorsrud, K. (2019). The maintenance of white privilege: The case of white South African migrants in the UK. *Ethnicities, 19*(1), 95-116.

Hamber, B., Nageng, D., & O'Malley, G. (2000). "Telling it like it is…": Understanding the truth and reconciliation commission from the perspective of survivors. *Psychology in Society, 26*(1), 18-42.

Hammon, B. (2013). Playing the race card: White Americans' sense of victimization in response to affirmative action. *Texas Hispanic Journal of Law and Policy, 19*, 95-112.

Hansen, J.-I. C., & Leuty, M. E. (2012). Work values across generations. *Journal of Career Assessment, 20*(1), 34-52.

Hansen, S. (2007). Superiority complex: Why the Brits think they're better. *Columbia Journalism Review, 46*(1), 26-28.

Harper, R. (1975). The Black Tax: Stresses confronting black federal executives. *Journal of Afro-American Issues, 3*(2): 207–218.

Harris, B. (2002). Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa. *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*, 169-184.

Harrison, P., & Todes, A. (2001). The use of spatial frameworks in regional development in South Africa. *Regional Studies, 35*(1), 65-72.

Hartshorne, J. K., Salem-Hartshorne, N., & Hartshorne, T. S. (2009). Birth order effects in the formation of long-term relationships. *Journal of Individual Psychology, 65*(2), 156-176.

Haynes, K. (2012). Reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges*, 72-89.

Healey, P. (2004). The treatment of space and place in the new strategic spatial planning in Europe. In *Steuerung und Planung im Wandel* (pp. 297-329). Springer.

Hearn, J., & Louvrier, J. (2015). Theories of difference, diversity, and intersectionality. In *The Oxford handbook of diversity in organizations* (pp. 62). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heidegger, M. (1977). *Basic writings: From Being and time (1927) to The task of thinking (1964).* Harper Collins.

Heidegger, M. (1988). *The basic problems of phenomenology* (Vol. 478). Indiana University Press.

Heyns, M. M., & Kerr, M. D. (2018). Generational differences in workplace motivation. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management, 16*(1), 1-10.

Hicks, J., & Buccus, I. (2008). Crafting new democratic spaces: Participatory policy-making in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa, 65*(1), 94-119.

Hodes, R. (2017). Questioning 'fees must fall'. *African Affairs, 116*(462), 140-150.

Honebein, P. C. (1996). Seven goals for the design of constructivist learning environments. Constructivist learning environments: Case studies in instructional design, 11-24.

Hoogeveen, J. G., & Özler, B. (2005). *Not separate, not equal: Poverty and inequality in post-Apartheid South Africa*. William Davidson Institute Working Paper Number 739.

Hoogeveen, J. G., & Özler, B. (2006). Poverty and inequality in post-Apartheid South Africa: 1995-2000. In H. Bhorat & R. Kanbur (Eds), *Poverty and policy in post-Apartheid South Africa* (pp.59-94). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Hook, D. (2020). White anxiety in (post) Apartheid South Africa. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society, 25*, 612-631.

Hoolachan, J., & McKee, K. (2019). Inter-generational housing inequalities:'Baby Boomers' versus the 'Millennials'. *Urban Studies, 56*(1), 210-225.

Hoole, C., & Bonnema, J. (2015). Work engagement and meaningful work across generational cohorts. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management, 13*(1), 1-11.

Horkheimer, M. (1972). *Critical theory: Selected essays* (Vol. 1). A&C Black.

Horkheimer, M. (1995). *Between philosophy and social science: Selected early writings*. MIT Press.

Horrell, G. (2005). Post-Apartheid disgrace: Guilty masculinities in white South African writing. *Literature Compass, 2*(1), 1-11. DOI:10.1111/j.1741-4113.2005.00103.x

Horrell, G. (2008). Postcolonial disgrace: (White) Women and (white) guilt in the "new" South Africa. In *Bodies and Voices* (pp. 17-31). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401205351_003

Horwitz, F. M., & Jain, H. (2011). An assessment of employment equity and broad based black economic empowerment developments in South Africa. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal, 30*(4), 297-317.

Howe, N. (2010). Meet Mr. and Mrs. Gen X: A new parent generation. *School Administrator, 67*(1), 18-23.

Howe, N., & Strauss, W. (1992a). *Generations: The history of America's future, 1584 to 2069*: Harper Collins.

Howe, N., & Strauss, W. (1992b). The new generation gap. *Atlantic Monthly* 270(6), 67-89.

Howe, N., & Strauss, W. (2000). *Millennials rising: The next great generation.*. Vintage.

Howe, N., & Strauss, W. (2007). The next 20 years: How customer and workforce attitudes will evolve. *Harvard Business Review, 85*(7-8), 41-52, 191.

Hudson, N. (1996). From "nation" to"race": The origin of racial classification in eighteenth-century thought. *Eighteenth-Century Studies, 29*(3), 247-264.

Huggett, N. (1999). Space from Zeno to Einstein: Classic readings with a contemporary commentary. MIT Press.

Humayun, A., Li, F., & Rehg, J. M. (2015). The middle child problem: Revisiting parametric min-cut and seeds for object proposals. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the IEEE International Conference on Computer Vision.

Hunziker, M., Buchecker, M., & Hartig, T. (2007). Space and place–two aspects of the human-landscape relationship. In A changing world (pp. 47-62). Springer.

Hutchinson, S., Kobayashi, M., Horkan, C., Pascual-Leone, A., Alexander, M., & Schlaug, G. (2002). Age-related differences in movement representation. Neuroimage, 17(4), 1720-1728.

Inceoglu, I., Segers, J., & Bartram, D. (2012). Age-related differences in work motivation. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 85*(2), 300-329.

Ingelaere, B. (2008*). The gacaca courts in Rwanda.* In L. Huyse & M. Salter (Eds), Traditional justice and reconciliation mechanisms after violent conflict: Learning from African experiences (pp. 25-59). Stockholm: International Idea.

Irons, L. (1935). A study of social adjustment and incidence of mental disease in six generations of a family. Smith College Studies in Social Work, 5(4), 297-337.

Ivey, G., & Sonn, C. (2020). A psychosocial study of guilt and shame in White South African migrants to Australia. *Qualitative Psychology, 7*(1), 114-131.

Jabar, F., Colatruglio, S., Sellers, E., Kroeker, K., & Wicklow, B. (2019). The next generation cohort: A description of a cohort at high risk for childhood onset type 2 diabetes. *Journal of Developmental Origins of Health and Disease, 10*(1), 24-30.

Jain, H., Mbabane, L., & Horwitz, F. (2005). *Trade union consultation by employers under employment equity legislation*. In 4th Regional African Congress of the International Industrial Relations Association, Mauritius, Nov.

Jaiswal, A., & Arun, C. J. (2020). Unlocking the COVID-19 lockdown: Work from home and its impact on employees. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/deref/https%3A%2F%2Fdoi.org%2F10.21203%2Frs.3.rs-34556%2Fv1

James, A. (2016). Responsibility, children and childhood. In Responsibility, Law and the Family (pp. 145-166). Routledge.

Janiak, A. (2015). Space and motion in nature and scripture: Galileo, Descartes, Newton. Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A, 51, 89-99.

Jeeves, A. (2004). South Africa in the 1940s: Post-war reconstruction and the onset of Apartheid. *South African Historical Journal, 50*(1), 1-11.

Jennings, E. A., Farrell, M. T., & Kobayashi, L. C. (2021). Grandchild caregiving and cognitive health among grandparents in rural South Africa. *Journal of Aging and Health, 33*(9), 661-673.

Johnson, J. L., Bottorff, J. L., Browne, A. J., Grewal, S., Hilton, B. A., & Clarke, H. (2004). Othering and being othered in the context of health care services. *Health Communication, 16*(2), 255-271.

Johnston, K. (2013). A guide to educating different generations in South Africa. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the Informing Science and Information Technology Education Conference.

Jonck, P., Sobayeni, N. C., & van der Walt, F. (2016). Work ethics of different generational cohorts in South Africa. African Journal of Business Ethics.

Jonck, P., Van der Walt, F., & Sobayeni, N. C. (2017). A generational perspective on work values in a South African sample. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology, 43*(1), 1-9.

Jones, G. W., & Gubhaju, B. (2009). Factors influencing changes in mean age at first marriage and proportions never marrying in the low-fertility countries of East and Southeast Asia. *Asian Population Studies, 5*(3), 237-265.

Kariuki, F. (2015). Conflict resolution by elders in Africa: Successes, challenges and opportunities. Challenges and Opportunities (July 9, 2015).

Karlins, M., Coffman, T. L., & Walters, G. (1969). On the fading of social stereotypes: Studies in three generations of college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 13*(1), 1.

Kaukinen, C. (2004). The help-seeking strategies of female violent-crime victims: The direct and conditional effects of race and the victim-offender relationship. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19*(9), 967-990.

Kaye, K. (2005). Family rules: Raising responsible children. iUniverse.

Keiser, S. H. (2007). Language in South Africa. *Language, 83(*1), 223-224.

Keller, S. I. (1953). The social origins and career lines of three generations of American business leaders. Columbia University.

Kelly, E., & Dobbin, F. (1998). How affirmative action became diversity management: Employer response to antidiscrimination law, 1961 to 1996. *American Behavioral Scientist, 41*(7), 960-984.

Kelly, G., Mrengqwa, L., & Geffen, L. (2019). "They don't care about us": Older people's experiences of primary healthcare in Cape Town, South Africa*. BMC Geriatrics, 19*(1), 1-14.

Khaile, F. T., Roman, N. V., & Davids, G. J. (2021). The role of local government in promoting a sense of belonging as an aspect of social cohesion: A document analysis. *African Journal of Governance and Development, 10*(1), 8-33

Khalifa, M. (2015). Can Blacks be racists? Black-on-Black principal abuse in an urban school setting. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 28*(2), 259-282.

Khazaei, F. (2018). Grounds for dialogue: Intersectionality and superdiversity. *Tijdschrift voor Gender studies, 21*(1), 7-25.

Khosa, M. (2001). The state of the people: Citizens, civil society and governance in South Africa, 1994-2000. HSRC Press.

Khumalo, S., Taylor, M., Makusha, T., & Mabaso, M. (2020). Intersectionality of cultural norms and sexual behaviours: A qualitative study of young Black male students at a university in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Reproductive Health, 17*(1), 1-10.

Kuhn, T. (1962). The structure of scientific revolutions. *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, 2*(2).

Kidder, D. L., Lankau, M. J., Chrobot-Mason, D., Mollica, K. A., & Friedman, R. A. (2004). Backlash toward diversity initiatives: Examining the impact of diversity program justification, personal and group outcomes. *International Journal of Conflict Management, 15*(1), 77-102.

King, B. (2011). Spatialising livelihoods: Resource access and livelihood spaces in South Africa. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 36*(2), 297-313.

Kirkcaldy, B., Richardson-Vejlgaard, R., & Siefen, G. (2009). Birth order: Self-injurious and suicidal behaviour among adolescents. *Psychology, Health & Medicine, 14*(1), 9-16.

Kirkpatrick, C. (1936). A comparison of generations in regard to attitudes toward feminism. *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology, 49*(2), 343-361.

Kishan Thussu, D. (2013). De-Americanising media studies and the rise of "Chindia". *Javnost-The Public, 20*(4), 31-44.

Klasen, S., & Minasyan, A. (2021). Affirmative action and intersectionality at the top: Evidence from South Africa. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society, 60*(1), 3-35.

Klepek, R. B. M. (2000). The digitalization of a grocery shopping from a generation perspective. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management, 28*(1), 20.

Kothari, C. R. (2004). Research methodology: Methods and techniques. New Age International.

Köllen, T. (2021). Diversity management: A critical review and agenda for the future. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 30*(3), 259-272.

Kruger, M., & Saayman, M. (2015). Consumer preferences of Generation Y: Evidence from live music tourism event performances in South Africa. *Journal of Vacation Marketing, 21*(4), 366-382.

Kumar, R. (2018). Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners. Sage.

Kupperschmidt, B. R. (2000). Multigeneration employees: Strategies for effective management. *The Health Care Manager, 19*(1), 65-76.

Kurtiş, T., & Adams, G. (2016). Decolonial intersectionality. In K. A. Case (Ed.), Intersectional pedagogy: Complicating identity and social justice (pp. 46–59). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record, 97*(1), 47.

Langa, M. (2017). Researching the# FeesMustFall movement.In M. Langa, S. Ndelu, Y. Edwin, & M. Vilakazi (Eds), Hashtag: An analysis of the# FeesMustFall movement at South African universities (pp. 6-12). Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Larsen, R. S. (1994). Technological generations and the spread of the social definition of new technologies (Dissertation). University of Oregon.

Lawyer, S. R., Ruggiero, K. J., Resnick, H. S., Kilpatrick, D. G., & Saunders, B. E. (2006). Mental health correlates of the victim-perpetrator relationship among interpersonally victimized adolescents. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21*(10), 1333-1353.

Layton, L. (2004). Dreams of America/American dreams. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues, 14*(2), 233-254.

Le Roux, J. (2000). The concept of" Ubuntu": Africa's most important contribution to multicultural education? *MCT, 18*(2), 43-46.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The production of space (Vol. 142). Oxford: Blackwell.

Léglise, I., & Migge, B. (2007). *Language and colonialism. Applied linguistics in the context of creole communities.* In M. Hellinger & A, Pauwels (Eds), Language and communication: Diversity and change. Handbook of applied linguistics (pp. 297-338). New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

Levin, S. (2018). World Economic Forum and the Fourth Industrial Revolution in South Africa. Trade & Industrial Policy Strategy. Pretoria: TIPS.

Lewis, G. (2009). Celebrating intersectionality? Debates on a multi-faceted concept in gender studies: Themes from a conference. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 16*(3), 203-210.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation, 1986*(30), 73-84.

Logan, J. (2012). Making a place for space: Spatial thinking in social science. Annual Review of Sociology, 38.

Lohier, R. (2016). The Court of Appeals as the middle child. *Fordham Law Review, 85*(3), 945-964.

Lord, R. L., & Farrington, P. A. (2006). Age-related differences in the motivation of knowledge workers. *Engineering Management Journal, 18*(3), 20-26.

Loughran, J. (2013). Developing a pedagogy of teacher education: Understanding teaching & learning about teaching. Routledge.

Louvrier, J. (2013). *Diversity, difference and diversity management: A contextual and interview study of managers and ethnic minority employees in Finland and France.* Hanken School of Economics.

Lu, Y., & Treiman, D. J. (2011). Migration, remittances and educational stratification among blacks in Apartheid and post-Apartheid South Africa. *Social Forces, 89*(4), 1119-1143.

Lui, T. (1991). Race and gender in the politics of group formation. *Frontiers, 12*(2), 155-165.

Luna, K. W. (2015). Ghettoizing black women's literature: A socio-historic study of black women writers and the white publishing industry.

Luthuli, T. P. (2007). Assessing politeness, language and gender in hlonipha (Masters dissertation). University Of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Lynch, F. R. (2017). The diversity machine: The drive to change the white male workplace. New York: Free Press.

Lyons, S., & Kuron, L. (2014). Generational differences in the workplace: A review of the evidence and directions for future research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 35*(S1), S139-S157.

Lyons, S., Urick, M., Kuron, L., & Schweitzer, L. (2015). Generational differences in the workplace: There is complexity beyond the stereotypes. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 8*(3), 346-356.

Lyons, S. T., & Schweitzer, L. (2017). A qualitative exploration of generational identity: Making sense of young and old in the context of today's workplace. *Work, Aging and Retirement, 3*(2), 209-224.

Mabasa, T., & Eresia-Eke, C. (2018). Prevalent leadership styles of Black top-managers in South African State-owned Enterprises (SOEs). *African Journal of Public Affairs, 10*(4), 1-20.

MacDonald, M. (2006). Why race matters in South Africa. Harvard University Press.

Macky, K., Gardner, D., Forsyth, S., Cennamo, L., & Gardner, D. (2008). Generational differences in work values, outcomes and person-organisation values fit. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 23*(8), 891-906.

Madala, T. (1999). Affirmative Action-A South African Perspective. Southern Methodist University Law (SMUL) Review, 52, 1539.

Maddox, G. L., & Wiley, L. (1976). Scope, concepts and methods in the study of aging. In R. H. Binstock & E. Shanas (Eds), Handbook of aging and the social sciences (pp. 3-34). New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Madonsela, S. (2019). Critical reflections on state capture in South Africa. *Insight on Africa, 11*(1), 113-130.

Magubane, N. N. (2017). Black tax: The emerging middle class reality. University of Pretoria,

Mahajan, V. (2011). Africa rising: How 900 million African consumers offer more than you think. Pearson Prentice Hall.

Mahilall, R., & Swartz, L. (2021). 'I am dying a slow death of white guilt': Spiritual carers in a South African hospice navigate issues of race and cultural diversity. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*, 1-19.

Mahon, M. (2000). Black like this: Race, generation, and rock in the post-civil rights era. *American Ethnologist, 27*(2), 283-311.

Makalela, L. (2018). Community elders' narrative accounts of ubuntu translanguaging: Learning and teaching in African education. *International Review of Education, 64*(6), 823-843.

Makhaya, G., & Roberts, S. (2003). Telecommunications in developing countries: Reflections from the South African experience. *Telecommunications Policy, 27*(1-2), 41-59.

Makiwane, M. (2010). The changing patterns of intergenerational relations in South Africa. Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting,Dialogue and Mutual Understanding across Generations, convened in observance of the International Year of Youth.

Makiwane, M. (2011). The older persons and their relationship with younger generations in South Africa. Paper presented at Aging Explosion: Opportunities and Challenges, Bali, Indonesia, (11-12 October). http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11910/3429

Mandhlazi, L., Dhurup, M., & Mafini, C. (2013). Generation Y consumer shopping styles: Evidence from South Africa. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 4*(14), 153-153.

Mangena, F. (2012). Towards a hunhu/ubuntu dialogical moral theory. *Phronimon, 13*(2), 1-17.

Mangoma, A., & Wilson-Prangley, A. (2019). Black Tax: Understanding the financial transfers of the emerging black middle class. *Development Southern Africa, 36*(4), 443-460.

Mannheim, K. (1927). The problem of generations. *Psychoanalytic Review, 57*(3), 292.

Mannheim, K. (1952). *The problem of generations.* In P. Kecskemeti (Ed.), Essays on the sociology of knowledge (pp. 276-320). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Mannheim, K. (1969). The sociological problem of generations. Studies in Social Movements, 1-30.

Manning, J. (2004). Racism in three dimensions: South African architecture and the ideology of white superiority. *Social Identities, 10*(4), 527-536.

Mancl, D., & Fraser, S. D. (2020). COVID-19's Influence on the Future of Agile. In International Conference on Agile Software Development (pp. 309-316). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Mapedzahama, V., Rudge, T., West, S., & Perron, A. (2012). Black nurse in white space? Rethinking the in/visibility of race within the Australian nursing workplace. *Nursing Inquiry, 19*(2), 153-164.

Maphai, V. (2004). Race and the politics of transition: Confusing political imperatives with moral rights. In On becoming a democracy (pp. 11-24). Brill.

Maphalala, M. (2017). Embracing Ubuntu in managing effective classrooms. *Gender and Behaviour, 15*(4), 10237-10249.

Maré, G. (2003). 'Non-racialism' in the struggle against apartheid. *Society in Transition, 34*(1), 13-37.

Maringira, G., & Gukurume, S. (2016). Being Black'in# FeesMustFall and# FreeDecolonisedEducation: Student protests at the University of the Western Cape. An analysis of the# FeesMustFall movement at South African universities (pp. 35-48).

Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. Family Practice, 13(6), 522-526.

Marshall, V. W. (1983). Generations, Age groups and cohorts: Conceptual distinctions. Canadian *Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement, 2*(2), 51-62.

Martin, M. E., & Solomon, H. (2016). Understanding the phenomenon of "state capture" in South Africa. *Southern African Peace and Security Studies, 5*(1), 21-35.

Martins, N., & Martins, E. C. (2014). Perceptions of age generations regarding employee satisfaction in a South African organisation. Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 5(21), 129-129.

Masango, M. J. (2006). African spirituality that shapes the concept of Ubuntu. *Verbum et Ecclesia, 27*(3), 930-943.

Matlala, R., & Shambare, R. (2017). Black tax and its influence on youth entrepreneurship intentions in South Africa. Unit for Enterprise Studies, Faculty of Management Sciences, Central University of Technology, Free State Hosted at the Hotel School 5-7 April 2017, 75.

Matolino, B. (2013). 'There is a racist on my stoep and he is black': A philosophical analysis of black racism in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Alternation, 20*(1), 52-77.

Matotoka, M. D., & Odeku, K. O. (2022). Exposing the use of Fronting to Circumvent Mainstreaming of African Women to Managerial Positions in the South African private sector. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *24*(5), 10.

Mattes, R. (2012). The 'Born Frees': The prospects for generational change in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 47*(1), 133-153.

Mattes, R. B. (2002). South Africa: democracy without the people? *Journal of Democracy, 13*(1), 22-36.

May, E. T., & Wagnleitner, R. (2000). Here, there, and everywhere: The foreign politics of American popular culture. University Press of New England.

May, J., & Govender, J. (1998). Poverty and inequality in South Africa. Indicator South Africa, 15, 53-58.

Mayer, C.H., Oosthuizen, R. M., & Tonelli, L. (2019). Subjective experiences of employment equity in South African organisations. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management, 17*(1), 1-12.

Mayer, C. H., & Louw, L. (2011). Managerial challenges in South Africa. European Business Review.

Maylam, P. (2001). South Africa's Racial Past. Ashgate.

Mazibuko, J. V., & Govender, K. K. (2017). Exploring workplace diversity and organisational effectiveness: A South African exploratory case study. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management*, 15, 10.

Mbete, S. (2015). The Economic Freedom Fighters-South Africa's turn towards populism? Journal of African elections, 14(1), 35-59.

Mbigi, L. (2007a). Spirit of African leadership: A comparative African perspective. In Diversity (pp. 294-303). Springer.

Mbigi, L. (2007b). A vision of African management and African leadership: A southern African perspective. Prophecies and Protests: Ubuntu in Glocal Management, 22-51.

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. Signs: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 30*(3), 1771-1800.

McCormack, M., & Anderson, E. (2014). Homohysteria: Definitions, context and intersectionality. *Sex Roles, 71*(3-4), 152-158.

McCrindle, M., & Wolfinger, E. (2010). Generations defined. *Ethos, 18*(1), 8.

McGregor, W. (2000). The future of workspace management. Facilities.

McIntosh, P. (1988). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: *An Integrated Study, 4*, 165-169.

McKay, J., & Miller, T. (1991). From old boys to men and women of the corporation: The Americanization and commodification of Australian sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 8*(1), 86-94.

Meehan, S.-A., Leon, N., Naidoo, P., Jennings, K., Burger, R., & Beyers, N. (2015). Availability and acceptability of HIV counselling and testing services. A qualitative study comparing clients' experiences of accessing HIV testing at public sector primary health care facilities or non-governmental mobile services in Cape Town, South Africa. *BMC Public Health, 15*(1), 1-10.

Mejia-Lancheros, C., Mehegan, J., Murrin, C. M., & Kelleher, C. C. (2018). Smoking habit from the paternal line and grand-child's overweight or obesity status in early childhood: Prospective findings from the lifeways cross-generation cohort study. *International Journal of Obesity, 42*(11), 1853-1870.

Mendelberg, T. (2017). The race card. In The Race Card. Princeton University Press.

Mennecke, B. E., Triplett, J. L., Hassall, L. M., Conde, Z. J., & Heer, R. (2011). An examination of a theory of embodied social presence in virtual worlds. *Decision Sciences, 42*(2), 413-450.

Meyer, I., & Finchilescu, G. (2006). The social dominance theory perspective on discrimination. Inter-group Relations: South African Perspectives, 66-81.

Mhlongo, N. (2019). Black tax: Burden or ubuntu? Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Miller, J.-A., & Miller, R. (1987). Jeremy Bentham's panoptic device. October, 41, 3-29.

Mirowsky, J., & Ross, C. E. (1980). Minority status, ethnic culture, and distress: A comparison of Blacks, Whites, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans. *American Journal of Sociology, 86*(3), 479-495.

Modiri, M. J. (2012). The colour of law, power and knowledge: Introducing critical race theory in (post-) Apartheid South Africa. *South African Journal on Human Rights, 28*(3), 405-436.

Mokoena, S. (2012). Recruiting and retaining generation Y teachers: Emerging strategies for school administrators. *International Journal for Cross-Disciplinary Subjects in Education, 3*(1), 687-691.

Monk Jr, E. P. (2014). Skin tone stratification among Black Americans, 2001–2003. *Social Forces, 92*(4), 1313-1337.

Monro, S. (2010). Sexuality, space, and intersectionality: The case of lesbian, gay and bisexual equalities initiatives in UK local government. *Sociology, 44*(5), 996-1010.

Moodley, K., & Adam, H. (2000). Race and nation in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Current Sociology, 48*(3), 51-69.

Moolman, B. (2013). Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender. *African Identities, 11*(1), 93-105.

Moore, A., & Bussin, M. (2012). Reward preferences for generations in selected Information and Communication Technology companies. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management, 10*(1), 1-9.

Moorosi, P., Fuller, K., & Reilly, E. (2018). Leadership and intersectionality: Constructions of successful leadership among Black women school principals in three different contexts. *Management in Education, 32*(4), 152-159.

Mor Barak, M. E., Cherin, D. A., & Berkman, S. (1998). Organizational and personal dimensions in diversity climate: Ethnic and gender differences in employee perceptions. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *34*(1), 82-104.

Morín, J. L. (2016). Latinas/os and the US Criminal Justice System: An overview of socio-historic and contemporary issues. Latinos and Criminal Justice: An Encyclopedia, p. 3.

Morse, J. M. (2000). Determining sample size. *Qualitative Health Research, 10*(1), 3-5. doi:10.1177/104973200129118183

Morse, J. M. (2008). Confusing categories and themes. Qualitative Health Research, 19(6), 727–728. https ://doi.org/10.1177/10497

Moyo, S. (2005). The politics of land distribution and race relations in southern Africa. In Y. Bangura & R. Stavenhagen (Eds), Racism and public policy (pp. 242-270). Palgrave Macmillan.

Msibi, A. N. (2020). Exploring the perceptions of black tax among young employed black South Africans. North-West University (South Africa),

Msila, V. (2008). Ubuntu and school leadership. Journal of Education, 44(1), 67-84.

Msimang, S. (2018). All is not forgiven: South Africa and the scars of Apartheid. Foreign Affairs, 97, 28-41.

Mtose, X. (2011). Black people's lived experiences of everyday racism in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of International Social Research, 4*(17), 325-337.

Mtshali, M. N. G. (2016). Role reversal of rural black grandparents in South Africa. Journal of *Comparative Family Studies, 47*(3), 369-377.

Mügge, L. M., & Erzeel, S. (2016). Double jeopardy or multiple advantage? Intersectionality and political representation. *Parliamentary Affairs, 69*(3), 499-511.

Muhr, S. L. (2008). Othering diversity–a Levinasian analysis of diversity management. International *Journal of Management Concepts and Philosophy, 3*(2), 176-189.

Mukherjee, R. (1954). A study of social mobility between three generations. Social Mobility in Britain, 266-290.

Mwabu, G., & Schultz, T. P. (2000). Wage premiums for education and location of South African workers, by gender and race. *Economic Development and Cultural Change, 48*(2), 307-334.

Mzimela, S. E. (1981). Nazism and Apartheid: The role of the Christian churches in Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa. New York University,

Nader, L. (2017). The Americanization of international law. In Mobile People, Mobile Law (pp. 211-226). Routledge.

Naidoo, K., Stanwix, B., & Yu, D. (2004). Reflecting on racial discrimination in the post-Apartheid South African labour market. DPRU Policy Brief: PB 14/39. Commissioned for the World Bank.

Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review, 89*(1), 1-15.

Nattrass, N., & Seekings, J. (2001). "Two nations"? Race and economic inequality in South Africa today. *Daedalus, 130*(1), 45-70.

Neely, B., & Samura, M. (2011). Social geographies of race: Connecting race and space. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*(11), 1933-1952.

Negrine, R., & Papathanassopoulos, S. (1996). The “Americanization” of political communication: A critique. Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 1(2), 45-62. Newman, S. A., & Ford, R. C. (2021). Five steps to leading your team in the virtual COVID-19 workplace. *Organizational Dynamics, 50*(1), 100802.

Nienaber, H., & Masibigiri, V. (2012). Exploring factors influencing voluntary turnover intent of Generation X public servants: A South African case. *Acta Commercii, 12*(1), 67-84.

Norgaard, S. (2015). Rainbow junction: South Africa’s born free generation and the future of democracy. Stanford Digital Repository.

Ntshoe, I. (2009). Hidden and subtle effects of racism in law and school policy in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Southern African Review of Education with Education with Production, 15*(2), 85-104.

Nyahodza, L., & Higgs, R. (2017). Towards bridging the digital divide in post-Apartheid South Africa: A case of a historically disadvantaged university in Cape Town. *South African Journal of Libraries and Information Science, 83*(1), 39-48.

Nydegger, C. N., Mitteness, L. S., & O'Neil, J. (1983). Experiencing social generations phenomenal dimensions. *Research on Aging, 5*(4), 527-546.

Oosthuizen, R. M., & Naidoo, V. (2010). Attitudes towards and experience of employment equity. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology, 36*(1), 1-9.

Opdenakker, R. (2006). Advantages and disadvantages of four interview techniques in qualitative research. Paper presented at the Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research.

Oppenheimer, M., Kok, C., Cronje, F., & Jeffery, A. (2014). Non-racial affirmative action in employment. South African Institute of Race Relations.

Oxford Analytica (2016). South Africa racial polarisation will worsen, for now. Expert Briefings. https://doi.org/10.1108/OXAN-DB208112

Özbilgin, M., & Tatli, A. (2008). Global diversity management: An evidence based approach. Palgrave Macmillan.

Özbilgin, M. F., Beauregard, T. A., Tatli, A., & Bell, M. P. (2011). Work–life, diversity and intersectionality: A critical review and research agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 13*(2), 177-198.

Padayachee, K. (2017). The myths and realities of generational cohort theory on ICT integration in education: A South African perspective. *The African Journal of Information Systems, 10*(1), 4.

Papadopoulos, R. K. (2009). Jung and otherings in South Africa. Paper presented at the Cape Town 2007–journeys, encounters: Clinical, communal, cultural: Proceedings of the 17th congress of the International Association for Analytical Psychology.

Parry, E., & Urwin, P. (2011a). Generational differences in work values: A review of theory and evidence. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 13*(1), 79-96.

Parry, E., & Urwin, P. (2011b). The impact of generational diversity on people management. In Managing an age-diverse workforce (pp. 95-111). Springer.

Parsaee, M., Parva, M., & Karimi, B. (2015). Space and place concepts analysis based on semiology approach in residential architecture: The case study of traditional city of Bushehr, Iran. *HBRC Journal, 11*(3), 368-383.

Parvin, A., & Ding, T. D. (2017). Intra-generational work values amongst generation Y workforce. *Electronic Journal of Business & Management, 2*(1), 1-10.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods. Sage.

Petros, G., Airhihenbuwa, C. O., Simbayi, L., Ramlagan, S., & Brown, B. (2006). HIV/AIDS and 'othering'in South Africa: The blame goes on. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 8*(1), 67-77.

Phillips, D. C., & Burbules, N. C. (2000). Postpositivism and educational research. Rowman & Littlefield.

Pilcher, J. (1994). Mannheim's sociology of generations: An undervalued legacy. *British Journal of Sociology*, 481-495.

Pillay, D., Gokar, K. K., & Kathard, H. (2007). Reminders of race, reminders of identities: Language as an occasion for" othering" in South African classrooms. *International Journal of Learning, 14*(8), 147-156.

Pillay, J. (2017). Racism and xenophobia: The role of the Church in South Africa. *Verbum et Ecclesia, 38*(3), 3-17.

Pillay, R. (2009). Retention strategies for professional nurses in South Africa. Leadership in Health Services.

Pillay, U. (2008, June). Urban policy in post-apartheid South Africa: context, evolution and future directions. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 19, pp. 109-132). Springer Netherlands.

Pinker, S. (2004). Why nature & nurture won't go away. *Daedalus, 133*(4), 5-17.

Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2010). Generalization in quantitative and qualitative research: Myths and strategies. International Journal of Nursing Studies, 47(11), 1451-1458.

Posel, D. (2001). Race as common sense: Racial classification in twentieth-century South Africa. *African Studies Review, 44*(2), 87-114.

Posel, D., & Rogan, M. (2019). Inequality, social comparisons and income aspirations: Evidence from a highly unequal country. Journal of Human Development and Capabilities, 20(1), 94-111.

Prais, S. J. (1955). Measuring social mobility. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. *Series A (General), 118*(1), 56-66.

Prince, J. T. (2017). Can I touch your hair: Exploring double binds and the Black tax in law school. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Law and Social Change*, 20, 29.

Pulido, L. (2000). Rethinking environmental racism: White privilege and urban development in Southern California. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 90*(1), 12-40.

Qin, J., Muenjohn, N., & Chhetri, P. (2014). A review of diversity conceptualizations: Variety, trends, and a framework. *Human Resource Development Review, 13*(2), 133-157.

Ragin, C. C. (2000). Fuzzy-set social science. University of Chicago Press.

Ramlall, S., Hattingh, M., & Van Deventer, P. (2020). *Baby Boomers' intention to use branch or digital banking channels in South Africa: An exploratory study*. Paper presented at the Conference of the South African Institute of Computer Scientists and Information Technologists 2020.

Ramoroka, T., & Tsheola, J. (2014). Gated-communities and the privatization of public spaces in urban South Africa: Democratic social integration or exclusion? *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning, 7*(4), 58-68.

Ramugondo, E. L. (2015). Occupational consciousness. *Journal of Occupational Science, 22*(4), 488-501.

Ramutsindela, M. F. (2001). Down the post-colonial road: Reconstructing the post-Apartheid state in South Africa. *Political Geography, 20*(1), 57-84.

Ratele, K., & Laubscher, L. (2010). Making white lives: Neglected meanings of whiteness from Apartheid South Africa. *Psychology in Society,* (40), 83-99.

Ratele, K., Shefer, T., & Clowes, L. (2012). Talking South African fathers: A critical examination of men's constructions and experiences of fatherhood and fatherlessness. *South African Journal of Psychology, 42*(4), 553-563.

Reardon, S. F., Farrell, C. R., Matthews, S. A., O'Sullivan, D., Bischoff, K., & Firebaugh, G. (2009). Race and space in the 1990s: Changes in the geographic scale of racial residential segregation, 1990–2000. *Social Science Research, 38*(1), 55-70.

Redlich, F. (1976). Generations: A critique and reconstruction. Fondation Jan Dhondt.

Reichel, J., Peck, F., Inaba, M., Moges, B., Chawla, B. S., & Chetty, M. (2020). 'I have too much respect for my elders': Understanding South African mobile users' perceptions of privacy and current behaviors on Facebook and {WhatsApp}. Paper presented at the 29th USENIX Security Symposium (USENIX Security 20).

Reisenwitz, T. H., & Iyer, R. (2009). Differences in generation X and generation Y: Implications for the organization and marketers. *Marketing Management Journal, 19*(2), 91–103.

Rhodes, S. R. (1983). Age-related differences in work attitudes and behavior: A review and conceptual analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 93*(2), 328.

Rich, P. (1990). Race, science, and the legitimization of white supremacy in South Africa, 1902-1940. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 23*(4), 665-686.

Riescher, J. G. (2009). Management across time: A study of generational workforce groups (Baby Boomer and Generation X) and leadership. Capella University.

Rioux, L., & Pignault, A. (2013). Workplace attachment, workspace appropriation, and job satisfaction. *Psyecology, 4*(1), 39-65.

Risberg, A., & Just, S. N. (2015). Ambiguous diversities. *The Oxford handbook of diversity in organizations*, 218-234.

Risinger, D. M., Saks, M. J., Thompson, W. C., & Rosenthal, R. (2002). The Daubert/Kumho implications of observer effects in forensic science: Hidden problems of expectation and suggestion. *California Law Review*, 90, 1-22.

Robertson, R. (2003). Rethinking Americanization. Global America, 257-264.

Roberson, Q. M. (2006). Disentangling the meanings of diversity and inclusion in organizations. *Group & Organization Management, 31*(2), 212-236.

Ronnie, L. (2018a). South Africa's 'Born Free'generation in the workplace. *HR Future, 2018*(7), 18-20.

Ronnie, L. (2018b). Wellbeing challenges of millennials: South Africa's "Born Free" generation. In Wellbeing for Sustainability in the Global Workplace (pp. 117-132). Routledge.

Roos, J. P. (1985). Life stories of social changes: Four generations in Finland. *International Journal of Oral History, 6*(3), 179-190.

Rosow, I. (1978). What is a cohort and why? *Human Development, 21*(2), 65-75.

Ross, F. C. (2003). On having voice and being heard: Some after-effects of testifying before the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Anthropological Theory, 3*(3), 325-341.

Roulston, K., & Shelton, S. A. (2015). Reconceptualizing bias in teaching qualitative research methods. *Qualitative Inquiry, 21*(4), 332-342.

Rozanova, J., Northcott, H. C., & McDaniel, S. A. (2006). Seniors and portrayals of intra-generational and inter-generational inequality in the Globe and Mail. *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement, 25*(4), 373-386.

RSA. (1950). The Group Areas Act of 1950. Pretoria: RSA Press.

RSA. (1996a). Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer.

RSA. (1996b). Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act no. 106 of 1996). Pretoria: Government Printer. Retrieved from http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/images/a108-96.pdf

RSA. (1998). Employment Equity Act (Act no. 55 of 1998). Pretoria: Government Printer.

Rudolph, C. W., Rauvola, R. S., & Zacher, H. (2018). Leadership and generations at work: A critical review. *The Leadership Quarterly, 29*(1), 44-57.

Ruhiiga, T. M. (2013). Reverse empowerment in South Africa's comprehensive rural development programme. *Journal of Human Ecology, 41*(2), 165-174.

Ryder, N. (1965). The cohort as a concept in the study of social change. *American Sociological Review, 30*(6), 843-861.

Sack, R. D. (1993). The power of place and space. *Geographical Review, 83*(3), 326-329.

Sadler Jr, R. S. (2006). Can a cushite change his skin? Cushites,"racial othering" and the Hebrew Bible. *Interpretation, 60*(4), 386-403.

Saldaña, J. (2014). Coding and analysis strategies. In P. Leavy (Ed.), The Oxford handbook of qualitative research (pp. 581-605). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saldaña, J. (2018). Qualitative Data Analysis Strategies. In The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Salehzadeh, R. (2017). Which types of leadership styles do followers prefer? A decision tree approach. International Journal of Educational Management.

Sanday, P. R. (2002). Women at the center: Life in a modern matriarchy. Cornell University Press.

Sandelowski, M. (1994). Focus on qualitative methods. The use of quotes in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing & Health, 17*(6), 479-482.

Sapir, E. (1929). The status of linguistics as science, in 'Selected Writings of Edward Sapir'. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Saunders, B. D. (2011). Conflict of color: White activists in the South African anti-Apartheid movement (Honours thesis). College of William and Mary (np).

Saunders, C., Rutkowski, A. F., van Genuchten, M., Vogel, D., & Orrego, J. M. (2011). Virtual space and place: Theory and test. *MIS Quarterly*, 1079-1098.

Schatz, J. (1991). The problem of generations. In The Generation (pp. 326-334). University of California Press.

Scheef, D., & Thielfoldt, D. (2004). What you need to know about mentoring the new generations. Paper presented and the Article adapted from workshop Engaging the Generations.

Schensul, D. (2009). Remaking an Apartheid city: State-led spatial transformation in postApartheid Durban, South Africa (PhD thesis). Department of Sociology, Brown University, USA (np).

Schoeman, C. (2015). The alignment between spatial planning, transportation planning and environmental management within the new spatial systems in South Africa. Stads-en Streeksbeplanning. *Town and Regional Planning, 2015*(67), 42-57.

Schuler, R. S., & Jackson, S. E. (2005). A quarter-century review of human resource management in the US: The growth in importance of the international perspective. *Management revue*, 11-35.

Schuman, H., & Scott, J. (1989). Generations and collective memories. *American Sociological Review,* 359-381.

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructionism. In Handbook of qualitative research (pp. 189-213). Sage.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2007). Who said "Americanization"? Decentering America, 4, 23.

Seagull, F. J., Ward, R., Mills, J., Goodrich, C., & Xiao, Y. (2004). Measuring awkwardness of workplace layout: Dispersion of attentional and psychomotor resources within the anesthesia workspace. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society Annual Meeting.

Sebola, M. S., & Khalo, T. (2010). Implemtation of Employment Equity: a case of the Universities of Venda and of Pretoria. *Journal of public administration, 45*(si-1), 202-217.

Seeberg, S. (1936). VI. Generationsdauer und Bevölkerungsvermehrung. *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, 144*(1), 606-615.

Seekings, J. (2008). The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 26*(1), 1-25.

Seipert, K., & Baghurst, T. (2014). Contrasting work values of baby boomers and generation X rural public school principals. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 347-370.

Sen, A. K. (2000). What is development about. Frontiers of Development Economics: *The Future in Perspective,* 506-513.

Sequeira, A. H. (2012). Introduction to concepts of teaching and learning. *Social Sciences Education E-journal.*

Shabazz, R. (2009). "So high you can't get over it, so low you can't get under it": Carceral spatiality and black masculinities in the United States and South Africa. *Souls, 11*(3), 276-294.

Shaw, L. R., Chan, F., & McMahon, B. T. (2012). Intersectionality and disability harassment: The interactive effects of disability, race, age, and gender. *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin, 55*(2), 82-91.

Shaw, R. (2010). Embedding reflexivity within experiential qualitative psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 7*(3), 233-243.

Shenton, A. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. Education for Information, 22, 63-75. doi:10.3233/EFI-2004-22201

Sherin, M. G. (2002). When teaching becomes learning. *Cognition and Instruction, 20*(2), 119-150.

Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: An intersectionality perspective. *Sex Roles, 59*(5-6), 301-311.

Shih, M., Bonam, C., Sanchez, D., & Peck, C. (2007). The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(2), 125.

Shimokawa, K., Ishikuro, M., Obara, T., Metoki, H., Mizuno, S., Nagaie, S., . . . Kato, M. (2019). Management of family relationship information for a three-generation cohort study. bioRxiv, 510073. DOI:10.1101/510073

Sibiya, B. (2018). Black tax and the vulnerability of the emerging middle class. University of Pretoria.

Sideris, T. (1998). Women and Apartheid. Collective Trauma and Social Reconstruction. The Way, 80-92.

Simmons, W. T. (2010). The limitations of color: Inferiority and superiority complexed in the works of Web du Bois and Jessie Fauset. *CLA Journal, 53*(4), 356-372.

Singer, T. (2013). Playing the race card: A cultural complex in action. In Sacral Revolutions (pp. 276-284). Routledge.

Smeaton, G. L., Struckman-Johnson, C., Fagen, J. L., Bohn, R., & Anderson, P. B. (2018). Generation cohort differences in male and female use of tactics to gain sex from an unwilling partner. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 24*(2), 181-195.

Smedley, A., & Smedley, B. D. (2005). Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race. *American Psychologist, 60*(1), 16.

Smith, A. (2015). Heteropatriarchy and the three pillars of white supremacy: Rethinking women of color organizing. Transformations: Feminist Pathways to Global Change, 264.

Smola, K. W., & Sutton, C. (2002). Generational differences: Revisiting generational work values for the new millennium. *Journal of Organizational bBehavior, 23*, 363-382.

Southall, R. (2016). The new black middle class in South Africa. Boydell & Brewer.

Sowell, T. (2008). Affirmative action around the world. Yale University Press.

Spinks, C. (2001). A new Apartheid?: Urban spatiality, (fear of) crime, and segregation in Cape Town, South Africa. London School of Economics and Political Science, Development Studies Institute.

Stafford, C. (2008). Actually existing Chinese matriarchy. In Chinese Kinship (pp. 151-167). Routledge.

Stahlmann, K., Hebestreit, A., DeHenauw, S., Hunsberger, M., Kaprio, J., Lissner, L., . . . Russo, P. (2020). A cross-sectional study of obesogenic behaviours and family rules according to family structure in European children. *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity, 17*(1), 1-12.

Stake, R. E. (2013). Multiple case study analysis. Guilford Press.

Stanley, D. (2010). Multigenerational workforce issues and their implications for leadership in nursing. *Journal of Nursing Management, 18*(7), 846-852.

Starman, A. B. (2013). The case study as a type of qualitative research. *Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies/Sodobna Pedagogika, 64*(1), 1-17.

Statistics South Africa. (2000). South African statistics 2000. Retrieved from Pretoria https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0305/P03052013.pdf

Statistics South Africa. (2019a). Inequality trends in South Africa: A multidimensional diagnostic of inequality. Retrieved from Pretoria www.statssa.gov.za

Statistics South Africa. (2019b). Labour market dynamics in South Africa. Retrieved from Pretoria www.statssa.gov.za

Statistics South Africa. (2020a). Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report (178/2015). Retrieved from Pretoria www.statssa.gov.za

Statistics South Africa. (2020b). Mid-year population estimates 2020: Statistical Release P0302. Retrieved from Pretoria www.statssa.gov.za

Statistics South Africa. (2021). Quarterly employment statistics (QES). Pretoria www.statssa.gov.za

Statman, J. (2002). Playing the reverse-race card in South Africa and America: A case study in convergent localization. Safundi: *The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 3*(1), 1-16.

Steenkamp, C. (2009). Xenophobia in South Africa: What does it say about trust? *The Round Table, 98*(403), 439-447.

Stepanova, E. V., Dunham, Y., Rex, M., & Hagiwara, N. (2021). What drives racial attitudes in elementary school children: Skin tone, facial physiognomy, or both? *Psychological Reports, 124*(2), 809-838.

Stepanova, E. V., & Strube, M. J. (2012a). The role of skin color and facial physiognomy in racial categorization: Moderation by implicit racial attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*(4), 867-878.

Stepanova, E. V., & Strube, M. J. (2012b). What's in a face? The role of skin tone, facial physiognomy, and color presentation mode of facial primes in affective priming effects. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 152*(2), 212-227.

Stephen, L. Y. (2007). The black tax: Skin tone and social stratification in the United States: University of California, Berkeley.

Steyn, M., Badenhorst, J., & Kamper, G. (2010). Our voice counts: Adolescents' view on their future in South Africa. *South African Journal of Education, 30*(2).

Steyn, M., & Foster, D. (2008). Repertoires for talking white: Resistant whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 31*(1), 25-51.

Steyn, M. (2005). White talk": White South Africans and the management of diasporic whiteness. Postcolonial whiteness: A critical reader on race and empire, 119-135.

Strauss, W., & Howe, N. (1991). Generations. New York: William Morrow.

Strauss, W., & Howe, N. (2009). The fourth turning: Three Rivers Press.

Subramanian, P. K. (2008). Determinants of the age at marriage of rural women in India. *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal, 37*(2), 160-166.

Susilo, D. (2020). Revealing the effect of work-from-home on job performance during the COVID-19 crisis: Empirical evidence from Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Business and Government, 26*(1), 23-40.

Suzman, H., & Mandela, N. (1993). In no uncertain terms: A South African memoir. New York, NY: Knopf.

Swanepoel, C. L. (2019). To be Black and alive: A study of the inherent racism in the tertiary education system in post-1994 South Africa The Pretoria Student Law Review, 13.

Swanson, D. M. (2007). Ubuntu: An African contribution to (re) search for/with a'humble togetherness'. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education, 2*(2), 53-67.

Swartz, S., Arogundade, E., & Davis, D. (2014). Unpacking (white) privilege in a South African university classroom: A neglected element in multicultural educational contexts. *Journal of Moral Education, 43*(3), 345-361.

Swim, J. K., & Miller, D. L. (1999). White guilt: Its antecedents and consequences for attitudes toward affirmative action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*(4), 500-514.

Syed, J., & Özbilgin, M. (2009). A relational framework for international transfer of diversity management practices. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 20*(12), 2435-2453.

Taefi, N. (2009). The synthesis of age and gender: Intersectionality, international human rights law and the marginalisation of the girl-child. *The International Journal of Children's Rights, 17*(3), 345-376.

Tatli, A. (2011). A multi-layered exploration of the diversity management field: Diversity discourses, practices and practitioners in the UK. *British Journal of Management, 22*(2), 238-253.

Tatli, A., & Özbilgin, M. F. (2012). An emic approach to intersectional study of diversity at work: A Bourdieuan framing. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 14(*2), 180-200.

Taylor, I. (2016). Dependency redux: Why Africa is not rising. *Review of African Political Economy, 43*(147), 8-25.

Taylor, R. M., & Crandall, R. J. (1986). Generations and change: Genealogical perspectives in social history. Mercer University Press.

Teague, H. A. (2021). Black-white inequality through the lens of race, class, and gender in North Texas, 1880-1940 (PhD dissertation). Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas.

Terreblanche, S. J. (2002). A history of inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002. University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.

Thomas, A. (2002). Employment equity in South Africa: Lessons from the global school. International Journal of Manpower.

Thomas, S. G. (2011). The divorce generation. The Wall Street Journal, 9.

Thomas, D. A., Banaji, M. R., Bazerman, M. H., & Chugh, D. (2004). Diversity Symposium Additional Resources June 6, 2005. Harvard Business Review.

Thompson, L. M. (2001). A history of South Africa. Yale University Press.

Thurnher, A. (2017). The Americanization of Vienna. Routledge.

Tienda, M., & Lii, D.-T. (1987). Minority concentration and earnings inequality: Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians compared. *American Journal of Sociology, 93*(1), 141-165.

Timm, S., Frydenberg, M., Abramson, M. J., Bertelsen, R. J., Bråbäck, L., Benediktsdottir, B., Jogi, R. (2019). Asthma and selective migration from farming environments in a three-generation cohort study. *European Journal of Epidemiology, 34*(6), 601-609.

Ting, H., Lim, T.-Y., de Run, E. C., Koh, H., & Sahdan, M. (2018). Are we Baby Boomers, Gen X and Gen Y? A qualitative inquiry into generation cohorts in Malaysia. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences, 39*(1), 109-115.

Tochluk, S. (2013). "But I Just Don't See It!": Making white superiority visible. Understanding and Dismantling Privilege, 3(1), 1–21.

Todes, A. (2012). Urban growth and strategic spatial planning in Johannesburg, South Africa*. Cities, 29*(3), 158-165.

Tolbize, A. (2008). Generational differences in the workplace. Research and Training Center of community Living, 19, 1-13.

Tshoose, C. I. (2009). The emerging role of the constitutional value of ubuntu for informal social security in South Africa. *African Journal of Legal Studies, 3*(1), 12-20.

Tutu, D. (2006). The rainbow people of God. Juta and Company.

Twenge, J. M., Campbell, S. M., Hoffman, B. J., & Lance, C. E. (2010). Generational differences in work values: Leisure and extrinsic values increasing, social and intrinsic values decreasing. *Journal of Management, 36*(5), 1117-1142.

Twine, R. (2002). Physiognomy, phrenology and the temporality of the body. Body & Society, 8(1), 67-88.

Tysdal, H., & Clark, I. (1934). Improvement of alfalfa seed production by inbreeding. *Journal of the American Society of Agronomy, 26*(9), 773-780.

Van de Vijver, F. J. (2010). Emic-etic distinction. In The encyclopedia of cross-cultural school psychology (pp. 422-423). Springer.

Van den Berg, H., Wetherell, M., & Houtkoop-Steenstra, H. (2003). Analyzing race talk: Multidisciplinary perspectives on the research interview. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van der Merwe, L. J., van Zyl, G. J., Nel, M. M., & Joubert, G. (2014). How we see 'Y': South African health sciences students' and lecturers' perceptions of Generation Y students. *African Journal of Health Professions Education, 6*(1), 10-16.

Van Der Watt, L. (2005). Witnessing trauma in post-Apartheid South Africa: The question of generational responsibility. *African Arts, 38*(3), 26.

Van Rensburg, A., Theron, L., & Rothmann, S. (2015). A review of quantitative studies of South African youth resilience: Some gaps. *South African Journal of Science, 111*(7-8), 1-9.

Van Tonder, C., Havenga, W., & Visagie, J. (2008). The Causes of Conflict in Public and Private Sector Organizations in South Africa. Managing Global Transitions: *International Research Journal, 6*(4), 373-401.

Van Wel, F. (1994). A culture gap between the generations? Social influences on youth cultural style. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, 4*(3-4), 211-228.

Van Zyl-Hermann, D. (2018). Make Afrikaners great again! National populism, democracy and the new white minority politics in post-Apartheid South Africa. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41(15), 2673-2692.

Vassilopoulou, J., Da Rocha, J. P., Seierstad, C., April, K., & Ozbilgin, M. (2013). International diversity management: Examples from the USA, South Africa, and Norway. *In Cultural and technological influences on global business* (pp. 14-28). IGI Global.

Veenstra, G. (2013). The gendered nature of discriminatory experiences by race, class, and sexuality: A comparison of intersectionality theory and the subordinate male target hypothesis. *Sex Roles, 68*(11-12), 646-659.

Venkatesh, V., Brown, S. A., & Bala, H. (2013). Bridging the qualitative-quantitative divide: Guidelines for conducting mixed methods research in information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 21-54.

Venter, E. (2017). Bridging the communication gap between Generation Y and the Baby Boomer generation*. International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, 22*(4), 497-507.

Verhoeven, M. J. (1997). " Americanising the Buddha": The world's Parliament of Religions, Paul Carus, and the making of modern Buddhism. University of Wisconsin, Madison,

Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple inequalities, intersectionality and the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 13*(3), 211-228.

Verschuren, P. (2003). Case study as a research strategy: Some ambiguities and opportunities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 6*(2), 121-139.

Verwey, C., & Quayle, M. (2012). Whiteness, racism, and Afrikaner identity in post-Apartheid South Africa. *African Affairs, 111*(445), 551-575.

Vincent, L. (2008). The limitations of 'inter-racial contact': Stories from young South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 31*(8), 1426-1451.

Visser, G. (2003). Unvoiced and invisible: On the transparency of white South Africans in post-Apartheid geographical discourse. *Acta Academica, 2003*(sup-3), 220-244.

Vivar, M. T. H. (2016). Framing intersectionality: Debates on a multi-faceted concept in gender studies. Routledge.

Von Bonsdorff, M. E. (2011). Age-related differences in reward preferences. The International *Journal of Human Resource Management, 22*(06), 1262-1276.

Wagner, E. A. (1990). Sport in Asia and Africa: Americanization or mundialization? *Sociology of Sport Journal, 7*(4), 399-402.

Walker, M. (2005). Rainbow nation or new racism? Theorizing race and identity formation in South African higher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(2), 129-146.

Wallace, J. E. (2006). Work commitment in the legal profession: A study of Baby Boomers and Generation Xers. *International Journal of the Legal Profession, 13*(2), 137-151.

Walther, C. S. (2014). Skin tone, biracial stratification and tri-racial stratification among sperm donors. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *37*(3), 517-536.

Wambugu, J. N. (2005). When tables turn: Discursive constructions of whites as victims of affirmative action in a post-Apartheid South Africa. *Psychology in Society, 31*, 57-70.

Warnat, A. E. (2012). Intersectionality and employment equity in South Africa. University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Warner, C., Finchilescu, G., & Finchelescu, G. (2003). Living with prejudice: Xenophobia and race. *Agenda,* 36-44.

Weix, G. (2006). Women at the center: Life in a modern matriarchy. *American Anthropologist, 108*(2), 435.

Wen, T. B., Ho, T., Kelana, B. W. Y., Othman, R., & Syed, O. R. (2019). Leadership styles in influencing employees' job performances*. International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences, 9*(9), 55-65.

Whittier, N. (1997). Political generations, micro-cohorts, and the transformation of social movements. *American Sociological Review*, 760-778.

Williams, K. C., & Page, R. A. (2011). Marketing to the generations. *Journal of Behavioral Studies in Business,* 3, 1-21.

Williams, L. (2020). Playing the race card. In Playing the Race Card. Princeton University Press.

Willis, J. W. (2007). 21st-Century Social Science Research: Peering into the Future. In Foundations of qualitative research: Interpretive and critical approaches (pp. 287-320). Sage.

Winker, G., & Degele, N. (2011). Intersectionality as multi-level analysis: Dealing with social inequality. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 18*(1), 51-66.

Wong, M., Gardiner, E., Lang, W., & Coulon, L. (2008). Generational differences in personality and motivation: Do they exist and what are the implications for the workplace? *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 23*(8), 878-890.

Woods, R. H., & Sciarini, M. P. (1995). Diversity programs in chain. The Cornell Hotel and Restaurant *Administration Quarterly, 36*(3), 18-23.

Yin, R. K. (2012). Case study methods. In APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological. (pp. 141-155). American Psychological Association.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and feminist politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 13*(3), 193-209.

Zainal, Z. (2007). Case study as a research method. *Jurnal kemanusiaan*(9), 1-6.

Zanoni, P., & Janssens, M. (2007). Minority employees engaging with (diversity) management: An analysis of control, agency, and micro-emancipation. *Journal of Management Studies, 44*(8), 1371-1397.

Zanoni, P., Janssens, M., Benschop, Y., & Nkomo, S. M. (2010). Unpacking diversity, grasping inequality: Rethinking difference through critical perspectives. *Organization, 17*(1), 9-29.

Zeiss, T. (2006). Baby boomers: An encore opportunity. *Community College Journal, 77*(1), 39.

Zemke, R., Raines, C., & Filipczak, B. (2000). Generations at work: Managing the clash of Veterans, Boomers, Xers, and Nexters in your workplace. New York, NY: Amacom.

Appendices

Appendix ONE

Interview guide

1. Tick respondents social generation. Born between:
   a. 1946 – 1964 (Baby Boomer)
   b. 1965 – 1980 (Generation X)
   c. 1981 – 2000 (Generation Y)

2. Is the participant over the age of 18:
   a. Yes
   b. No

3. Tick respondents race:
   c. Black
   d. White

4. How does the system of Apartheid shape or inform the type of activities or decisions taken in the workplace?
   - How does your personal experience of this socio-historic event inform work-related decisions, such as your recruitment decisions/preferences?
   - How does salary-related decisions relate to an employee's race?

5. How does this socio-historic event influence your social relations with people of different races in the workplace?
   - How do you experience managing people of different races?

6. How does this socio-historic event influence your social relations with people from different social generations in the workplace?
   - Based on your life experiences of this socio-historic event, how do view salary-related or recruitment decisions in relation to a person's social generation?

7. How do you think Blacks (if the respondent is White) or Whites (if the respondent is Black) within your social generation experienced this socio-historic event in relation to you? Please share an example or elaborate.
   - Do you think that Blacks and Whites from the same social generation experienced Apartheid similarly? Please elaborate.

8. How have you experienced being managed by people of different social generations to you?
   - What role does one's social generation play in relation to recruitment or promotion decisions?
   - How have you experienced salary-related decisions to be taken in terms of people belonging to your social generation?
   - Have you ever felt disadvantaged/advantaged for belonging to a certain social generation? Please elaborate.

9. How have you experienced being managed by people of different races?
    - Have you ever experienced a recruitment decision/promotion was based on your race? Why?
    - Have you ever experienced your salary was determined by your race? Why
    - How do you feel about your race in your workplace? Explain.

10. How do you think Blacks and Whites from each social generation experience your workplace?
    - Do you feel that people are awarded the same company benefits/privileges, irrespective of their social generation and race? Please elaborate.
    - Do you feel that the workplace is designed to be more accommodating to a particular social generation or race? Please elaborate.

11. How do you think Blacks and Whites experience your workplace?
    - Do you feel that people are awarded the same company benefits/privileges, irrespective of their race? Please elaborate.
    - Do you feel that the workplace is designed to be more accommodating to a particular race? Please elaborate.

12. How do you relate to people from different social generations in your workplace?
    - Do you feel that people at work socialise more/better with people belonging to the same social generation? Please elaborate.
    - Do you feel that people at work are more understanding/accommodating of people belonging to their own social generation? Please elaborate.

13. How do you relate to people from both races in your workplace?
    - Do you feel that people at work tend to socialise better/more with people of their own race? Please elaborate.
    - Do you feel that people at work are more understanding/accommodating of people of their own race? Please elaborate.

14. What factors do you think make people relate better to others at work? Please elaborate.

Race	Age	Gender	Culture		

15. Give examples of characteristics that you think are common amongst people belonging to your social generation.

Appendix TWO

The procedure for data collection

Step one: Obtain consent and approval from the University of Witwatersrand's Panel and Ethics committee to proceed to the data collection stage of the research project

As a first step, the researcher sought consent and approval from the University of Witwatersrand's Panel and Ethics committee to proceed to gather data for the study in accordance with University rules.

Step two: Obtain written consent from the respective CEO and COO of Bombela and GMA

At the time of the study, the researcher was employed by Bombela and worked jointly with the GMA. As a matter of company protocol, the researcher obtained written consent letters from the Chief Executive Officer of Bombela and the Chief Operating Officer of the GMA to conduct the study with employees. These respective letters of consent are attached to this paper as Appendices 3 and 4.

Step three: Obtain a list of workers employed by Bombela and GMA and identify the study sample

The researcher contacted the heads of human resources at Bombela and GMA and obtained a list of their respective employees which stipulated both the race and date of birth of the employee so that the employee's social generation could be identified. The researcher sorted these two lists first by date of birth (or social generation) and then by race. To limit the researcher's subjectivity from the sampling process, she selected the first ten Black and the first ten White persons from each of the three social generations that were listed as potential participants for the study. Hence, a total of 60 Black and White workers from across the three social generations were identified and their names which were extracted from the lists of employees were added to a new list as potential participants for the study.

Step four: Obtain consent from the potential participants to participate in the study

The researcher submitted the condensed list of 60 Black and White employees belonging to the three social generations to the respective heads of human resources and requested the workers to consider participating in the study. Workers who agreed to participate in the study were requested to complete a consent form giving consent to participate in a face-to-face interview on the stipulated topic. The participant consent form is attached as Appendix 5.

By way of the consent form, the participants were given assurance of their confidentiality and anonymity and that the information gathered, both written and audiotape, would be destroyed five years from the date at which the study is completed. In addition, each participant received a participant information sheet outlining, amongst other information, the purpose of the study. The participant information sheet shared with the Baby Boomer social generation is attached as an example as Annexure 5. A similar participant information sheet was shared with Generation X and Generation Y participants.

All 60 workers whose names were extracted from the employee lists of Bombela and GMA agreed to participate in the study and gave their written consent to the researcher who then commenced to schedule the face-to-face interviews, starting with workers belonging to the Baby Boomer social generation. Once all twenty interviews were conducted with the Black and White employees from the Baby Boomer social generation, interviews with the

Generation X social generation were then scheduled, followed by the interviews with the Generation Y social generation.

Step five: Compile and update the interview schedule

The table below serves as an example of an interview schedule that was compiled and updated in order to keep a record of the interview date with each of the participants for the study. In total, six interview schedules were compiled to record each of the Black and White participants from each of the three social generations.
The interview schedules aided the researcher to ensure that an equal number of Black and White workers from each of the social generations were interviewed. The names of the participants were omitted in the table below to protect the anonymity of the participants.

Table 20: Interview schedule for White Baby Boomer participants at Bombela (example)

Number	Social generation	Race	Interview date	Venue
1	Baby Boomer	White	20/03/17	Bombela
2	Baby Boomer	White	23/03/17	Bombela
3	Baby Boomer	White	23/03/17	Bombela
4	Baby Boomer	White	24/03/17	Bombela
5	Baby Boomer	White	27/03/17	Bombela
6	Baby Boomer	White	28/03/17	Bombela
7	Baby Boomer	White	30/03/17	Bombela
8	Baby Boomer	White	31/03/17	Bombela
9	Baby Boomer	White	04/04/17	Bombela
10	Baby Boomer	White	11/04/17	Bombela

Step six: Make hard copies of the interview guide with probes in preparation for the face-to-face interviews

Sixty copies of the open-ended interview guides were made upfront in preparation for the scheduled interviews. No names of participants were recorded or noted during the interview process in order to ensure the anonymity of the participants.

Step seven: Numbering of the interview guides

Each interview guide was allocated a number in accordance with the interview schedule. At the beginning of each interview, as demonstrated in the figure below, (in this example, the interview guide was numbered 12), the researcher numbered the interview as per the interview schedule.

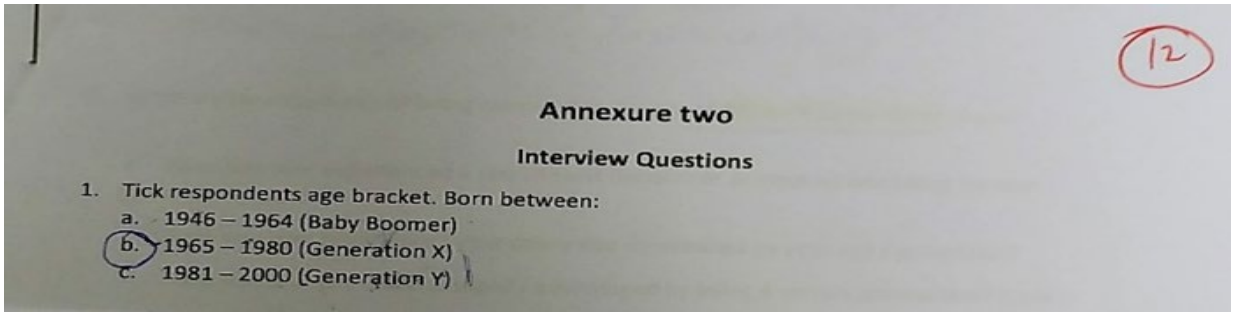


Figure 18: The number 12 handwritten in the top right-hand corner of the interview guide depicts the numbering convention that was used to match the interview notes recorded during the interviews on the interview guide to the interview schedule

During the interview, interview notes were scribed on the printed interview guides in the spaces allocated to each question. The main objective of numbering the interview guides containing the interview notes was to ensure that the data gathered could be linked back to the interview schedule, thereby ensuring that the responses would be accurately linked to the participant, their social generation and race. In so doing, the credibility of the study was increased, particularly during the data analysis process where the data was analysed from the participants perspective and in relation to the participant's race and social generation.

Step eight: Recording the data

The researcher took care to ensure that the data from each interview was accurately recorded. In addition to handwriting interview notes, with the permission of the participants, each interview was also recorded on an Android cell phone which was used as an audio-recording device to assist the researcher during the final step which entailed transcribing the data.

Step nine: Transcribing the data

As soon as possible after each interview, the interview notes, together with the audio recording was transcribed and entered into a Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet together with the allocated number of the interview guide. Three separate worksheets were created in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, one for each social generation. The interviews were transcribed and captured to the respective worksheet depending on the social generation and race of the participant. Each worksheet was sorted by social generation and race, resulting in the responses of Black and White participants from each social generation being grouped accordingly, as shown by a screenshot of an Excel worksheet below.

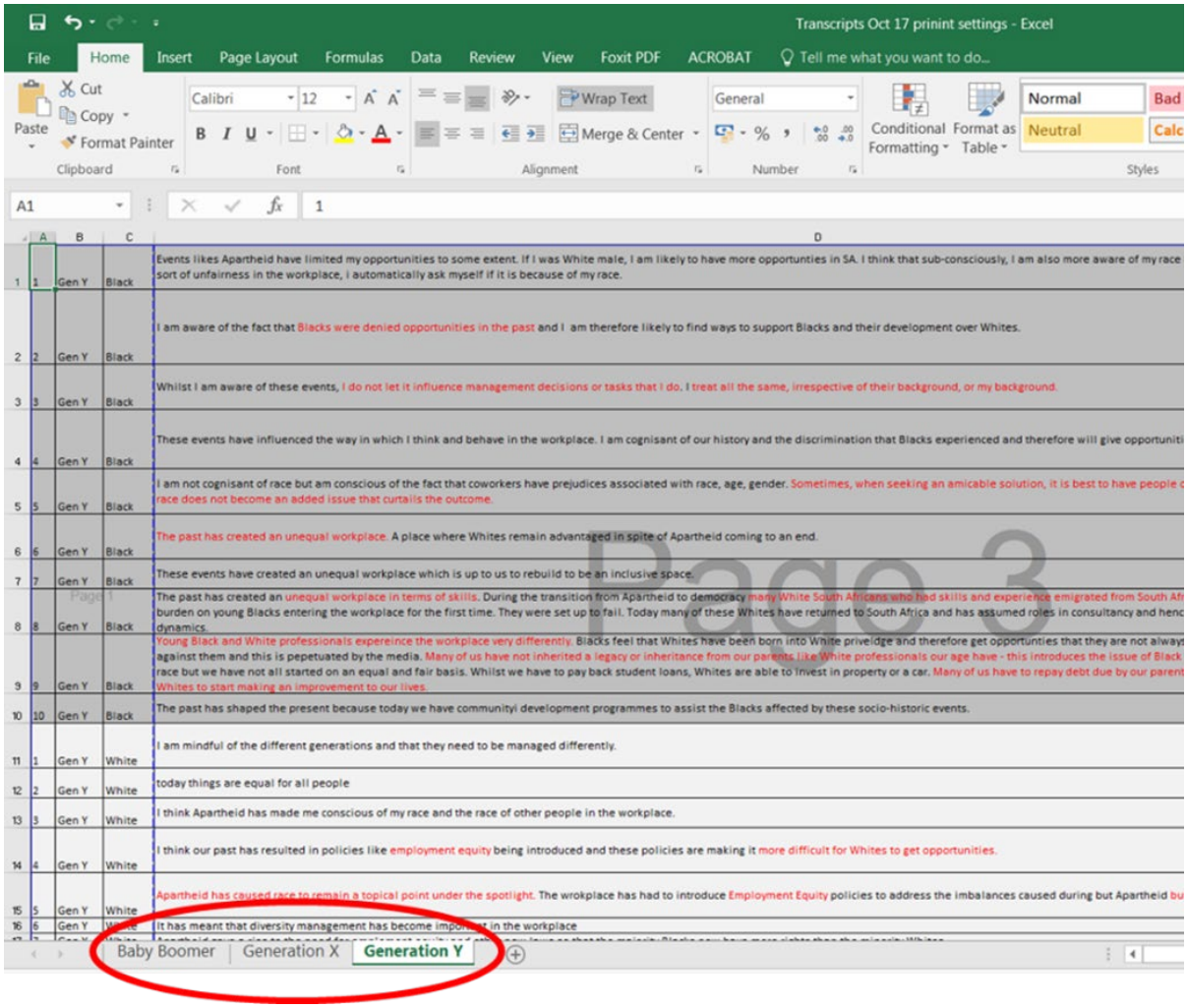


Figure 19: A screenshot of the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet showing the three different worksheets created for each social generation. Each worksheet was populated with the responses obtained from participants of the respective social generation

Appendix THREE

Permission letter from Bombela Concession Company



Appendix THREE

Concession Company (RF) (Pty) Ltd

Office 204, 2nd Floor, The Firs
Cnr Cradock & Biermann Avenue
Rosebank
Johannesburg
2196

PO Box 1115, KELVIN, 2054
South Africa

Tel: +27 (0) 11 446 6800
Fax: +27 (0) 11 446 6804
Web: www.bombela.com

19 December 2016

For attention: Wits Business School, Faculty of Law and Management

Request to conduct qualitative research with employees

Kesagee Nayager, currently employed by the Bombela Concession Company as Marketing and Communications Executive, has requested consent to conduct interviews with employees for her PhD study.

Her request to conduct face-to-face interviews with some of our employees was taken into consideration, and upon perusing the abstract on her proposed study, I hereby give consent for the interviews to be conducted with employees

I wish her well with her studies and request a final copy of the findings pertaining to this study.

ANDRÉ VAN RENSBURG
Chief Executive Officer
Bombela Concession Company (RF) (Pty) Ltd

Bombela Concession Company (RF) (Proprietary) Limited
Company Registration Number: 2005/031316/07 VAT Registration Number: 4490228253
Directors: AJ Bester, P Casgrain[2], MG Diliza, IW Henstock, HJ Laas (Chairman), D Moshapalo, CAG Paradis[2], ME Cote[1], YP Le Saux(Alt)[2]
1 French, 2 Canadian

GAUTRAIN
FOR PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

1

Appendix FOUR

Permission letter from Gautrain Management Agency

Appendix FOUR

GAUTRAIN MANAGEMENT AGENCY

GAUTRAIN
FOR PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

09 January 2017

Request to conduct qualitative research with employees

Kesagee Nayager, currently employed by the Bombela Concession Company as Marketing and Communications Executive, has requested consent to conduct interviews with GMA employees for her PhD study.

Her request to conduct face-to-face interviews with some of our employees was taken into consideration, and upon perusing the abstract on her proposed study, I hereby give consent for the interviews to be conducted with employees of the GMA.

I wish her well with her studies and request a final copy of the findings pertaining to this study.

Mr William Dachs
COO, Gautrain Management Agency

Appendix FIVE

Participant consent form

Topic of study: The intersectionality of social generations, location, and race in diversity management in South Africa

I hereby give consent to participate in the abovementioned study.

Ms Nayager has explained what the study is about and the objectives of the study. I understand what the research is about and understand the following:

- My participation in this study is completely voluntary and I may withdraw from the study at any stage without fear of any form of penalty.
- I may refuse to answer any question or questions that I feel uncomfortable about answering. I understand that refusing to answer any question/s will also not attract any form of penalty (such as, job loss) or loss of benefit to me.
- I will not be compensated to participate in this study and nor am I required to compensate the researcher to participate in this study.
- This study will ensure my anonymity and whilst the report will state that the study was conducted at Bombela and the Gautrain Management Agency, my personal details and responses will not be divulged.
- I have been advised that I may contact Ms Nayager, or her supervisor, should I have any questions and that a summary of the report will be furnished to me, should I so require.

Furthermore, I consent to participate in the study which is in the form of open-ended questions.

I acknowledge that whilst Ms Nayager will make written interview notes as well as an audio-recording of the interview, the interview notes and audio-recording will be deleted once the information has been transcribed and analysed for purposes of this study.

Please tick the appropriate box below to either grant or deny Ms Nayager your consent to have the interview audio- recorded.

Yes, I give consent to have the interview recorded	
No, I do not consent to have the interview recorded	

Signature: .....

Date .....

Appendix SIX

Participant information sheet

Wits Business School
Sculpting global leaders

Dear Sir / Madam,

Good day and thank you for affording me the time to explain what my study is about, and to possibly participate in same.

As you may know, I am employed by the Bombela Concession Company as Marketing and Communications Executive. I am also a PhD student at the Wits Business School. The interview that I wish to conduct with you is for my degree purposes. The objective of my study is two-fold. Firstly, I seek to determine any differences within generations, as well as between the generations. Secondly, I wish to make a contribution to diversity management studies and am particularly interested in the concepts of race and location, and how these may possibly intersect to produce differences within, and between, generations. This study may be of potential benefit to diversity management as it may help to inform how people are managed and respond to being managed in the workplace.

I hereby cordially invite you to participate in this study. You have been invited because you belong to one of the generations that this study seeks to gather data from, namely, the Baby Boomer generation. If you consent to participate, you will be asked a series of open-ended questions that should take approximately 30 minutes of your time. I will gladly send you a formal meeting request via email to schedule a suitable time in your diary. Please note that no compensation will be made for your time and nor will you be expected to make payment, of any sort, to participate in this study. In addition, please note that your participation is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate in the study without fear of any form of penalty being levied against you. Furthermore, you may refuse to answer any particular question/s if you are uncomfortable to do so, and you may also withdraw from the study at any stage, without any penalty or consequence (such as, job loss) to you.

This study will ensure your anonymity as your name and any other personal particulars will not be requested or documented in this study. Data gathered from the participants will be analysed and key themes will be highlighted without making mention of the personal particulars of the individuals that participated in the study. The report will only mention that the study was conducted with Bombela and Gautrain Management Agency employees.

As mentioned, the study pertains to the concept of race and because race is sometimes viewed as a sensitive topic, particularly in South Africa, you may experience discomfort to some of the questions pertaining directly to race. Again, please feel free to refuse to answer such questions that you do not feel comfortable to answer. Finally, please note that a summary of the final research report will be made available to Bombela and the Gautrain Management Agency. The full report will be submitted to the Wits Business School for examination purposes and once it passes, will be published on the internet and, as such, will become a public document.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me on the details provided below. I have also supplied the details of my supervisor, should you wish to contact her. Please also advise if you would like to receive a summary of the report and this will be furnished to you. My contact number is +27 60 99 25 149 and my email is Kesagee.nayager@bombela.com. My supervisor is Professor Teresa Carmichael and her email is Terri.carmichael@wits.ac.za.

With thanks and regards

Kesagee Nayager

Appendix SEVEN

This appendix comprises a multiple-page analytical Excel spreadsheet that is available to an examiner on request.

However, excerpts from the table have been included in the thesis document as audit trails to demonstrate the coding process undertaken and the linkages between the data and the resultant themes.

Appendix EIGHT

The interview guide showing linkages to each research question:

Research question	Interview guide
1. Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?	• How does the system of apartheid shape or inform the type of activities or decisions taken in the workplace? • How do you think Blacks (if the respondent is White) or Whites (if the respondent is Black) within your social generation experienced this socio-historic event in relation to you? Please share an example or elaborate. Give examples of characteristics that you think are common amongst people belonging to your social generation.
2. How is race in the workspace in South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans from each of the social generations?	• How do you think Blacks and Whites experience your workplace? • How do you relate to people from different social generations in your workplace? How do you relate to people from both races in your workplace?
3. How is the locale (space and place) in present-day South Africa experienced by Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the social generations?	• How do you think Blacks and Whites from each social generation experience your workplace? • How have you experienced being managed by people of different social generations to you? • How have you experienced being managed by people of different races?
4. When race, social generations, and locale (space and place) intersect in present-day South Africa, how do Black and White South Africans belonging to each of the different social generations experience this intersection?	• How does this socio-historic event influence your social relations with people of different races in the workplace? • How does this socio-historic event influence your social relations with people from different social generations in the workplace? • What factors do you think make people relate better to others at work? Please elaborate.

Appendix NINE

The following table contains an excerpt of the coding process for RQ1, showing the progression from data to themes. The same approach was followed for all RQs. The different colours indicate grouping into themes.

RQ1: Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?

Participant quotes by Baby Boomers

Table 21: How does the Baby Boomer social generation self-identity in South African terms

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Categories	Themes
4	Black	BB	BOM	We need face-to-face communication. These social media groups don't work well for us.	Prefer face-to-face communication Resist social media	Communicating	Face-to-face	Communication style
10	Black	BB	GMA	We read newspapers and not apps on mobile devices.	Read newspapers (traditional media instead of electronic media)	Reading	Traditional media	
4	Black	BB	BOM	The older Whites still carry racist prejudice with them and is unlikely to change for the better.	Older whites carry racist prejudice Older white unlikely to change	Prejudicing	Racism	Diversity in the work space
1	Black	BB	BOM	The older ones are degrading, and they treat us as if we cannot think.	Elder (whites) treat (blacks) as though they can't think Elder whites degrade blacks	Degrading/ discriminating		
14	White	BB	BOM	I respect the decisions that the older manager takes and have more confidence in his leadership over a younger manager's leadership.	Respect decisions made by older managers Have more confidence in older managers No confidence in young	Respecting	Ageism	
15	White	BB	BOM	I find it challenging to be managed by younger people because they still have development gaps, but they have to teach me. It becomes frustrating. It is easier to be managed by older folk - they have the same logic that I do.	Prefer being managed by older managers			
18	White	BB	GMA	having young managers can be frustrating as they do not want to learn from those of us who have been here for many years, sometimes more years than they have been alive. Yet they expect us to take instructions from them and do things in a way that they want. the older generation is easier to be managed by as we understand what needs to be done and how to do it.	Frustrating to work with young manager. Older generation understands what to do and how to do it	Understanding		
19	White	BB	GMA	I prefer being managed by someone who has the skills and knowledge that I have and more. I therefore do not enjoy being managed by young people. They are still on their learning curve but expect us to learn from them.	Prefer being managed by someone with skills and knowledge Do not enjoy being managed by young people			
20	White	BB	GMA	I prefer an older manager because from experience they manage in a way that is more suitable to me.	Preferring older manager, more experience			

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Categories	Themes
19	White	BB	GMA	The older generation has more skills and knowledge. The younger Generation think they have all the answers and more skills and knowledge, but it is because they are still naïve.	Older generation has more skills Is more knowledgeable than young			
33	White	Gen X	BOM	It is easier to be managed by an older Black person.	Easier to be managed by elder Black		Ageism Racial prejudice	
17	White	BB	GMA	We are slower to change than the younger generation. We have a tendency to seek out rules and commands and management is a more familiar concept to us than leadership is.	Slower to change than younger Tendency to seek out rules and commands Management concept more familiar to older generation than leadership concept is	Changing Seeking	Attributes	Followership style
14	White	BB	BOM	I respect the decisions that the older manager takes and have more confidence in his leadership over a younger manager's leadership.	Respect decisions made by older managers Have more confidence in older managers No confidence in young	Respecting	Ageism	Followership style
11	White	BB	BOM	Discipline - have to follow rules. We are a very disciplined generation.	Being disciplined Following rules	Following	Attributes	Followership style
15	White	BB	BOM	I believe in discipline, and this is characteristic of my generation.	Believing in discipline	Believing	Attributes	Followership style
8	Black	BB	GMA	I don't mind being managed by either young or old. I respect whoever is appointed to manage me	Respect for manager	Respecting	Attributes	Followership style
10	Black	BB	GMA	Whoever is appointed to manage me, is my boss and I respect that	Respect for manager	Respecting	Attributes	Followership style
1	Black	BB	BOM	We are old school, but we can adapt easily to the younger generations.	We are old-school Adapt easily to younger generations	Adapting	Attributes	Followership style
4	Black	BB	BOM	We are a wounded generation. We think deeply, we feel deeply	A wounded generation Think deeply	Thinking	Attributes	Followership style
9	Black	BB	GMA	We are not as innovative as young people. We can do the same thing many times over without getting bored as easily as young people do. but we are a very disciplined generation	Not innovative Don't get bored Being disciplined		Attributes	Followership style
17	White	BB	GMA	I find that young people manage very differently to the older generation. I tend to enjoy their outlook and management style. But I can also easily adapt to be managed by the older generation - I am more familiar with that management style but it doesn't mean that it is better. young people take decisions with great ease than us, they see the bigger picture with greater ease. they are more collaborative in their approach. They also have more qualifications than the older generation as many of us grew up through the ranks in the workplace - and we may have acquired qualifications along the way, but the young generation come equipped with this.	Can adapt to being managed by young or old Slower to take decisions than young Slower to see big picture than young Less collaborative in their approach than young. Less qualifications than young Having worked through ranks	Adapting Deciding	Positive attributes Negative attributes	Leadership/management style

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Categories	Themes
11	White	BB	BOM	I tend to learn a lot from the older generation.	Learn from older generation	Learning	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
7	Black	BB	GMA	I embrace being managed by any generation. I can learn from young people in the same way I can learn from old people. I can teach young people in the same way I can teach old people. we are slower to learn new things than young people are	Open to learning Open to teaching Being slower to learn than young	Learning teaching	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
1	Black	BB	BOM	I tend to give the younger generations more guidance and support.	Guidance for young Support for young	Guiding Supporting	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
8	Black	BB	GMA	We have a specific management style that is telling as opposed to collaborative	Management style is telling	Telling	Attributes	Leadership/management style
2	Black	BB	BOM	I manage all generations the same way, irrespective age or differences. I want to be a consistent manager.	Being consistent		Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
3	Black	BB	BOM	I manage the younger generation with more patience. I am open to answering their questions and know that the reason they ask questions is not because they are silly, but because they are trying to process a way to do the work that is more fitting to their style. when I was a young man, I was also asking a lot of questions. (he laughs)	Manage young with patience Open to answer young's questions		Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
1	Black	BB	BOM	We tend to be nurturing and therefore give guidance and support to the younger generations.	Tend to be nurturing Give guidance Give support	Nurturing Guiding Supporting	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
13	White	BB	BOM	Rules are enforced	Enforcing rules	Enforcing	Attributes	Leadership/management style
10	Black	BB	GMA	We are less techno-savvy, we read newspapers and not apps on mobile devices.	Less techno-savvy		Information, computer technology (ICT)	Use of technology
20	White	BB	GMA	Whilst we do not easily adapt to technology, we know how to do the job.	Not adapting easily to technology Know how to do the job	Not adapting Knowing	Information, computer technology (ICT)	Use of technology
2	Black	BB	BOM	We are not technologically savvy.	Are not technologically savvy		Information, computer technology (ICT)	Use of technology
5	Black	BB	BOM	We do not embrace technology as easily as young people do.	Resist technology	Resisting	Information, computer technology (ICT)	Use of technology
10	Black	BB	GMA	We are less techno-savvy	Being less techno savvy		Information, computer technology (ICT)	Use of technology
14	White	BB	BOM	I think the older generation is more familiar with the workplace and how things are done.	Are more familiar with how things are done in the workplace.		Work experience	Workplace power
15	White	BB	BOM	Older people have established ways and means of doing the work differently and there is not much willingness from the younger people to learn those ways.	Have established ways and means of doing work	Establishing	Work experience	Workplace power

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Categories	Themes
17	White	BB	GMA	I think the older generation is intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with - using paper freely, manual processes etc. at the same time, the younger generation try to create a space that they are more familiar with - flexi-working, working from home, paperless. but in general, the workplace still largely remains more comfortable for the older generation.	Older generation intent on manual processes. Workplace more comfortable to older generation		Work experience	Workplace power
8	Black	BB	GMA	we like rules and regulations.	Liking for rules Liking for regulations		Attributes	Workplace values
10	Black	BB	GMA	We are respectful, disciplined, patient, less techno-savvy, we read newspapers and not apps on mobile devices.	Being respectful Being disciplined Being patient Less techno-savvy	Respecting	Attributes	Workplace values
10	Black	BB	GMA	We are respectful, disciplined, patient	Being respectful Being disciplined Being patient	Respecting	Attributes	Workplace values
16	White	BB	GMA	We grew up in at a time where people were forced to work long hours and had to respect rules and regulations. Because of it, we are more disciplined, committed, and loyal.	Work long hours Respect for rules and regulations disciplined committed loyal	Working Respecting Committing	Attributes	Workplace values
12	White	BB	BOM	We are more committed to our jobs and showed a lot of loyalty, respect, and observance of protocol. We put in more effort and worked hard manually to achieve results. We are rigid and work to the set rules and standards whether it be work hours or targets. We can put an extra minute to get work done. Hard workers	Being committed to jobs Being loyal Being respectful Being more rigid Being hard workers Following instructions, rules	Committing Respecting Hardworking Following	Attributes	Workplace values
14	White	BB	BOM	We are hardworking, loyal to our employers and very dedicated to our work	Being hardworking Being loyal Being dedicated to work	Hardworking Dedicating	Attributes	Workplace values
18	White	BB	GMA	We have a lot of experience; we manage well and can do the job with precision	Have a lot of experience Do work with precision	Working	Work experience	Workplace values
19	White	BB	GMA	We are patient and hard working. We are disciplined.	Patient hardworking disciplined	Hardworking	Attributes	Workplace values
5	Black	BB	BOM	We like to know what to do and how to do it.	Like to know what to do and how to do it	Knowing	Work experience	Workplace values
20	White	BB	GMA	Our generation has been through a lot and have acquired a lot of life and work experience.	Having work experience Having life experience		Work experience	Workplace values
3	Black	BB	BOM	we are a patient generation. We waited many years for change, but young people demand change a lot faster, we saw that with the fees must fall movement.	Are patient Waited for change	Waiting	Attributes	Workplace values

Appendix TEN

The following table contains an excerpt of the coding process for RQ1, showing the progression from data to themes. The same approach was followed for all RQs. The different colours indicate grouping into themes.

RQ1: Based on socio-historic events in South Africa, how may social generations be defined in South African terms?

Participant quotes by Generation X

Table 22: How does Generation X describe Baby Boomers in South African terms

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Category	Theme
22	Black	Gen X	BOM	I think that the younger generations generally experience the older generations as stiff and less willing to adapt.	Older is stiff and unwilling to adapt Elder experience younger as lazy.	Unwilling Experiencing	Negative attributes	Change management
30	Black	Gen X	GMA	Older generation managers do not like change and hence want for things to be done in the same way as always. They are therefore difficult to work with	Elders do not like change. Elders want things done in the same way. Elders are difficult to work with.	Disliking	Negative attributes	Change management
34	White	Gen X	BOM	Older people can adapt to change easily so even with the introduction of technology, older people adapt.	Elder adaptable to change	Adapting	Positive attributes	Change management
37	White	Gen X	GMA	I think it is different for the different generations because of government policies such as employment equity, it is worst for the older White generation as they can not find a place in the new South Africa - no opportunities for them at work.	Elder cannot find place in new SA because of employment equity No opportunities for elders in new SA because of employment equity	Finding	Constraints	Diversity in the work space
40	White	Gen X	GMA	Older generations feel they shouldn't have to be told what to do by inexperienced youngsters.	Elder don't want to be told what to do by inexperienced younger	Not telling	Attributes	Followership style
23	Black	Gen X	BOM	Older managers tend to over-think a decision which can at times be frustrating.	Elders overthink decisions causing frustration	Overthinking	Negative attributes	Leadership/management style
34	White	Gen X	BOM	I find older men tend to be more of a father-figure and they are generally wiser.	Elder men = father-figure Elder men = wise		Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
31	White	Gen X	BOM	The older the wiser. Age gives experience and knowledge.	Elders wise Age = experience Age = knowledge		Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
23	Black	Gen X	BOM	Older generation tends to be more secure than the younger generation.	More secure than younger generation			Leadership/management style
30	Black	Gen X	GMA	but one can't discount their skills and experience that they have.	Elders have skills Elders have experience		Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
40	White	Gen X	GMA	Young people feel they are more deserving and older generations feel they have earned their stripes	Elder have earned their stripes	Earning	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
21	Black	Gen X	BOM	I think that age plays an important role. Young people tend to see things very differently to older people. Older people generally want to work hard, but younger people want to work smart.	Young see things differently to elders. Elders want to work hard.	Working (hard)	Positive attributes	Workplace values
31	White	Gen X	BOM	But the older generations are more responsible, and you get more out of them.	Elders more responsible		Positive attributes	Workplace values

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Category	Theme
27	Black	Gen X	GMA	The older generation is more committed than the younger one hence the older generation tends to work longer and harder than the younger Generation. But work is designed to accommodate everyone irrespective of their generation or age.	Elders more committed than younger. Elders work longer (hours) than younger Elders work harder than younger	Committing Hardworking	Positive attributes	Workplace values
36	White	Gen X	GMA	Positive in that I can learn from older and younger generations. I think there are pros and cons to being managed by older and younger generations. Younger informal, older more formal and thorough.	Can learn from elder and younger Pros and cons to elder and younger Younger is informal Elder is formal and thorough	Learning	Positive attributes	Workplace values

Participant quotes by Generation Y

Table 23: How does Generation Y define Baby Boomers in South African terms

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Category	Theme
58	White	Gen Y	GMA	There is not much of a difference but as the younger generation we want more flexibility in a work day and the older generation does not have an appetite for this.	Elder have no appetite for flexibility		Negative attribute	Change management
48	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Younger generation tend to seek simplified ways of doing things and the older generation tends to want to stick to tried and tested methods.	Elder tend to stick to traditional methods to do things	Sticking	Negative attribute	Change management
45	Black	Gen Y	GMA	The older generation battle to adapt to new ways of doing things and hence do the same thing, the same way it has always been done. This can frustrate Generation Y employees who want to work smart.	Elder battle to adapt to change Elder same the same thing the same way	Battling	Negative attribute	Change management
48	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older managers feel challenged to adapt to new things and new ways of doing things.	Elder not adaptable to new things	Adapting	Negative attribute	Change management
55	White	Gen Y	BOM	the older generation prefers face-to-face engagement.	Elder communicate through face-to-face communication	Communicating	Attribute	Communication s style
59	White	Gen Y	GMA	The way meetings are conducted, for example, have not changed. I am happy to have skype meetings, but they want to sit across a table from the next person and find it offensive we use our phones during this time	Communication methods Elder find it offensive when young use phones during meetings	Communicating	Attribute	Communication s style
44	Black	Gen Y	BOM	Older Black women are more encouraging, they take an interest in my career, mentor, share and develop me.	Older black women encouraging Older black women take interest in other's careers Older black women mentor Older black women share Older black women develop	Encouraging Mentoring Sharing Developing	Ageism Racial prejudice	Diversity in the work space
42	Black	Gen Y	BOM	I think the younger generation is more socially aware and open to discussing social issues like racism, but the older generations tend to want to shy away from talking about these issues. They want to avoid it and pretend it doesn't exist. We therefore	Elder shy away from discussing social issues	Not discussing	Negative attributes	Diversity in the work space

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Category	Theme
				experience the workplace differently. We feel constrained in terms of what we can talk about and what we can't.				
48	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Because they have come through the era of Apartheid many carry prejudiced views and hence deny Blacks opportunities at work.	Elder is prejudiced Elder deny blacks opportunities	Denying	Racism	Diversity in the work space
47	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older managers have a perception that as a young person you are incompetent and need to be taught.	Older perceive younger to be incompetent	Perceiving	Ageism	Diversity in the work space
44	Black	Gen Y	BOM	older White men and Women…expect you to just get on with it - they don't show a direct interest in your or your career or development.	Elder white men and women expect you to get on with it Elder white men and women do not show interest in other's career or development	Expecting Not showing	Racism	Diversity in the work space
47	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older managers…are unlikely to consider your suggestions.	Older overlook suggestions by younger	Overlooking	Negative attributes	Leadership/management style
53	White	Gen Y	BOM	I think younger generation is frustrated by the older generation for two reasons. 1. Older generation wants to do things their own way. 2. Slow to take decisions.	Elder want to do things their way Elder slow to take decisions	Doing	Negative attribute	Leadership/management style
41	Black	Gen Y	BOM	I think older people have more experience and I can therefore learn more from them - but they must be willing to teach me. If they have more experience but is not willing to share that experience with me then it would not matter to me that the person has more experience than I do..	Elder more experienced Can learn more from elder Elders willing to teach	Learning Teaching	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
42	Black	Gen Y	BOM	I think older generations has a different, better management style - they tend to be less emotional, more constructive with feedback and they adopt a mentoring approach.	Elder better management style Elder less emotional Elder more constructive with feedback Elder take mentoring approach	Mentoring	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
43	Black	Gen Y	BOM	I think the older generation is more supportive and one can learn more from them as they have more experience.	Elders supportive Can learn from elder Elder has more experience	Supporting Learning	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
44	Black	Gen Y	BOM	Older Black women are more encouraging, they take an interest in my career, mentor, share and develop me.	Older black women encouraging Older black women take interest in other's careers Older black women mentor Older black women share Older black women develop	Encouraging Mentoring Sharing Developing	Positive attributes	Leadership/management style
46	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older generation have a different management style - they prefer to tell you what to do and how to do it and they want things their way.	Older prefer to tell people what to do and how to do it Older want things done their way	Telling	Attributes	Leadership/management style
48	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older managers tend to force their way of doing things onto you. They do not allow you the freedom to find solutions for yourself.	Elder want things done their way Elder do not allow other freedom to find their own solutions	Not allowing	Negative attributes	Leadership/management style
50	Black	Gen Y	BOM	the older sometimes hold back from sharing with us	Elders sometimes do not share	Not sharing	Negative attributes	Leadership/management style

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Category	Theme
53	White	Gen Y	BOM	I think older generation is less trusting. They want to take time to think things over, they do not make quick decisions. This can be frustrating.	Elders is less trusting Elders take time to take decisions	Distrusting	Negative attributes	Leadership/management style
54	White	Gen Y	BOM	I think as much as I can learn more from older manager, I find them more frustrating as they tend to want to complicate things, even if the task is simple.	Elder complicate simple takes	Complicating	Negative attributes	Leadership/management style
53	White	Gen Y	BOM	Slow to take decisions and adapt to technology	Slow to adapt to technology	Adapting	Information, computer, technology (ICT)	Use of technology
42	Black	Gen Y	BOM	Also, organisations are generally managed by an older generation and that in itself means that they have more power than the younger generation. This power imbalance means we younger generation have to fit in with what the older generation expects of us.	Elders generally manage organisations Elders have more power in the workplace	Managing	Workplace experience	Workplace power
46	Black	Gen Y	GMA	The workplace was built by older generation and the concept of a workplace is their idea. They are therefore more comfortable here. We younger generation would design a completely different set-up if allowed the room to do so. We would prefer to work from home and use technology to communicate, for example, but this would not be agreed to be the older generation that remains in charge and in power.	Elder comfortable in workplace Elder remains in power	Remaining	Work experience	Workplace power
47	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older generation tends to feel threatened as more and more young people enter the workplace, each with his or her own idea of doing things. Young people in turn feel frustrated by their ideas being blocked by older generation	Elder feels threatened by younger entering workplace with own ideas Younger frustrated with elders who block their ideas	Feeling Frustrating	Negative attributes	Workplace power
47	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older generation has been there longer and know the ropes better.	Elders know the ropes better than younger – been there longer	Knowing	Work experience	Workplace power
59	White	Gen Y	GMA	I think the workplace is more geared toward the older generation because things still get done in the way it has always been done.	Workplace more accommodating toward elders	Accommodating	Workplace design	Workplace power
60	White	Gen Y	GMA	The older generation is more at home at work, they have found their space and is comfortable in it.	Elder more comfortable – found their space		Workplace design	Workplace power
53	White	Gen Y	BOM	The older generation is much more comfortable in the workplace and how the workplace functions.	Elder more comfortable in workplace		Workplace design	Workplace power
51	White	Gen Y	BOM	I find it better to be managed by someone older than me as he or she is likely to have more experience than me.	Elders have more experience		Attribute	Workplace power
57	White	Gen Y	GMA	Differently, the older generation have more experience than the younger generation and it's always best to start at the bottom and work your way up to gain more experience.	Elder more experience than younger Best to start at the bottom and work one's way up to gain experience	Starting	Attribute	Workplace power
50	Black	Gen Y	BOM	I think the older generation brings wisdom and a level of maturity	Elder is wise Elder is mature		Positive attributes	Workplace values
55	White	Gen Y	BOM	It is better to be managed by older generation as they are more career driven than young people.	Elder more career-driven than younger		Positive attributes	Workplace values

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund codes	Category	Theme
51	White	Gen Y	BOM	Older generations are content to worker longer and harder.	Elder content to work longer hours Elder content to work hard	Hardworking	Positive attributes	Workplace values
45	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older managers tend to be more relaxed, re-assured of themselves and their capabilities and are confident.	Elders more relaxed Elders self-assured Elders confident		Positive attributes	Workplace values
49	Black	Gen Y	GMA	Older managers are less insecure as they have enough experience and confidence.	Elder have experience Elder have confidence Elder is less insecure than younger		Positive attributes	Workplace values

Appendix ELEVEN

The following table contains an excerpt of the coding process for RQ2, showing the progression from data to themes. The same approach was followed for all RQs. The different colours indicate grouping into themes.

5.8.1 RQ 2: How is race in the workplace in South Africa experienced by Blacks and Whites from each of the social generation?

Participant quotes by Baby Boomers

Table 24: Themes pertaining to Baby Boomers

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
9	Black	BB	GMA	Professionally we mix, but not socially	Professionally people mix, but not socially	Socialising	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
10	Black	BB	GMA	In the canteen you can see how races are separated. We stick to our own	Socially races don't mix. People stick to own race	Self-segregating	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
5	Black	BB	BOM	Whites of the younger Generation are more open to change. It pleases me to see young people embrace each other so freely and easily, race aside.	Young Whites are open to change. Pleasing that young [Whites] embrace each other freely, race aside	Embracing	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
3	Black	BB	BOM	Whites lives a lavish life compared to us Blacks who were outcasts living on the edge of the economy, trying to survive, let alone make ends meet.	Whites live lavish lifestyle compared to Blacks who were outcasts living on edge of economy, trying to survive, let alone make ends meet	Living Surviving	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
1	Black	BB	BOM	The older Whites still carry racist prejudice with them and is unlikely to change for the better. Younger Whites are easier to work with as they leave themselves open to be influenced	Older White carry racist prejudice and are unlikely to change for the better. Young Whites easier to work with as they are open to be influenced	Prejudicing	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
5	Black	BB	BOM	Whites my age are still largely reluctant to embrace transformation. Many feel defeated by democracy and do not want to embrace it - they do not see democracy as a win-win for the both of us.	Whites my age are still reluctant to embrace transformation. They feel defeated by democracy. and do not embrace democracy as a win-win for the both of us	Embracing	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
6	Black	BB	GMA	Whites are still reluctant to change. I have seen many young White people display prejudice toward Blacks and this means that racism is still rife	Whites still reluctant to change. Have seen young Whites display prejudice towards Blacks and this means racism is rife	Prejudicing Racialising	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
1	Black	BB	BOM	The older ones are degrading, and they treat us as if we cannot think. They think we are incompetent simply because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks. We just need an opportunities to hold senior roles at work to show our ability.	Older Whites are degrading, and they treat us as if we can't think. They think we are incompetent because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks. We just need an opportunities to hold senior jobs to show our ability	Degrading Treating Supporting	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
8	Black	BB	GMA	A White manager recently told me that he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. One can imagine the level of prejudice that Blacks in his team are subjected to. Racist attitudes cannot be stopped by a Constitution, no matter how great that Constitution is. White capital monopoly is a reality in SA. The bulk of our wealth remain in White hands and these same Whites will complain that there are no jobs for Whites in SA.	A White manager told me he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. Imagine the level of prejudice that Black in his team is subjected to. Racist attitudes can't be stopped by a Constitution. White capital monopoly is a reality in SA. Bulk of our wealth is in White hands, yet Whites complain that there are no jobs for Whites in SA	Embracing Prejudicing Complaining	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
4	Black	Gen Y	BOM	I think people can mix regardless but it depends on one's willingness to embrace each other	People can mix but mixing depends on willingness to embrace each other	Socialising Willingness	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
1	Black	BB	BOM	I think the younger generations mix more freely across races, but the older Generations still stick with their own.	Young mix more freely Old stick to their own	Socialising Self-segregating	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
6	Black	BB	GMA	Young Black people are not afraid as we are to talk about race. This is problematic to many Whites especially of my Generation because we Blacks were taught to be docile.	Young Blacks talk about race. Old Whites do not like Black to talk about race. Blacks taught to be docile.	Talking Teaching	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
15	White	BB	BOM	I try to mentor young Blacks entering the workplace. I am willing to share my knowledge with them, but they need to be willing to listen to what I tell them and not want to think for themselves. Why find solutions that already exist? They just need to apply what we have already learnt.	Try to mentor young Blacks entering the workplace. Willing to share my knowledge with them. But they need to listen to what I tell them and not think for themselves. Why find solutions that already exist. They need to apply what we learnt	Mentoring Entering Sharing Listening Telling Thinking Applying	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
12	White	BB	BOM	I was born and raised on a farm so from childhood I grew up among Blacks and view them differently than most Whites would. I treat everyone equally and am guided by company policy there is no bias towards any	I was born and raised on a farm and grew up amongst Blacks and view Blacks differently to most Whites. Treat everyone equally according to company policy and	Treating Equalising	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
				race. So, for me, nothing has personally changed from the past to today.	have no bias toward any race. Personally, nothing changed from past to today.			
14	White	BB	BOM	There is more hostility in the workplace and the country in general because of apartheid. Black people look at Whites as being perpetrators of apartheid and we see look at them with guilt - even if we did not directly discriminate against them. The result is that the workplace is divided along race lines. Jobs are reserved for Blacks and competence is less of a requirement, but we need to understand that work has to be done to fix the problems created in the past. But we need to stop fixing at some stage and be mature to accept responsibility for our own failures. We can't always hide because of the past.	More hostility in the workplace because of apartheid. Blacks view Whites viewed as perpetrators of apartheid and we look at them with guilt, so the workplace is more divided along race lines. Jobs reserved for Blacks and competence is less of a requirement, need to understand that work needs to be done to fix problems created in past. We need to stop fixing at some stage and be mature and accept responsibility for own failures. We can't hide because of past	Dividing Reserving Understanding Fixing Creating Accepting Hiding	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
12	White	BB	BOM	Whites are now forced to transfer knowledge to Blacks as they are more experienced and are the ones still in positions of power and authority.	Whites forced to transfer knowledge to Blacks. as they are more experienced and in positions of power and authority	Transferring	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
12	White	BB	BOM	It depends. This has changed and there's more mixing and mingling among races but there's more between people of similar race	There is more mixing among races. But more mixing among people of same race	Socialising	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
14	White	BB	BOM	People have their own cultures and languages which make it easier to communicate with their own race. But culture also differs within the same race depending on where one was located. A Black from KZN is different to a Black in Gauteng. The same applies to Whites.	People have own cultures and languages making it easier to communicate with their own race. Cultures differ within same race depending on where one was located. A Black in KZN difference to Black in Gauteng. Same applies to Whites	Communicating	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
15	White	BB	BOM	I think Blacks had a tougher life than us, but some were still successful - it depended on whether they wanted to be successful. For example, my gardener knew how to drive. I taught him how to drive my car even though he was Black. It is because he was willing to learn.	Blacks had a tougher time than Whites, but some Blacks were still successful. It depended on whether they wanted to be successful. For example, my gardener knew how to drive. I taught him to drive my car though he was Black. It was because he was willing to learn.	Teaching Willing	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
15	White	BB	BOM	Blacks and White will always be different to each other, and I think we need to stop trying to make us one in the same. We should accept that we are different and that we will experience life differently.	Blacks and Whites will always be different to each other. Need to stop trying to make us the same. Should accept we are different and will experience life differently	Accepting Experiencing	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
18	White	BB	GMA	We speak the same language, have the same culture and religion. We just relate better to each other. Even the food that we eat is different.	Speak the same language, have same culture and religion. Relate better to each other. Even food we eat is different	Speaking Relating	Lived experiences	Diversity in the work space
6	Black	BB	GMA	Whites look after each other but when Blacks hold management positions, they want them to support them when they themselves do not support the Black manager	Whites look after each other but when Black hold management positions, they want them to support them when they do not support the Black manager	Supporting	Attributes	Leadership/management
19	White	BB	GMA	I have no objection to being managed by a Black provided her or she is competent and knows how to do the job.	No objection to being managed by a Black provided he/she is competent and knows how to do the job	Objecting Managing Knowing	Preference	Leadership/management
2	Black	BB	BOM	I have not experienced any difference in terms of how I have been managed by Blacks or Whites.	Blacks and Whites manage the same	Managing	Preference	Leadership/management
2	Black	BB	BOM	I manage all the same irrespective of race because I believe we are all human and all wanting the same thing - opportunities.	I manage all the same, irrespective of race. I believe we are all humans wanting the same things – opportunities.	Managing	Preference	Leadership/management
3	Black	BB	BOM	I manage all races the same way. I do not think it is right to give privilege to one and exclude the other, this is no different to apartheid then.	I manage all races the same way. I don't think it is right to give privilege to one and exclude the other, this would then be no different to apartheid	Managing Excluding	Preference	Leadership/management
4	Black	BB	BOM	I manage all races the same and do not display favouritism to the one race over the other.	I manage all the same and don't display favouritism to the one race over the other	Managing Displaying	Preference	Leadership/management
6	Black	BB	GMA	I don't give preferences and privileges to any one person or race. I don't want people to feel rejected or disadvantaged in any way - this I know from experience is not a nice thing	I don't give preferences/privileges to any one person or race. I don't want people to feel rejected/disadvantaged. I know from experience this is not a nice thing	Rejecting	Preference	Leadership/management
7	Black	BB	GMA	I think everyone must be managed according to the requirements of the job	I think everyone must be managed accord to job requirements	Managing	Preference	Leadership/management
8	Black	BB	GMA	I manage all people according to their job performance contract and not by their race	I manage all people according to job performance contract and not by race	Managing	Preference	Leadership/management

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
3	Black	BB	BOM	I think both races manage the same. I find both are focused on the output and getting the job done.	I think both races manage the same. Both focused on the output and getting the job done	Managing Focusing	Preference	Leadership/management
18	White	BB	GMA	I had two Black managers this far and, in my experience, both were highly incompetent, lazy, and not deserving of their position. I prefer to be managed by a White person not because of his or her race but because I know that they are in that position to get the job done, not to tick off a score card for employment equity.	I had two Black managers this far and they were highly incompetent, lazy, not deserving of their position. Prefer a White manager, not because of race, but because they get the job done, not tick-off a score card for employment equity	Deserving Ticking	Preference	Leadership/management
12	White	BB	BOM	I have had a better experience with Black managers who were professional, who treated everyone equally and fairly as set out by company policy.	Better experience with Black managers who were professional, treated everyone equally, fairly, according to the company policy.	Treating Equalising	Preference	Leadership/management
14	White	BB	BOM	I manage Blacks and Whites the same way. They should be competent, and they should therefore be managed the same.	I manage Blacks and Whites the same way. They should be competent, and they should be therefore managed the same	Managing	Preference	Leadership/management
14	White	BB	BOM	I don't mind whether I am managed by a Black or White person so long as the person is capable and qualified. I do however find that Black managers tend to be a bit unsure of themselves and take longer to take crucial decisions.	Don't mind whether manager is Black or White, provided the person is capable and qualified. Find that Black managers tend to be unsure of themselves and take longer to take decisions.		Preference	Leadership/management
1	Black	BB	BOM	Whites still benefit hugely at work because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us. As decision-makers, they still remain privileged over us Blacks.	Whites benefit at work, are mostly in power, support each other, ensure Whites benefit over Blacks, are decision-makers, remain privileged over Blacks.	Holding power Supporting Benefiting Privileging	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
5	Black	BB	BOM	Whites remain in senior roles. Blacks still make the tea, clean the offices. True transformation will happen when these jobs are held by the opposite races	Whites hold senior roles, Blacks make tea, clean office. True transformation happens when these jobs are held by opposite races.	Holding Transforming	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
6	Black	BB	GMA	Whites still earn more than their Black counterparts.	Whites earn more than Blacks.	Earning more	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
9	Black	BB	GMA	Apartheid for us was a dark time in our history. Whites were privileged and worse still had a mentality of White supremacy	Apartheid for us was a dark time in our history. Whites were privileged, and had a		White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
				which many of them are sadly passing down to their off-spring	mentality of White supremacy which many are passing down to their offspring.			
5	Black	BB	BOM	Whites still tend to favour Whites. Whilst there are rules, the exception to the rule applies to Whites.	Whites still tend to favour Whites. There are rules but Whites are the exemption to the rules	Favouring Exempting	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
8	Black	BB	GMA	A White manager recently told me that he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. One can imagine the level of prejudice that Blacks in his team are subjected to. Racist attitudes cannot be stopped by a Constitution, no matter how great that Constitution is. White capital monopoly is a reality in SA. The bulk of our wealth remain in White hands and these same Whites will complain that there are no jobs for Whites in SA.	A White manager told me he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. Imagine the level of prejudice that Black in his team is subjected to. Racist attitudes can't be stopped by a Constitution. White capital monopoly is a reality in SA. Bulk of our wealth is in White hands, yet Whites complain that there are no jobs for Whites in SA	Embracing Complaining	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
3	Black	BB	BOM	Whilst democracy has happened in principal and in policy, the practice is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still remains White-dominated. This shows that the workplace is still geared toward Whites	Democracy has happened in principal and in policy, but in practice it is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still White-dominated. Works that workplace is geared to Whites	Favouring Gearing	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
4	Black	BB	BOM	Blacks still need to get the same level of respect that Whites have. Whites still hold top jobs and still manage the overall company therefore setting policies and rules that suit themselves better.	Blacks needing same level of respect as Whites. Whites hold top jobs and manage overall company. Setting policies and rules to suit themselves	Holding Managing	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
9	Black	BB	GMA	I think Whites are still more comfortable as the top managers are still largely White and tend to still look out for their own	Whites are still more comfortable than Blacks. As the top managers are largely Whites who look out for their own.		White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
10	Black	BB	GMA	it must be better for Whites as they still earn more than us.	Must be better for Whites as they earn more than Blacks	Earning	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
17	White	BB	GMA	likewise, I think that the workplace still remains more familiar to the Whites. many of my Black colleagues are first in their families to be in management or executive positions. This tells me that they must experience the workplace as new.	Workplace more familiar to Whites Blacks first in families to be in management/executive positions. Blacks must experience workplace new	Experiencing	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
1	Black	BB	BOM	Whites still benefit hugely at work because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us. As decision-makers, they still remain privileged over us Blacks.	Whites still benefit at work, mostly in power, support each other, benefit over us. Whites = decision-makers Whites = remain privileged over Blacks	Benefiting Supporting	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
7	Black	BB	GMA	we remain junior to our White counterparts.	Blacks remain junior to Whites.		White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
8	Black	BB	GMA	Blacks still experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. I can tell you it is not as prevalent or blatant as it was in the past, but it is still there	Blacks experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. Racism is not as prevalent/blatant as it was in the past, but it is still there	Experiencing Racialising	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
3	Black	BB	BOM	Whites are still in power in the workplace	Whites are still in power in the workplace		White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
5	Black	BB	BOM	Whites still occupy top jobs. They still control the work culture and still drive their own agenda for Whites	Whites occupy top jobs. Whites control work culture Whites drive own agenda for Whites	Occupying Controlling	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
7	Black	BB	GMA	Whites still rally together and exclude us in subtle ways	Whites rally together and exclude Blacks in subtle ways	Rallying Excluding	White privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
18	White	BB	GMA	Because of the past many Whites have left South Africa in search of a safer and better future for themselves and their families. There are many angry Blacks in South Africa, and the level of crime is very high as a result of this. We also do not get jobs easily as jobs are reserved for Blacks. there is more corruption today than there was 20 years ago, and this is because Blacks have a sense of entitlement, they do not want to work hard but want to have everything given to them.	Because of the past, Whites left South Africa to find safer, better futures for themselves and their families. Many angry Blacks in South Africa, and the level of crime is high because of it. We don't easily get jobs. Jobs are reserved for Blacks. There is more corruption today than the past because Blacks have a sense of entitlement, they don't work hard but want to have everything given to them	Leaving Reserving	Black privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
16	White	BB	GMA	With employment equity its happening every day that Blacks have to be considered for jobs over Whites. I don't look at race but the best candidate always and the salaries are standard and assessed by HR	Due to EE, Blacks considered for jobs over Whites. I don't look at race, but the best candidate and the salaries are standard and assessed by HR.	Considering	Black privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
18	White	BB	GMA	we all get the same salaries at the same job level, afforded the same benefits. There is no excuse to say the one race is treated better. If anything, Blacks are more favoured. My son can't get a job in this country because he is White.	All get same salaries at same job level. All afforded same benefits. All treated same Blacks are more favoured. White son can't get job in South Africa	Affording Treating Favouring	Black privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
19	White	BB	GMA	the Blacks have more opportunities and have jobs reserved for them. This is unfair. Whilst they expect us to stick around and teach them the job, they are not willing to climb slowly through the ranks, they job hop to make more money quickly.	Blacks have more opportunities. Jobs reserved for Blacks. This is unfair. Blacks expect Whites to teach them the job. Blacks not willing to climb slowly through ranks. Blacks job hop to make more money, quickly	Reserving Expecting Learning	Black privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
20	White	BB	GMA	Blacks have more job opportunities and can get promoted with greater ease, with or without the experience or skills	Blacks have more opportunities. Blacks get promoted easier, with or without experience or skills		Black privilege	Racial prejudice/discrimination
17	White	BB	GMA	The first Black manager that I had happened to be a elderly female. Whilst my colleagues ridiculed her behind her back and doubted her abilities even before she held the first meeting with us, I kept my mind open and was determined to support her in the same way I have my previous superiors. We developed a great working relationship, and I appreciated her open management style which was interpreted by my White colleagues as weakness. I knew she experienced their attitude as challenging but she always professional.	First Black manager = Black female Whites ridiculed her and doubted her abilities even before she had the first meeting with us. I kept my mind open and was determined to support her as I have supported previous superiors. We developed a great working relationship, and I appreciated her open management style which White colleagues interpreted as weakness. I knew she experienced their attitude as challenging, but she was always professional	Ridiculing Supporting Developing Appreciating Interpreting Experiencing	Discrimination	Racial prejudice/discrimination
9	Black	BB	GMA	It's still a challenge to be managed by Whites because they still tend to discriminate in any way possible. Its less obvious today but it is still prevalent.	Still a challenge to be managed by Whites because they discriminate in any way possible. Discrimination is less obvious today, but it is prevalent	Discriminating Prevailing	Discrimination	Racial prejudice/discrimination

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
10	Black	BB	GMA	Being managed by Blacks is easier because we understand each other's plight and don't try to undermine each other. Whites still undermine us even when we are their junior at work.	Easier to be managed by Blacks because we understand each other's plight and don't try to undermine each other. Whites still undermine us even when we are their junior at work.	Managing Understanding Trying Undermining	Discrimination	Racial prejudice/discrimination
8	Black	BB	GMA	Blacks still experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. I can tell you it is not as prevalent or blatant as it was in the past, but it is still there	Blacks experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. Racism is not as prevalent/blatant as it was in the past, but it is still there	Experiencing Racialising	Discrimination	Racial prejudice/discrimination
4	Black	BB	BOM	Blacks still remain inferior. I have witness and experience young White people displaying great disrespect to Blacks, much older Blacks. And I think to myself, how many more years will it take before we can treat people like people, irrespective of their race.	Blacks remain inferior. Witnessed experienced young White people displaying great disrespect to Blacks, much older Blacks think to myself, how many more years will it take before we can treat people like people, irrespective of their race.	Witnessing Treating	Discrimination	Racial prejudice/discrimination
1	Black	BB	BOM	…because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us	They are mostly in power, they support each other, ensure they benefit over us	Supporting Benefiting	Racial prejudice	Racial othering
1	Black	BB	BOM	The older ones are degrading, and they treat us as if we cannot think. They think we are incompetent simply because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks. We just need an opportunities to hold senior roles at work to show our ability.	Older Whites are degrading, and they treat us as if we can't think. They think we are incompetent because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks. We just need an opportunities to hold senior jobs to show our ability	Degrading Treating Supporting	Racial prejudice	Racial othering
18	White	BB	GMA	I am tired of hearing how they have been the victims. They need to take responsibility for their lives now and show us that they are capable. Instead, they still plead they are victims.	Tired of hearing how they have been victims. They need to take responsibility for their lives now and show us they are capable. Instead, they pleading they are victims	Pleading	Othering	Racial othering
18	White	BB	GMA	Blacks must be treated the same as everyone, if they get the job, they must know how to do it, there is no reason to coach them and hold their hands as no one did this for Whites.	Blacks must be treated same as everyone. If they get the job, they must know how to do the job. No reason to coach Blacks and hold their hands as no one did this for Whites	Treating Coaching	Othering	Racial othering
15	White	BB	BOM	I think Blacks had a tougher life than us, but some were still successful - it depended on whether they wanted to be successful. For example, my gardener knew how to drive. I	Blacks had a tougher time than Whites, but some Blacks were still successful. It depended on whether they wanted to be successful. For example, my gardener knew	Knowing Teaching Willing	Othering	Racial othering

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
				taught him how to drive my car even though he was Black. It is because he was willing to learn.	how to drive. I taught him to drive my car though he was Black. It was because he was willing to learn.			
1	Black	BB	BOM	…because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us	They are mostly in power, they support each other, ensure they benefit over us	Supporting Benefiting	Othering	Racial othering
5	Black	BB	BOM	The past is a painful reminder of what happens when one race deems itself superior to the next. Whilst we have moved on in many ways from there, change is a process. I don't think we have reached an end-state where democracy as many of us dream it to be, is a true reality. It is a journey that is ongoing.	Past is a painful reminder of what happens when one race deems itself superior to the next. We have moved on in many ways. Change is a process. Don't think we reached an end-state where democracy, as many dream of it to be, is a reality. It is an ongoing journey.	Dreaming	Attributes	Transformation process
6	Black	BB	GMA	The past has made interaction across the races possible but more awkward. When we talk about the past, Whites take exception. They want to deny the suffering and pain. But it is our truth and can't be removed. As a result, we tend to skirt the issues in the workplace.	Past has made racial interaction possible but more awkward. When we talk about the past, Whites take exception. They want to deny the suffering and pain. But it is our truth and can't be removed. As a result, we tend to skirt the issues in the workplace.	Talking Denying Suffering Skirting	Attributes	Transformation process
8	Black	BB	GMA	Events like apartheid has led to a fracture society and workplace. The damage done then is still reverberating through SA today. There has been change, but more change is needed.	Events like apartheid led to a fractured society and workplace. The damage is reverberating through the country today. There has been change, but more change is needed. More change is needed	Fracturing Damaging Reverberating	Attributes	Transformation process
10	Black	BB	GMA	The past has necessitated employment equity and transformation targets today to balance out the workplace	The past has necessitated employment equity and transformation target today to balance out the workplace	Necessitating Transforming Equalising	Attributes	Transformation process
8	Black	BB	GMA	we have a lot of work to do in this regard. At any work social, we find people gravitate toward their own race. Mixing is uncommon. It is because we do not fully embrace each other. We can embrace different generations, but not different races.	We have a lot of work to do. at any work social, people gravitate toward their own race. Mixing is uncommon, don't fully embrace each other. Can embrace different generations, but not races.	Gravitating Socialising Embracing	Attributes	Transformation process
16	White	BB	GMA	Every race is treated the same in the workplace and have access to everything and	All treated same in the workplace. All benefits and privileges same for all Nothing is restricted to one race.	Treating Benefiting Restricting	Attributes	Transformation process

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
				nothing is not restricted to a particular race. All benefits or privileges are the same for all.				
15	White	BB	BOM	We have a severe skills shortage in this country because the Whites with experience and knowledge have been moved out to make room for young, inexperienced Blacks who are not always willing to take lessons from us older folk. The result is that the workplace is less effective today than it was during apartheid when the best person for the job, did the job.	Severe skills shortage in South Africa as Whites with experience and knowledge were moved to make room for young Blacks who are unwilling to take lessons from older Whites. As a result, the workplace is less effective today than it was during apartheid when the best person for the job did the job.	Unwilling	Attributes	Transformation process
18	White	BB	GMA	Because of the past many Whites have left South Africa in search of a safer and better future for themselves and their families. There are many angry Blacks in South Africa, and the level of crime is very high as a result of this. We also do not get jobs easily as jobs are reserved for Blacks. there is more corruption today than there was 20 years ago, and this is because Blacks have a sense of entitlement, they do not want to work hard but want to have everything given to them.	Because of the past, Whites left South Africa to find safer, better futures for themselves and their families. Many angry Blacks in South Africa, and the level of crime is high because of it. We don't easily get jobs. Jobs are reserved for Blacks. There is more corruption today than the past because Blacks have a sense of entitlement, they don't work hard but want to have everything given to them	Leaving Reserving	Attributes	Transformation process
4	Black	BB	BOM	I like to say we are still in the act of transforming. But transformation has not fully and truly happened as yet. I don't think I will get to see true transformation in my whole lifetime. The process has been hijacked many times by nay-sayers, by right-wing believers and this has made the process that much longer	Still in the act of transforming. Transformation has not fully happened. Don't think I will get to see true transformation in my whole lifetime. The process has been hijacked many times by naysayers, right-wing believes making the process much longer	Transforming Hijacking	Negative attributes	Transformation process
1	Black	BB	BOM	The older ones are degrading, and they treat us as if we cannot think. They think we are incompetent simply because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks. We just need an opportunities to hold senior roles at work to show our ability.	Older Whites are degrading, and they treat us as if we can't think. They think we are incompetent because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks. We just need an opportunities to hold senior jobs to show our ability	Degrading Treating Thinking Supporting	Negative attributes	Transformation process
7	Black	BB	GMA	Whites still support each other in exclusion to Blacks. Even in my Home Owners	Whites support each other in exclusion to Blacks. In HOA, I have seen Whites try to	Supporting Bullying	Negative attributes	Transformation process

#	B/W	Gen	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
				Association, I have seen how Whites try to bully and undermine us Blacks, yet we pay the same rates and levies. Whilst we older Blacks are reluctant to talk up, it makes me happy to see young Black professionals speak on our behalf. White privilege and supremacy is a much of life today than is was in the past. Sure, it is less obvious today, but it is in deep rooted in society and remains a demon in our midst	bully and undermine us Blacks, yet we all pay same rates/levies. Older Blacks are reluctant to speak up but makes me happy to see young Blacks speak on our behalf. White privilege and White supremacy are as much of life today as it was in the past. Less obvious today, but deep-rooted in society and a demon in our midst	Undermining Paying Speaking		

Appendix TWELVE

The following table contains an excerpt of the coding process for RQ3, showing the progression from data to themes. The same approach was followed for all RQs. The different colours indicate grouping into themes.

RQ 3: How is location (space and place) in the workplace in South Africa experienced by Blacks and Whites from each of the social Generations?

Table 25: Themes pertaining to BB

B/W	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
White	BOM	There is more hostility in the workplace and the country in general because of apartheid. The result is that the workplace is divided along race lines. Jobs are reserved for Blacks.	Due to apartheid, there is more hostility in the workplace and in the country. Workplace is divided along race lines. Jobs reserved for Blacks.	Dividing Reserving		
White	BOM	We have a severe skills shortage in this country because the Whites with experience and knowledge have been moved out to make room for young, inexperienced Blacks…The result is that the workplace is less effective today than it was during apartheid when the best person for the job, did the job.	We have severe skills shortage in country because Whites with experience and knowledge moved out to make room for young, inexperienced Blacks. The workplace is less effective today than it was during apartheid when the best person for the job, did the job.	Moving Making		
White	GMA	Because of the past many Whites have left SA in search of a safer and better future for themselves and their families. There is more corruption today than there was 20 years ago, and this is because Blacks have a sense of entitlement,	Because of past, many Whites left SA in search of safer, better futures for themselves and their families. Corruption = Blacks have a sense of entitlement.	Leaving Searching		
White	BOM	I think the older generation is more familiar with the workplace and how things are done.	Think the older generation is familiar with the workplace and how things are done.	Thinking		
White	GMA	I think the older generation is intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with - using paper freely, manual processes etc. at the same time, the younger generation try to create a space that they are more familiar with - flexi-working, working from home, paperless. But in general, the workplace still largely remains more comfortable for the older generation.	Older generation intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with, example, using paper, manual processes. Younger generation try to create a space for themselves, example, flexi-working, working from home, paperless. In general, the workplace is more comfortable for the older generation.	Maintaining Creating	Place	Placial experience
Black	BOM	Generally, the workplace is unbalanced - because sometimes respect for others is not there.	Workplace is unbalanced. Sometimes, there is no respect for others.			

B/W	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
Black	BOM	Whilst democracy has happened in principal and in policy, the practice is still lopsided in favour of Whites. Top management still remains White-dominated. This shows that the workplace is still geared toward Whites	Democracy happened in principal and in policy, the practice is in favour of Whites. Top management still White-dominated. Shows that workplace still favourable for Whites.	Showing		
Black	BOM	Blacks still need to get the same level of respect that Whites have. Whites still hold top jobs and still manage the overall company therefore setting policies and rules that suit themselves better.	Blacks still need to get same level of respect that Whites get. White still hold top jobs and manage overall company. Whites set policies that suit themselves.	Needing Holding Setting Suiting		
Black	GMA	Whites still earn more than their Black counterparts.	White earns more than Blacks.	Earning		
Black	GMA	We remain junior to our White counterparts.	Blacks are junior to Whites.			
Black	GMA	Blacks still experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. I can tell you it is not as prevalent or blatant as it was in the past, but it is still there	Blacks experience racism in different shapes and forms in the workplace. Racism is not as blatant or prevalent as it was in the past.	Racialising Experiencing		
Black	GMA	I think Whites are still more comfortable as the top managers are still largely Whites and tend to still look out for their own	Whites are more comfortable as top managers are Whites. Whites look out for Whites.	Looking out		
Black	GMA	I don't think it is the same for Whites and Blacks. It must be better for Whites as they still earn more than us.	Not the same for Blacks and Whites. Better for Whites. Whites earn more than Blacks.	Earning		
White	BOM	I think Whites are increasingly insecure of their jobs and career progression. With jobs being reserved for Blacks, many Whites have little option but to leave SA to go and find work.	White insecure of jobs and career progression. Jobs reserved for Blacks, so Whites have no option but to leave SA to find work.	Reserving Leaving		
White	GMA	Likewise, I think that the workplace still remains more familiar to the Whites. Many of my Black colleagues at first in their families to be in management or executive positions. This tells me that they must experience the workplace as new.	Workplace more familiar to Whites. Blacks colleagues are first in their families in management/executive positions. Blacks must experience workplace as new.	Experiencing		
White	GMA	We all get the same salaries at the same job level, afforded the same benefits. There is no excuse to say the one race is treated better. If anything, Blacks are more favoured. My son can't get a job in this country because he is White.	All workers get same salaries at the same job level. All workers get same benefits. No excuse to say one race is treated better. If anything, Blacks are favoured. Son can't get a job in SA because he is White.	Treating Favouring		

B/W	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
White	GMA	The Blacks have more opportunities and have jobs reserved for them. This is unfair.	Blacks have more opportunities and jobs reserved for Blacks. This is unfair.	Reserving		
White	GMA	Blacks have more job opportunities and can get promoted with greater ease, with or without the experience or skills	Blacks have more opportunities and get promoted easier than Whites do, with or without experience/skills.			
Black	GMA	Young people embrace innovation. They have a need to change things and do things differently and because the workplace is still managed by a relatively old and generally White top management structure, this innovation is not always welcomed.	Young embrace innovation and have a need to change how things are done. Workplace is managed by old, Whites. Top management = White, old. Innovation is unwelcomed.	Changing		
Black	BOM	The older ones are degrading, and they treat us as if we cannot think. They think we are incompetent simply because of our skin colour. Blacks are more supportive of Blacks because we have travelled the same hard journey together. We just need an opportunity to hold senior roles at work to show our ability.	Older ones are degrading. Treat Blacks like they cannot think. Older Whites think Blacks are incompetent due to skin colour. Blacks supportive of Blacks because we travelled same hard journey together. Blacks need an opportunity to hold senior roles at work to show our ability.	Degrading Thinking Needing Showing		
Black	BOM	Whites still benefit hugely at work because they are mostly in power, and they support each other and ensure that they benefit over us. As decision-makers, they still remain privileged over us Blacks.	Whites still benefit at workplace because Whites are in power. Whites support Whites. Whites are decision-makers and are privileged over Blacks.	Benefiting Supporting		
Black	BOM	Whites remain in senior roles. Blacks still make the tea, clean the offices. True transformation will happen when these jobs are held by the opposite races.	Whites remain in senior roles. Blacks still make tea, clean the office. True transformation will happen when these jobs are held by the opposite races.	Remaining Happening		
Black	GMA	Whites look after each other but when Blacks hold management positions, they want them to support them when they themselves do not support the Black manager	Whites look after each other but when Blacks hold management positions, Whites want Blacks to support Whites. But Whites do not support Black managers.	Supporting		
Black	GMA	Whites still support each other in exclusion to Blacks. Even in my Home Owners Association, I have seen how Whites try to bully and undermine us Blacks, yet we pay the same rates and levies. Whilst we older Blacks are reluctant to talk up, it	Whites still support each other in exclusion to Blacks. In my HOA, Whites bully and undermine Blacks, yet Blacks pay the same rates and levies as Whites do.	Supporting Bullying Undermining Paying Speaking		

B/W	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
		makes me happy to see young Black professionals speak on our behalf. White privilege and supremacy is a much of life today than it was in the past. Sure, it is less obvious today, but it is in deep rooted in society and remains a demon in our midst	Older Blacks are reluctant to talk up, unlike younger Blacks. Makes me happy to see young Blacks professionals speak on behalf of older Blacks. White privilege and supremacy are a part of life today as it was in the past, albeit it is less obvious today, but it is deep-rooted and remains a demon in our midst.			
Black	GMA	A White manager recently told me that he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. One can imagine the level of prejudice that Blacks in his team are subjected to. Racist attitudes cannot be stopped by a Constitution, no matter how great that Constitution is. White capital monopoly is a reality in SA. The bulk of our wealth remain in White hands and these same Whites will complain that there are no jobs for Whites in SA.	White manager told me that he embraces change because clever Blacks can add value in many ways. Imagine the level of prejudice that Blacks in his team are subjected to. Racist attitudes cannot be stopped by a constitution, no matter how great it may be. Bulk of wealth held by Whites. Yet Whites complain there are no jobs for White in SA. White capital monopoly is a reality.	Embracing Adding Subjecting Stopping Complaining		
Black	GMA	I think young people sometimes experience the workplace as intimidating. They grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace. It is because us older generation liked all these rules that we find in the workplace. To the younger generation it can be viewed as a hinderance.	Young people experience workplace as intimidating as they grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace. Older generation likes rules. To young people, rules = hinderance.	Experiencing Enforcing		
Black	GMA	It's still a challenge to be managed by Whites because they still tend to discriminate in any way possible. Its less obvious today but it is still prevalent.	Challenge to be managed by Whites as Whites still discriminate. It is less obvious today, but it is still prevalent.	Challenging Managing		
Black	GMA	Being managed by Blacks is easier because we understand each other's plight and don't try to undermine each other. Whites still undermine us even when we are their junior at work.	Easier to be managed by Blacks because Blacks understand each other's plight and do not undermine each other. Whites undermine junior Blacks.	Managing Understanding Undermining		
White	BOM	Now we treated equally and fairly as set out by company policy. But there is leniency towards Blacks now as I should have been a senior manager by now but didn't get promoted because I am White.	Now treated equally and fairly as per company policy. But leniency towards Blacks as I should have been a senior manager by now but didn't get promoted because I am White.	Equalising Treating Promoting		

B/W	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
Black	BOM	With employment equity its happening every day that Blacks have to be considered for jobs over Whites. I don't look at race but the best candidate always and the salaries are standard and assessed by HR	With EE, Blacks are considered for jobs over Whites. Salaries are standard and assessed by HR.	Equalising		
White	GMA	I had two Black managers this far and, in my experience, both were highly incompetent, lazy, and not deserving of their position. I prefer to be managed by a White person not because of his or her race but because I know that they are in that position to get the job done, not to tick off a score card for employment equity.	Had 2 Black managers and both were incompetent, lazy, not deserving of positions. Prefer to be managed by a White person, not because of race but because I know the person can do the job, and not just to tick off a score care for EE.	Preferring Ticking off		
White	GMA	I have no objection to being managed by a Black provided her or she is competent and knows how to do the job.	Have no objection to having a Black manager, provided she is competent.			
White	GMA	I have no problem having a Black manager. If he or she is capable and competent of the job, why must I object.	Have no problem having a Black manager, provided he/she is competent.			
Black	GMA	I can compare the past with the present and can say for sure that we live in a better world today. The workplace is more colourful than ever before.	Compare past with present and say with certainty that we live in a better world today. workplace is more colourful than ever before	Comparing Living	Space	Rules, policies, and regulatory framework
White	BOM	I treat everyone equally and am guided by company policy, there is no bias towards any race.	Treat everyone equally, guided by company policy. No bias towards any race	Equalising Treating		
White	BOM	The same policies and HR criteria apply to everyone today.	The same policies and HR criteria apply to everyone today.	Applying		
White	GMA	Now there is fairness in the workplace and the company rules and policies apply to all.	Now there is fairness in the workplace. Company rules and policies apply to all.	Applying		
White	GMA	Today Blacks are allowed into the workplace and to move freely in society in general. This means that there is more diversity at work	Today Blacks allowed into the workplace. Blacks move freely in society. There is more diversity at work.	Allowing		
White	GMA	We have a workplace that is equal for all races and both generations.	Workplace = equal for all races and generations	Equalising		
White	BOM	Everyone is given fair and equal opportunities.	Everyone is given fair and equal opportunities.	Equalising		
White	BOM	We provide training for all staff, and we have the same benefits.	Provide training for all staff. We have the same benefits.	Providing		

B/W	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
White	GMA	Though the older generations have more working experience, all generations have access to the same benefits and same things at work.	Older generation has more work experience than younger generation. All generations have same benefits at work.			
White	GMA	The same policies apply to everyone, so the experience is governed by that.	Same policies apply to everyone. So, experience is governed by same policies applying to all.	Applying		
White	GMA	We all are subject to the same company rules and regulations	All workers subjected to the same company rules and regulations.	Subjecting		
White	BOM	We are exposed to the workplace with same rules.	All exposed to same rules in the workplace.	Exposing		
White	GMA	Every race is treated the same in the workplace and have access to everything and nothing is not restricted to a particular race. All benefits or privileges are the same for all.	All workers treated the same in the workplace. All workers have access to everything, and nothing restricted to a particular race. All benefits and privileges are same for all workers.	Treating Restricting		
White	GMA	We all get the same salaries at the same job level, afforded the same benefits. There is no excuse to say the one race is treated better. If anything, Blacks are more favoured. My son can't get a job in this country because he is White.	All workers get same salaries at the same job level. All workers get same benefits. No excuse to say one race is treated better. If anything, Blacks are favoured. Son can't get a job in SA because he is White.	Treating Favouring		
Black	GMA	I think young people sometimes experience the workplace as intimidating. They grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace. It is because us older generation liked all these rules that we find in the workplace. To the younger generation it can be viewed as a hinderance.	Young people experience workplace as intimidating as they grew up with less rules and regulations that are enforced in the workplace. Older generation likes rules. To young people, rules = hinderance.	Experiencing Enforcing		
White	GMA	I try to be fair and consistent so that no fingers can be pointed to me. Everyone is treated the same way in the workplace. Fairness and consistency is what I practice, it's not colour of the skin.	Try to be fair and consistent so that no fingers can be pointed to me. Everyone treated the same in the workplace. Fairness and consistency are what I practice and it's not about the colour of one's skin.	Trying Pointing Treating Practicing	Space	Spatial experience
White	BOM	We experience the same things in the company. If the company is struggling, we are all faced with the same experience of cost cutting, for example.	We experience the same things in the company. If the company struggles, all workers experience cost cutting.	Experiencing Struggling		
White	BOM	Our workplace is designed to suite everyone and not just a particular race.	Workplace designed to suit everyone, and not a particular race.	Designing Suiting		
White	BOM	The experience is all the same, but Whites are now forced to transfer knowledge to Blacks as they are more experienced and are the ones still	Experience = same for all. Whites forced to transfer knowledge to Blacks.	Experiencing Forcing Transferring		

B/W	Case	Participant Quotes	Codes	Gerund	Categories	Themes
		in positions of power and authority. This is to correct policy of the past which used Blacks as labourers only	Whites more experienced and in positions of power and authority. Knowledge transfer = correct policy of past which used Blacks as labourers.	Correcting		
White	GMA	I think the older generation is intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with - using paper freely, manual processes etc. at the same time, the younger generation try to create a space that they are more familiar with - flexi-working, working from home, paperless. But in general, the workplace still largely remains more comfortable for the older generation.	Older generation intent on maintaining a workplace that they are familiar with, example, using paper, manual processes. Younger generation try to create a space for themselves, example, flexi-working, working from home, paperless. In general, the workplace is more comfortable for the older generation.	Maintaining Creating		