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The University of the Witwatersrand

School of Humanities

Faculty of Social Science

Department of Sociology

The Reflexive Project of Self: Constructions of White Male Identities in a Changing Work Environment.

A Dissertation by

Traceyleigh Pienaar (0003240E)

Submitted in Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts, Sociology

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Suporvisor: Dr. Lisa Beljuli-Brown

Declaration:

I declare that this thesis hereby submitted for Master of Arts degree at the University of the Witwatersrand is my own work and effort and has not been previously submitted by me at another University for any degree. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged

Signature: ……. Date: …….

Traceyleigh Pienaar

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Lisa Beljuli-Brown, for agreeing to supervise my work at such a late stage. Her professionalism and discipline helped me get back on track and finally put a full stop to this research. I would also like to thank everyone I worked with at the Organization, as well as the study participants for their time, trust and stories. In particular I would like to thank Rona Manten and Jaco Van Eeden for all the love and effort they invested in this project.

I have learned that, more than intellect, successfully completing a post-graduate degree takes endurance. You need to fix your sites on the finish line, and run- and when you can't run anymore- you crawl- and when you can't crawl anymore – you find someone to carry you there. This work is dedicated to the friends and family who carried me there. Thank-you for the support, for dragging me out of bed in the mornings and cracking the whip, for the endless supply of tea and encouragement, for reading, editing, and letting me take it all out on you. You made this possible. I love you all.

As social scientists operating in the 'new' South Africa is our duty to ask the uncomfortable questions that will expose the influences of the past that persist into the present, and will scar the future if left ignored. Because South Africa is in a state of transition, we have the privilege of being able to shape social structures for future generations, as we create new discourses of understanding. This is a gift- we should be proud and treat it as such.

Abstract:

This purpose of this study is to investigate if the structural shifts and systemic contradictions [Archer: 2000], which result from large scale organizational change can cause employees to engage in reflexive self-identity reconfigurations[Giddens; 1998]. The ever increasingly complex nature of society dictates that 'change' is becoming a constant feature of social and organizational life. Hence, an organization's sustainability is becoming increasingly dependent upon its adaptability. Yet, the majority of organizational change initiatives fail. I assert that mainstream change management approaches are not able to produce successful methodologies for organizational change. This is because any consideration of the effects of change on employees is limited to an examination of their immediate psycho-social states and behaviours. Because this is not considered, most change approaches are left ill prepared to deal with the many unintended consequences [Archer, 2000] that result from these structural changes.

In light of this, the research undertaken investigates and demonstrates that white men employed at a large Government Research and Technology Agency are engaging in reflexive self identity reconfigurations as a consequence of organization wide change. The research then examines the extent and outcomes these reflexive deliberations.

This study spans 6 years, from 2002 to 2008, and applies mixed methods to track the implementation of a formal organization wide change initiative from both a macro and meso level perspective. The various data gathered were used to demonstrate the causal inferences between structural change and self-identity reformulations. Methods and explanations drawn from Giddens theories of Structuration

[Giddens; 1984] and self-identity construction [Giddens; 1991], Archer's Morphogenetic theory [1995], and Connell's [1987, 1995, 2000] conceptualization of Hegemony (in race and masculinity) are employed within a critical realist paradigm [Collier; 1994] in this grounded theoretical framework.

I illustrated the causal links at meso level by showing quantitative trend shifts in perceptions and attitudes of different groups of employees' experiencing the organization wide change initiative over time. I concluded that there is an evident causal link between reflexivity and changing organizational structures.

I then developed these findings into a typology of white racial and masculine identity formations, which is used to demonstrate why employees engaged in reflexive self-identity reconfigurations from a micro level perspective, and what the outcomes of their reflexive deliberations were. This study demonstrates that the systemic contradictions introduced as a consequence of the change initiative cause white male employees to experience varying degrees of psychological discomfort (dissonance). Consequently, they feel compelled to alleviate their discomfort by reducing the contradictions by employing a variety of mechanisms. These include varying degrees of reflexivity and self-identity reconfigurations.

The implications of these findings for change management discourses are significant. Organizational change methodologies need to locate themselves within the broader social context in order to better understand change at the level of the organization, but also accommodate the impacts of structural change on employee's self-identity constructions, and thus locate the micro within the macro in order to create more successful sustainable and continuous change in organizations.

Black* is used throughout the study to refer to all Previously disadvantaged individuals. This includes all populations discriminated against in the apartheid system of rule, referred to in the legislation as 'Black'- and – prior to the 2009 amendments, meaning all females, regardless of race, and black, coloured, Indian and Asian males, as well as disabled individuals



Sommiges verloor hul onskuld
In die mik van 'n sulpse vrou
Ek het dit verloor in 'n Casspir
En destyds nog sonder berou

My beste vriend het post mortem
Die Honoris Crux gewen
En sy vrou en kind is daarna
Met 'n gevoude vlag verwen

En nou leef ek ironies
Te oud om onskilding te wees
Maar, helaas, te jonk om ten volle
Aan alles aandadig te wees
'n pill in die oggend en aand
Terapie so twee keer 'n maand
Verlig, verkramp en verknog
Verwoed, verward, verwaand

Julle veg vir vrede en voorspoed
Het die korporaal te geleentheid gese
Jou geweer is nou jou minnares
Net by haar sal jy voortaan mag le

En toe word die vland ontmasker
En ons gee aan hom wat hy wil he
En weer staan ek kloot in die spervuurmet
toggerol om te se

En nou leef ek ironies
Te oud om onskilding te wees
Maar, helaas, te jonk om ten volle
Aan alles aandadig te wees
'n pill in die oggend en aand
Terapie so twee keer 'n maand
Verlig, verkramp en verknog
Verwoed, verward, verwaand

Ek was destydes net 'n bliksoldaat
'n kind in 'n vreemde vizier
Maar vandag bly ek steeds 'n skaakpion
Wat die skiewe geduldig verduur

Some lose their innocence
Between the thighs of a promiscuous woman
I lost it in a Casspir [army patrol tank]
And back then- without regret

My best friend in post mortem
Won the Honoris Crux [medal of honour]
And his wife and child there after
Rewarded with a folded flag

And now I live in irony
Too old to be innocent
But alas, too young to be completely
Culpable of everything
A pill in the morning and night
Therapy about twice a month
Relieved, unenlightened and 'Verknog'
Verwoerd*, perplexed, arrogant

You fight for peace and prosperity
Said the corporal on occasion
Your gun is now your wife
Only with her are you allowed to lie

And then the enemy was unmasked
And we gave him what he wanted
And again I stand naked in the disabling-fire
With nothing to say

And now I live in irony
Too old to be innocent
But woe, too young to be fully
Culpable of everything
A pill in the morning and night
Therapy about twice a month
Relieved, unenlightened and 'Verknog'
'Verwoerd', perplexed, arrogant

Back then, I was just a tin-soldier
A child in strange sites (the site on a gun)
But today I am still a chess-pawn
That patiently endures the cuts

The president (H F Verwoed) hailed as the architect of apartheid- but in this instance- used to imply vervoed- furious
Music and lyrics by Coenie de Villiers ©1983- and many thanks to respondent 41 who gave it to me
Translation by Gideon Jacobs

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Introduction

In this late modern era, contemporary human social existence is subject to continuous scrutiny, contestation and redefinition, as the categories through which we understand reality are continuously being challenged and rearticulated. Consequently, the distinctly late-modern concept of a fluid, socially constructed **Self-identity** [Giddens; 1991] grants us access to so many options for its construction simply because truth is now relative, meaning is no longer intrinsic, and tradition is optional.

Necessarily, a social world infused with such contestation, deconstruction and reconstruction, means that it is a world of continual, dynamic change. Nowhere is this change more apparent than in the patterned collective organization of productive human activity, the world of **work** [Webster; 2003]. In order for any organization to succeed, it must constantly respond to the changing social context in which it operates- and thus change has become an inevitable feature of organizational life [Beer & Nohria; 2000]. Collectively however, an organization is its people, so if the people do not change the organization cannot change. Thus, for a macro-organizational change to be successful, it must precipitate micro-social changes at the level of the individual employee. Therefore, whilst it is important to examine the structure and dynamics of organizations undergoing change initiatives, it is people, not entities called organizations, who make rules, develop value systems, set goals, take decisions, and engineer change. This is why the relationship between structural change and individual reflexivity should be a primary consideration in organizational change interventions.

The central problem identified in this research is that the overwhelming majority of change initiatives fail to achieve their desired outcomes because they do not get the necessary support and compliance, rather than because the content of the change is incorrect or misdirected in some way [Cameron & Green; 2004]. It is not the intention of this research is to provide a comprehensive synopsis and/or critique of the wide variety of organizational change theory and practice currently available, or to lend support to one particular approach over another, as all approaches, regardless of the methodology for organizational change that they promote, do not sufficiently explore identity as a foundation of change and the extent to which organizational shifts effect fundamental psycho-social components of an employee as a social actor [see Jessop, 2001].

Accordingly, the research is driven by an argument that claims that ***there is a distinct link between formal large scale organizational change processes and employees, as social agents, engaging in reflexive self identity reconfigurations*****.**

The problem identified above is relevant as it has serious repercussions within the socio-economic context. Employees' inflexibility to change impacts negatively on organizational productivity and progress. Organizations which are not able to adapt are unable to remain productive will eventually die. It is critical then to the long-term sustainability of an organization to better understand the impact that organizational change necessarily has on employees, and accordingly; to better facilitate adaption to continual change. Thus, the purpose of this study is to move beyond the present preoccupation of popular organizational change doscourse that centralises issues relating to 'psychological ownership' [Carnall, 2002] and investigate the possibility of a causal relationship

between planned organizational change and the fundamental psycho-social processes of self-identity formation. Therefore, this research takes an in depth look at how a formalized large scale change process carried out in a well established, complex organization impacts upon the reflexive identity reformulations of white male employees. It does this by demonstrating how and why they engage in reflexive self-identity reconfigurations because the categories through which they formally organized their concept of self have been called into question. As the scope of the study is limited, two specific components of self-identity (Masculinity & Whiteness) were isolated. Rather than trying to construct a profile of the various versions of masculinity and white racial identity that are in operation within the sample group, this research employs 'hegemonic' masculinity and 'hegemonic' whiteness and attempts to understand how individuals position themselves in relation to it [Connell, 2002; Steyn, 2000]. This will be the central focus, thus excluding all other topics related to racial and gender identity. The research does not assume that there exists a single category of white male identity that reflects one homogeneous group, and further acknowledges the plurality of gender and ethnic/cultural identities within this demographic.

A large, government research agency, established in 1945, was chosen for the research. Its developmental history is closely aligned with the historical development of South Africa. Although the selected organization has experienced a number of formal change initiatives over the years, this research focuses specifically on the change initiative that began in earnest in 2002 and concluded in 2008 and aimed to achieve quite specific structural and functional changes.

Overview of the Study

The principal objective of this thesis is to examine *if* a selected group of individuals is engaging in reflective processes due (in part) to their location in a changing social context and further, once this shown, the research explores why and to what extent white males are reconstructing, reconstructing, and re-evaluating, their self identities.

As the first chapter discusses, self-identity construction is a specific manifestation of the Structure/Agency relationship. Thus, an investigation of the process and outcomes of identity formation boils down to an investigation of how social agents apply their agency in and to social structures and in so doing reflexively inform the development of their individual selfhood. A review of the literature relating to these topics shows that mainstream organizational change theory cannot provide a feasible theoretical framework to examine causal relations between self-identity constructions and changing organizational structures. Further the available literature that concerns theories of self-identity construction, whilst providing a solid theoretical foundation are not able to produce a workable methodology for this research. Giddens theory of self-identity formation tends to provide only the ontological 'why' but not the epistemological 'how' in any clear, structured way [Giddens; 1989]. This is because he conceptualizes the relationship between structure and agency in such a way that they are collapsed into one another and thus any causal links cannot be identified. By applying analytical dualism, Archer's theory of Morphogenetics [Archer, 1995] is able to provide a solution to this.

Archer's theories [1982, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 2000, 2003, 2008] are a welcome elaboration of Giddens theories, however, both are found wanting with reference to the success with which they bridge the divide between macro-level and micro-level explanations of societal forces. Connell [1995] suggests that macro-focused theories can be situated in micro level contexts in their analysis by making use of individual level in-depth data to demonstrate the real implications of societal level theories on the lives and practices of individual agents. This is precisely what this research attempts to do- by initially examining the organizational change process in broad structural terms, locating it within a historical national context (discussed in Chapter three), and then interweaving the broad analysis of identity reconfigurations with individual biographical narratives, in order to demonstrate the tangible effects of macro-structural changes in real individual (micro-level) terms. Thus, Archer's morphogenetic approach is loosely applied to investigate the 'if' part of the research question, discussed in Chapter four, as a means of establishing inferences of causality but also to observe the extent of the predictive power of this approach at the micro level of inter-and intra-social engagement. The second part of the research question, the 'why' and its outcomes, is interrogated by focusing on the specific components of race and gender selected in this research and discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7. This is achieved by employing Giddens concept of the biographical narrative[1] to collect Individual accounts of self-identity development. Hence, the bulk of data collected for this study took this form. In total 85 respondents were interviewed, and over 200 hours of recorded data was captured.

[1] It must be stressed that the precise method undertaken by individuals in order to achieve their reflexive identity reconfigurations (whether as a narrative, internal conversation or a combination of both), is not a crucial aspect of this research. That is to say the research is not concerned with how individuals engage in reflexive identity formations, but rather, if, given certain structural changes they do at all and, if so- why and what are the outcomes of this process. Thus, the method taken to get to the outcomes is not considered beyond its application as a form of qualitative data collection.

Throughout the final chapters (five, six and seven), a typology is developed and applied to interrogate the variety of reflexive projects observed. This is achieved by drawing comparisons between the hegemonic racial and gender discourses that were constructed and perpetuated by Apartheid ideology, policy and practice with the present racial and gender identity reformulations being reported. Due to the limited scope of this research, there are many other aspects of identity that have not been explored, however, their importance and influence should not be disregarded. The typologies demonstrate some of the outcomes of reflexivity by illustrating the extent of their alignment with, disassociation from, or rejection of the hegemonic white and masculine identities.

Accordingly the objectives of this research are as follows:

Objective 1: To demonstrate that a significant organizational change occurred, aimed at altering the identity and culture of the organization by changing its structure, function and composition.

Objective 2: To show that the organizational changes are having a measurable impact on the psycho-social states of employees, and that they are interacting with the changing organizational structures

Objective 3: To evaluate the extent to which the selected group of employees are engaging in reflexive reconfigurations of their self identities because the structures that previously informed their identity formation have been altered.

The methods chosen in this study (discussed in Chapter two) aimed to test these objectives by uncovering evidence that would demonstrate, firstly, whether a macro-organizational change process is occurring, secondly, whether employees are interacting with the changing organizational structures, and finally, whether such engagement prompts employee's reflexive self-identity

reconfigurations. In order to achieve this, longitudinal mixed methods design was applied in a grounded theoretical framework which takes a critical realist approach to analysis. It incorporated the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data, as well as participant observation, so that both large scale effects and detailed impacts could be measured. The wealth of data produced using these techniques was analysed using explanatory statistics as well as discourse and thematic content analysis. The overall findings indicate that the majority of respondents are undergoing varying degrees of reflexive identity formation, precipitated directly by the structural changes occurring in the organization as well as broader societal level structural changes aligned with the socio-political transformation of South Africa

From the conclusions drawn, inferences can be made about the impact that employee's self identity reflexivity has on the success of organizational change processes. The research assists in addressing the problem of poor success rates of organizational change initiatives by demonstrating the direct and quantifiable impact of organizational change on the deep seated individual psycho-social processes of reflexive identity formation. In so doing, this research demonstrates that the current approaches to organizational change are insufficient as they do not fully consider this phenomenon and are ill prepared to mitigate the unintended consequences of change. It is hoped that the conclusions of this research will contribute towards the positioning of a new approach of holistic change facilitation within the National business context, and assist in developing new approaches to change management that into account take the deeper effects of organizational change on the individual and thereby reduce resistance to continual change.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

"We live in a world where identity matters. It matters both as a concept, theoretically, and as a contested fact of contemporary political and social life" [Gilroy, 1997: 301 in Woodward, 2000]

Fundamentally, the question of identity formation is a question of agency, and the extent to which the human social actor carves out their own unique self identity verses the extent to which their seemingly unique self identity is a product of structural conditioning [Emirbayer & Miscbe, 1998]. In acknowledging this it became necessary to investigate the contributions made by some of the more prominent theorists towards the structure/agency debate. In this chapter I briefly sample the vast literature concerning the structure/agency debate as it concerns social change and identity. Further, I examine recent theories of identity formation with specific focus on racial and gender identities. After which I discuss some popular theory and approaches towards organizational change and change management, elaborating on the areas of theory that contribute to the theoretical framework of this research. Once the theoretical constructs of the study have been concretized into a workable methodology, this study then endeavors to uncover the manner in which white men are constructing their identities in a changing South Africa.

On a most basic level, the reflexive project of self implies the exercise of agenic capacities. Thus, I maintain that understanding the structure-agency dynamics are fundamental to developing a clear understanding and analysis of the formation and reformulating of self-identities.

However, before this can proceed it is necessary to establish the definitions of structure and agency that are endorsed by this research.

Defining Agency

Both ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ as concepts are highly contested and differ extensively across theoretical paradigms. However, for the purposes of this research and to move on with the discussion, agency is broadly defined as the capacity for action to catalyze some form of change whether at the individual (self) or at the socio-cultural level (structures) [Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2000; Giddens, 1989; Emirbayer & Miscbe, 1998]. The terms associated with agency also need articulation for the purposes of this research. Thus- in brief, an "agent" has the capacity for "agency"- which, when enacted in social contexts represents "social action" (also referred to as agenic expressions/forces) which signifies relations occurring between "social actors" [Giddens, 2006]. It needs to be mentioned at this point that; even though a social agent needs to *take action* in order to exercise their agency- not all action is agenic, as some actions (a great deal) are habitual and not conducted reflexively [Mingers, 2003]. Thus it is possible to take social action that is **not** identity forming. That being said however, there can be no identity formation without the presence of agency [Carolan, 2005].

Defining Structure

Broadly the common thread running through all popular definitions of structure is that ‘structure’ includes sets of norms and rules that structure social action in various ways [Popenoe, Cunningham, Boult 1998]. Though there are a number of definitions, this research approaches the concept of structure as “a set of rules and norms which pattern individual actions and inform the formation and maintenance of social institutions” [O’Sullivan, 2000: 3]. Further this research supports the Critical Realist assertion that structures have an existence independent of individuals [Archer 1995]. Consequently, they are robust and resistant to change [Giddens 1984: xi]. Connell [1987] emphasises the constraining properties

of structures that act to inhibit agenic expressions. She[2] does so expressly to highlight the emancipatory power of formulating the problematic as such. However, this research considers both the enabling and constraining effects of structure on agenic expressions. Within the context of this study structure is both enabling and constraining upon agenic forces, influencing what an individual can and cannot choose to incorporate into their identity constructions [Emirbayer & Miscbe, 1995]. As will be discussed in greater detail further on, Giddens conceptualization of structure is problematic and renders his theories concerning the relations between structure and agency epistemologically paralyzed. Archer strongly opposes Giddens conceptualization, and is supported by Connell who believes that Giddens approach to structure "closes off the possibility that its form might change in history" [Connell, 1987:94]. She points out that Giddens uncritical, ahistorical account of structure fails to see the inherent vulnerability of structure to major changes in social practice (routinized social action) as it is constituted of practice.

Social change- structure and agency

As mentioned in the Introduction, the relationship between structure/agency has been at the centre of academic debate for much of the 20th century. Initially this debate focused on the either/or dichotomy. This structure and agency dualism refers to the ontological stance that places primacy on *either* the determinant forces of social structure *or* on the transformative capacity of human agency [Burr; 1995]. However, it has become widely accepted that the relationship between structure and agency is a duality rather than a dualism [Giddens, 2006]. What this 'duality' essentially means for identity formation is that; structure exists, and as social agents we are inherently socialized into it- and thus, our actions as agents are informed by institutions, norms and practices of the dominant social structure. However, the

[2] Though at the time of writing these theories R.W. Connell was male, she has since undergone gender reassignment, and so for the purposes of this research will be referred to in feminine form regardless of publication date

actions of agents (whether individually or collectively) do impact on social structure, shaping its various aspects [Joseph, 2008]. This view is referred to as methodological relativism as it places its primary emphasis on the continuous cycle of structure shaping agents (socialization) and agents altering structures. Despite this general agreement, there is still a great deal of room for academic debate, as there is little consensus as to precisely what the implications of this duality are upon epistemology [Archer, 1988].

This research endorses the premise of the duality of structure and agency as it is fundamental to an understanding of the process of reflexive self-identity formation. I shall endeavor to expand upon this. Firstly, Structure is both enabling and constraining on the agent [Bourdieu, 1977]. Agents act for many reasons, often in order to meet some need, whether practical, physiological, psychological or ideological. The motivation and capacity for action comes from within the agent, however, because all actions are social, action has to be "carried out through social structures" [Weber 1978: 4]. Structures very often entail varying degrees of power [Castells; 1999]. However it is often the structures we take for granted (such as language) that are most instrumental in structuring social activity [Chodorow, 1999]. Whilst agency implies the capacity to exercise power in order to affect some sort of change, the potential for power is held within structures rather than agents.

Social agents tend to repeat their actions. There has been a great deal of theorizing as to why this may be, (the detailed examination of which is entirely beyond the scope of this study), and nevertheless-actions are repetitive. And in repeating actions we create, maintain and modify social structures. Thus, structures are affected by agency [Weick, 1995]. Thus, potential power is only made real through the

application, maintenance, perpetuation and modification of structures by agents through their social actions. [Archer 1995].

Identity and reflexivity

This research contests the concept of self identity as defined by psychological definitions, which puts forward that self-identity refers to a collection of traits and characteristics possessed by the individual persisting over time. Rather, this research is aligned with modern literature acknowledges that the self is a fluid concept subject to change over time, but demonstrates an awareness between that which is ourselves in contrast to that which is separate from ourselves, and thus presumes reflexive awareness [Hall & Lindzey, 1978]. Consequently, self identity is a social construct, and is constructed through the recognition of systems of meaning and common characteristics (or differences) with another person or group [Giddens, 2006]. It is sustained through constant interaction with the social world and renegotiation of the categories that define that individual (such as race, gender, culture, ethnicity, class) [Hall, 1996]. Further, identities are constructed within a discourse. Therefore we need to understand them as produced in specific historical contexts and institutional sites reinforced by specific discursive formations and practices [Healy, 1998].

As the title of this research highlights, I am mainly concerned with reflexive identity formation as a specific manifestation of the agency and structure relationship. Giddens [1989] popularized the concept of **reflexivity**, which he then extended to explain the formation of self identity- through the reflexive project of self [1991]. Taken broadly; reflexivity means that a social actor consciously looks inwards because of outer changes, it does not show the direction of change, whether it is conforming to

structural change or acting to maintain an identity in spite of structural changes [Plumb, 2008]. The process of reflexivity is not a laminar, automatic process. It is turbulent, highly contested both internally and externally, and is often a painful process for the individual social actor to engage with [Carolan, 2005]. Archer takes the idea of reflexivity to another level, and extends it beyond what Giddens had conceptualized. Accordingly, achieved with her view of reality as stratified in that society is composed of a multiplicity of different hierarchies of power, which provide some actors with more opportunities for reflexivity than others [Archer, 2000].

The reflexive project of self

The various theories espoused by Giddens over the last four decades have undoubtedly had a formidable impact on the trajectory of social theory as well as permeating a plethora of disciplines allied to the social sciences (such as management science, business administration, political science and economics). His theory concerning the formation and development of self-identity relies heavily on his postulations concerning society's development into the late (high) modern era [Giddens, 1990]. The self in the era of late modernity has become radicalized, being subjected to the same processes of doubt, construction and deconstruction, and reformulation as late (high) modernity itself. Thus, the individual through their agenic interaction with social structures is encouraged to be reflexive, to monitor feelings and, through continuous self observation develop a coherent bio-graphical narrative (revisable narrative of self-identity) [Giddens; 1990]. One's life course becomes a reflexive project during which one must make choices and discover one's self and identity [Giddens, 1991].

Human beings are inherently social beings, we only know ourselves in reference to others. Thus, Biographical narratives are the stories individuals construct, through the ideological filtering of memory and experience and tell about their past, themselves and their lives in order to create a coherent picture of their social experience and self-concept [Giddens, 1990]. I share the belief argued by Giddens [1991] that individual narratives are becoming increasingly important for the social sciences in the late modern age. It is mainly through understanding the ways in which people create meaning for themselves, how they tell their bio-graphical narratives, that we can understand how people construct society. Further, I am in agreement with Giddens when he stipulates that it is not possible to uncover an individual's reflexive identity formations through observations of their behaviour alone, as motivation for behaviour is multidimensional and often indirect [Giddens, 1991]. Giddens believes that these reflexive processes often act on a discursive level rather than as a deliberate process. Thus, he asserts that "their knowledgeability as agents is largely carried in practical consciousness" which is the tacit knowledge that agents possess about how to conduct their activities in the social realm [Giddens; 1984: iv]. Hence, as agents we may be able to understand our reasons for acting/reacting in a certain manner but our motivations are hidden from us. Although much of his theorizing stays unfortunately just that-theorizing, his concept of Biographical narrative is important to this research.

Giddens theory concerning the formation of self-identities, unfortunately does not translate into practicable investigation and provides little concrete grounding for empirical research. This is because firstly, it is grounded upon the underlying assumptions and propositions put forward in Structuration theory [Giddens, 1984], which view structure, agency, and the relationship between them in a certain manner (which will be discussed shortly). Secondly, despite the wide acceptance that the

structure/agency dynamic operates as a duality, and that the reflexive formations of self identity are a specific example of this duality- (which indicates a clear relation between macro-societal level and micro individual level processes), for the most part Giddens theory does not deliberately endeavor to connect the macro[3] to the micro in any clear, methodologically applicable fashion. This is not limited to Giddens though and is found to be a central problem in the vast majority of macro-social change and micro-identity change theories [see Davis, 2006 for a comprehensive review of literature concerning Identity and Social Change]. Thus, it is evident that in order to provide a sound theoretical framework for this research, Giddens foundational theory of Structuration needs to be interrogated.

Structuration Theory

It is hardly surprising that, prior to the development of his above described theory of identity formation, Giddens developed a theory considering the relationship between structure and agency. This highly influential theory in brief, proposes the notion of the 'duality of structure' [Giddens, 1984, xxi] which refers to the "mutually constitutive" nature of structure and agency [Giddens, 1984; 19]. This theory serves to (theoretically) bridge the dualism that had existed in social theory. Because of the assertions put forward by the duality of structure, these previously thought of as independent phenomena become co-dependent and recursively related, as "the structural properties of the social system are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" [Giddens, 1984; 169]. Structuration is therefore, the process through which the duality of structure unfolds and is reproduced over time and space. Social agents through their actions continually produce and reproduce the social structures that simultaneously constrain and enable them. Giddens believes that structure is *instantiated* in human action and "exists

[3] Macro theories are those that focus on broader aspects of society, the concrete institutional, organizational and structural aspects of society as a whole were as micro theories by contrast emphasize individual action, meanings, symbols and awareness, and the subject of construction of reality [Sztompka, 1994].

only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability" [1984: 377]. However, granting structure and agency codependence renders it impossible to interrogate them separately. Because Giddens conceptualizes the nature of structure and agency as 'mutually constitutive' the relationship between the two becomes conflated (collapsed into one another) [Archer, 1988]. Thus, neither can be granted temporary quasi-independent status to allow for the identification of any causal associations. Thus, causality- or even the extent of their relationship with one another- cannot be established, as being able to do so would require that one existed prior to the other and not that they were instantiated in the same moment [Archer, 1988]. Because this investigation of reflexive (re)formulation of self-identity is essentially an exercise in investigating the causal relationships between structuring and agenic forces, and because the 'mutually constitutive' nature of this relationship is not revised by Giddens in his theories subsequent to Structuration, his theory of identity formation is equally as inapplicable as a methodological framework. Further, these theories grant priority to the individual and in so doing neglect the impact or necessity of the collective but also the centrality of social relations *between* agents. Finally, these theories fall short because they make the assumption about the 'knowledgeability' of agents to grasp the full extent of their social reality [Giddens, 1989]. Archer's view of social reality as stratified challenges this, and succeeds in nullifies Giddens need for social actors to be knowledgeable. She maintains that there is a social reality that exists separate from us and independently of human consciousness – which – by its complex nature - can never be known fully by social agents [Archer, 1988].

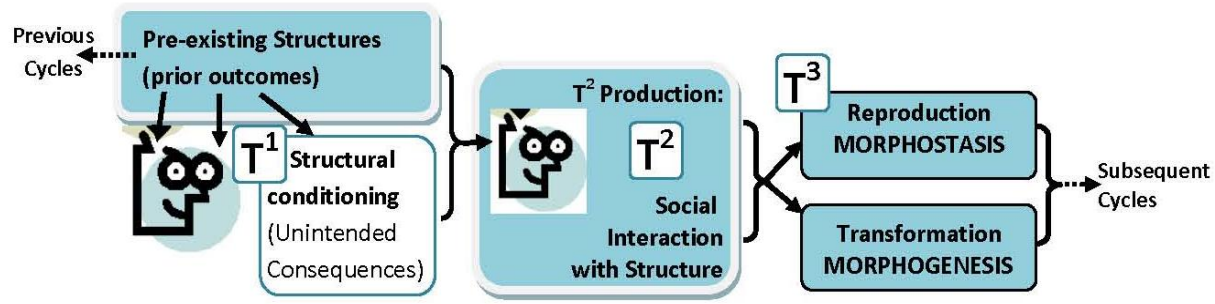
Morphogenetics

Critical Realist Margaret Archer, one of Giddens' most vehement critics, developed the theory of Morphogenetics as an alternative to Structuration theory [Archer, 1988]. However, I feel the validity of

her utter aversion to Structuration theory is somewhat dubious, as in many respects she herself is a Structurationist because her theory is in essence closely aligned with Structuration theory as it also revolves around the duality of the relationship between agency and structure. Unlike Giddens though, she does separate structure and agency to an extent, albeit mechanically, and for the purpose of assisting empirical investigations, which allows them to be considered separately. Her approach [Archer, 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003] achieves this by expanding on a methodology of 'Analytical Dualism' presented by critical realist Roy Bhaskar [1989a]. The intention of this approach is to hold structure and agency apart through temporal differentiation because they each possess different emergent properties and relatively independent causal powers (i.e. dualism), so that their dynamic relations with one another can be empirically studied (i.e. analytical) in order to "detect the phases of their interplay in the heterogeneous flow of social action" [Danermark; Ekstrom, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2001].

The morphogenetic approach asserts that the interaction between structure and agency occurs in perpetual series of temporally located morphogenetic cycles of systematic conditioning, socio-cultural interaction and systematic elaboration [Archer, 1988]. Because structure and agency occupy different tracts of time they can be analytically separated and examined as separate entities which interrelate [Archer, 1989]. She asserts that (primarily for the purposes of analysis) social structure temporally proceeds and therefore conditions human agency – as actions are mediated through social structures although they do not determine them. In so doing, she is able to avoid the errors of conflation made by many theorists, which bestow the causal weight of the generative powers creating social change either upon either structures or upon agency [Zeuner, 2001].

In brief the theory of Morphogenetics asserts that as individuals and social groups, human agents act in situations within the various structural considerations. They act in order to protect and further their own vested interests and principal concerns, as well as to realize their life projects [Archer, 1988, 1995]. From their particular positions held within the numerous social hierarchies in their social contexts, social actors act and in doing so reproduce and/or transform the structural and cultural configurations. Archer [1995, 2000] argues that, whilst every event does lead to some form of change (in structural configurations), different events have varying consequences [Evans, 2005]. These structural configurations are simultaneously acting upon agents, either constraining or enabling their desired actions [Healy, 1998]. Applying this methodology makes it possible to transcend the macro/micro divide in social methodologies ***to a degree***, as it does allow for the recognition of the emergent and generative powers of both social structures and agency [Stones, 2001]. However, as discussed further on, Archer makes a number of assumptions that reduce the complexity of social relations to the extent that much of the predictive power of this methodology is lost at the micro level. The figure below presents this process [Archer, 1995: 158], and clearly depicts how she sees this process occurring.



T = time sequence

Adapted from Archer [1995: 158]

In Archer's Model of Social Change there are 3 definitive stages occurring in a temporal sequence (indicated by 'T'). Her framework begins with an analysis of historical structures which have existed prior to our current temporality. In the first stage, called **'Structural Conditioning'**; a particular systematic configuration is in existence, having been established, transformed and perpetuated through past social actions. Initially, the existing systematic configuration condition agents and their practices. Simultaneously these social actors reproduce the system through repetitive actions [Archer, 1995]. However, there is contestation in the reproduction of these systems by social actors, who begin to more actively engage with social structures. This is the point of social interaction, the second stage of the temporal sequence which Archer refers to as '**Production**'. The active engagement with social structures alters the structures, themselves, and other actors [Archer; 1996b]. In accordance with this theory- as a consequence of their actions - one of two things can happen: the structural configuration that exists will not be challenged in any way by the agents operating through them, and agenic activity reproduces the existing structural configuration, this is **Morphostasis**. Or the social actors will challenge the existing structural configuration and their agenic activities alter the existing social configuration, transforming it in some way: this is **Morphogenesis** [Archer, 1995]. The transformation or reproduction of structures signifies the third and final stage in the morphogenetic cycle. As time progresses and these altered social structures become the pre-existing social structures for subsequent morphogenetic cycles [Archer; 1996b]. The modified systematic configuration would then recondition the practices of actors, or condition future actions of social actors, operating in that social stratum. These actors in turn, reproduce, contest and modify that systematic configuration and so on – in endless cycles. These cyclic processes occur continually and concurrently across multiple strata throughout the social system [Archer, 1988].

The primary significance of Archer's work to this research is that she introduces a temporal dimension into her analytical work, allowing the "interplay between structure and agency" over time to be analyzed [Archer, 1995: 181]. This makes it possible to link structure and agency through causal relationships rather than conflate them [Healy, 1998], and in so doing uncover the causal interaction between the social agency of self-identity formations of employees, and the transforming socio-organizational structures.

However, a major failing of her theory is held within the second stage: Production, the point of interaction between agents and structure. She mostly expands on the workings of this particular stage in her analysis of cultural systems [Archer, 1988]. Because she believes that at this intersection socio-agenic interaction act similarly with culture as with structure, in her subsequent writings on the application of the morphogenetic approach to structural social change, there is little further attention given to a deep and nuanced analysis of these interactions. She maintains that contradictions *inevitably* appear at the systemic level, because of the appearance of conflicting knowledge. The associated disorder and conflict in social relations leads individuals to adopt one of three strategies in order to reduce the tension. As she articulates

> "*contradictions mould problem-ridden situations for actors which they must confront* ***if and when*** *they realize, or are made to acknowledge, that the propositions they endorse are enmeshed in some inconsistency: what they do next is not determined: they have the options of irrational dogmatism or of abandoning the theory or belief all together, but if*

they want to go on holding it non-dogmatically then their only recourse is to repair the inconsistency" [Archer, 1988, xxii].

Thus, in Archer's view in spite of all the complexity of human beings, there are only 3 options for action- to maintain one's belief, abandon one's belief or alter one's belief.

The findings of this research show that a complex range of responses exist, and while these three options are certainly points along the continuum of response, they certainly do not encapsulate the entirety of it. Further, her depiction of systemic contradictions inevitably appearing reflects her deeply buried Marxist logic, in that every thesis (system) contains its own antithesis and that despite individual autonomy, overall the application of power to further dominant interests still prevails. Further to this, she maintains that the individual's motivation for action is always based solely on achieving their material and ideological interests. These assumptions endorse the belief in materialist conceptions of social rationality, and whether as a group or as individuals- humans act rationally.

Finally, even though her explanations are scientifically elaborate, in essence they fall back on this same scientific logic that every action has an opposite but equitable reaction. While this may be true for natural sciences it is certainly not a foregone conclusion in the social sciences as it again relies on the assumption that systems function logically.

My central criticism of Morphogenetics as a whole is that it does not consider the *inter-agenic* interaction between individuals and groups, it is assumed, by implication of the method, that such interactions are always, necessarily mediated through socio-cultural structures. While this may not pose a problem when considering change at the systemic level, it becomes an issue when the method is devolved to micro level changes in identity formations. She does acknowledge the "mitigating

influences" of the interactions between social agents in her earlier works focused on the changing cultural systems [Archer, 1988:104]. However, this becomes lost when she extends morphogenetic some structural analysis and attempt to unify structure and cultural analysis for systemic change. Although she does concede that "these [structural] influences are at the mercy of their socio-cultural [agenic] reception, for a conditional effect is never determinant", she does not endeavor to elaborate upon it any further within a macro-analytical framework [Archer, 1988: 184]. Despite this knowledge her theory is presented in a markedly prescriptive and overtly rational scientific fashion; which greatly underplays the importance of agenic interactions. Structure becomes abstracted from practice (action), and the active process of the constitution of structure- which is achieved by agents social interaction with one another, as well as with various structures- is not given sufficient attention [Stones, 2001]

Although the flaws in this theory are evident, it still provides a useful methodology for beginning to interrogate any causal link between structure and change and identity reconfigurations, not least of all because in the particular instance of this research, and aligned with archer's theory, the structural reconfigurations preceded agenic responses to them (as will be shown in a discussion of dissonance). However, as the Production is where agenic interaction and structures intersect, it is the stage where the micro relations implicated in the reflexive project itself occur, thus, I will be vigilant to apply the theory with caution, as it is likely to have implications for the predictive power of this methodology.

Archer's Internal Conversations

Archer's theory concerning identity formation is far less convincing than one would have hoped [see Healy, 1998; and Carolan, 2005; and Gronow, 2006]. As with Morphogenetics, the development of

personal identity is temporally located; as we form our self-identities through reflexive monitoring that takes the form of an internal conversation [Archer, 2003]. She purports that four different modes of reflexivity exist, which determine the kind and extent of internal conversation that individuals engage in, which in turn impacts upon their formation of self-identities [Archer, 2000]. The application of the morphogenetic approach can clearly be seen in her theory of identity formation. First, the individual has an initial thoughts/cognition/reaction about the social structure. Secondly, the initial notion/reaction/ cognition gets articulated in relation to the self (i.e. it becomes contextualized in relation to the positioning of the social actor- and meaning is ascribed). Finally, the self (identity) reacts by challenging the structure, or is revised and internalizes the structure based on its deliberations concerning the social object/structure/observation [Archer 2001, 2007b; Plumb, 2008 and Mollinga, 2008].

Her approach is simplistic in its categorization of the modes of reflexivity and completely internalizes the process of identity formation to the individual human actor as a consciously maintained internal conversation. I agree with Gronow [2006] who believes her assumption that identity formation is conscious and continuous presents an under-socialized picture of selfhood. Giddens theory of identity formation is somewhat better placed than Archer's theory as it acknowledges that reflexivity is not a perpetual state of human consciousness but occurs only at times of discontinuity between social structures and agenic forces (which is referred to within the context of this research as ***dissonance***) [Giddens, 1991]. Further, internalizing the process of identity formation to the individual human actor does not take the incredibly relevant role of participatory social inter agenic relationships have in reflexive identity formation. Archer [2000] also fails to see these internal conversations as self narration of coherent life stories. On the other hand, Giddens commits a similar error in asserting that the reflexive

project of self takes place as a biographical narrative only [Giddens, 1990]. He considers only the position of the social actor telling their life story to society (whether actually or hypothetically), neglecting altogether the occurrence of intra-personal communication. It is probable that some combination of the two occurs, as internal conversations are reflected as biographical narratives as Bouwel [2004:8] articulates "narration is what emplots and directs the internal conversation". We are social beings, and have internalized many of the rules, regulations and moral obligations that are then applied in and to the narration of our lives [Giddens, 2006]. Thus, our intra-personal conversations also entail a conversation with our internalized representation of society, which "surveys the self identity ensuring its social viability" [Bouwel, 2004:7]. Archer's theories neglect how these constraining features of structures are internalized and act upon social actors internally as well as externally, as she portrays the constraining aspects of structure as external to the self only [Archer, 2003]. Her description of the human social being is somewhat shallow in my interpretation, as she seems to neglect all the moral and ethical content of humanity in an attempt to conserve an objective a realist account. Again, the influence of Marxist materialism in Archer's critical realist stance can be seen quite clearly in that she believes that human agents interact primarily because they want to further their own interests and address their own concerns, and that they develop a social identity by using the resources of others [Archer, 2003]. A great deal of authors have claimed that a number of concepts in her theories are poorly defined, and may be misleading, as she sometimes rigidly conforms to critical realist definitions, to the detriment of her theory development [see Healy, 1998; and Carolan, 2005; and Gronow, 2006]. Nevertheless, her application of analytical dualism within identity formation is useful to this research as it does allow for an investigation and the interplay between structures and agenic forces and allows some inferences of causality, and demonstrates the general applicability of Morphogenetics to self-identity formation.

Both identity theories seem to be ignoring the very real psychological aspects of identity formation, and lack a multidisciplinary perspective which does put some very real limits on their work. Further, they both along with other theorists reflect a highly individualized conception of the social actor, and consequently their relations with structures [Carolan, 2005]. It is an undeniable fact of life, as social beings we talk to others, about others, and to society. Both Giddens and Archer's theories focus entirely on the relations between the individual or the collective (as a single entity) and how they relate to social structures, and so pay no attention to the relations occurring between social actors and impact this has. Further; Archer [1990] does not essentially question or modify Giddens definition of agency, and mostly supports his definition of structure. This is relevant because she herself has called for a new 'after-modern' paradigm to develop [Donati, 2006], as she claims that the paradigms that have emanated from modernity are no longer sufficient to explain the highly stratified social reality that exists. Yet in the same breath lends support to the distinctly modern Kantian definitions of structure and agency [Evans, 2005].

Despite their various criticisms, the concepts and methodologies put forward above still provide a comprehensive framework for the investigation of the first concern of this research, that is *if* employees are engaging in reflexive self-identity reconfigurations because they are situated in a changing organizational context and in so doing, establish a causal link between structural change and identity formation.

Reflexivity in components of self identity- Race and Gender

As stated previously, self identity is a social construct and therefore informed by social categories and social practice. Therefore identity itself can be disaggregated by the social categories through which it is

defined. Thus, when examining the constructs of identity one needs to look at the various subcomponents within it. This research focuses specifically on the components of self identity relating to racial and gender identification, more specifically white racial identity (whiteness) and hegemonic masculine identity. This necessarily limits this research, as self identity is constituted of an inexhaustible list of sub-components. These components form multidimensional matrix of influence upon one another, and can therefore not be taken in isolation as independent aspects, but rather as a complex problematic existing within a particular social context at a given time influenced by broader social, cultural, economic and political structures [Binnell, 1997]. Thus, it is acknowledged that the causal linkages established between organizational structures and white masculine identity formations are fallible, as extraneous variables that have not been considered may be influencing the outcomes of reflexivity.

Race as a concept

The biological notion of race cannot provide a causal explanation for human behavior [Bate, 1999]. Further, the genetic interchangeability of biological racial boundaries means it is almost impossible to fit human beings into neatly bounded mutually exclusive genetic racial categories [Cooper, Hamilton, Mashabela, Mackay, Kelly, Sidiropolous, Gordon-Brown & Moonsamy, 1992]. Despite this, many lay people would argue that race is based on biology and therefore the classifications that divide society exist naturally. As with its biological meaning, the social meaning of race has also been highly contested, and often lacks scientific validity [Bate, 1999]. However, the various sociological definitions do converge on a number of recognitions. Firstly, race is a socially constructed phenomenon, and secondly, race as a category does not exist separate from racism and hence has often served to legitimate racist classifications and perpetuate racial discourse [Gabriel, 1994]. A number of scholars have asserted that

the simple application of race is exclusionary, as it excludes all who do not fit into that classification, implying a rejection of their characteristics. Thus, creating new discourses of understanding can only be achieved by deconstructing these categories and examining the historical formation of their associated discourses in relation to the use of power [Foucault, 1977]. Whether or not race is biologically valid is doubtful, but it is sociologically significant, as people still attach importance to the concept and consider it to be a vital form of dividing and categorizing society. Racial identities are constructed through the "recognition of difference", as the individual defines themselves in relation to others and solidifies the categories that inform their socialized sense of self [Hall, 1996:8]. As long as people believe these divisions are significant they will act accordingly, and the discourse they support will inform their behaviour, as well as their interrelations with others [Hyslop, 1996]. This has significant implications for the construction of self-identity, because particularly in South Africa, different racial groupings were (and still are) ascribed unequal status, power and acceptability [Gabriel, 1994].

Racial identity in South Africa

When conducting an ascending analysis of power on the system of apartheid, it can be seen that ultimately, it was not the macro-policies that maintained the ideological basis for apartheid and the dominance of that political and ideological system, but rather the "petty-apartheid" and the "micro-segregation" that occurred in the most basic daily social relationships between various ethnic groups [Marger, 1994: 8]. Because of the inequality in these systems of separation, the interactions between members of different ethnic groups were embedded in unequal power distributions and hierarchical power relations (whites occupying the top of that hierarchical structure). These power relations extended into the various institutions constructed to produce knowledge and socialize ethnic inequality

into society [Marger, 1994]. They constructed and solidified a system of beliefs which served to affirm the racial discourse's position as "truth" [Bloom, 1998]. Although all legislative constructs that reinforced the segregationalist racial discourse have been removed with the dismantling of the apartheid system and the shift of political power to the majority, the inequitable meanings and status attached to the different racial categories has not been altered [Steyn, 2001]. In part, this is because the racial discourse itself has not been dismantled, as the new hegemonic power still operates within the same racial discourse and still employs the racial classifications imposed as a colonial construction, thus perpetuating them through various institutional mechanisms [Gabriel, 1994]. Consequently, racial identity in South Africa is still highly contested as emerging alternative discourses compete to gain acceptance and recognition.

White identity and whiteness

The study of whiteness as a distinct field is still in its embryonic stage when compared with the racial studies that focus on 'other' groups [Steyn, 2001]. This in itself bears testament to its hegemonic normative position within Western ideology in academia. Further, until the 1990s whiteness was generally only of academic interest in so far as how it interrelated with 'blackness' [Mamdani, 2002]. However, from the 1990s more scholars began to draw attention to the 'invisibility' of whiteness, and how whiteness, as a racial identity, has shaped the life projects and life chances of white people across the globe. The rise of postmodern and postcolonial discourses has thrown the spotlight on the hegemonic nature of whiteness, and brought critical attention to the social construction of the white narrative, situating it in its historical and political context and unearthing the interests it serves [Gallagher, 1999]. The more recent articulations of the academic debate focus on the experiences of

white people themselves, rather than approaching it is a byproduct of the existence of blackness. These debates, therefore endeavor to capture these experiences and show how it has shaped white people's racial identity, and how they in turn contribute to shaping the discourse of whiteness [see Goodwin and Schiff, 1995; Steyn, 2001]. As a consequence, whiteness has become more critically exposed, albeit predominantly at an academic level. Steyn [2001: xxix] remarks "numerous of these studies point to the discursive, political and economic factors in the formation of whiteness, and decisively put pay to the colonial notions that there exists a neutral and homogenous white grouping", and calls for a more nuanced analysis of whiteness. Further, she declares that "if colonial narratives provided a social identity of whiteness, postcolonial narratives must help to redefine and complicate identities for those interpolated by discourses of whiteness, by bringing them into dialogue with 'other' identities" [2001: xxviii]. Thus it must be acknowledged that there are a variety of different experiences of whiteness and as with all categorizations placed on individuals, 'race' or more 'ones race' tends to assume a homogeneity and consensus of all members within that category which is not necessarily true [Gabriel, 1994]. Thus, whiteness does not remain constant in varying circumstances, and is continually redefining itself within a rapidly changing socio-political international context.

South Africa is unique in the study of whiteness, in that the white racial group, who has historically held the greatest access to power and social resources, is the minority rather than the majority. Hence, being white in South Africa is highly politicized and heavily contested within an extremely racialised national context [Seidman, 1994]. The hegemonic articulations of whiteness and its associated racial superiority were established in colonial times, and further entrenched as the policy of apartheid effectively continued a system of internal colonialism, perpetuating the European assumptions of racial and cultural

superiority, of “entitlement to political control and land ownership, and the right to benefit from their access to the world capitalist system at the expense of an exploded subjugated nonwhite majority” [Steyn, 2001: xxxi]. White racial identity in South Africa, by virtue of its historically dominant, hegemonic formations, and its definition through constructions of ‘otherness’, is still frequently viewed by those who subscribe to it as inert, nonexistent, and normative [Parker, 2002]. Further, because the constructs white identity were defined and reinforced by state apparatus the inequalities embedded within it, were viewed as legitimate and sanctioned, and not a product of a racial discourse. The removal of these reinforcing apparatus has catalyzed a crisis of white identity [Parker, 2002]. Thus, in late modernity the formulation of white racial self-identity is conciliation between socially imposed institutionalized definitions of race, and emerging counter-hegemonic knowledge that challenge dominant racial discourses. However, there has been relatively little consistent focus on debate of whiteness in South African literature, as mainstream literature displays an aversion to dialogue on racial issues in an attempt to divorce whiteness from its segregationist racial legacy. Nakayama and Krizek put forward an important appeal for “scholars to be self reflexive about the effects of whiteness on our research and in our personal academic pursuits” [1995: 30]. Given this call for sensitization, an important journey for me in this research has been the deconstruction of my own whiteness, and to acknowledge the bias subject position I take by virtue of conducting research upon my own racial group, thus the final draft of this work displays my own learning as much of my analysis.

Gender and Masculinity as a concept

Although the meaning of the term gender is highly contested [Breines, Connell & Eide, 2000], in general the concept describes " that which is socially constructed as opposed to that which is biologically given"

[Nicholson, 1995: 39]. There is general academic agreement that gender identities are deeply embedded in hierarchical constructs of status and power, which are expressed through the symbolic culturally bound systems that are used to ascribe meaning to the social world [Emirbayer & Mische, 1998]. Consequently, gender is one of the more pronounced lines of unequal division of power and resources within this society. This research focuses on masculinity as a component of self-identity formation. Consequently, the literature surveyed below focuses on constructions of masculinities only. However, masculinities are constructed in relation to femininities, and although a full discussion is beyond the scope of this research, it must be acknowledged that a consideration of masculinities only is necessarily incomplete. Further, the creation of masculine identities is heavily dependent on other identity construction such as racial identity, class identity and feminine identity and thus considering them as autonomous constructs is limiting [Breines, Connell & Eide, 2000]

Although academic writing has historically been dominated by men it was not until the advent of the radical feminist movement in the 1970's that a deliberate attempt was made to theorize men and masculinity. In recent years there has been a marked escalation of empirical research on masculinities [surveyed in Connell, 1995]. The basic findings of which indicate a number commonalities which are supported in this research. Firstly, masculine identity, as with other identity components, is fluid, multiple, historically situated and socially constructed. There exist a multiplicity of masculine identities that very across cultural context, space and time [Breines, Connell & Eide, 2000]. These different masculinities exist in asymmetrical power relations with one another. Connell [1995] theorizes that there is generally a dominant hegemonic masculine identity operating within a system of gendered power, which acts to marginalize and subjugate counter-hegemonic masculinities and femininity.

Secondly, masculine identities do not exist separate from or prior to social interaction; they are actively produced and reproduced by individuals, groups and institutions [Mtebule, 2002]. Thirdly, men's bodies are a central conduit for the expression of masculinity and a large component of masculine identity is enacted through the projection of masculine virility and physicality [Lemon, 1991]. Closely related to this is the normative construction of heterosexuality and sexual dominance as essential components of masculine identification [Mooney, 1998]. Forth, unequal power relations and female objectification within a system of global patriarchy are continually reinforced through masculine discourse, which is perpetuated by both men and women [Connell, 2002]. Finally, gender roles and identities are actively constructed and reconstructed throughout the life projects of individuals and are not simply passively obtained through the process of socialization [Connell, 2004]

This research employs the concept of "hegemonic Masculinities" popularized by Connell [1995, 2000], and contextualizes this within the historical South African context as a means of providing a point of reference for the analysis of masculine identity reformulations. Connell's [1995] social theory of gender points out that, in any given context at any given time, there exist a range of masculinities (complicit, subordinate, and marginalized masculinities) that are constructed relationally within hierarchical power relations with one another and with femininity. Connell asserts that, while the patterns of conduct that any given society defines as 'masculinity' do manifest themselves in the lives of individuals, these masculinities also transcend individual embodiment and are defined collectively, and sustained through a diversity of social and cultural institutions [Connell, 2000]. She describes masculinities "as the configuration of practice within gender relations, a structure that includes large-scale institutions and economic relations as well as face-to-face relationships and sexuality. Masculinity is institutionalized in

this structure, as well as being an aspect of individual character" [Connell, 2000: 29]. Further she qualifies that "there is generally a hegemonic form of masculinity, the most honoured or desired in a particular context" [Connell, 2004:5] although "the hegemonic form need not be the most common let alone the most comfortable" [2000, 11]. Importantly she highlights that the hegemonic masculinity may not necessarily be the most widely expressed masculine identity or even dominant in any real sense, as "hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it [i]s certainly normative" [Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832]. In other words, it is an ideal type that sets up prescription of acceptable and unacceptable masculine expressions which other masculinities are defined in relation to [Wetherell and Edley, 1999]. Thus, the hegemonic masculine identity is invariably associated with authority, power and dominance and establishes itself as normative and exceptional by presenting counter-hegemonic identities as perverse, submissive and deviant [Mtebule, 2002]. It is hegemonic because it involves "cultural consent, discursive centrality, institutionalization, and subordination and marginalization of alternatives" [Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 834] and hence, occupies *legitimate* supremacy within socially reproduced gendered hieratical power relations. Further, "hegemonic masculinities can be differentiated from each other through the significance and scope of their legitimating influence" [Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832].

Hegemonic power is transmitted through culture and upheld through structures [Lemon, 1991]. Structures interact and intersect (race, class, religion, gender) to produce complex and often indirect constraints upon agenic expressions. Connell [1995, 2000] seeks a multidimensional analysis of the constraining influences of structure on action. This is achieved by accounting for the numerous social constructs that intersect to create such constraints (such as social structures, culture, institutions and

individuals) [Connell, 2000], and examining this across hierarchical systemic levels- stretching from local to global contexts [Connell, 1995]. In so doing she adopts a postmodernist stance, which stipulates that there is no universally influential structure that (subordinating other influences) is the primary cause of structural constraints (e.g. patriarchy). Which structures are more influential over others is entirely context dependent and temporally located [Connell, 1995]. In using the term *hegemony* [Gramsci, 1971], Connell asserts that culturally constructed relations are presented to appear natural to legitimate the prevailing gendered social positions. This is incredibly relevant to the research, as normalization was one of the key tactics employed by the Apartheid government in order to provide legitimacy to their sanctioned version of masculinity [Marias, 1998], and the invalidation of these 'truths' has precipitated a crisis for those individuals who constructed their gender identities based on them.

Although Connell's theory has received a great deal of criticism over the years [see for example: Wetherell and Edley, 1999; Brittan, 1989; Whitehead, 2002; Donati, 2006] the fundamental aspects of her masculinities theories have withstood scrutiny. Further, many studies have confirmed that masculinities are multiple (hegemonic masculinity being a component thereof), socially constructed and composed of hierarchical power relations that legitimate patriarchy and the ideology of male supremacy and moreover, vary across social and historical contexts [Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005]. Hegemonic masculinity does not refer to a fixed given set of characteristics, nor is it universal across differing cultures and contexts. It is relational, and indicates the dominance and favorability of one given set of masculine behaviours and attributes over others, regardless of the extent to which this is realized in any concrete terms [Connell, 1995, 2000].

However, Connell's theory, as with the others discussed in this chapter suffers similar problems in bridging the macro-micro divide. Although Connell does stress the need for both local and global articulations of gender theory, her theories are primarily framed within a macro-sociological framework [Correll, 2004]. Consequently she neglects to construct a framework for the investigation of the interdependencies of cultural, structural and individual components in the construction and reinforcement of historically and temporally located masculinities. As Pringle [in Lusher & Robins, articulates "Hegemonic masculinity is a term of *generalization* and *generalizations*, although useful for helping understand big picture accounts, can be problematic for understanding the constitution of individual subjectivities" [2005: 267] (emphasis in original). The very concept of hegemony leads us to think of power relations at the macro-social level, rather than any micro-level social interaction occurring between individuals. That being said however, Emirbayer & Mische, [1998] suggest that this can overcome in empirical applications of the theory by carefully locating any analysis within a local and historical context. This would (hypothetically) make it possible to recognize the interdependencies between structure, culture and individual factors which all contribute towards a particular manifestation of hegemonic masculinity, and begin to uncover how micro and macro structures may be related. Although Connell does attempt to achieve this by incorporating deep descriptive narratives of individual experiences, I believe that Connell's approach to masculinities, as with many theories, lacks a multi-disciplinary perspective. She does not play sufficient attention to the internalized psychological aspects of masculinity, and locates it entirely as a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon [Connell, 1995].

Further to this, Connell is not able to fully capture the interrelatedness of culture, structure, ideology and agency in the construction of masculinities within her theories, and only achieves this in practical illustrations of individual life histories. However, even at the macro-social level, constructs of masculinities are resistant to change despite shifts in cultural and individual perceptions. Hale, [1998] implies that this is because there is an ideology that underlies the hegemonic masculinity that intertwines with other ideologies (e.g. racism) to reinforce the ideology of supremacy. These ideologies operate discursively and through both cultural and structural configurations. This strengthens Archer's postulation that some ideologies are supported and kept in hegemonic positions, despite the presence of systemic contradictions. This is because they form the foundation for other ideologies and hence, a critical examination and deconstruction of one would necessitate a critical examination and deconstruction of all associated ideologies. This in turn indicates that the structural relations of power operating in constructions of masculinities must be built upon an *ideology* of power, which are mutually reinforcing. Thus, ones position up the masculine social hierarchy of power would impact upon one's endorsement of ideologies of dominance and masculine supremacy [Whitehead, 2002]. Importantly however, Connell [2000] acknowledges the historical changeability of structural configurations and is able to move beyond the rigid prescriptive tenants of the morphogenetic approach, to focus primarily on how gender relations are organized, and in so doing identify the oppressive structures associated with such relations.

Masculinities in South Africa

Within the South African context, hegemonic formations of masculine identities were central to the establishment and maintenance of the apartheid system. Thus, the apartheid government actively

constructed and reinforced a separatist, racially located masculine ideology as a means of maintaining their political power [Lemon, 1991]. This was done through a variety of mechanisms including but not limited to instituting a legislative framework that regulated white morality, suppression of alternative discourses of masculine and gender identity, and controlling the production and dissemination of knowledge, and mandatory military conscription [Marias, 1998]. The masculine ideal in apartheid South Africa was defined as a white, militarized, heterosexual, Christian, and emotionally restrained male, who conformed to gender role stereotypes and endorsed gendered divisions of labour in both organizational and domestic contexts.

A key aspect of masculinity, particularly white South African masculine identity, was the militarization of masculinity in the historical national context [Horrocks, 1994], and the normalization of violence and patriarchal dominance over women and other racial groups, accompanied by expressions of an "entitlement to power" [Breines, Connell & Eide, 2000: 63]. Strongly heterosexist orientations and the suppression of emotion were also (and seemingly still are) central attributes attributed to the hegemonic masculine identity formation [Horwitz, 1997]. Consequently, post-apartheid masculine identities reinforce themselves by referring to previous versions of masculinity [apartheid ones], and define themselves as different by claiming to be a apolitical, and distancing themselves from the historical and political context that contributed in their formation [Mtebule, 2002].

This research uses the concept of hegemonic masculinities to show how certain gendered identities are "favored, normalized, privileged, as well as how this dual process is legitimized and maintained by social structures and competing ideologies" [Kumashiro, 2001:35]. The overtly racially oppressive political

system produced counter hegemonic liberation movements that focused firstly on achieving racial equality- and only secondly- gender equality (as seen with the Black Sash Women's movement who foregrounded racial inequalities in their protests). Possibly because the fight against racial oppression took precedence over other struggles, South Africa is found wanting in terms of counter-hegemonic masculine discourses, as most derivations of masculinity still support, in varying degrees, male dominance and the objectification of women (especially in the media), and the unequal distribution of economic and social resources and power [see Lemon, 1991; Mtebule, 2002].

The hegemonic masculine identity associated with whiteness has not been fully challenged, in part because it still resonates with traditional views perpetuated by the present ruling group. As Mtebule [2002: 119] concludes "despite the transition of South Africa to a democratic state, it seems that traditional views with regard to sexuality and gender were maintained". Thus, especially within this historical national context, both men and women play a significant role in reinforcing and normalizing these inequalities by internalizing, maintaining and enacting gender role stereotypes [Mtebule, 2002].

Organizational change

Although organizational change has been an ever increasingly popular topic since the 1930's [McNamara, 2006], organizational change processes are still, in most instances, poorly anticipated, managed and mitigated and almost always traumatic and received negatively by the majority employees. Collins, [2001] demonstrated that as much as 90% of change initiatives fail to achieve their strategic objectives, mainly due to the lack of understanding regarding the 'human factors' involved.

However, work is central to the modern individual's self-identity. "So what do you do?" is likely one of the most regularly applied conversation starters in today's society. As individual human agents, we bring our unique identities with us into the work place, aspects of which are either inhibited or enabled by the work contexts. Surely then, organizations play a pivotal role in informing the constructions of employee self-identities. As elementary as this observation may seem, when organizations institute broad intentional changes that alter their structure, function and composition, this seems seldom to be a primary consideration. The impact change has on employees identities is very rarely taken into account or mitigated in any way [Senge, Kleiner, Roberts, Ross and Smith, 1994]. A great deal of literary evidence has shown that it is highly unlikely that an organization will be able to achieve their strategic change objectives until at least the critical core of employees have successfully completed their individual transitions [see Paton & McCalman, 2000; Preston, 1997; Crow, 2002].

Recent popular change management practice does stress the need to create psychological ownership amongst employees but their interventions seem to only go so far as analyzing employees' emotive reactions to change processes and their associated behaviours [Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2004]. Seemingly, none of the most widely applied change management strategies aim to understand, to any significant degree, why negative reactions occur initially in almost all employees. Few, if any, have gone so far as to explicitly highlight the link between a large scale organizational change initiative and the changes that occur in the individual employee at the most fundamental level of their self-identities [Friday, Friday & Hightower, 2004]. Popular Change management discourse and

practice treat the behaviours and emotions displayed by employees during a change process as a reaction to the change, rather than a symptom of a much deeper process.

Further to this, the majority of popular models for organizational change assume that organizations are static and move from one period of stability to another via a change process [Jessop, 2001]. This belief persists, despite the broad acceptance that the context in which organizations are situated is not static. Recently, popular organizational change theory has more readily acknowledged that the assumption of organizational stability may be erroneous. However, few practically applicable alternative theories and approaches have been offered thus far, save to "appeal to organizations to be structured in such a way as to be able to adapt to continual, rapid change" [Creelman, 1998: 1].

Organizational change and its management have become a vast and ever expanding field of study and practice [Palmer, Dunford & Akin, 2006], as the need to create organizations able to constantly adapt and change becomes critical to their sustainability in the globalizing socio-economic context of post industrial society. Petigrew, Woodman & Cameron in their review of the academic literature concerning organizational change, argue that "research and writing on organizational change is undergoing a metamorphosis" [2001: 697], as there is a greater recognition of 'changing' rather than 'change'. This opens up a space within the topic to explore organizational change from new perspectives, as the gaps in both theory and practice are evident, and in so doing hopefully contribute towards making a case for the construction and legitimacy of alternative views on organizational change.

Though fraught with many of the concerns leveled at organizational change discourse, the most common definitions that persist of organizational change describe it as any event within or outside an organization that moves it from one state to a future, preferred state [Wilson, 1992]. Further, requires that employees change their behaviour in order to achieve this shift [McNamara, 2006]. Organizational change as it is conceptualised in dominent discourse, does not occur spontaneously- change takes place when the forces encrouging change become more powerful than those resisting change [Wilson, 1992]. Further, dominant discourse assumes that organizational change can and *should* be managed and therefore theories of organizational change are hinged on a number of basic assumptions that show a strong bias towards 'managerialism' [Sturdy et al, 2003]. It is also assumed that *change* itself is an event, and that when change is not being actioned in an organization, the organization is in a static state. Thus it is claimed that change should be led by management structures and should focus on firstly, creating readiness for change and secondly, overcoming resistance to change. There is an assumption that all the environmental aspects of change (besides the psyche of employees) can be directly controlled through management processes, and hence the outcomes of a change process can be controlled, directed and predicted [Schumacher, 1997]. Kilduff [2001; in Lemon, 1991] demonstrates that managerialism and masculinity are deeply intertwined, and thus gendered hierarchical structures are perpetuated when this particular view of change management is endorsed and applied to organizational settings. The conclusions of this study lend support to challenging the above definitions of change management, and developing alterative paradigms that approach change as a continual process of organizational life.

Catalysts for Organizational Change

The catalysts for organizational change are highly varied and complex, but can broadly be classified into two categories; internal or external [Palmer, Dunford & Akin, 2006]. The most common internal factors driving change result from a rearticulation or redirecting of strategy, process, technology or organizational adjustments. External factors include, among other things, changes in legislation that impact upon the operation of the organization, resource avaliability, mergers and acquisitions, and shifting political and economic climates [Pierce, Gardner & Dunham; 2002].

As theoretically consise as this dychotomy may seem, practice demonstrates that the drivers for change are a complex combination of both, as organizations are situated in social context but also constitued from the social actors existing in that context. Thus, any change in the organization occurs as a response to social reconfigurations as well as the emerging needs of the organization and its members. These members, as modern individuals with the capacity for agency, are future orientated. An unknown future threatens the individual's sence of security as it necessarily undermines their trust in systems that they do not fully understand (an organization), because they cannot predict the risk that they may face [Giddens, 1990]. As any change involves moving from the known to the unknown organizational change presents a clear example of this phenomenon [Emirbayer & Mische, 1998]. Symptomatically, organizational members generally do not support change unless they have a compelling reason to do so. Similarly, organizations- as holistic entities- tend to be heavily invested in the status quo, and resist changing because of the uncertainty of future benefits [Mink et al; 1993]. Therefore, the majority of organizational change methodologies focus on planning for action and how to motivate employee to commitment to change, but neglect any substantial reflection

upon the organization as an entity embedded in society, or the full impact that such change intitatives have on the individual as a social agent, rather than simply a rational economically motivated employee.

Change Management

Suffice to say that, due to the hegemonic position of management approaches within organizational change discourse, 'change management' has become best practice in the vast majority of modern organizations [Hiatt & Creasey, 2003]. As partial recognition to the continuum of change, Change Management as a practice is intended to guide organizations through the cycles of change by creating awareness, soliciting buy-in and ownership until sustainable performance is achieved [Hiatt et al, 2003]. There are a great deal of change management approaches, but they can generally be classified into 5 distinct schools of thought, namely; Psychology of the Individual; Social Psychological Approaches; Cultural Approaches; Innovation Approaches; and Global Change Approaches [see Mink et al, 1993; Schumacher, 1997]. Each of these schools has given birth to countless intervention models aimed at creating and facilitating organizational change [see Mink et al, 1993; Pierce et al, 2003; Burke, 2002; Glen, 1975; Palmer, Dunford & Akin, 2006; Berger & Sikora, 1993; Senge, 1994, Hayes, 2002].

The Social psychology approach to change, which is relevant to this research, is the most widely accepted and applied approach within organizational change management. Being a classic approach it has been extensively empirically tested, but also been highly criticized [Carnall, 2003]. There is extensive literature [Beckhard & Prichard, 1992; Carnall, 2002; Steyn, 2001] that demonstrates quite

thoroughly that this method is highly outdated and simply ineffective in present times. When it has been shown to be effective, it is in organizations where the majority of skills are at a lower level. Further, it has been proved that this approach is generally extremely costly, highly traumatic and often ineffective because the late-modern business context requires organizations to be in a reactionary state of constant flux [Schumacher, 1997].

Practical evaluation of a great many documented organizational change initiatives has revealed that, regardless of the theoretical underpinnings of the change management approach being utilized (psychological, social, cultural, innovative, or global), in practice, all of approaches focus on employing various interventions and strategies to mitigate the immediate psychosocial responses of employees to a change event. Their reactions range from positive and supportive to negative and resistant, dependent to a very large degree on how they have understood the change process. Case study evidence demonstrates that most often, when there is resistance to a change process, employees are usually more uncomfortable with the process that is followed rather than in the intended change outcomes [McNamara, 2006]. Thus, it is usually not what is said and done but rather *how* it is said or done that will determine the success of a change process [see Bennis, 1966; Beer & Nohria, 200; Duffy, 2003; Argyris, 1970; Kotter, 1996; Carr & Hard, 1995; Jick & Peiperi, 2002]. Further, employees experiencing negative emotional states do not function at optimum productivity levels, which has direct financial implications for organizations. The primary objective of all these approaches is to devise ways in which to control and predict these responses, mitigate negative responses, and create internal commitment so that employees accept ownership of the change plan

and take responsibility for implementing it [Pierce, Gardner & Dunham, 2002]. Regardless of methadology, ultimately change at the level of the individual is the desired and necessary outcome.

It is here that all approaches culminate in two myopic- shared strategies. Firstly, to motivate employees to understand, accept and support the intended change plans, and secondly to mitigate any negative by providing support, information and education, and incentives (both positive and negative) for compliance. Although rrecant popular change management discourse does stress the need to create psychological ownership amongst employees; their interventions seem to only go so far as analyzing employee emotive reactions and associated behaviours to change processes. Seemingly none of the most widely applied change management strategies aim to understand, to any significant degree, why negative reactions initially occur. Few have gone so far as to highlight possible links between large scale organizational change and the changes that occur in the individual employee at the most fundamental level of their self-identities [Carnall, 2002]. Thus, all approaches treat the observed responses of employees to organizational change as a direct causal effect of a change initiative, and do not explore the possibility that the responses observed may be a symptom of a much deeper process occuring in employees [Pierce, Gardner & Dunham; 2002].

Conclusion

Despite the evidence of the continuous state of social change, the notion that organizations, as constitutes of society, also change continuously has only recently emerged, as prior to this, dominant theory awarded organizations fictitious stability [Jessop, 2001]. Organizations are gendered and racist to the extent that power relations are patterned through taken for granted, often hidden

assumptions about gender and race that are embedded in organizational discourses and structures, and act to privilege the interests of the dominant racial and gender group. Thus, complex organizations such as the one selected for this research provide fertile sites for negotiating racial and gender identity. As social structures change, social relations become agitated and greater contestation of gender roles and racial stereotypes is seen as people attempt to redistribute the balance of power within organizational structures. This research challenges the assumption that change can indeed be fully managed, because in demonstrating that change impacts employees at the fundamental level of individual self-identity formation, it shows that there many aspects to organizational change that cannot be controlled or predicted, as that would mean managing the highly individual process of self-identity formation.

Chapter 2: Research Design, Analytical Techniques and Methodology

This chapter discusses the design and methods employed in this study, examining the instruments and analytical techniques used, as well as the sample and data collected for the qualitative and the quantitative sections of the research. The limitations and ethical considerations for each method are also discussed.

Research Resign

The research consists of three objectives that cumulatively provide evidence in support of my research argument.

Firstly, it was necessary to establish that a formal organizational change process was occurring, including the details of its process and purpose, as well as the alternative ideologies that surfaced as a result (with specific reference to race and gender).

Secondly, it had to be demonstrated that these organizational changes (and their associated contesting ideologies) were having an organization wide impact of the beliefs and perceptions of employees. The changing beliefs and perceptions of employees indicates impact at the level of individual self- identity reflexivity.

Finally, depth had to be provided in the proofs of reflexivity by examining employee biographical narratives to locate racial and gendered self-identity reformulations.

Moving through these three research objectives clearly link the macro-level structural change processes to individual self-identity shifts, demonstrating the fundamental level at which organizational change impacts its employees.

This research subscribes to the critical realist approach to causality[4] which stipulates that causality needs to be understood as tendencies [Mutch, 2005], and that these tendencies do not need to be realized as empirical evidence (observable) in order to exist and be considered causal [Sayer, 2000] This conceptualization of causality provides a framework to examine and postulate inductive associations in the relationships between organizational structure and the reformulation of self identity. The Research Design applied in this research made use of a number of methods (both qualitative and quantitative), each of which was chosen as the most appropriate means of providing evidence to support each of the three specific objectives.

Theoretical framework

This study used the grounded theory approach [Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1997] to investigate the relations between the structuring effects of organizational change and the agenic forces of self-identity reformulation. Rather than approaching the research with a predefined theoretical perspective, a grounded approach endeavors to use data to build an understanding of the key concerns from the ground up. Therefore, theoretical frameworks and explanatory models were left until the end of the study when they could be developed according to supporting evidence rather

[4] This approach asserts that scientific, empirical inquiry is possible within the social sciences and what is classically considered to be empirical evidence (in the positivist definition of observable events or phenomena), is simply a surface observation of what are, in fact, products of deeper, often unobservable, mechanisms. The causal powers of social elements are located in their inner structure and are often indirect [Danermark; et al, 2001]. Further, the appropriate external condition must exist in order for the potentialities held in that structural configuration to be realized [Benjaminsen, 2003].

than the other way around. The study began with a general focus, but as the data collected was processed, coded and classified, theoretical explanations were sought for the evident change patterns that started to come forward [Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001]. Archer's three Stage Morphogenetic approach (discussed in the Literature Review [Archer 1995, 2003, 2007a, 2007b]) provided a workable methodology and a degree of explanation for the observed dynamic interplay between organizational structure and the agency employees' exercised in identity constructions. This approach applies temporal staggering, which makes it possible to assess the changeability and enabling or constraining powers of the various actual structures as well as the variable and often changing ways in which social actors relate to these structures [Mollinga, 2008]. The critical realist paradigm acknowledges that there can be multiple, often conflicting, ways of knowing, whether one way is better than the other depends greatly on what it is one wants to know [Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001]. Despite the various short comings of this approach (discussed in the previous chapter), the broad tenants of Morphogenetics speak directly to the first two objectives of the research, and thus the analysis of findings, draws heavily upon it as an analytical framework.

Part 1: A formal Organizational Change Process is occurring

Objective 1: To demonstrate that a significant organizational change had occurred, aimed at altering the identity and culture of the organization by changing its structure, function and composition.

Applied theory: Morphogenetics Stage 1: Structural Conditioning

Method for Data collection: Participant Observation and Historical Document Analysis

Procedure: In order to study identity change it was necessary to find an organization that was implementing a form of change explicitly aimed at changing the way employees thought about themselves, their jobs and the organization of work. After surveying several organizations, a large Government Research and Technology Agency was selected that embodied all of the necessary criteria. Investigations began with a thorough Historical Document analysis of documents spanning from the organizations inception in 1945 until the present. This was necessary to build a comprehensive profile of the history of development of the case study, as well as understanding how the formal organizational change process intertwined with broader social structures that reinforced hegemonic notions of masculinity and whiteness. Further, I engaged in participant observation, working in a number of support related roles for several months over the four-year period. Participant observation was an essential tool for uncovering the discreet, undocumented and unspoken ways in which the shifting structural arrangements in the organization served to reinforce certain identity formations whilst inhibiting others, and structured relations across gender and racial boundaries [Coulthard, 1992]. This was supplemented by interviews with key change agents and stakeholders, as well as past and present employees.

Method for Data Analysis: Discourse analysis and explanatory statistics

Data and Analysis: The results of the analysis data provided a full profile of the historical development of the organization paralleled with relevant aspects of the socio-political history of South Africa (see Appendix 2). This includes statistical profiles of the size and demographic composition of the organization from its establishment in 1945 until the close of the study in 2008. Further, comprehensive understanding was gained about the numerous historical changes that had

occurred in the organization, as well as the present change process (Beyond 60), the circumstances precipitating it, the processes undertaken in implementing the change plan and the structural outcomes of the change process.

Part 2: Employees throughout the organization are being affected by this change process

Objective 2: to show that the organizational changes are having a measurable impact on the psycho-social states of employees, and that they are interacting with the changing organizational structures

Applied theory: Morphogenetics Stage 2: Production

Method for Data collection: longitudinal application of a Quantitative psychometric questionnaire, designed to measure cognitive dissonance

Instrument Design and Validation: The questionnaire used in this study was designed in 1992 by the former psychonometrics unit at the organization. However, shortly after the succession of the tri-partite alliance in 1994, this unit was dissolved. The questionnaire, called 'the Employee Satisfaction Monitor' (ESM) was extensive, consisting of 115 quantitative questions rated on two 7 point Lickert scale. The ESM was designed primarily to assess the general satisfaction levels of respondents across 9 response areas relating to various work aspects. However, it also captures measurements regarding the importance or relevance the respondents place on each of these 9 areas (see Appendix 3-*questionnaire*). Thus it captures both the individual's beliefs and values with reference to a specific organizational construct, as well as their attitude towards it. Because the unit charged with the design and analysis of this instrument had been dissolved, its full usefulness and the methods for

analysis were lost. Despite this the questionnaire was applied bi-annually and information was collected on both the importance and the satisfaction scales. Until I joined the organization in 2004, only the scores relating to satisfaction levels were used in organizational analysis.

The Questionnaire included 9 subsections. These are as follows:

1. Job Enjoyment and Importance
2. Personal/Professional Development
3. Performance and Reward
4. Management and Leadership
5. Policies and Practices
6. Teamwork and Participation
7. Work Environment and Quality of Life
8. Diversity Management
9. Communications

Although formal statistical testing to determine the extent of its internal validity, reliability or internal consistency of the ESM, as a psychometric tool, have not been conducted, the comparative analyses of respondent and group specific data spanning the 8 year period is sufficient to demonstrate that it is a highly accurate and stable instrument [Cronbach, 1984]. Cross tabulations performed on previous data sets were also compared with qualitative data pertaining to the same subject and it was determined that the instrument demonstrates high levels of stability and reliability, meaning that the instrument accurately measures the same variable upon successive applications. When compared with other satisfaction scales the ESM appears to have a high degree of concurrent validity [Kaplan 2004]. Further, the instrument shows little reactivity to interventions,

and changes in respondent scores in successive applications have been observed to follow the application of organizational interventions, rather than respondents reacting to the application instrument itself, or any of its content. The instrument was found to be both internally consistent and reliable [Steffens & Botha, 2002]. It does need to be acknowledged that the instrument, being designed and administered by the organization itself, does contain an element of bias which undermined its perceived confidentiality. As such, some respondents indicated that they did not trust that their information would not be shared with management or that if they were entirely honest, this information would not be used against them. Although every attempt was made to communicate the assurance of confidentiality throughout the successive applications of the ESM (from which the sample of white men was drawn for the quantitative investigations), there was still some mistrust present that may have skewed the results.

What is Dissonance: Dissonance is the word used to describe the process of misalignment in internal cognitions that results from holding to contradicting beliefs simultaneously, and further refers to the negative emotions that result from this. Because of the explicit nature of organizational structures, attitudes towards changing work environments are a particularly useful phenomenon in which reflexive identity formation can be observed [Babbie, 1998]. This is because when an individual expresses their beliefs regarding the value they place upon a given construct, one is able to detect the extents to which that construct informs part of their identity [Brown & Yule, 1991]. It is possible to measure the 'value' and individual ascribes to a given organizational construct, by determining, relative to other constructs, how important it is to them. The extent to which the individual perceives that external construct to be aligned with their internalized values can be measured by recording the

individual's attitude towards it, which is measured through their self reported satisfaction level regarding that construct. A comparison of the difference between their values and beliefs (importance) and attitudes (satisfaction) demonstrates the occurrence of reflexivity experienced by an individual over time, as they interact with constructs that either affirm or challenge aspects of their internalized self concept. i.e. *Dissonance* [Cooper & Locke, 2000]. The greater the difference between these scores, the greater the feeling of psychological discomfort experienced by an individual, hence the greater the dissonance they are experiencing. This occurs more often in contexts of structural change, such as organizational change, where the new forms of knowledge informing the emerging work regime often conflict with the knowledge and values informing the preceding work regime [Webster, Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2003]. Theoretically; the more structural changes occurring as a result of organizational change processes, the less these altered structures would be compliant with employee beliefs and attitudes informed and reinforced by previous structural arrangements. Thus, the greater the incongruence experienced which increases the level of dissonance employees experience as a result of exposure to these changing structures.

Measuring Dissonance: Scores were collected on two concurrent 7 point Lickert scales, one measuring satisfaction and the other measuring importance. All answers were then calculated as a percentage, and the dissonance score was calculated by subtracting the satisfaction score from the importance score. The wider the gap between the satisfaction and importance score (the higher the %), the greater the internal conflict an employee is experiencing (as their internal values do not align with their perceived social reality) and thus, the greater the feelings of dissonance an employee is experiencing. A difference in scores below 10% is considered to be normal, because the highly

complex stratified nature of social reality dictates that individual belief systems are never entirely congruent with their social reality [Archer, 2000]. However, a score greater than 10% indicates the presence of increasingly significant levels of dissonance as well as evident interaction between shifting social structures and social agents [Cronbach, 1984].

Procedure: The questionnaire has been applied organization wide since 1996. In 2004 I assumed responsibility for the administration and analysis of the Questionnaire, in my capacity as a post-graduate intern. I collated and analyzed data from the March 2002 application. After which, I converted the paper based survey into a fully interactive web-based electronic format questionnaire linked to an Access database. The web application was hosted on a separate server so as to protect the integrity of the research and confidentiality of participant responses.

The use of a web-based questionnaire greatly reduced the errors that usually occur during data collection including recording and response errors, omissions, incomplete responses, and extended response time. Further, responses were entered directly into a database, which eliminated the need for surveyors, field researchers, data capturers and data analysts. Although the response rates varied over the years, the continuous, routine collection of data allowed the analysis of long term trends of dissonance levels over the last 6 years [Morris, Fitz-Gibbon & Freeman, 1987] (see Appendix 4: scores).

Sample: The ESM was applied each March bi-annually from 2002 to 2008, with the exception of the 2005-2006 measurement which was collected in December 2005, although the findings were only released to the organization in March 2006. The early supplication of the survey in 2005- 2006 was

done specifically to measure the impacts of Beyond 60 which was formally instituted in October 2005. A mailing module was designed to send out e-mails on a weekly basis to all employees encouraging them to participate. Individuals who had already responded were excluded from the mailing list and were prohibited from completing further questionnaires. Each year all employees listed on the e-mail database were sent an e-mail explaining the purpose of the study and including a link to access the questionnaire. Because participation is voluntary, the scores across the years have been weighted according to response sample size, so as to avoid skewing of data due to sample variance.

The sample and thus the research was limited in that it was confined to a certain location (Pretoria), and only those employees who had access to email were included in the invitation to participate. Further, participation was voluntary so only those with the propensity to participate did so. Thus, it needs to be acknowledged that there may be many views and beliefs not captured here and that this may have had an impact of the analysis of data and analytical outcomes of the research.

Table 1: Sample size per year

YEAR	No# Respondents	% of Total Population
2002	1480 respondents	46% of total population (Pretoria)
2004	1132 respondents	41% of total population (Pretoria)
2006	546 respondents	26% of total population (Pretoria)
2008	762 respondents	34% of total population (Pretoria)

Method for Data Analysis: explanatory statistics

The use of quantitative methods was an essential means of demonstrating the organization wide impact of the change initiative and to collect long term information from a large sample regarding the patterns of change occurring in employee perceptions.

Data and Analysis: An Analysis program was designed to operate with the response data warehouse and used to perform the basic statistical calculations needed to analyze the data collected [Steffens & Botha, 2002]. This allowed me to accurately process large volumes of data without the need for additional capacity. At the close of the response period each year, the analysis module was applied and reports were drawn using various demographic categories (race and gender- among others). Before the data collected could be analyzed it was scored, as all the Lickert scales were converted into a 'score-per-section' or 'score-per-question' percentage, which was used as the most basic data element. The statistics used for analysis of data were basic descriptive statistics, such as means and aggregates. The score calculations are worked out as follows:

$$\textbf{IMPORTANCE}\left[\frac{\frac{\sum(\text{column values})}{(\text{Lickert number of options}-1)}}{\text{number of questions in subsection}}\right]\text{x } 100 -$$

$$\textbf{SATISFACTION}\left[\frac{\frac{\sum(\text{column values})}{(\text{Lickert number of options}-1)}}{\text{number of questions in subsection}}\right]\text{x } 100 = \textbf{DISSONANCE } (\%)$$

A fundamental assumptions of this research is that self identity as a social construct is discreet and dynamic. It is exceptionally difficult to observe 'identity' directly, as its characteristics are covert and manifest indirectly [Arnold, 2005]. However, it is possible to observe the articulation of identity formation indirectly, by investigating the attitudes individuals display towards certain constructs (i.e. how one feels about race will indicate ones racial identity). This reveals how they define themselves in relation to these constructs and thus their self identity [Preston, 1997]. The use of attitudes as an indicator for identity was employed in both Part two and three of this research. The questionnaires completed by white male employees who then participated in the in-depth interviews were used as a reference to build an initial identity profile prior to the interview, and to steer conversations during interviews. Further, various cross checks where done by paraphrasing questionnaire items, and

noting the extent to which the attitudes displayed in interviews deviated from those recorded in questionnaires.

Part 3: employees are engaging in reflexive Self-Identity reconfigurations

Objective 3: To evaluate the extent to which the selected group of employees are engaging in reflexive reconfigurations of their self identities because the structures that previously informed their identity formation have been altered.

Applied theory: Theories of Hegemonic Whiteness and Hegemonic Masculinity

***Method for Data collection*:** Semi-structured In-depth Qualitative Interviews

A number of arguments have been put forward in support of qualitative methods for identity research [see Horwitz, 1997; Steyn, 2001]. Feist, [1994] has critiqued a great many identity studies because their dependence on narrow focused generic research instruments fails to take into account the subjective importance of self-experience, which is crucial to identity development. It is precisely this self-experience which is investigated by capturing the individual's biographical narrative.

Instruments: Qualitative interview script, divided into 3 themes, which used to guide free conversation rather than as a scripted interview (see Appendix 5- Qualitative interview structure).

Procedure: In order to gain insight into reflexive identity formations, in depth interviews were conducted at a specific time during the change process. Because it was important to find evidence of self-identity reconfigurations 'in the act', interviews were conducted in the year directly following the implementation of the new structure, which took effect in October 2005. Thus, the interviews ran from January to June 2006. The sample was limited to the white male respondents who had

voluntarily completed the December 2005 application of the ESM. All white male respondents who completed the web based questionnaire were shown an alternative final page to other respondents[5]. The page shown to white men explained that the next phase of the research involved in-depth interviews in order to further understand the dynamics of the current organizational climate. They were invited to participate in the next phase by clicking on a response button which would automatically sent me an email containing their email address. I contacted those who responded and scheduled convenient interview time. The interviews took between 1 to 2.5 hours and were recorded on a digital Dictaphone and then transcribed.

Sample: Of the 142 white males that completed the web based questionnaire in 2005, 93 indicated that they would be willing to participate in the in-depth interviews. They were contacted so as to schedule appointments. Of the 93, four respondents declined the interview, had been retrenched or had resigned. Ten failed to respond to the four personalized emails sent. Four respondents were excluded from participation due to geographic location. Hence, in total 75 in-depth interviews were conducted over a period of 6 months producing approximately 212 hours of recorded interview data. A further 10 follow-up interviews were conducted with those candidates who had demonstrated particularly interesting reflexive reformulations.

Method for Data Analysis: Thematic content analysis and Discourse analysis

Identities are constructed within a discourse. Therefore we need to understand them as produced in specific historical contexts and institutional sites reinforced by specific discursive formations and

[5] who were shown a page thanking them for their participation and informing them of their access rights to the findings of the research

practices. Further, because self identity is discreet and dynamic it cannot be observed directly. Methodologies of discourse analysis and thematic content analysis make it possible to observe identity formation indirectly by exposing the discourses to which individuals subscribe and how this informs the individualized sense of a social self [Brown & Yule, 1991]. When an individual expresses their attitude towards a given construct, one is able to detect the discourses they employ in creating meaning and interpreting their social world, but also how these discourses inform their identity construction [Binnell, 1997]. Hence, this research employs thematic content analysis in order to sort and classify the different narratives into typologies, and the analysis of discourses in order to interrogate the various types of narratives supplied by respondents [Coulthard, 1992].

Although there exist a great deal of definitions, for the purposes of this research; Discourse is defined as 'a system of statements, sets of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, and so on that… together provide a particular version of events' [Burr, 1995: 48]. The Biographical narratives collected all contained various identifiable sets of meanings that the respondents drew upon in order to construct a continuous and coherent life story and interpret the events they experienced. Classifying the sets of meanings and analyzing the extent to which these are shared amongst respondents makes it possible to order the narratives into a number of types of identity formation [Steyn, 2001]. The hegemonic masculine identity and white racial identity institutionalized in the apartheid era [Hyslop, 1999] were used as the base line in order to interrogate the respondent's racial and gendered conception of self from their particular discursive positions. It must be noted though, that seldom is an individual entrenched in one specific discursive position only. The positions from which respondents speak are inherently multiple and often contradictory, signifying dissonance

and potential for reflexivity [Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001]. All information from the interviews was transcribed, coded and sorted into themes relating to masculine and white identity formations

Data and Analysis: Biographical narratives

This research is situated upon the assertion that reflexive identity reformulation is a process that occurs throughout the individual's life project. In line with this, the interviews were conducted in a manner that guided the respondent through a retrospective evaluation and narration of the development of their life projects that ended in a contextualized self-construction of the respondent at present [Brown & Yule, 1991]. Each interview took the form of an interactive unscripted conversation, covertly steered by myself along certain themes. Thus, as the interviewer I was not in a passive role, but actively participating providing agreement or contestation in order to elicit information and encourage introspection and critical reflection by the respondents (For a thorough discussion of this method see Witzel, 2000). The narrative reporting process was employed firstly to establish (through individual retrospective self report) whether or not white male respondents believed that they had engaged in some form of identity reformulation, and whether this could be, in their view, attributed to an extent to the changing work environment. Once it was established that the vast majority of respondents believed that some form or extent of identity reformulation had occurred respondents were encouraged to share their bio-graphical narratives in greater depth.

The assumptions of racial affinity, even solidarity [see Gallagher, 1999] that resulted from me being from the same racial grouping as my research respondents, played an important role in the dynamics between the researcher and the researched, and contributed greatly to the kind of information that

respondents were prepared to share with me. They expressed the assumption that a shared racial affiliation automatically invoked a shared understanding. However, I am not immune to unconsciously replicating the racial discourse into which I have been socialized. In my conclusions, I reflect upon this in an attempt to acknowledge how the meaning drawn from my own discursive positions has impacted upon my analysis of whiteness.

Limitations of Research Design and Analysis

All research is goal orientated and never value free, because it uses a particular approach to knowledge, associated with a particular discourse, which creates a version of the research topic that is fused with political, social and personal influence [Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001]. My researcher's bias in steering the interviews and analyzing the data needs to be acknowledged. However, through cross checking coding across interview scripts, and also with similar studies (see Steyn, 2001; Goodwin & Schiff 1995) I achieved standard coding practices.

Further, capturing narratives through talk has a tendency to lead respondents to 'create' coherence in their stories, where there may not necessarily exist any. The inner incoherence that often exists within the individual's dissonant self experience is lost as the respondent feels compelled to demonstrate plausible self-explanations (of which coherence is a part), thus the dissonance is not often actively expressed [Coulthard, 1992]. However, every attempt was made in the interactive interviews to offset this. Firstly, the underlying intention of the interview was not fully acknowledged and respondents were told that it was predominantly a study focusing on the change process and how employees had experienced it. Thus, race and gender related aspects of the biographical narrative were uncovered somewhat covertly by focusing on the demographic questions and

displaying a keen and personal interest in *that particular* respondent's life story, seeming to allow the interview to deviate off its designated script. The expression of dissonance was encouraged by providing agreement or confrontation to the respondent to expose them to information from other discourses and allow them to explore these contradictions in a neutral non-judgmental context. This was achieved by conveying in verbal and non-verbal sentiments that I as the interviewer fully regarded the respondent as the only 'expert' of his experience, and thus, I would have no expert knowledge intrinsically to make judgments from [Babbie, 1998]. As Sayer maintains; due to the embeddedness of the social researcher within the context of research itself they are not in a position to "judge between different discourses and decide that some accounts are better than others" [2002: 47]. Finally, because of the location of the sample and the limited criteria for qualification to participate, being a white male employee, the findings of this research cannot be generalized to other employee population groups or other ethnic or gender groups with any certainty.

Ethical Considerations

As the discussion of race issues is a thorny and sensitive issue, particularly in the South African context, this research was approached with diplomacy and caution. Further, the identity of all participants in the study was kept confidential, to prevent any negative implications of their participation on their working environment. Participation was voluntary and informed consent was required at all times (consent forms were completed and signed by each participant).

Chapter 3: Findings & Analysis: Examining the Evolution of Structure

This research examines the existence of a causal relationship between changing organizational structures and changing self-identities. More particularly, I wish to examine the extent to which a selected group of white males are engaging in reconstructing their self identities because of structural (organizational) change. To this end; Archer's **morphogenetic approach** provides a useful starting point with which to examine the causal relationships that exist in the interplay between structure and agency. This chapter makes use of the first stage of the morphogenetic approach as an analytical framework to examine the structures that exist as a result of previous morphogenetic cycles, including any structural conditioning that may be occurring as a result.

As such, this chapter investigates changes in structural reconfigurations that have taken place throughout the historical development of the Organization at a macro-social level. It is considered how these changes related to the various national socio-historical developments and how this has shaped the formal organizational change process, called Beyond 60, that took place between 2004 and 2008. A brief narrative is given of why and how the organizational structure was altered focusing more acutely on those aspects relating specifically to race and gender. After which the structural outcomes of the change are briefly discussed including the extent of alignment with or deviation from the desired outcomes. This chapter is also intended to provide the socio-historical background needed to contextually situate this study, and hopefully assist bridging in the problematic macro-micro divide that limits the morphogenetic approach as an analytical framework.

The Macro-social environment and its implications for Beyond 60

The South African work place is a highly contested subject, its fractured and diverse nature bares testament to a turbid past and a present in rapid transition [Innes, Kentridge & Perold, 1992]. In Archer's conceptualization structure is enduring and has an existence independent of and separate from the application of agenic powers. Her argument is that, whilst structures are created by people, the people responsible for creation of present structures may not necessarily be present now, because the current structures are the products of past social action [Archer, 2000]. The Organization has a long history closely intertwined with the historical development of South Africa and thus, its structure and function were and still are heavily shaped by the prevailing political climate, that persist, despite their architects being no longer present [Basson, 1996]. Accordingly, the application of the morphogenetic framework begins with an analysis of the historical structures and resulting workplace regimes which existed prior to this current temporality. Thus, the analysis presented below briefly discusses these historical structures which informed the organizations reflexive behaviours.

When examining the Apartheid workplace regime, we can see that it took much the same shape as that socio-political order [Webster & Holdt, 2005]. Employment data was collated from the Organization's inception in 1945 until the present , and shows the demographic distribution of employee numbers [See graph 1, Appendix 2]. An examination of this data shows that in 1964-65 only 6 permanent posts were available to black* people, only one of which was a science post[6]. In

[6] Although data reflects that a large number of black* people were employed in this period, the vast majority occupied low-level jobs. E.g. in 1965 there were 510 white and only 1 black* scientist, 986 white and 31 black* technicians. It can be inferred from the data and historical context that the vast majority of professional positions were occupied by white employees.

accordance with apartheid legislation all other posts designated to black* people were temporary, and so they were not afforded the same rights and privileges granted to permanent employees under their conditions of employment [Basson, 1996]. From 1965 employee counts were no longer recorded in demographic categories. Rather the categories of temporary and permanent were used until 1980, therefore the numbers of black employees can only be estimated (see Appendix 2)[7].

The consolidation of political power of the apartheid government in the early 1960's was accompanied by the gradual reorganization of government supported research activities [Breitenbach, 1974]. Ultimately, the majority of research undertaken at the organization focused primarily on the invention of military technology for the protection of the apartheid state from enemies from both within and outside its borders [Kingwill,1990] .

This period marked the first of three distinct reflexive shifts in the organization's identity. The changing political climate led the organization through a drastic transformation, prompting it to re-evaluate its identity in light of the almost complete militarization of the state apparatus [Giddens, 1991: 59]. Whereas previously the organization had claimed to operate under the auspices of objective science, its operations now became overtly political. Similar to the manner in which power was exerted in society at large (increasingly coercive) [Simkins, 1988], this workplace regime reflected highly stratified and hierarchical structures, with authoritarian management styles, antagonistic industrial relations, the blatant suppression of skills development for non-white groups and women, and the deprivation of the majority of workers of their basic rights [Innes, Kentridge & Perold, 1993].

[7] All the information on which I base these conclusion come from various documents surveyed, found in the organizations archives and extending from 1945 onwards

From the time of its establishment and until the mid 1970's the Organization relied heavily on government investment to facilitate scientific advancement as all core activities were funded through its parliamentary grant [Maphai, 1994]. However, this changed as the worldwide economic downturn of the early 1970's significantly affected the South African economy [Louw, Frances & Kendall, 1987], which was further compounded by increased internal and external pressure throughout the 1970's that came as a negative response to the social structures and their associated institutions constructed to support Apartheid [de Tiot, 1991]. Systemic contestation increased dramatically, as the ruling group was no longer able to fully suppress the emerging contradicting ideologies that opposed their interests. Social relations became increasingly disordered and antagonistic. It became clear in the early 1980's that the Apartheid government could no longer maintain its economic and political stronghold over the country [Lester, 1996]. Hence, national budgets for public organizations were cut dramatically, as the state began to privatize many of its assets [Sanda, 2003].

Consequently, the organization experienced its second major reflexive identity reconfiguration which significantly changed its structure, ideologies, function and internal dynamics.

As a response to the changing socio-economic context, the corporate agents[8] that held power within the organization implemented a concessionary strategy to attract external capital by providing science and technology services, which began to take shape from 1984 [Sanda & Faltholm, 2004]. This was done to preserve their hegemonic positions and protect their own interests bound up in the organization. The resulting structural and ideological transformation saw the organization develop into a market driven entity heavily focused on and the generation of income through technology

[8] Archer [1995] postulates that corporate agents are those individuals operating within a particular systemic configuration who have aligned their interests with broader group interests and thus collectively can exert greater power in transforming the structures to better serve their interests. The research refers to them as 'change architects'

transfer from the public to private sectors [Klopper, 1996]. As a result, many of the research initiatives that were not producing direct outputs with tangible monetary value were abandoned [Kingwill, 1990]. The staff compliment that, until 1985, had expanded steadily began to contract due to decommissioning, transferring and privatization of a number of divisions. This reflexive shift in organizational identity began in 1985, a time that coincided with the most vocal and militant internal contestation of the Apartheid regime [Berman, 2001].

A period of transition followed, stretching through the 1990's, where the hegemonic continuities of the previous workplace regime became increasingly disordered, and a multiple of new contesting ideologies of 'post' apartheid workplace regimes competed to achieve structural embeddedness [Webster & Holdt, 2005]. The transition from one workplace regime to another was characterized by chaos and discontinuous social relations, as establishing reform was a constant struggle [Klopper, 1996].

The social landscape of South Africa was changing rapidly due to the systematic dismantling of the social structures supporting apartheid and a rejection of the institutions which reinforced it [Marias, 2001]. Because the South African workplace was being profoundly transformed by broader social, political and economic transitions at local and international levels, the organization was no longer equipped to function in that new landscape. Confrontations between subordinates and managers increased and, owing to the division of labor on racial lines, each confrontation was drenched in racial and political meaning. This was because the intrinsic codes of behaviour embodied in the previous regime had been removed- but as yet no mutually agreed codes existed for structuring

acceptable social relations in the new regime [Webster & Holdt, 2005]. Consequently, the Organization experienced significantly increased levels of employee turn-over, significantly more labour disputes requiring litigation, decreased employee productivity and satisfaction [Sanda, 2003]. This precipitated – among other things – the expansion of their legal and communications departments and the development of the Employee Satisfaction Monitor [1994] (see methods). The beyond 60 change initiative undertaken between 2004 and 2006 signifies the embedding of a new post apartheid workplace regime.

The above analysis demonstrates that the particular systematic configuration that existed prior to the application of the beyond 60 change initiative had been established, transformed and perpetuated through successive morphogenetic cycles [Donati, 2006]. Thus, the explanatory power of Archer's theoretical framework is evident at the macro-social level. The beyond 60 process was motivated by the structures that existed as "outcomes of previous morphogenetic cycles" [Archer, 2000: 71] and marks organization's third major reflexive identity reconfiguration.

Pre-existing Structures as the Prior Outcomes Informing Beyond 60

Archer [1995] maintains that because there is a temporal lapse between agenic effects and structuring effects, the present existing structures may not be the products of present actors but, nevertheless, do impact on the actions of present actors [Healy, 1998]. What this means is that structures are produced by social action, but then take an objective status for future rounds of social action. Thus the emergent properties of structures brought about by previous actions of social actors, have causal powers shaping and influencing the future actions of (future) social agents

[Archer, 2000]. As with previous reflexive identity shifts that occurred throughout the organization's history, the beyond 60 process was a result of the actions of corporate agents (change architects) who were responding to the increasing contestation in existing socio-structural configurations and who held sufficient power to transform those social structures to further their interests.

As shown above, the first two reflexive shifts precipitated organizational structures that were hierarchical, control focused, bureaucratic, and perpetuated embedded racial and gender inequalities informed by hegemonic masculine and racial discourses which had been institutionalized by the ruling group. The demographic composition of science and management positions was heavily dominated by white males. Because of the militarised nature of the Organization, and further because a great number of white men in the management structures had served out their compulsory military conscription with the organization itself, a highly stratified, complex quasi-militaristic management style still dominated. As one white male respondent reflected:

> *"I've been here over 20 years, I came straight from the Army -- and the [organization] was a comfortable continuation of Army life. Beyond 60 changed the culture of this place fundamentally, and only now do I realize the way this place operated was not normal" [interview 72]*

Further, the organization had become fragmented and disconnected from its original mandate because of its commercialization in the 1980's. Consequently; the science base had been detrimentally degraded and little fundamental research was taking place.

Moreover, the composition of the organization needed to demonstrate a more accurate reflection of the demographic composition of the nation, and an alignment with the democratic principles of the

'new South Africa' in its operations. Because the hegemonic power of the previous political regime had been removed, the organizational structures were incompatible with the transforming national context that now promoted a different set of interests. In order to meet the new needs, the organization needed to shift its primary orientation towards the generation and dissemination of new knowledge to assist the nation's social development. What these needs were was now determined by a different group of corporate agents at the organizational, national and international levels. Thus a change plan was designed and implemented that intended to alter the existing structures in order to address the principle concerns of those social actors, which were, by virtue of the Organizations governmental association, closely aligned with the interests of the relatively new Democratic Government.

An executive of the organization interviewed in 2004 provided a useful summary of these diverse forces and broadly how the change plan intended to address them:

> *There are a lot of different factors that have made this change necessary. Firstly, there are* ***not enough scientists doing science.*** *So a lot of job functions are going to be changed, and more resources pumped into doing basic research. There has been significant* ***deviation from our official mandate*** *over the years. The new South African environment is demanding* ***more innovative research in order to facilitate sustainable development****, that's the mandate we need to respond to… And there are factors broader than the [Organization] which are also important. South Africa is changing and the organization has to keep up. The* ***distribution of scientists working here is not at all representative of the national demographic profile****. This place acted as a catchment for white male researchers, it therefore now faces the problem of the 'aging white male'. Because of this country's history most scientists are older white males and are currently further along their career path than any other group. In comparison with national transformation the transformation of the [organization] is lagging. So implementing Affirmative Action policies is a crucial component of the restructuring. We also need to change the* ***public perception*** *of the [Organization]. It's quite negative- I've heard lots of people say 'oh- the [Organization], that's the place where they build bombs'- and that's if they know about us at all. Functioning in the New South Africa, the [organization] no longer enjoys the protection of*

*sanctions and a closed economy. There is a lot of **International competition** so we need to reform our knowledge skills and produce experimental research of international standards and become internationally renowned and competitive in terms of knowledge generation and application [Interview 1]*

Thus is can clearly be seen from all the above that the organizational change initiative was strongly motivated by the structural conditioning that existed as a result of previous morphogenetic cycles. The new structure was designed to change the culture, ideologies, functioning and composition of the organization and address the above concerns and other artefacts of an apartheid workplace regime that were still being reproduced by the existing structural arrangements.

Unintended Consequences

Archer, [1988] posits that in the course of structural conditioning and production a great deal of 'unintended consequences' occur. As actors we only interact with and understand specific strata of a highly complex stratified social reality, and thus we cannot know all the variables being engaged in transformative processes. This dictates that occurrences in one area of the stratified social reality have impacts in other areas of the social reality leading to unintended consequences.

The Beyond 60 process was not simply intended to change the organizational structure and function, but also to "change the mindset of all employees" [Interview 1], by instituting policies and practices that encourage enthusiasm, discipline, openness and tolerance, emulating the ideologies motivating transformation at the national level [Hyslop, 1999]. The new structure was hoped to encourage networking, flexibility, innovativeness, and efficiency, reduce hierarchy and empower all employees. However, my observations of the implementation of Beyond 60 led me to the conclusion that the

outcomes of the organizational restructuring, despite altering its structure and functional operations, failed to achieve the desired 'mindset shift' and precipitated to a protracted period of significant confusion and frustration. This is because the change process created a great deal of consequences that the change architects' had not intended or anticipated, and thus their impacts could not be controlled.

Because social reality is deeply stratified, it is only really superficially available through human experience [Archer, 1988]. A single change in an existing system impacts all other parts of the system, a complex change (such as beyond 60) has unlimited consequences. Mink, Esterhuysen, Owen [1993: 38] conclude that "Any program that seeks to introduce change into an organization will fail if it is not grounded in a system-wide view of the organization", which takes into account all strata of individuals, groups, the organization, and the broader socio-political, cultural and economic context. The change management strategies applied during this process did not take the impact on identity formation into account. This resulted in a wide range of unintended and negative consequences that had not been anticipated. The change process focused on changing formal structures and processes of the organization, but did not take into account the impact of that structural change would have on employees as individuals, and the unpredictable myriad of directions in which their identities could develop as a result of the unintended consequences of agenic forces acting on structures.

Managing Change and the Outcomes of Beyond 60

It can be seen from the methods used that the change process was based on a classic social psychological change approach [Schumacher, 1997]. This model assumes stability, treating change as an event separate from continuous organizational operations.

The Organization is governed by mandate that directs it to respond to the needs of government and the republic. But, if anything, one certainty is that these needs are constantly changing. Therefore, it is not viable to apply a change method that purposefully freezes the organization in a particular state, and yet expect it to be able to react to the constantly changing social environment in which it is situated.

Although allowances were provided within the change plan to engage employees on a psychological level to gain 'buy-in' (such as through their marketing and rebranding strategies), the change method and ideology used meant that the individual was approached as a component of a larger group that ultimately acts and reacts rationally, irrespective of individual self-identities. This dominant view is essentially flawed as is assumes the rationality of employees, and assumes that there is a universally shared appreciation of one's place within a larger system. Further, it assumes that the interrelation between individual and structure at most catalyses a change in behaviour. It fails then, to acknowledge that behavioural changes are necessarily an observable symptom of a much deeper more fundamental change occurring at the level of the individual.

These critiques resonate with the critiques presented regarding the Morphogenetic approach (chapter 1). Her approach, which is overtly rational and scientific seem to emulate the managerial and structuralist bias evident in the change strategy followed, which is evidenced not to have served the organization well.

The new operations model and structure whilst, in principle, streamlined the organization and set it on a path of sustainable development, caused tangible instability and insecurity. In my observations I found little evidence that the change architects took stock of the human emotional content of Beyond 60 or acknowledged its psycho-social impact on those experiencing it or its implications for social relations. The change was mechanical, acting at a structural-functional level only. In addition, the change was a top-down process, which, even according to classic change management theory, is considered erroneous [Jessop, 2001]. Moreover, the new structure retained and created a substantial number of management positions which set up complex chains of responsibility and command. While this may lead to greater accountability, it fails to deconstruct the complex hierarchies of previous structural arrangements that perpetuate authoritarian relations and inequalities.

Because of the starkly evident similarities between Morphogenetics and the applied change management approach, I believe that the uncritical conversion of Archer's approach to a framework for organizational change, as Greener [2005], and Thursfield & Hamblett [2004 in Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2004] and other authors have done, would indeed be dire. Doing so would likely perpetuate many of the problems caused by applying the social-psychological change approach.

Nevertheless, the ability of Archer's framework to infer the directionality of causality should not be overlooked, but its application as and explanatory methodology for the micro level of intra-organizational relations is limited (see conclusions).

The change architects insisted that the focus of the process was on changing the organization's *culture* so that it better aligned to national interests, but this directly implied changing the beliefs and values, composition, and behaviour of the work force constituting the organization so that they enacted and perpetuated this new structure. In line with this, I agree with Archer's morphogenetic approach asserts that social actors, operating within this particular systematic configuration, reproduce the system through repetitive actions [Archer, 1995]. Thus, their intention was to transform the existing structures so future social actors would be deliberately conditioned by the altered organizational structures and reproduce the transformed structures. However, the architects failed to recognize the extent to which the success of embedding these altered structures relied on initiating and sustaining an identity change in these individuals, thus that they may reproduce the desired organizational structures rather than challenge them. Contestation of the new system configurations would likely modify the systematic configuration, transforming rather than perpetuating them.

That being said however, the restructuring process was successful in dismantling or at the least disembedding, many of the constructs informing the hegemonic racial and gender identities of white males, and set up precisely the conditions of a changing work environment that are required to prompt employees to embark on a reflexive project of self. In the chapters that follow I embark upon

an in-depth exploration of these reflexive shifts occurring at the individual level as a means of situating these unique developments within the macro-social changes and hopefully bridge the macro-micro divide in analysis to some extent.

Chapter 4: General Findings and Analytical Framework for Reflexive Self-identity Formation.

In the chapters that follow, I investigate if and in what ways white male employees are reconfiguring their self-identities, and whether causality can be established between structural changes and individual reflexivity. This chapter examines the general findings of the research in this regard and looks at the broad organization wide interactions occurring between agents and structures. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that large scale interaction is indeed occurring between employees, as agents, and organizational structures and to provide evidence of causality between these structural changes and the shifting beliefs and perceptions of employees. This will open the way for an in-depth discussion of reflexive self-identity formations. Therefore, the second stage of the Morphogenetic cycle; Production is applied as the analytical framework. In this stage, human agency interacts with the structures that resulted from structural conditioning [Archer, 1995].

On a most basic level, the reflexive project of self implies the contestation that exists between agency and structure. Herein we see the tension between Agents' exercising their agenic capacities in order to engage their transformative powers to shape society's contours, in contrast with the extent to which agenic capacities are inhibited by structuring forces. Before one can initiate a discussion detailing the reformulations of self-identity resulting from structural reconfigurations, it is necessary to demonstrate that the social agents in this study are indeed interacting with the shifting structures of the organization and as a result are aware of the systemic contradictions.

As discussed in the literature review, Archer [1988] believes that if social agents become aware of an ideology within their particular systemic configuration that stands in opposition to their internalized ideology, the psychological negative response this causes compels the individual to act in order to alleviate this discontinuity. In this instance, the systematic contradictions were actively introduced through the popularization of alternative ideologies which motivated Beyond 60. It was therefore necessary to find a way to demonstrate that, at a macro organizational level, interaction between actors and structures was occurring, and the social actors (employees) were becoming aware of these alternative ideologies and systemic contradictions. This was achieved by measuring the amount of dissonance employee's felt at various stages in the study.

In line with archer's theory, *Dissonance* occurs when a person perceives a logical inconsistency among his or her cognitions. This happens when one idea or belief implies the opposite of another belief or idea to which the individual subscribes [Brehm & Cohen, 1962]. Noticing this contradiction would lead to the individual experiencing dissonance, which could manifest as anxiety, shame, guilt, anger, embarrassment, tension and other negative emotional states (collectively referred to as 'dissonance' in this research). A powerful cause of dissonance is when an idea conflicts with an ideology fundamental to the 'self-concept' [Wetheral, 1997]. Therefore, when an individual is exposed to systemic contradictions they are likely to display a range of these negative emotions. The theory of cognitive dissonance proposes that people have a motivational drive to reduce dissonance by changing their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, or by rationalizing their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, thus either altering aspects of their socially constructed self-identity, or reinforcing these aspects [Wetherell, 1996]. Again, this seems to resonate with Archer's postulations that individuals,

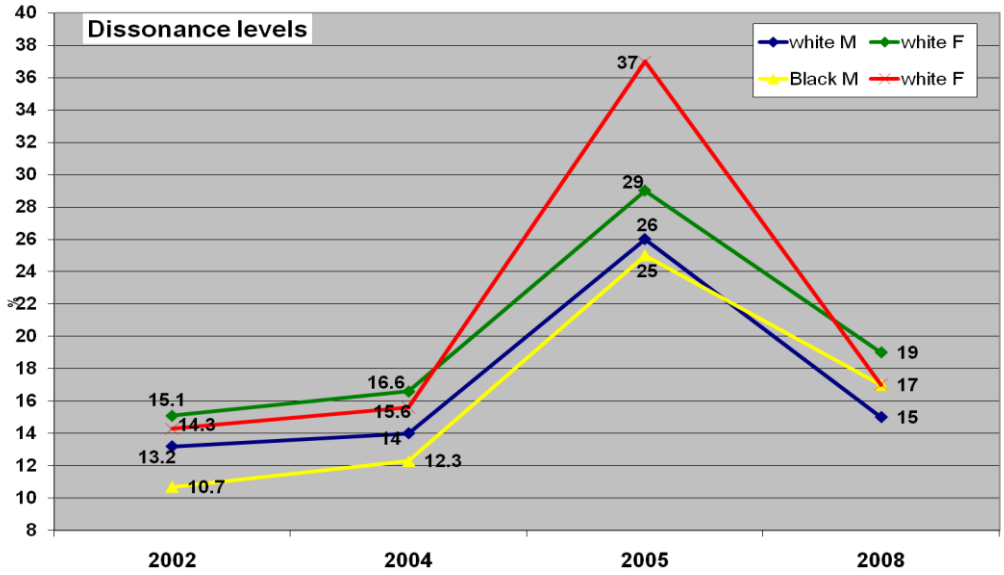
when faced with these systemic contradictions, will act in a number of ways to reduce the internal conflict. The varying amount of dissonance felt by employees over the years of the study was used as an indicator for social interaction with the contradictions present in the social structure.

Findings – General Trends: Macro Level

The questionnaire was applied in 2002, 2004, 2005, and 2008. Beyond 60 effectively spanned this entire period, although the official implementation of the new structure took place place in October 2005. The graph below shows the aggregate dissonance score per demographic grouping for the years of the study. The systematic configurations that had been in place since the 1990's were acting upon employees, shaping their practices, and thus there is little wide spread contestation of these structures. This is clear from the reflected feelings of dissonance, as in 2002 they were fairly low for all groups. I postulate that this is because contesting knowledge motivating beyond 60 had not yet been popularized and the change plan was still in its early formations. Thus, a quasi-apartheid work regime still dominated daily practice within the organization.

At this early stage it is evident from the data, that the majority of employees were, for the most part, not explicitly questioning the existing structural configuration, and seemed to operate in uncritical acceptance of the entrenched gender and racial bias perpetuated through these social structures. Any contestation of the existing structure that was taking place was in the higher levels of the organization, particularly with the relatively new executive members responsible for engineering Beyond 60.

Chart 1: Dissonance levels as per the Employee Satisfaction Monitor 2002 – 20089



In early 2002 these change architects commissioned a number of baseline studies across the organization in order to assess the extent of transformation and various aspects of structure and function that required revision. In late 2003-2004 the findings of the various base line studies as well as the framework for change were slowly disseminated through the organization, filtering from executive, down through the hierarchy of management structures, to non-management employees[10]. Much of this new knowledge stood in conflict to the widely accepted organizational discourse internalized by employees and began to elevate the negative emotions they were feeling. Thus, all groups reflected escalating feelings of dissonance from 2004 to 2005. This indicates that they were becoming aware of the conflicting knowledge, and hence, started to question the existing ideologies and structures. Regardless of whether respondents were reacting to the critique of the existing structure or the plans for the new structure- it is clear that the shifting structures and

[9] Although much significant detail is lost due to the aggregation of scores for all 9 section of the ESM, the graph is still important to demonstrate a number of prominent trends.

[10] There is a time laps between the release of this information and its effects on the psycho-social states of employees, and thus the impact of it is only seen in quantitative terms from 2005. Values change slowly as it takes time to disembed old ideologies and embed new ones

contradictory ideologies that informed it had a profound and measurable organization wide impact. Whereas, previous to the general dissemination of knowledge related to Beyond 60, the social actors operating within that particular systematic organizational configuration would reproduce the system through their repetitive actions, there was now contestation in the reproduction of these systems [Archer, 1995]. More people began to assimilate the contesting information being popularized, which stood in conflict with their belief system at the time.

As the graph shows, there was a dramatic increase in widespread feelings of dissonance, which hit their critical peak in late 2005. This measurement was taken shortly after the official launch of the new structure (i.e. employees had to implement and work within the new organizational structure from 5 October 2005). In 2005 all groups were experiencing critically high levels of dissonance as all scores above 25%, showing significant contestation and discontinuity. Even, Black* Males, the lowest scoring group, were experiencing levels of dissonance two and a half times greater than the acceptable range. Over this period, White males and females reflected a 12% increase in dissonance, Black* males experienced a 13% increase, whilst Black* females experienced an alarming 21% increase. Participant observation and qualitative data indicated that, although all groups were experiencing elevated feelings of dissonance, the precise cause of this differed across groups.

In general the increased levels were either because the new knowledge shed a critical light on the old structure and ideologies and consequently the individual's internalized ideologies that were aligned with it. Or the new structure and ideology being introduced made more individual's aware that the old structure and ideologies stood in conflict with the individual's primary concerns [Archer, 1995].

The majority of black females who provided comments with their 2005 questionnaire submissions indicated that they had become increasingly dissatisfied with the prevailing organizational structure, more so since the release of the information uncovered by the baseline studies.

> *"Reading the Beyond 60 reports has only confirmed what I felt all this time. So-given the chance, I would change the division level managers, as most of them still hold on to past oppressive behaviours. They still can't believe that black people are capable to think independently and do perfect work without a white-man supervision. I would equally remunerate employees not according to the colour of their skin but rather by their performance. THAT'S WHY WE ARE AT GROUND LEVEL, WE ARE STILL OPPRESSED BY OUR MANAGERS WHO TREAT US LIKE THEIR OWN DOMESTIC WORKERS [emphasis in respondent's feedback] – I am angry…." [Comment 2005 questionnaire, Black Female Senior Lab Technician]*

Conversely, many white respondents who provided comments in the 2006 qualitative interviews elaborated that their increased dissonance was attributable to resistance to the structural changes that were slowly being phased in organization wide and disembedding the prevailing structure.

> *"They are killing our business- The new [Black*] managers don't take the culture of the systems into account, there is a culture that is embedded in the systems and procedures, the way things are done. New managers changing this is causing a lot of unnecessary disturbance, I will stay here for now, because I am loyal to my division- and I will challenge the system, to get things back to* ***normal****" [Interview 82].*

The negative feelings being experienced by employees started to lessen over the course of the next two years (2005 – 2008). As the graph indicates the aggregate levels of dissonance recorded began to recede from 2005. Employees started to change their behaviours, find alternative coping strategies and reconciled themselves with the new structure which was becoming fully embedded in the

organization. Accordingly, the final application of the questionnaire taken in 2008 reflected consistently decreased feelings of dissonance for all groups.

Although a trend is clear, the graph shows that there are distinct differences in the way in which different groups are experiencing internal environment of the organization. Though a full investigation of these differences is beyond the scope of this research, many white employees interviewed showed reconciliation with the changes, indicating that reflexive self-identity reconfigurations have been occurring:

> *"I was wary about beyond 60, but in the end they showed me it would be good for me, I had always focused on research, the new vision makes it very clear now I know what my role is, it helps me a lot in my life" [Interview 83]*

By late 2008 the altered structure and functions, its accompanying values and culture had become entrenched, and the new operations model has been fully instituted. However, many of the final achievements of the Beyond 60 change initiative have fallen short of its initial goals and expectations.

The various compromises made from the initial change plan to its eventual institutionalization clearly demonstrates that some white males within the organization still held sufficient power to transform the existing and intended structures in order to better cater to their primary concerns. As a white female employee observed: *"there are a lot of political agendas that are in operation which are affecting the outcome of this change" [Comment 2005 questionnaire].*

Thus, as confirmed by the measurement of employee feelings of dissonance over the years, Archer's assertion that social interaction takes place between agents and systemic contradictions is indeed

demonstrated to be the case at the macro-organizational level. Therefore, the direction of causality can be inferred as it is evident that exposure to systemic contradictions brought to light by the shifting organizational structures precipitates an increase in negative emotional responses and thus escalated levels of dissonance. So, changing socio-organizational structures are causally linked to increased dissonance.

There are a variety of methods an individual may employ to deal with their dissonance (two of which involve either altering ones identity to conform to the changing socio-organizational constructs, or to maintain one's identity in spite of the contestation, and is so doing challenge these changing structures (both activities are reflexive).

The weakness in Archer's theory appears when we consider **what** these actors do as a response to these contradictions and associated negative feelings. The failing in Archer's morphogenetic approach and her theorizations concerning identity built upon it, are predominantly due to her narrow spectrum of behavioural options she grants reflexive individuals experiencing structural contradictions [O'Mahoney, 2005]. Archer [2001] completely neglects of the psychology of the individual and lacks consideration for the effects that inter-agenic interactions have, as agents create meaning for themselves and one another in the process of interaction. This has implications for the outcomes of structural reconfigurations, the shape and form that they take, as well as for the outcomes of reflexive deliberations of individuals. Thus the predictive power of this methodology is limited at this level as it fails to consider the very relevant psychological component of identity formation and the broader effects this has.

Archer maintains that the interactions between agents and structure can have one of two outcomes: **Morphostasis** or **Morphogenesis** [Archer, 1995]**.** This dualism is limiting as it fails to consider all the options for change outcomes for both structures and individuals. For example, it is possible that a structural component is rejected altogether and thus becomes obsolete, is no longer reproduced and therefore, rather than stasis, it ceases to exist. If such an occurrence is included in her definition of Transformation (morphogenesis), then it is so broad that its explanatory capacities are lost.

Further Archer does not fully consider the implications of the discursive operations of power on shaping both structural and agenic reflexive outcomes, as her conception of 'corporate actors' leaves those without aligned interests little agenic capacity to enact structural change. This research shows that reflexive identity formation processes operate on a continuum of behaviour rather than four specific bounded modes of reflexivity (as Archer [2001] asserts in her theory concerning self-identity formation). Thus, in order to construct an analytical framework for the reflexive reconstruction of employee self-identities, Connell's [1995] concept of hegemonic masculinity is employed, and extended to hegemonic racial identity [Steyn, 2001], and used as the baseline from which self-identity reconfigurations are measured.

Metanarrative of Hegemonic Whiteness

The ideology of Apartheid was premised upon a particular conceptualization of whiteness, which was presented as normative, and biologically determined- rather than as a relativized social construction. Whiteness was seen as invisible, whilst all other races where a colour, positioned in relation to it. Hence, all other racial identities were defined with reference to the institutionalized whiteness of the

apartheid regime, and labeled as deviant if they did not conform to its conscripts [Webster & Holdt, 2005].

The hegemonic whiteness that enveloped South African cultural, economic and political relations contained colonial assumptions of racial and cultural superiority, entitlement and religious righteousness [Goodwin & Schiff, 1995]. However, unlike colonial assertions of whiteness, the hegemonic whiteness that took hold in south Africa for the better part of the 20th century was *sociologically indigenous* [see Stone 1985], meaning that they did not hold a strong identification with the culture of their ethnic origin, and instead felt a strong commitment to the country as legitimate and entitled inhabitants and citizens. This had a tremendous impact on the shaping of both the colonial and post colonial discourses of whiteness [Steyn, 2001]. This research refers to the apartheid informed discourse of whiteness as '***Hegemonic constructions of whiteness'.*** It is considered hegemonic because it was all pervasive, enforced by law, and perpetuated though the social enactment of those laws.

By employing a series of conversational reflective mechanisms during the interview process, respondents shared their views of what constituted the hegemonic whiteness of the apartheid era, and then positioned their own racial identity in relation to it. After which, they were led to reflect upon the current construction of their racial identities in relation to the challenges and changes brought about by the organizational change process.

Due to of the rapidly transforming national context, as well as the deliberate focus of Beyond 60 on Affirmative Action policies, race was a central preoccupation throughout the respondents bio-graphical narratives. A great deal of information was gathered on the topic when respondents reflected upon their childhoods, as well as their interpretation of the organizational change process.

Metanarrative of Hegemonic Masculinity

Although, for the purposes of this research, hegemonic masculinity is depicted as a single identity, it is incorrect to speak of masculinity as one homogenous group, as there are an array of different masculinities [Connell, 1995]. However, it is clear that social discourses of the past influence the present [Brown & Yule, 1991] as can be seen by observing the gradual transition is takes place and how the mechanisms associated with hegemonic masculinity are disembedded from institutional constructs.

The hegemonic conceptualization of masculinity perpetuated by apartheid ideology had a number of distinctive features. Firstly, it was racialised, 'white' was considered typical or normative as a part of male identity. Any deviation from this, such as being black- was depicted as a deviation from normative features of masculinity, and thus deviant [Marias, 1998]. Secondly, hegemonic masculinity was conceptualized in terms of sexual orientation and gender stereotyped roles and behavior. It was strongly heterosexist and legitimating gender inequality, promoting dominance, patriarchy, virility and rationality as desirable characteristics of the typical South African man [Breines et al, 2000]. Hegemonic masculinity was strongly militarized [Steyn, 2001]. Often, masculinity and military identity co-constructed one another, and thus, aggressiveness, leadership and obedience to authority are

central features of masculine identity. Thirdly, emotional censure is a key aspect of South African hegemonic masculinity, as men were discouraged from interacting with or expressing emotional content [Goodwin et al, 1995].

The respondents' views concerning masculine identity in general, as well as the constructions of their own masculinity were collected by posing direct and indirect questions, as well as guiding the conversation so that the topics covered in the interview mainstreamed gender as a central consideration, in an attempt to prompt introspective engagement from respondents. Respondents were asked directly whether they believed men and women should be equal, but also asked to elaborate on their familial relationships and gender roles. Further, they were asked to describe the 'typical south African man' and then were asked their view of this man and the extent of their identification with him (I took careful effort not to ascribe a race to this question). This was used as a baseline to measure the individual's identification with or disassociation from the hegemonic racial/gender identity.

When they were asked to describe a typical man, the common conceptions of masculinity listed by the majority of respondents were that a typical man was white, often Afrikaans, with strong family values and a clear role as the leader of and provider for the family unit. They described him as leading what they considered a 'normal' life which included a wife and children, long-term steady employment, a certain material standard, and religious practice. Negative attributes of dominance, self-centeredness, disciplinarian, shallow and emotionally immature where mentioned. But most often descriptions were uncritical and positive, describing him as hard-working with a disciplined work ethic, and loyal and sociable. Whether he was described negatively or positively, the

overwhelming majority of descriptions made reference to the typical man being 'quite conscious about his belonging' [Interview 22], showing the strong need to belong to a community that ascribes him an identity, whether it is to a religious affiliation, a political affiliation or some other popular form of social organization.

The Reformulation of Racial Identities of Whiteness

What it means to be white in South Africa has changed a great deal over the past 2 decades. The extent to which this has occurred in the racial identity formations of the study respondents varies widely and can be exposed by examining extent to which these individual constructions of racial identity conform to, oppose or undermine the most basic components of hegemonic white discourse. The findings indicate that the variations of racial identity formation run on a complex continuum, one end denoting the closest alignment with the hegemonic white discourse, and the other, complete opposition to it and dissociation from it. In order to illustrate reflexive racial identity formation I have chosen 3 points along this continuum, each representing a clear and distinct type of white racial identity formation, that are then further divided into a "negative-fearful" and a "positive-humanist" manifestation of each type. Though these classifications are my own, the inspiration for them was drawn from Steyn [2001] and Goodwin & Schiff [1995], both of whom produced notable studies on whiteness in a transforming South Africa.

Table 2: Typology of Reflexive Racial Identity formations:

Retrogressive Racial Identity formation	**Oppositional Retrogressive Racial Identity**
	Sympathetic Retrogressive Racial Identity
Avoidant Racial Identity formation	Victimhood Avoidant Racial Identity
	Utopian Avoidant Racial Identity
Grounded Racial Identity formation	Fearful Grounded Racial Identity
	Liberal Grounded Racial Identity

The reformulation of masculine Identities

As with racial identities masculine identities present themselves along a continuum of variation from those most aligned with hegemonic masculine conscripts to those opposed to and disassociated from hegemonic constructions of masculinity. However, the majority to the respondents displayed masculine constructions more aligned with hegemonic masculinity than in opposition to it, which makes the analysis somewhat disproportionate. For the purposes of analysis, three points along the continuum were selected: Retrogressive Masculinity, Dissociative Masculinity, and Evolutionary Masculinity.

General Findings: Micro Level

The overall findings indicate that the majority of respondents are undergoing varying degrees of reflexive identity formation, precipitated directly by the structural changes occurring in the organization as well as broader societal level structural changes associated with the socio-political transformation of South Africa. From the broad findings it can be seen that the extent to which respondents are able to engage in reflexive identity reformulations is largely dependent upon a number of common factors: Firstly, their belief in the capacities of individual agency to change both actors and structures. Secondly, the extent to which they are able to take ownership of their own whiteness and masculinity and acknowledge its association with hegemonic discourses. Thirdly, the extent of their reflexive deliberations depended greatly upon their agenic orientations[11] and the

[11] The effects of socialization on the capacity and directionality of action are referred to as one's 'agenic orientation' [Emirbayer and Miscbe; 1995: 12]. This essentially means the socio-cultural/ideological orientations ascribed to individuals by the specific cultural social contexts in which they were socialized, mediates their understandings of any circumstance/event/experience they have and thus influences their interpretation of and interaction with the associated social structures. An important aspect of this 'agenic orientation' for the purposes of this research is that it influences individuals beliefs about which structures are permanent and have been institutionalized (therefore resistant to change), and which structures can be challenged and changed [Chodorow, 1999].

extent to which they were willing to engage with contesting ideologies and explore alternative social constructs. Finally, at the granular level: the extent of a respondents reflexive engagement and reconfiguration depended greatly upon the individual's capacity to acknowledge how privileges afforded to them – *in particular*- by virtue of their white skin and penis- has shaped their racial and masculine identities and life projects. This is compounded by the individual's capacity to mitigate the negative emotions and dissonance associated with 'white guilt' and emasculation produced by such acknowledgements. Though it is rumoured to exist [see Connell, 2000], this research found no evidence of 'masculine guilt'.

Within the specific types and sub-types of racial and masculine identity formations discussed, there are still other factors that contribute to the extent of individual reflexivity. However, the ones discussed in the following three chapters are the common threads running through all types of reflexive reformulations. The respondents exhibited a wide array of highly complex racial identity reformulations, which were undoubtedly the product of periodic critical introspection and structural engagement. Strikingly, the same cannot be said for their gender identity formations, as few respondents reflected any substantial reconfiguration of their masculine identities, and the majority of constructions still reflected varying degrees of alignment with hegemonic constructions of masculinity.

Out of the total sample of white males, there were some individuals (10 in total) who demonstrated no reflexivity at all, no introspection or engagement with the socially constructed nature of their whiteness and masculinity. The existence of these things is an unquestioned natural phenomenon, taken as an unproblematic constant rather than a variable.

These individuals shared a number of characteristics that may or may not have attributed to their seeming lack of reflexivity. They were predominantly Afrikaans speaking, heavily religious, and subscribed to what they considered to be conservative Afrikaans culture, and further occupied lower level technical positions in the organization. Each of them expressed the sentiment of strong biological determinism in their explanations of social outcomes in that "that's just the way things are" [Interview 23], with little room left for the exercise of agenic powers in identity formation and their own capacity for agency.

In order to experience cognitive dissonance, an individual needs to believe that they have a choice [Wong, 2004]. Whether these ten white men simply lacked the acquired psycho-cognitive skill for introspection or whether they are in a highly subversive state of denial, cannot be deduced with any certainty.

One respondent keenly demonstrated this inability for introspection when, after some discussion, I asked whether he felt that men and women should be equal: *"No- because they aren't equal" [Interview 13].* Further prompting for engagement was met with confusion, frustration and an explanation which conveyed quite clearly that my continual questioning (despite this statement of fact) had only served to affirm the respondent's belief that women are intellectually inferior to men. It seemed that by his reasoning the inability for a woman to see that she is intellectually inferior is proof that she is indeed inferior.

The commonalities shared between respondents that did exhibit significant deviation from hegemonic constructions of masculinity in particular (8 in total), indicated that the structural

reconfigurations occurring at organizational level did not contest their internalized masculinity to any significant degree. These respondents were either European (Dutch, Finish, German and English) or had spent a substantial amount of time living in Europe, and further, had worked in the commercial sector for a number of years prior to their employment with the Organization. Their dissonance scores were significantly lower than other sub-types, and they displayed an openness towards reflexive engagement.

> *"having lived in Europe has given me a bit of a different perspective, I have taken the best from other cultures and tried to bring in them to the border reasoning to what it means for me to be South African. This organization used to be so dominated by white Afrikaans culture; it was like other cultures had to leave their skins at the A-frame* [main entrance] *before they came in, but like it or not that's all been shaken up. This change has exposed a lot more people to the 'big view'…" [Interview 76]*

It is broadly concluded from the analysis of the data associated with gender and masculinity that the organization has not challenged the gender roles and meanings attached gender identification that are embedded in an perpetuated through organizational structures. Although full investigation as to why this is, is beyond the scope of this research, it can be speculated that the change architects that designed and implemented the beyond 60 process uncritically perpetuated unequal power gender relations and roles that were incorporated into new structures and reembedded in organizational constructs. This may have been deliberate, in order to preserve the positions of power held by the men involved in crafting and leading the change, or it may have been unintentional, and perpetuated through the uncritical reproduction of social relations and structures by both men and women that reinforce unequal gender role stereotypes.

Finally, because dissonance is said to be at its “greatest and clearest” level when conflicting thoughts challenge the self-concept [Aronson, 1992:305], it can be inferred that the increased levels of dissonance reflected by participants over the time the Beyond 60 plan was disseminated and the changes implemented also shows that they are, as a consequence of their engagement with these conflicting ideologies and structures, being compelled to reflexively engage with their self-concept and reevaluate their self-identities.

Chapter 5: Retrogressive Identity Formation

Now that it has been established that the organizational change occurring was indeed precipitating reflexive engagement, this study proceeds to investigate the extent, forms and outcomes of the reflexive projects of white male employees. As such, in-depth interviews were conducted in early 2006, a time when organizational members were experiencing significantly increased feelings of dissonance. A typology of racial and masculine reflexive projects was developed and presented in the previous chapter. The following three chapters go on to explore the manifestations of these typologies situated within both the organizational as well as broader societal contexts. This chapter, specifically, looks at the outcomes of reflexive deliberations most closely aligned with hegemonic masculine and racial identities, Retrogressive identity.

Retrogressive Whiteness

The individuals falling within the first classification of racial identity formation display a racial identity that is closely aligned with the previously held hegemonic discourse of whiteness. Their unshaken belief in the innate superiority of the white race is demonstrated in their presentation of whiteness as an unproblematic biological given, where the propensity to rule and lead is a natural occurrence associated with whiteness.

> *"What does it mean to be white?... I don't know- it's like a default, I don't really connect with being white" [Interview 3]*

> *"I don't think black people can be on the same intellectual level as western people, they are more language orientated. They have a herding mentality- good in groups and good at wars and stuff like that- but they are not big inventors, western people are the ones that win Nobel prizes" [Interview 45]*

Note that in the above quote black people are referred to by their racial group where as white people are referred to as European, conveying the invisibility of white as a racial classification.

Because of this, there is no clear acknowledgement of the privileges they received by virtue of their whiteness, as any successes they achieved are attributed to ability and natural superiority.

> *"I don't feel bad about being white… I don't see myself as a minority, I know I'm intelligent and capable, and I'm willing to challenge anyone who thinks he can do better- to come and do it. I feel that what I do I do well, otherwise I wouldn't be here… nobody gave this to me, I worked hard for it. You see all these adverts and they try to make black people look bright, that aren't really, and its wrong" [Interview 12]*

As seen above, they deflect any feelings of dissonance by employing self-affirmation [See Wong, 2004]. They take stock of their positive qualities, accentuating their positive values and attributes as a means to reducing the importance of the conflicting knowledge responsible for the dissonance, and in this way, they provide validation and legitimacy to their ideologies and associated self-concept.

These individuals demonstrate a strong inclination towards employing dichotomies in their reasoning, as all can be neatly divided along the lines of good/evil, black/white and right/wrong. Accordingly, they do not acknowledge the socially constructed nature of self-identity in general, as ones identity is as set as ones genetics. Thus, there is marked 'othering' in their narrative, drawing clear distinctions between 'us' and 'them' based on race and ethnicity.

> *"When the transition came, I don't think I had a problem adapting… I know them… you cannot tell me a lot about their culture… they truly are not bad, but they are easily influencable, and they are led down the path of evil. I respect their ways but they must not try to convince us they are something they are not" [Interview 13]*

This is also associated with a paternal view of the 'other', as by virtue of the arrested biological and social development of the 'other'; they are placed at the level of children, and not autonomous adults.

> *"I know they must uplift, but it will take generations before they evolve to our level, blacks, it's not in their nature to plan for the future, they are not as responsible" [Interview 13]*

These dichotomies in reasoning employed by individuals displaying retrogressive identity formations assist them in ignoring or illegitimating the conflicting ideologies that cause their feelings of dissonance. In this way they are able to reduce their dissonance without having to change their internal ideologies or alter their self concept. Within this type are two sub-formations, oppositional retrogressive and sympathetic retrogressive racial identity. These will be discussed further on in this chapter, once retrogressive whiteness and masculinity has been fully described.

Retrogressive Whiteness is most closely aligned with hegemonic formations of masculinity, as their racial superiority both reinforces and is reinforced by their dominance as men. The pervasiveness and influence of the ideologies associated with these hegemonic identity formations is clearly seen in the organization, as those who held power prior to the transition manipulated organizational structures to reflect and reaffirm their internalized belief systems and protect their vested interests. Prior to the full implementation of the change plan (2005) the unequal representation of demographic groups in positions of influence bore testament to the entrenched racial and gender bias embedded in the organization's structures at the time. In 2002, only 18% of management positions in the organization were occupied by Black* people, women were paid on average 25%

less than their male counterparts for the same work, and only 9% of PhD's holders working for the organization were Black* people. Due to the more direct influence of government policy for transformation at the higher levels of the organization, the executive layer of management was already far more representative of the national demographics. In 2002 the executive layer of the organization which consisted of 6 people had a membership of two African men, one African woman and three white men. By 2005 this had altered slightly to include three African men and two white men. However in 2002, the Unit Directors stationed as heads in each of the organization's operating units, who heavily shaped how policies were translated into practice, remained almost entirely white males. The Middle management layer consisted mostly black African, but again predominantly male, with black females most often working directly under a senior or middle management positions, which again, were occupied mainly by white male employees. Despite the seemingly progressive levels of transformation present in executive structures, the rest of the organization was significantly lagging as just over 60% of the total employee population was white and mostly concentrated in the higher professional levels of the organization. One white male employee reflected in the 2006 interviews:

> *"Affirmative action? I think it's been avoided, because not much changed here. OK, we've got a black president[12] but below that there's still a lot of white people. I think it's because of the legal issues, you can't just rip and replace" [Interview 64].*

Retrogressive Masculinity

This presented itself as the most common form of masculine identity expressed by the respondents taking part in this study. They demonstrate a strong internalization of hegemonic constructions of masculinity, including specified gender roles, codes of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, and

[12] The Organizations CEO is referred to as the President

emotional disengagement. The retrogressive masculine identity promotes patriarchy and dominance of men over women in both domestic and organizational contexts [Whitehead, 2002]. Unequal power relations are considered appropriate and preferable, and a number of discursive arguments and meanings are drawn upon in order to provide justification for this:

The religious-creation justification: These narratives draw upon discursive meanings found in traditional and religious discourses, and often include elements of conspiracy in order to reinforce the dichotomy of good/evil to promote and legitimate unequal gender roles and dominance of men over women as an ordained, divine occurrence rather than a social construction.

> *[Do you think it possible for men and woman to be equal?] "No, man and woman were created differently. I think it's a symptom of the new age globalism thing, that woman should be equal to men" [Interview 22].*

The traditional- social roles argument: This narrative draws upon meanings intrinsic to tradition that perpetuate beliefs about the appropriateness of each gender for specific roles in society, depicting these as unproblematic, normative, context free and ahistorical

> *[Do you think it possible for men and woman to be equal?] "No, I think that's a bit of an extreme view. We are made to do different things- I think there's roles for each in different ways.-women are meant to take care of the emotional, and men are responsible for taking care of the family" [Interview 42].*

The biological argument: This narrative draws upon meanings of positivist biological determinism and social Darwinism in order to provide justification for and legitimation of unequal gender roles and power relations in society. These arguments promote gender roles and gender inequalities as natural, innate and fundamental. These men naturally assume the roles of leadership in work related on non-work related contexts. There is no acknowledgement that those in power use

these positions to further their ideology in their construction of versions of the truth and hegemonic masculinity

> *"Men and women can never be completely equal because it's in nature, they are just designed differently. If you look at nature, the male of the species is more dominant. It is not malicious- it's in order to protect the female and the species as a whole. Women these days try to do everything, career and family and it just don't work. Women in careers are too soft, they are not 100% focused on their work, their attention is never 100% there, the second they have kids their attention is diverted- you can just see that. I know some very focused career woman but then they had to sacrifice in other areas of their life. They should stay at home and stop trying to be chauvinist, while the black nannies raise your kids"[Interview 67]*

An important point to consider as touched on above is that, even though women have achieved greater equality in the work context in recent decades, domestic life remains segregated. Because of the abundance of cheep labour in South Africa, 'black nannies raising your kids' are a fairly common occurrence. Because of this men are not required to participate more equally in domestic work and child rearing, as the home remains a feminine responsibility. Thus, the liberation of women has not precipitated a re-articulation of unequal gender roles or masculine identities in domestic contexts.

A strong part of retrogressive constructions of masculine identity is their professional identity and how they view their field in terms of gender appropriate roles [Berger, Wallis & Watson, 1995]. They express a clear adherence to the sexual divisions of labour by demonstrating their strong support for patriarchy within the workplace and promotion of the belief that the biological disposition of women makes them either less or more suitable for particular positions [Connell, 2000].

> *"Equality in as far as it's practical. I'm an engineer, and equality there is not always practical- it's not work that is suitable for a woman" [Interview 75]*

Often a combination of these justifications is drawn upon to affirm the respondent's beliefs and reduce their feelings of dissonance without compromising their self-concept. Employing these arguments as 'common sense' serves to naturalize the dominant position of men and thus promotes the discursive operations of gendered power [Breines, Connell & Eide, 2000]. Further, these arguments assist the individuals making use of them by legitimating the sexist ideologies that reinforce their patriarchal self-identities and thus reject any knowledge that does not support it and would thus be a source for internal contestation (dissonance).

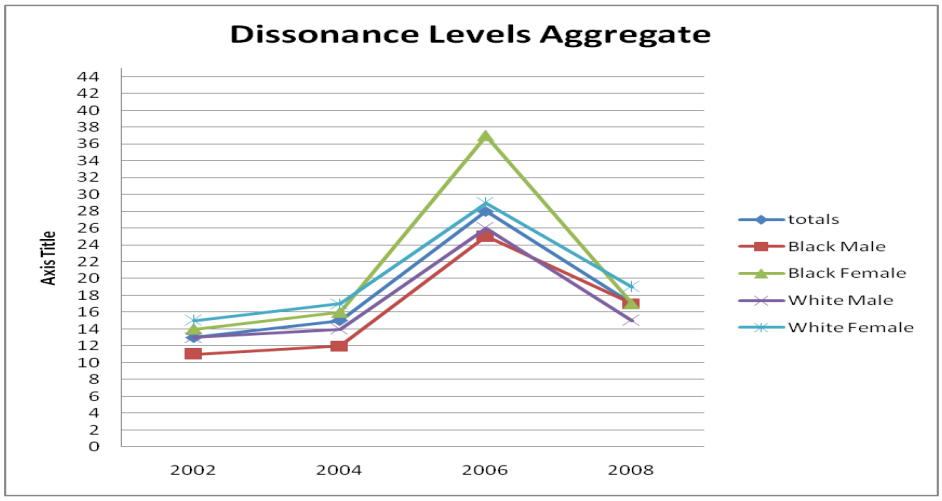
All retrogressive masculine identity formations uncritically accept unequal power distributions across gender roles and male dominance, as a unquestionable given. For the majority of individuals subscribing to this specific manifestation of masculine identity it seemed inconceivable to move beyond conceptions of masculinity as in innate, biological and fixed. There is a strong emphasis in these narratives that the process of masculine identity development is directed by one's upbringing in combination with the biological attributes that determine the masculine character. It is difficult for these individuals to consider the socially constructed nature of their masculine identity, or that it may be capable of continual revision and reconfiguration. Thus, they avoid interacting with conflicting knowledge, or when faced with it they simply ignore or reject it, and hence insulate and protect their masculine identity from critique.

The measurements of dissonance taken in 2004 show a significant difference (5%) between the feelings of dissonance experienced by black men in the organization at 12 %, and of white and black woman, at 17% and 16% respectively. Throughout the years of the study male employees,

regardless of race, consistently reflected lower dissonance levels than their female counterparts. Although a full analysis of why such a gap is consistently prominent in the data is beyond the scope of this research, it does indicate the entrenchment of a patriarchal system of socio-organizational organization, which heavily favours male dominance, regardless of race within organizational hierarchies. As a white female senior HR manager noted:

> *"every time there's a management meeting - all the men look in my general direction, it seems that -as the only woman- it's necessarily my job to take the minutes… so last time I said sarcastically 'I can't- I have to make the coffee'… and honestly, if not 10 minutes later Henk asked where his coffee was!" [Conversation after general HR management meeting 2005]*

Most notably in 2005, Black* females [Appendix 3- Dissonance scores] experienced the most significant increase in average feelings of dissonance. This expresses their deep conflict with the gender and racial bias entrenched in the prevailing organizational structures of that time.



It is likely that prior to the broad dissemination of the Baseline study findings, Black* women employees had simply accepted the status quo as any knowledge contesting it existed in a different stratum of social reality. It is only through the dissemination of this contesting knowledge through

other strata that these individuals became aware that the dominant system was not aligned to their ultimate concerns.

Oppositional Retrogressive Racial Identity

Unlike the above discussed retrogressive masculine identity formation type, the complexity of Retrogressive racial identity formation necessitates that it is divided into two sub-formations. Which sub-formation an individual takes on is largely dependent upon their agenic orientation. The Oppositional sub-formation occurs when individuals with retrogressive racial identity formations are confronted by contesting knowledge that undermines the legitimacy of their racial ideology. Exposure to this contestation in changing context acts to strengthen their segregationalist racial identity, rather than call it into question. Thus, their feelings of dissonance are articulates as anger and frustration.

> *"Today I've actually become aggressive towards what happens, this place has made me racist. To be honest- I'll probably be hanged for this, but I can understand apartheid you know. The current government has turned me totally racist because of their strategies- you know- evil as far as I am concerned" [Interview 18]*

When engaging with the newly exposed knowledge and alternative discourses, these respondents consider only the knowledge that reinforces their own subjective reality and exclude any knowledge which does not legitimate their hegemonic discourse of whiteness. This is known as 'confirmation bias' [Babbie, 1998].

> [Referring to a number of retrenchments that took place due to divisional restructuring] *"You cannot fire someone for the colour of their skin- that's unfair labour practice! I think Beyond 60 was about demographics- the organization is*

full of aging white men- so Beyond 60 was done to get the demographics right. So many white men were made redundant for financial reasons… and they keep all the others under the guise of Affirmative Action- its immoral" [Interview 17]

A total of 76 employees were retrenched during the restructuring, 21 white males, 18 black males, 18 white females and 19 black females.

Steyn [2001] noted that individuals supporting this particular discourse of whiteness most often come from ethnocentric upbringing, with authoritarian caregivers who allowed little room for the expression of agency or exploration of alternative discourses. Without exception, all respondents expressing this type of identity formation described their upbringing as "strict, disciplined, with rules and boundaries" [Interview 8], and described their cultural background as "culturally conservative, traditional, Christian belief system" [Interview 9]

Further, the nationalist cultural development they experienced whilst growing up in 1960-80's south Africa made use of *fear* as a primary mechanism for fostering patriotism, by employing dichotomies of good/evil. This embedded beliefs in these respondents of continual threats to national sovereignty from internal and external enemies that still persist in their narratives.

"We were taught that it was a duty to fight to protect your country, if you didn't- then the bad people would come and stop you from practicing your religion. It was a rite of passage [to serve in the army]- we knew our enemies- swart gevaar[13] en rooi gevaar[14]. You either went to fight the communists at the border war or you joined internal security to fight the terrorists" [Interview 42]

[13] (black danger- left wing non-white groups)
[14] (Red danger-communists)

> *"One good thing about Apartheid- I think without it- South Africa surely would have ended up communist" [Interview 9]*

In these cases, changing contexts and the contesting knowledge that arises serves to reinforce and solidify their ethnocentric ideology, leading to a complete rejection of the 'other' and a strong opposition to change, often accompanied by the development of elaborate conspiracy theories regarding their covert enemies. As long as they felt there was an identifiable enemy, they felt there was something to protect their identity against. Thus, their feelings of dissonance in this instance manifest themselves as ***fear*** which is a strong driver for their behaviour.

> *"Beyond 60 is the first serious steps to turn this into a socialist organization. You know the communists and the soviets were a big amount of the ANC and sooner or later it's payback time. I think the Chinese are going to use the [organization] to get into this country and take over our technology" [Interview 13]*

The more these individuals are faced with contesting discourses, the more they are required to assert themselves by critiquing the opposing discourses and rendering them inadequate. This is achieved by drawing on the systems of meaning within their own discourse of whiteness to defend the discourse itself (synologism). As with the various arguments drawn upon to affirm their masculine identity, they make use of various ideologies to affirm their beliefs, for example- the religious- traditional argument:

> *"I grew up a certain way, believing that the things that I was taught were true… that lives of separation just were the way things were. It says in the bible that – even if different animals walk together and graze together- they don't mix- I still believe that is true. Separate development is not a bad idea at a certain level- we shouldn't be forced to mix" [Interview 9]*

Note below how biological determinism is employed to argue that black people couldn't do the jobs, and simultaneously a lack of competence that is observed in the performance of white employees is externalized and attributed to factors not related to their innate abilities.

> *"The [Organization] up until Beyond 60 claimed to be a business driven organization- the bottom line was everything- but at the same time they were not lean, mean and efficient, because they are employing people not capable of doing the job and then not sacking them when they couldn't do the job. I mean how could they be- they are so far behind in terms of their evolution and that will take generations to fix. But they got given permanent jobs anyway…and low and behold most of them can't do their jobs, and now we are stuck with them- ignorant, unmotivated and totally useless. It was hypocrisy on behalf of [black] management- and the extra workload was all falling on the mid level researchers. The other problem is if you had a competent white person, you couldn't develop them simply because 'ah-you want to send that person on a course- ah but what colour are they?' now how are they supposed to do their jobs properly? This Affirmative action is wrong, we are running the science into the ground" [Interview 26].*

The more the individual is required to do this, the more difficult it becomes to sustain a coherent narrative free of contradictions, and thus the less engaging and more defensive these individual becomes refusing to acknowledge alternative ideologies, intensifying their adherence to the hegemonic discourse of whiteness, which magnifies their white supremacist racial identity.

> *"Since Jan Van Reebiek came to the cape- can you name any one single innovation that has come out of the Africans?!... And now I see them taking over and wanting to run an organization like this! Thing is, he can adapt so well that you almost believe he can do the same things you can do- but if you leave him to his own devices, his true nature will come out. My only option is to stay here [at the organization] but I'll fortify myself against things I don't want to be here" [Interview 13].*

The reflexivity of identity formation is evident as they fortify and radicalize their internalized hegemonic whiteness, in light of contesting knowledge exposed through structural changes in their contexts. Further, the social structures associated with asymmetrical power distribution among different racial groups are uncontested and reproduced by individuals who perpetuate the constructs of hegemonic whiteness in the articulation of their own racial identities.

The Retrogressive Male's Descriptions of Masculine Identity

Men subscribing to retrogressive masculine identity are uncritical towards hegemonic masculinity, and endorse patriarchal dominance, traditional sex roles and idealize the nuclear family. They firmly support the traditional associations between masculinity and work, which view men as professionally successful, authoritative and 'breadwinners', and further describe these individuals as possessing what they consider desirable qualities such as aggressiveness, competitiveness, control and self-reliance [Lemon, 1991]. They are strongly heterosexist, and show paternalistic views of women wherein any qualities associated with femininity are deemed less valuable (such as emotional intelligence and homosexuality) [Connell, 2000]. These men show a considerable and often deliberate disconnection with emotional meanings, and refuse to entertain emotions, whether their own or other peoples. They subscribe to certain codes of behavior which are considered acceptable and thus place a moratorium on showing emotion as it is considered a feminine attribute and thus runs contrary to their overtly heterosexist narrative. Case in point:

> *"I don't know! For me feelings are things like hungry and tired-I don't know how this all made me feel- I don't feel- I just do!" [Interview 31]*

Homosexuality is depicted as perverse, which assists these respondents in establishing and reinforcing their discourse of normality, and reinforces their traditional views on sexuality [Whitehead, 2002].

> *"Like these moffies[15] that act like women, dis vieslik!" [It's disgusting]! [I attempt to explain the biological argument for homosexuality]… "Do you believe that?! I think it's because society is telling them to do it- saying it's ok to act like a woman like that- and do all those things, and its wrong- it goes against nature and it's a sin!" [Interview 13]*

This particular belief seems so ingrained that when challenged, these respondents were unable to critically evaluate sexuality as a social construct and not a biological given. They understood heterosexual sexual behavior as a given reality that should not be questioned. Their responses indicated subversive aggressiveness encapsulated in their masculine identity.

This manifestation of masculinity constructs itself in relation to its construction of femininity, and is defined in relation to its role with femininity- often along dichotomous divides. Accordingly, this identity, in viewing itself as independent and strong, views women as weak and dependent. In accordance with its discourse then, women are not afforded the same level of adulthood as men. They are considered weaker -in need of care, less responsible and less able to make legitimate rational decisions. *"You must be more realistic in terms of what you expect from them, equality is a nice idea but I don't think many women can handle it" [Interview 61].* Feminine identity is depicted as less autonomous, underdeveloped, and less rational and responsible than masculine identities, thus serving to justify the role of a man as dominant, as a protector, leader and rational decision maker.

[15] Demeaning South African slang for homosexual man

> *"Men are less emotional than women, and a lot of time women let their emotions lead their decision-making. In that sense then, men tend to make better decisions, and make stronger leaders" [Interview 14].*

Aggression as a desirable characteristic is particularly relevant to South Africa for the construction of white masculinity. This is because the system of apartheid and the quasi-state of civil war in which it existed, forged a particular type of masculine identity which was highly militarized [Berman, 2001]. As one respondent expressed: *"Going to the army was like a rite of passage- it really makes you grow up, and be a man" [Interview 12]*. These shared experiences cement hegemonic masculine identity related to the fighting functionality and durability of the male body, and men as protectors.

Cock [1991: 85] highlights this and comments "notions of masculinity are a powerful tool in the process of making men into soldiers. The traditional notions of masculinity resonate with militaristic ideas… The military encourages a form of ultra-masculinity which requires aggressiveness, competitiveness and the censure of emotion".

> *"I spent 2 years in the army, and that teaches a lot to you about what it means to be a man. You learn to stand up for yourself, learn how to lead, and how to look out for each other" [Interview 57]*

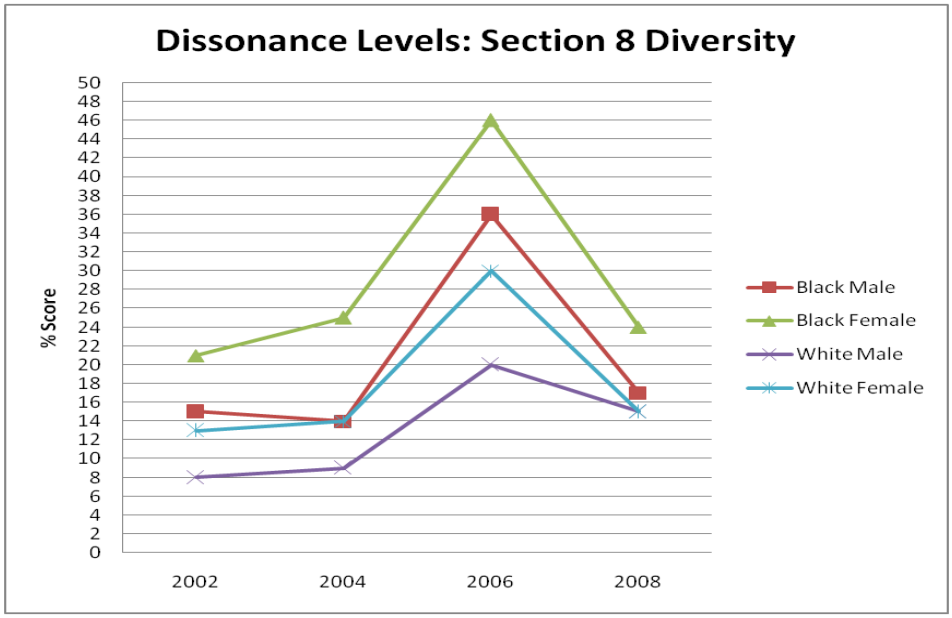
When speaking with respondents with retrogressive hegemonic masculine orientations, it became clear that the experience of alternative views or what these respondents considered to be feminism seemed to stir up the constant need to reclaim and emphasized the importance of their masculine identity, drawn from their historical past and their daily experiences. These men presented women who challenge their masculine identity as defiant purposeless feminists:

"That's part of the reason we got divorced- she always felt that she had to compete with me. Prove she could do anything a man could do and have the babies too - it was always a competition- I don't know what she was trying to prove to everyone" [interview 79].

ESM Dissonance Levels for Section 8, Diversity Management 2002 – 2008

Section 8 of the ESM asks questions concerning diversity in the organization. The stark difference in the scores across the years indicates that different groups are experiencing vastly different social realities with respect to this. In 2008, the continuing difference in the levels of dissonance being felt by the various groups demonstrates that the perceived gender and racial bias still persists.

Graph 2: Section 8: Diversity Management



Consistently over the years white males have experienced the least feelings of dissonance regarding diversity management, whilst black females and females have experienced significantly more. White men were also most positive about the fairness of interpersonal relationships and the extent and success of diversity management taking place in the organization. This indicates that a sexual division

of power still exists within the organization, affording males more power in interpersonal relationships and maintaining gender biased power. This raises concerns that there is an definitive element of entrenched patriarchal bias embedded in the organisation's procedures that remains as an artifact from the previous workplace regime. The power status ascribed to [white] males that existed within the apartheid workplace regime has not been challenged in gender terms, as male dominance is still perpetuated in the post-apartheid work regime. Retrogressive Masculine discursive legitimations make use of relational constructs to affirm their masculine identity and ascribe social codes and specific roles suitable to women, and many women uncritically perpetuate these roles by acting within them [Berger, Wallis & Watson, 1995]. This is particularly evident as white men and women both share the same views in the 2008 measurement, demonstrating they are co-constructing the retrogressive masculine and racial discourse and reinforcing these identities in male employees.

Sympathetic Retrogressive Racial Identity

Individuals displaying Sympathetic retrogressive identity formation are also closely aligned with the hegemonic white identity. They too display strong sentiments of biological explanations for racial differences, claiming that natural differences in intellect, civility, and discipline are a product of biological differentiation across racial groups. Thus, the power and rule of white populations over other racial groups is a necessary and natural occurrence [van der Merwe & Schrire, 1980]. They show a stronger association with English colonial ideologies at than their sociologically indigenous counterparts [Randall, 1982]. As one respondent articulated, his racial identity is grounded upon “a close association with my European culture, it gives me a different outlook on issues” [interview 16].

This identity formation lacks the nationalist fear entrenched in oppositional retrogressives, and thus they display limited patriotism. However, their colonial paternalism is accentuated, and they ascribe the role of caretaker and teacher to their racial identity.

> *"I believe that this change has overlooked a crucial aspect for development, we need to educate the black chappies more, there should be a mentoring process, select a few bright sparks and train them then they might just be able to actually do the job they have gotten with all the fast tracking and affirmative action- it will be to their own detriment" [interview 73]*

Often speaking of development and upliftment; their narratives show a genuine commitment to upliftment of 'non-white' groups. They believe it is their duty to civilize and lead these juvenile masses. However, this does not detract from their segregationalist beliefs as cultural cross learning and integration are not considered in their development narrative, and development needs to occur on their terms and under their rule [Steyn, 2001].

> *"We have a role to play in Africa, we must lead the building of industries in all black countries- otherwise there will be no development. I still believe in power-sharing, but they cannot rush it like this" [interview 42]*

Again, their interpretation of changing social contexts (such as the Organization during beyond 60) serves to reinforce, solidify and amplify their superior racial identity. They draw on other ideological arguments within their discourse (such as biological determinism seen in the quote below) in order to support their internalized belief which has since come under contestation. In this way they lessen their dissonance by affirming their internalized belief system. Their 'othering' is therefore continual and uncontested, and their superiority is innate to their white European biology rather than any socially grounded explanation.

> *"It's the nature-nurture thing, black people are just less evolved somehow than white people…so it's not really their fault, it's just in the black man's nature to be lazier, and they just don't work as hard, we need to find ways to work with this." [Interview 7]*

Due to this there is no acknowledgement of the privilege afforded to their race or how this may have impacted on their progress through life, and their power and status is unproblematically attributed to the 'natural order of things'.

> *"Look- apartheid was wrong- I don't agree with it, but it did help the country develop. I don't believe that Africans would have reached the same stage of industrial revolution if it had not been for the intervention of the white man" [Interview 61]*

Their racial superiority and strong paternal motivations are accompanied by a cultural superiority and bias that provides them with the firm belief that all other races would *necessarily* desire and strive to 'evolve' to 'white', 'European' culture, which being more advanced, sophisticated and civilized *is* the preferred state.

> *"What does it mean to me to be white?... well I wouldn't want to be black! I can see a lot of black people want to be white. The black middle class that developing in South Africa measures themselves by acting white- they come live in white areas, and speak English, and play golf and tennis. But I suppose that's just how things naturally develop" [interview 16].*

As with the oppositional subtype, changing socio-organizational contexts act to strengthen the sympathetic sub-type's paternal colonialist sentiment rather than contest their separatist racially superior ideology.

Both the oppositional and sympathetic retrogressives display a distorted belief of the central significance of white people and white identity to the successful future development of South Africa and Africa. There is no internalization of their minority status as race. Retrogressives display similar

feelings of dissonance that manifest mainly as anger and fear. Although there is evidence of reflexivity, their reflexive engagements are limited and superficial, and typically reinforce their separatist, patriarchal identities- rather than deconstruct them. They are resistant to change and heavily invested in maintaining the status quo.

Chapter 6: Avoidant and Dissociative Identity Formations

This chapter discusses the second classification of identity formation, Avoidant and Dissociative identity formations. This classification epitomizes those individuals who are unable to critically reflect upon themselves to any significant extent, as (for reasons I can only speculate) their feelings of dissonance are so strong and the discomfort so great that any interaction with the contesting ideologies threatens their very ability to construct a congruent sense of self. In order to counter these emotions they disengage from their personal association with hegemonic masculinity and whiteness. There is evidence of reflexivity, however, their internalized self concept is not changed. Thus, their reflexive activities are shallow and uncritical and they remain in a dissonant state for protracted periods.

The longitudinal survey results show that, in general, feelings of dissonance began to increase rapidly for all groups from 2004, coinciding with the introduction of conflicting discourses of knowledge. The increased dissonance demonstrates that the individuals were interacting with the changing structural configurations acting upon them. From the 2005 to the 2008 measurement of feelings of dissonance, there was a marked decrease in the negative sentiments being experienced by employees, although still above what are considered acceptable levels.

In order to ease the dissonance being felt, individual social actors engage in a variety of coping and mitigating strategies. For instance, they may modify their own activities and beliefs as a means of

reducing internal conflict, and in so doing they conform to and perpetuate the new structures responsible for this conflict [Brehm & Cohen, 1962].

> *"This change process has brought a lot of self-doubt and this is causing me to lose confidence in myself. The organization's value system does not align with my value system, but I will have to find a way to accept it if I am going to still work here" [White Male Respondent: Interview 42, 2006]*

Or they reaffirm their attitudes and beliefs and in so doing act to oppose the structures that have introduced the conflict [Stone & Cooper, 2000]. If they hold sufficient power within their social stratum of operation, they may be successful at altering the existing systematic configuration, transforming the existing social structures [Archer, 1988].

Avoidant Racial Identity formation

Individuals displaying avoidant racial identity formation, for the most part – do not alter their beliefs or self-concepts, further they may not have sufficient power to influence the outcomes of structural changes. They elect rather to alter the meaning and importance attached to their internalized set of beliefs as a means of offsetting the evident contradictions [Cooper, 1999].

They do acknowledge the existence of a hegemonic white identity, and that this was a political and social construction rather than the result of biological racial superiority. Further, they acknowledge that this resulted in white people being afforded many privileges in the previous socio-political order.

> *"being white was about privilege, I had always been around people of other races- I quickly noticed racial divisions, I realized that the gardener would always be black, the hostel staff would always be black- there was an acceptance that things simply were this way, and you simply didn't question them. The huge learning curve for me was when I went to varsity in the late 70s, and heard things that brought me to the understanding that things didn't have to be one way, that this was not normal" [Interview 22]*

However, their narratives express strong denial of their own association with the hegemonic white identity. They assert that, even though whites in general benefited from the privileges of the previous order, they- ***in particular***- did not. Their justifications for this are numerous, but display meanings emanating from the hegemonic discourse of whiteness.

> *"My family was against the government of the time- we never supported apartheid… we resist the idea, but passively" [Interview 11]*

> *"I wasn't really part of apartheid, I didn't benefit, I was studying through it and by the time I finished studying [1988] it was over. By the time I started work I worked with black people- so I didn't really benefit" [afterwards he explains that he has been at the Organization since he finished studying]… "They took over my bursary - then I did my Ph.D." [Interview 5]*

As the organization acted as a 'catchment for white males' it is highly unlikely that this respondent's racial identity was not a determining factor in his placement as an intern with the Organization. Thus, the use of denial and reducing the significance of beliefs is clearly seen in the above quote. Further, these individuals deny that being white is a central component of their identity and some go so far as to dispute the existence or significance of whiteness as a racial discourse. Further, they do not reflect upon speculations as to how other 'non-white' groups would view and experience their whiteness.

Their narratives display carefully guarded politically correct sentiment of non-racism and non-discrimination, the signature rhetoric of the 'rainbow-nation'. But their narratives and behaviours display a great deal of contradiction that shows that they have not internalized this new knowledge. Their narratives are ambivalent, open ended and disengaged.

> *"They very much seem to want to keep apartheid alive, putting labels on different groups in society now we can never escape that label that vilifies you it becomes a part of your thinking process and you start to live the label… our strength should lie in our diversity- I'm part of the rainbow nation"… [Soft knock on the open door, and a small African woman in a uniform gestures apologetically towards the paper bin behind the respondent] "Sorry hold on…yes what?!- Here…. [Once she has left he says] … "Sorry about the interruption, the* ***girl*** *always bothers me when I'm busy- (mutters under his breath)… they don't use any common sense" [girl: being the paternal derogatory term used to refer to female cleaning staff] [Interview 18].*

Individuals displaying this type of racial identity formation only engaged with contesting knowledge on a superficial level, and do not internalize it or critically reevaluate the broad tenants of hegemonic whiteness and the extent to which the experience of white privilege has shaped their identity formation. Rather, when faced with contesting knowledge, they draw upon notions of dichotomies so prominent in the hegemonic white identity to rationalize away the uncomfortable feelings associated with these contradictions. They divide whiteness into good/evil, right/wrong, and any association with being white they admit to places them firmly in the good/right camp.

> *"I wasn't like other white people in the old times, I didn't think of myself like them, I did not support apartheid and so I was not a racist- but now being white implies discredit and distrust" [interview 19]*

There is a strong tendency to treat apartheid and racism as two mutually constitutive concepts- confounding their meaning, that if one did not directly support apartheid it automatically means that they are not racist and hold no racial prejudice. Both subtypes of Avoidant reflexives, Utopian Avoidant reflexives and Victim Avoidant reflexives, display conflation of racism and apartheid in their reasoning, claiming that an absence of the latter necessarily indicates an absence of the former.

"I'm colour-blind- race is not important. Apartheid is over so the racism has been removed, I'm glad about that- you know, now that we are all one nation" [interview 19]

They disengage from any association with hegemonic whiteness and take on an ambivalent 'colourless, politically correct' racial identity that denies (but still evidently feels) the 'white guilt' resulting from white privilege [Steyn, 2001]. Their feelings of dissonance are pronounced and manifest strongly as guilt and shame. The changes occurring in their organizational contexts escalate their avoidant feelings, leading them to either disengage with any critical interrogation of the situation by taking on a superficial Utopian outlook or by taking on a victim role, internalizing victim status as a central component of their racial identity.

In order to minimize these negative emotions they minimize the significance of their internalized ideology in an attempt to remove it as a central component of their self-concept, thereby avoiding internal conflict and mitigating the need for critical introspection upon this conflict. However, they do not challenge these internalized beliefs. Whereas retrogressive racial identity formations deny the existence or legitimacy of an alternative ideology external to their own beliefs, these individuals they simply disengage from their internalized belief implicated in the conflict by denying its existence or relevance [Wong, 2004]. They are therefore unaware of how these internalized ideologies still shape their behaviours and perceptions.

Gay [2006] observed that negative political sentiment about race tends to cause a defense response of the self towards it. The self reflexively disengages from its racial identity, so as to shield itself from the hurtful connotations associated with that racial identity, and then magnifies ones ethnic identity.

By minimizing the importance of the conflicting knowledge by disassociating from it, these individuals are able to relieve their feelings of discomfort and tension. The following quote shows that the respondent's beliefs are still informed by hegemonic definitions of race, but denies his own association with being white. He emphasizes his ethnic identity, but still ensures that he places himself on the positive end of the good/bad dichotomy associated with it. The last sentence of his narrative shows his strong denial and avoidance mechanisms that prevent him from taking ownership and accountability for the privileges afforded to him as a white man. Further, he avoids direct references to the nation's political past (i.e. saying apartheid), and is politically correct and ambivalent as a means of avoiding any critical engagement with alternative discourses.

> *[What does it mean to be white?] "To me it doesn't impact on me I don't think it matters what colour that I am. I overlook colour"… moments later he complains… "This change is disadvantaging us because we are Afrikaans" [later I ask who he classifies as Afrikaans, whether coloured people Afrikaners- as many speak Afrikaans]… "NO! they are not Afrikaans, they're coloureds… I was not a typical Afrikaner though, I was brought up on a farm and so I had exposure to different cultures. I had black friends and I accept all cultures… we didn't realize what was going on, we were sheltered from the politics we didn't know what went on, so we didn't think politically, and we didn't have anything to do with what happened" [interview 30]*

Dissociative Masculine identity

As with their racial identity formations, men expressing this particular manifestation of masculine identity formation are more critical of hegemonic masculine identity and acknowledge that it is a construction rather than innate given, and are thus able to see its association with power and privilege. But in order to alleviate the guilt associated with their actions, and the shame associated with their self-concept that would result from their critical appraisal of masculinity, they assert that

they are different to what they consider 'typical hegemonic masculinity'. However, their narratives contain numerous contradictions that reveal their deeply internalized hegemonic masculine identity and their support of prescribed male dominance, gender roles and inequalities.

> *"[when asked whether men and women should be equal]… yes, I believe in the new modern way- total gender equality" [when asked to describe his family] I would say we are the average Afrikaans family, Christian, somewhat conservative, discipline and respect and a strong work ethic are important… my wife is a housewife and I make most of the decisions." [Interview 39]*

Victimhood Avoidant Racial Identity

The contentious issue of race was continually brought forward during the organization's restructuring because of its deliberate focus on transformation objectives. This forced many individuals to engage with the conflicting racial knowledge disseminated during the change process, and accordingly- speculation mounted concerning the deeper motivations for beyond 60, attributing it to race issues rather than functional or organizational factors. Racial identities are complex and as with all identity components, are defined through difference. Many white men interviewed in 2006 expressed concerns about the speculated racially motivated intent of the change process that they felt was guiding much of the decision making. This has significant implications for their identity formation as it served to rationalize and validate their victimhood. Thus they reduce their feelings of dissonance by supplementing their beliefs with other, reinforcing beliefs drawn from their social environment and in doing so lessen the anxiety caused by any challenges to their internal belief system [Wong, 2004]. As one white male respondent reflected: *"I was not really affected by the change process so I was not worried but I think the plan of beyond 60 is to get rid white people" [Interview 16]*

Individuals experiencing the 'victimhood' variation of the avoidant identity formation strongly deny that race is a significant aspect of their identity, or that hegemonic whiteness has shaped their identity. Thus, to them "White is irrelevant- race means very little" [Interview 6]. They do not acknowledge the privilege associated with their whiteness and thus feel victimized by the changing social context, which in their view, is disadvantaging and discriminating against them- *in particular*- without just cause.

> "*being white means persona non grata- we feel persecuted, we're supposed to atone for the sins of the past by this restructuring- and feel sorry for it – but I don't feel sorry, I've nothing to feel sorry about- apartheid was designed as a system that takes no account of individuals, so I had nothing to do with it" [interview 17]*

Their narratives display a lack of appreciation for the broader historical processes that shaped the organizational change. Although they are aware of the political and social events that shaped the lives of the 'other' as a racial group, there is little genuine engagement or empathy about how this impacted members of these racial groups on an individual level. Their 'dehumanization' of other groups by refusing to understand or at least consider their perspectives helps them justify their dissonant beliefs and still think of themselves as 'good' [Dickinson, 2000].

> *"I never hated black people, I never went out of my way to hurt black people, but now white people are being blamed. They keep blaming us for things that we had, there were many good things that happened but now Afrikaans history has been erased" [Interview 26]*

Because these individual's don't hold personal animosity towards the individual black people they knew, they can honestly testify to their fair and principled attitude, and are able to rationalize away

negative emotions caused by exposure to systemic contradictions. As Steyn [2001: 79] articulates "the idea of structural discrimination, even when understood, is rarely taken as a personal responsibility".

Their racial identities become increasingly centralized around the ideology of their victimhood, which is drawn strongly from hegemonic whiteness and its dichotomies of good/evil, which draws from their cultural identity as an oppressed and disenfranchised culture [Randall, 1982].

> *"I think as an Afrikaner we came from a history of being oppressed, first by the English and now by the current government- I now have to work twice as hard to overcome black racism" [Interview 12].*

Because there is no personalization of the socio-political contexts that led to the current inequalities present in South Africa, they do not feel that restitution is justified if it directly impacts them. Their narratives are strung with the rhetoric of oppression, victimization, loss of rights, powerlessness, threat, and reverse racism. They show displaced and often passively expressed emotions of anger, aggressiveness, defensiveness, and denial, and reflect high levels of dissonance that remain unresolved.

> *"This change process made me feel totally disempowered, I felt pushed into things, left out of things, and now that they are in charge, I cannot say anything" [Interview 25]*

However, some white males within the organization still held a significant amount of power and thus won many concessions in the change process- and in so doing were able to transform the newly introduced structures to better align with their primary concerns and internalized beliefs. In this way they reduce their feelings of dissonance. Thus, the ambitious transformation policy has fallen short in

practice and has further aggravated many latent racial issues. The continuing power and dominance of white men in the organizational hierarchy is clearly demonstrated by the trend in their dissonance levels that is markedly lower than other groups and further they reflected the least feelings of dissonance in 2008. At the close of this study over 40% of senior management positions in the organization are still occupied by white men, and most of the Unit director roles that were filled by white males 'acting' until suitable replacements could be found, have been given permanent status. The retention of Black* professional staff is so poor (four times less than white employees) that the Executive has established a new department charged with investigating and solving this issue (Talent Management Department).

Much of the dismantling of organizational hierarchies achieved in Beyond 60 by flattening of organizational structures has also been undone with the reintroduction of more levels of management and a complex hierarchical reporting structure. This is invariably accompanied by equally as complex informal power networks. A number of studies have shown that racial discrimination is more likely to take place at higher levels of the organizational authority structure, which makes this highly hierarchical, professional organization a melting pot for smoldering racial issues [Powell-Brittan & Wade, 2001].

> *"I think there was a hidden agenda to beyond 60, there are a lot of people who use their positions to protect their own people and maintain their own positions. A lot of this has to do with empire building and politics" [Interview 34]*

Many white employees expressed their deep mistrust and dislike of the transformation effort believing it to be "inverse apartheid" [comment by white male *2008 questionnaire*] and "decisions

are based to get the quota in order, rather than on merit" [*Comment* by white male *2008 questionnaire*].

Whiteness, Masculinity and Victimhood

Whilst acknowledging that the construction of masculine identities is influenced by gender relations, societal codes of behavior and personal choices, Avoidant Masculine identity types are quick to point out the restrictions they believe are placed on them as men [Lemon, 1991], but were unable to apply reflexivity to mediate beyond this and construct alternative discourses for masculinity within their own identity.

> *"Men are providers and carry it huge responsibilities- as a man you are expected to do things and act in a kind of way and it's not easy". [Interview 63]*

Their self-ascribed victim status allows them to mitigate the negative emotions of dissonance by providing them with a rational defense for their internalized belief system, which -being under threat- needs to be defended. They show strong feelings of guilt, insecurity, persecution and anxiety, and employ rationalization and denial in order to reduce internal conflict whilst preserving their internalized sense of self.

Their racial identities sustain the belief that they are facing the continual struggle to protect and preserve their language, culture and rights. One respondent contended that "there were a lot of good things about our culture, but now Afrikaans history has just been erased" [Interview 46]. They attest to the negative economic consequences of socio-political and hence, organizational change, and attribute much of the economic success of the nation and the organization to the efforts of

white people. Their belief is that black* people do not understand this, and want "all of the privileges but none of the price" *[Interview 37]*. There are sentiments of pessimism and opposition towards change that tend to strengthen the more they feel that any structural changes in the organization are for the purpose of restitution. *"There is a veneer that they put over- the structures are all really still the same… beyond 60 is just affirmative action with a pretty bow- it will fail" [interview 10]*

Their reflexivity, whilst still evident, does not serve to critically interrogate their adherence to hegemonic racial identity. Rather, they interpret structural changes as a personal attack, that accentuates their victimhood- and employ denial and defense in their explanations as to why the organizational change initiative is misguided, inappropriate and will fail.

> *"As a white man at [the organization] you must accept your limited career path-you are not going to find any white men that have only been here for a year or two because they don't employ white men anymore. But we are competent and we have the skills so doing this affirmative action and beyond 60, we are decreasing the capabilities of [the organization], and will pay the price for it" [interview 14]*

Their pessimism accompanied by detrimental reasoning, that they are left with only two options for the future- to stay and fight for their rights as a white person, or to leave. This sentiment is expressed regarding both the organization and the country.

> *"I don't see myself on a ship or a plane leaving for Europe. I see myself in the final battle, standing right in front doing whatever needs to be done to get things [in South Africa] back to **normal**" [Interview 26].*

Above noted is the idea of 'normal', demonstrating that, even though they are unwilling to acknowledge it, their internalized racial ideology is closely aligned with the hegemonic constructs of whiteness that employ normalization as a means of perpetuating their hegemonic position. In

general, discourses often make use of dichotomous positions which present the views of that discourse as 'normality', rational, objective and natural- and pathologize that which does not conform to what is deemed to be normal by presenting it as irrational, unnatural and threatening [Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001]. A strong element of victimhood is also apparent in their masculine identity formations as they are unable to recognize their internalization of hegemonic masculinity, and feel disadvantaged by changing contexts.

> *"Things were clearer before, the path is always set for you… complete family values, the man is the head of the household; you'd done your job if you could provide. But now it seems that the best I have to offer is not good enough" [interview 26]*

Utopian Avoidant Racial Identity

Individuals expressing this racial identity formation also strongly deny that race is a significant aspect of their identity, and in many cases deny that race as a concept is significant at all. They renounce any association with hegemonic whiteness and consequently the privilege associated with it.

> *"I don't notice race, don't even think of myself as white. My primary role is to make a difference to South Africa so we shouldn't focus on colour- race should not be an important thing anymore" [Interview 20].*

Thus, to avoid dissonant feelings from surfacing, they engage very selectively with the social structures around them, ignoring or denying any information that does not reinforce their belief of a harmonious rainbow nation. Thus, as shown in the quote below, they deny having being exposed to any alternative ideologies, but simultaneously present strong feelings of fear and victimhood that result from their racial identity.

> *I don't experience any discrimination yet. I would say it might be more dangerous for me to go to places where there's just blacks- but I don't think there is any racial tensions anymore. If there are problems, it's with all the different black tribes" [Interview 39]*

The more their context brings conflicting knowledge that could undermine their beliefs to the surface, the greater their tendency to underplay the full impact that the injustices of the past have had on the lives of people in the present. They become increasingly avoidant of any references to the past, of political discourse, or cause for restitution.

> *"I know that in the past **some** of the people did not have **some** privileges, but that's over now. I am not a racist, I am a culturalist. I may not be fully aligned with some cultures, I don't dislike them… I'm just not aligned with them. For those other cultures is about – 'let's put the committee together -- and then let's talk about it some more'- and I get cross with this. They don't just get on with it, but it's a cultural thing not a race thing- it's not about race at all". [Interview 22]*

It can clearly be seen that these individuals make use of tactics of rationalization, denial and justification in order to reduce dissonance. In discounting past sufferings, they also deny that any systemic, structural, economic or social advantages for white people that still persist in the present. Further, in denying their whiteness they also claim that any advantage that they did gain in the past resulted from personal skills, attributes or diligence rather than any systemic arrangements.

> *"No one gave anything to me, I worked for it. I got here because of my intellect. It's scary being white now, why should this be such a big issue? I see so many young [Black] people that don't want to work for it- they just expect everything to be given to them" [Interview 27]*

Their attitudes towards Affirmative Action related changes revealed their increasingly centralized avoidant stance taken in their racial identity formations. They draw upon meanings in white hegemonic discourse to argue that these change efforts are inappropriate.

> *Morally it is difficult to say, I mean you look at it and say 'shame these poor people were oppressed for 40 years, it's only fair that they get uplifted now', on a system level you can argue this, but on an individual level you can't. Because for every incompetent non-white that gets a job, there is a competent white who now doesn't get a job. So on an individual level that kind of population level moral argument, for me, breaks down" [Interview 18]*

Even though they deny their association with hegemonic whiteness their sentiments regarding the success level of the organizational change initiative show their internalization of paternal white discourse and the necessary role of white people as leaders. Because they refuse to acknowledge any personal accountability in the nation's separatist past or legitimacy of restitution efforts, they try to control or limit/restrict structural changes within the organization, in order to minimize any personal costs resulting from these changes. Their narratives are pessimistic and discouraging towards change efforts. This group shows limited reflexivity despite their acknowledgement of agenic powers for reflexivity of identity formation as their engagement with shifting structures and introspection occurs only on a superficial level.

Avoidant Masculine Identity

An examination of the vast amount of transcribed data produced clearly shows that, especially with this type of identity formation, racial and gender discourse is as much about what is not said as it is about what is said [Steyn, 1991]. Often the carefully presented rhetoric of non-racism and non-sexism in public life is altogether absent in private life.

They display the politically correct rhetoric of gender inequality, and are guarded in their personal expressions of their experiences at work. But again their narratives include contradictions that show that they have not internalized the 'liberal' discourse they employ.

> *"My daughter wanted to do electronic engineering, but I put a stop to that, that's not the right kind of work for her… [However, when asked if he believed men and women should be equal] I believe men and women should be equal in everything, it is not fair that men should be allowed to do things that women can't" [Interview 37].*

To this effect Lemon [1991: 193] notes that "whilst most men may pay lip service to the equality of men and women, their actions betray their real belief that women are still men's subordinates… while the feminist movement has made some remarkable changes to the roles and lives of women… it has failed to significantly alter the positions of men". Almost 2 decades after this statement was made, it still seems to be the case within this particular context.

This chapter demonstrates that Avoidant and Dissociative identity formations feel a great deal of dissonance, which manifest as guilt, shame, fear, insecurity and anxiety. There are no pronounced sentiments of anger or frustration in their narratives, only ambivalent evasive language and guarded expressions that indicate the strong presence of denial and avoidance. In order to counter the conflicts they evidently feel, they employ a number of mechanisms that allow them to disengage from their personal association with the negative attributes of hegemonic masculinity and whiteness. There is evidence of reflexivity as they are required to reduce the importance they place on their beliefs being contested and also alter their behaviours reduce conflict in their social relations.

However, their internalized self concept and system of meanings are not changed, and hence they uncritically perpetuate their associated discourses their behaviours.

Chapter 7: Grounded and Evolutionary Identity Formation

The final classification of masculine and racial identity formations discussed in this chapter, demonstrate the most reflexive engagement and critical reconfiguration of their internalized self-concepts, in light of contesting knowledge. Although, the negative emotions associated with dissonance are present in their bio-graphical narratives, they have devised psycho-socially healthy mechanisms of addressing it, and further recognize that dissonance plays an important role in individual growth and learning.

Grounded Racial Identity formation

This Grounded Racial identity formation shows the most significant reflexive engagement and introspection. Individuals exhibiting this type of racial identity are continually critically reevaluating their association with hegemonic whiteness and the extent to which they emulate aspects of it in their own expressions of their whiteness.

> *"Growing up … in that kind of society… there's always the worry that it rubs off on you. I try to remind myself of this, and be careful that I don't act in the same way as the people I presume to judge. As far as I can I like to analyze these tendencies and override them with intelligence" [Interview 67]*

They fully acknowledge that being white is an integral part of their identity and show an awareness of how their whiteness is perceived by others and how hegemonic constructions of whiteness have impacted on their individual identity formation. They acknowledge that, by virtue of their skin colour, they received privileges that have contributed towards their racial identity, interpretation of their

social world and their life chances. They also recognize that many of the social structures that perpetuated racial inequalities affect the present. These acknowledgements are accompanied by feelings of accountability that can produce varying degrees of white guilt in varying degrees, which are dealt with in different ways.

> *"Being white was something that I wasn't consciously aware of until a couple of years ago. I mean, I knew that I was white, but it wasn't as important to me as it is now. Being white does limit one's opportunities at present in South Africa, but… political systems giveth and political systems taketh away. I would not have been here if I was not white. Only the whites had my opportunities" [do you feel guilty?]- "yes and no, no because I did not bring apartheid about- and yes because, like everyone else, I would always say 'I cannot change the system'- but I know I benefited from it" [interview 6]*

Their feelings of dissonance are markedly lower than other identity formations, as they show a deeper sense of self-awareness which they use to critically interrogate alternative ideologies. They examine these systemic contradictions with reference to their self-concept, and in so doing reduce the negative feelings of guilt, frustration or anxiety associated with cognitive dissonance. This is achieved by critically evaluating their internalized belief system and self-concept and altering these if necessary in light of new knowledge. The amount of fear or guilt they feel greatly impacts on their ability to identify how much of their construction of a post-hegemonic white racial identity draws upon hegemonic constructions of whiteness.

> *"A lot of what I was taught was brought into question in the 1970s when I came to the city, then I learned more about apartheid, I started feeling immensely guilty for it. I think the best time in South Africa was between 1994 and 2000 because apartheid was gone, you could walk down the street and look someone in the face without feeling guilty, but nothing has actually changed yet things were still the way they were before. I got to enjoy all of the privileges of being white without having to feel that guilt that went along with it" [Interview 64].*

Nevertheless they are unapologetic about being white as they maintain that whiteness should no longer be associated with privilege. They engage with the changing social and organizational context to explore new orientations of whiteness and critically construct their racial identity. Their engagement shows a strong capacity for agency.

> *"No, I don't feel guilty about being white, I feel guilty for apartheid when I didn't have the balls to stand up when I knew it was wrong. It was the darkest period of my life. I'm going to stay in South Africa, I am an African, and just as the apartheid struggle was justified, my existence in South Africa is fully justified. I will excuse this to no one" [Interview 40]*

They do not to subscribe to the dichotomous thought intrinsic to the hegemonic whiteness and maintain that the positions across any good/bad divide are entirely a matter of perspective.

> *"I grew up in a very white culture… One of the things that we started to realize after '94 is that there are different cultures and different people who all feel different things- none better than worse just all different" [interview 21]*

This seems to generate feelings of ambivalence and uncertainty which are expressed through their narratives. They do not employ tactics of denial, avoidance or rationalization in order to alleviate their dissonance, but engage newly exposed knowledge actively and critically, and reflexively reconstruct their self-identities accordingly.

> *"I've learned that identification is all about differences, and that no one idea is better than another- it depends where you are looking from- the perspective. I know that the way things turned out for me had a lot to do with my colour. I've learned to be open and honest and act with integrity and have a positive outlook -- give people a chance and not judge. Things are a lot more fuzzy than they were in the past" [interview 71]*

There is greater engagement with the structures that are unearthing the contesting knowledge as they attempt to adopt a multi-cultural narrative. Thus, they consider a variety of different discourses in their individual identity constructions. This type of identity formation is accompanied by a strong sense of individualism. The more these individuals exercise their own agenic capacities, the more they support individualist ideologies and reproduce individualist thought in their narratives. The more they acknowledge responsibility for their past as white South Africans, and claim autonomy in being able to shape their future, the stronger their belief that they are empowered to construct the future of South Africa, and interact openly and less defensively with contesting knowledge.

> *"I am very positive about the [organization] -- because I want to feel like I can make a contribution to this country and man! I have never found any other place where I will be able to make a contribution like this. I believe we need to grow, I believe the biggest sin of apartheid was the poor education given to the majority of people, and the only way to rectify this is to give people the opportunities to study and to grow themselves, sacrifice- get on with the job of providing training and empowerment through education" [interview 70]*

The variations observed in this type of identity formation occur in part due to the amount of ownership, accountability and 'white guilt' experienced by respondents, and whether their narratives are informed by a discourse of fear or of empowerment.

Evolutionary Masculinity

Individuals displaying this type of masculine identity formation show critical engagement with their own as well as broader hegemonic constructions of masculinity, with an historical awareness of how the changing social context has contributed to their identity construction. In their efforts to construct a post-apartheid masculine identity, they are critical of the institutions that perpetuated hegemonic versions of masculinity, and recognize the role of power and discourse in it.

> *"Men in South Africa are like herd animals, they don't really form their own identity. White men were given their identity by the old government, and since that's gone- a lot of them don't know if they are Arthur or Martha" [Interview 70]*

There is clear acknowledgement of the privileges and power afforded to men and that this should not be taken for granted.

> *"It is easier to get along as a man in a male-dominated world, even if you are not the typical man it is still easier" [Interview 70].*

Their narratives express the understanding that identity itself is an active social project, which is fluid, negotiable and multiple, and question traditional ideologies that view masculine identities as fixed, stable and rational. *"There isn't such a thing as a typical South African man… that's constantly changing- South Africa is characterized by diversity" [interview 59]*

Because they acknowledge the fluid, socially constructed nature of their masculine and racial identities, they find it easier to revise their self-concept and reflexively engage in self-identity reconfigurations by altering their internalized beliefs as a means of reducing feelings of dissonance; *"As the organization shapes you do help shape it, and it helps shape you, neither is left unchanged" [interview 59].*

Fearful Grounded Racial Identity

The people who are constructing this narrative show 'fear' as a primary motivator for their actions. They bear similarities to the "victimhood avoidant reflexives" as their racial discourse is premised on the assertion that their new white identity is under threat and is in need of defense.

"Being white means two things privilege and guilt- you are labeled as guilty, these days the security of your identity is threatened- and so finally I understand how discrimination feels. My culture is being challenged daily; there is no state protection of my culture anymore" [Interview 82]

"The most significant thing I felt about how the change [beyond 60] has affected my beliefs is that I never felt threatened before, I feel like I have to defend my culture and my beliefs every day" [interview 29]

However, because they are able to acknowledge the existence and impact of hegemonic constructions of whiteness on their individual identity formation and the privileges which shaped their life projects, there is less victimhood and avoidance present in their narratives. They display deep pride in their ethnicity, and a devotion to protecting and promoting their culture and heritage.

"Many Afrikaners are still living in an irrelevant past- the superiority and privileges that made them who they were don't exist anymore, but I don't think that there is a balance still. I spend a lot of time participating in Afrikaans events, but I am selective about what. I value Afrikaans more these days. The changes [at the organization] have brought in diversity, that this is actually shown me my own culture, and that my core values are still part of that culture. But I get these messages all the time -- pushing that Afrikaans is bad, like on SABC- and that I should feel guilty about being Afrikaans, it's not supposed to be like that, everybody should be given the space to live" [interview 29]

Men and Emotion

Unlike other manifestations of masculinity, men showing this type of masculine identity formation do not place restrictions upon emotional expression. They are able to recognize the usefulness of emotional expression.

"It is a challenge to be emotionally honest because most men aren't. But it's so important to let yourself feel and show you do. We are taught not to engage our emotions. I remember my father 'klupping' [smacking] me something stupid because I cried when we put my dog down- he'd say 'do you want me to give you

something to cry about?' -but everybody grew like this- fathers were strict – end of story, it was normal." [Interview 27].

Grounded Evolutionaries and Organizational Change

These individuals show greater awareness of the impact broader historical social structures have had on shaping organizational development and precipitating the change process. They maintain that they have a meaningful and legitimate contribution to make towards the future success of the organization and the development of mutually agreed solutions. The primary motivator of fear is evident in their focus on the negative consequences of change for white employees, as well as the dangers of being white in South Africa and the threat this poses to their economic and physical well being. Despite this, they do engage meaningfully with the contesting knowledge popularized during the change process and reflexively reconstruct their white racial identities from an interrogation of this knowledge.

> *"I've always tried to decide things for myself, but I am very aware these days I am white, I don't like feeling like the bad guy, undesirable, and I do feel a strong element of guilt. But if I am honest I know I am still benefiting from the privileges [of being white], there is inherent unfairness in the system of affirmative action now, but there was also inherent unfairness in the last system. I owe it to South Africa to give back what I can" [Interview 64]*

The transition to democracy in South Africa has increased the emphasis on equality and women's rights, as epitomized through many a post-apartheid legislative policies, such as Affirmative Action which is drastically altering the demographic profile of the professional business landscape. These individuals do not subscribe to stereotypical gender roles.

> *"It's happening slowly but surely, in fact I think women in management are better than men – women also tend to think laterally, whereas most men think in*

a linear way, because of this their problem solving is excellent, they make really good engineers" [Interview 51].

However, the broad findings of both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of this study do suggest that the above described views are certainly a minority and, judging by the many concessions granted that diminished the change outcomes, unlikely to be harboured by individuals in positions high enough to manipulate the discursive operations of power in the organization to protect their vested interests. The evident gender biases still operate discursively through the organizational structures, and for the most part go unchallenged by both male and female employees. The quantitative findings demonstrate (refer to Graph 1, pg 97) that between the 2005 and 2008, the most pronounced decrease dissonance scores was shown for black* females, who went from experiencing the highest levels of dissonance in 2005, to showing the second lowest levels in 2008. This indicates that, as the new structure embedded itself, it was more closely aligned with the primary concerns of these black female actors. Further, the exact alignment of dissonance scores in 2008, for black* males and females which had previously been quite different, indicates that they are now experiencing similar social realities.

At the close of this study the middle management layer was dominated by Black* men, who in the main are still closely linked to their traditional belief systems [Webster & Holdt, 2005]. Research has indicated that men who endorse a traditional masculinity ideology, or who are dependent on a male reference group for their gender role self-concept are also likely to have negative attitudes towards racial diversity and women's equality [Powell-Brittan & Wade, 2001]. It is highly likely that the gender bias still operating in the organization (seen though participant observation) does not conflict with the internalized belief systems and identity formations of black women working there as they too

subscribe to a traditional belief system premised on patriarchal dominance and gender inequality. In 2008 however, white females were experiencing the highest levels of dissonance comparative to other groups – indicating that the entrenched inequalities do not align with their primary concerns and their identities are still been contested by the current socio-organizational context.

Liberal Grounded Racial Identity

These individuals show greater 'liberal' rhetoric in their continually revised biographical narrative. Their reflexive reconstruction places race as an integral part of their identity, but incorporates a highly individualistic discourse with strong sentiments of ownership, accountability, responsibility and optimism. As one respondent stated *"I am white, it's a fact I can't change - but I can change what it means" [Interview 24]*. Whilst they maintain that restitution is a justified course of action to address the inequalities that persist in organizational structures, their primary focus is on individual meritocracy and adaptability.

> *"I can understand why this [affirmative action] is being done. It is hard to go through this, but how else will things be made equal. I don't fully support the way it is being applied sometimes but I have to remind myself its application rests upon people- who are necessarily flawed. I haven't personally experienced any discrimination- we are all still measured according to merit- that's very important to me" [Interview 56]*

Although the extent to which they take ownership of and interrogate feelings of 'white guilt' mediates their capacity for introspection, these individuals are pragmatic and flexible in their racial identity construction. Their narratives do not deny personal implication in the social processes of racialization,

> *"I hear all the time- 'but we didn't know what was happening'. We all had some idea and how much we knew was largely dependent upon how much we wanted to know. I really believe that ignorance is worse than hate" [Interview 76]*

However they believe that restitution and change needs to take place at the collective level and do not personalize the significance of white people in the future success of the organization or the nation. They reflect less guilt and shame than their 'fearful grounded' counterparts. There is no pronounced 'othering' present in their narratives and do not subscribe to utopian ideologies of a homogenous colourless South African Identity.

> *"Guilt is a personal thing, the past is a system thing -- and confusing the two won't helped create solutions to the problems left behind by the past. Upliftment doesn't happen overnight, and there are still a lot of people who don't want to be held accountable, but if we can't even own up to it how we ever going to fix it" [interview 84]*

Their narrative of change expresses a genuine relief that democratic society has been achieved and a lessening of 'white guilt' as the organization undergoes reform. However, because they firmly believe that the past belongs in the past they do not display avoidant tendencies and, consequently resolve to confront perceived injustices within the organization.

> *"I think I would say something if my superior was being racist- I know a lot of people wouldn't, because there is a big difference between a black person crying racism and a white person crying racism. In theory it should be the same but in practice it's not because there is a history. But if I've learned anything over the last 10 years is that racism is unacceptable, the direction of it shouldn't be an issue- in any form it should be unacceptable" [interview 81]*

They maintain that due to the socially constructed nature of society, change is continuous, and a changing organization presents an important opportunity to reflexively create and redefine new subjectivities of racial identity. The pace of their reflexive projects is parallel to -if not ahead of- the changes occurring at an organizational level.

> *"Change is the only constant; the organization is smart to accept this. We need to be more adaptable and open-minded because anything that can't change goes*

> *extinct. I wouldn't have stayed if the organization hadn't changed. The organization fits the macro environment of South Africa better now" [interview 69]*

Individuals subscribing to an evolutionary masculine narrative recognize that there are drastic changes occurring in the workplace. They do not interpret these as a threat, but as a part of continual reconstruction of social organizational life. Their narratives show critical engagement with the context and introspection upon their own subject positions. Masculine and feminine identities are co-constructed rather than masculine identity constructing itself in relation to ascribed feminine roles. Further, they show that there is a continual interrogation and reorientation of gender roles:

> *"My wife and I have decided on how to raise a child, and share responsibility of raising the baby as much as possible. I'm planning a sabbatical so I can be mom for a while and my wife can get back into her work [interview 69]*

Although they express strong feelings of ambivalence, anxiety, uncertainty and doubt, their feelings of fear are limited as they are prepared to face the unfamiliar in the redefinition of racial discourses, and place an expectation on other racial groups to do the same. *"I think everyone should accept that it's okay to struggle and not to be sure of what you are doing" [interview 74]*.

They do not presume to understand the constructions of other racial identities and recognize the politics of racial identity. They have engaged with their whiteness and its connections to hegemonic constructions of whiteness, and do not entertain stereotypes of racial identity (for all races). They maintain that the negative emotions and upheaval associated with change are acceptable because they firmly believe that the general trajectory of the change process is both correct and necessary.

> *"I think beyond 60 has changed the way people view themselves and one another. It was not just a functional change, it was about culture shift. So many of us were faced with new ideas and had to ask ourselves hard questions. I think*

the diversity management was a bit superficial, and that often decisions were motivated by cultural undertones and empire building- but I still feel confident under the current leadership that they will reconnect this organization with its mandate of serving the country's development needs" [interview 70]

They actively seek out contesting knowledge in order to deconstruct the narrative of whiteness, as they believe that facing the truth of the past is a necessary part of moving beyond it. Their reconstructions of a hybrid racial identity necessarily precipitate a reevaluation of their perceptions of 'other' racial identities.

"This change brought up issues of job security, and when I looked closely at how I felt, I had to question whether its job security or job entitlement. It's a different world now; I can't expect to have a job because of the colour of my skin. I think a lot of white men, even those who claim to be 'liberals' don't even realize they are reacting on a sense of entitlement. If they had the skill, than they shouldn't have to worry" [Interview 85]

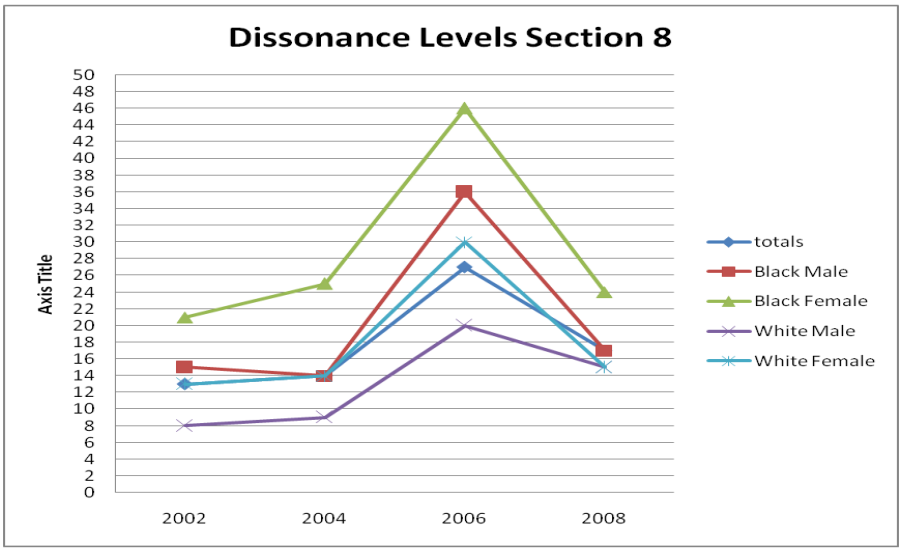
They seem to have an intrinsic understanding that social reality is multi-layered and stratified and thus, acknowledge that they will likely uncover conflicting knowledge fairly often, and so dissonance is an inevitable feature of their psycho-social existence. However, they believe that critical engagement is essential to the alleviating of feelings of conflict and discomfort.

These are the most actively reflexive individuals, and their reflexive reconfigurations ultimately precipitate the morphogenesis of social structures associated with their racial identity formation. Their open and critical approach to racial discourse often uncovers covert racial bias present in organizational structures, which they challenge and undermine in the process of critical racial identity reconfiguration.

"A lot of these so-called changes didn't really get to the heart of the issues, as those leading the change only brought in incremental changes so that it wouldn't

compromise their positions of power. This place as it stands is not equipped to be useful in the new South Africa, we still work according to white Western principles, with no real engagement about finding African solutions… so for me this change equates to rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic" [Interview 78]

It is evident that the organizational structures did not change enough to impact the hegemonic masculine identity information of employees. There was no gender mainstreaming within the organizational change plan, and both the men and the women championing the change process were uncritical about the gender dimensions needed for change. However the ESM graph for diversity management (section 8) shows stark and measurable differences between the experiences that men and women are having regarding the changing organizational context.



Comments collected from the survey run in 2008 show that the perceived inequalities still persist. These sentiments were expressed in a great many comments.

"The biggest contribution that we can make to a non-racial, non-sexist South Africa is applying these values in our research institution. But we are failing to do so. The [Organization] is NOT a non-racial, non-sexist institution" [White female: Functional support position]

Conclusions

The conclusions below provide a brief summation of the research findings in relation to the objectives outlined in the introductory and methodologies sections of this dissertation. The conclusions of this research demonstrate that organizational change initiatives impact upon the reflexive identity formations of individual employees, by increasing their engagement with reflexive processes and accelerating the necessary reconfiguration of their self-identities. Finally, some recommendations are given for areas of further research within this topic area.

Brief Summary of Findings

The preceding chapters demonstrated a number of findings related to the research objectives, which cumulatively contributed towards lending support to the argument put forward in this study. Briefly, these findings are as follows:

1. *The organization is undergoing a profound organizational change aimed at altering its structure, function and identity. This was precipitated by changes occurring in broader macro-social structures*

The first objective of the research set out to establish whether a significant organizational change process was indeed occurring, and further, if the organizational change was being catalyzed by structuring forces and systemic elaboration at broader social levels. The historical document analysis (Appendix 2) and participant observation conducted affirmed that the organization had undergone three significant reflexive shifts in its 60 years of existence. Due to the nature of the organization as a public entity, each of these reflexive institutional identity reconfigurations was motivated by broader

socio-structural and socio-political changes. Archer's morphogenetic approach proved to be quite useful as an explanatory framework, as it permits an examination of the causal relations between social actors and social structures in the process of systemic elaboration at the macro-societal level.

The most recent change, which is a central focus of this study, was neither an overwhelming success nor a resounding failure. More important than this however, was the observed variety of individual reactions to the change initiatives and the complex, dynamic ways these employees responded to the uncritical attempt of the beyond 60 process to direct their self-identity reformulation.

2. *There is broad interaction between employees and structures, and further that causal relationship exists between shifting organizational structures and reflexive activity of social agents.*

The quantitative findings of the research show that employee's are actively engaging the shifting organizational structures and their associated alternative ideologies. Because of these changes, the organization's values are no longer aligned with those of the majority of the response group. Due to this misalignment, interactions with the shifting structures and alternative ideologies and values causes negative emotional responses, referred to as dissonance. The curve of the aggregate dissonance experienced by employees rises and falls with the introduction, application and conclusion of the change initiative over a 6 year period (2002-2008) (full results: Appendix 4). The increased feelings of dissonance in employees indicate that they are engaging these conflicting ideologies and employing reflexive activities as an attempt to lessen their dissonant states. There is a consistent time laps between the dissemination of new knowledge, or implementation of a

component of the change plan, and employee reactions to it (seen through their increased feelings of dissonance). These findings provide support for Archer's assertion that social structures have relative independence and further demonstrate the direction of causality as there is a time laps between structural reconfigurations and agenic responses. Thus, the structuring effects precede agenic responses to them, which confirm Archer's assertion regarding the structural conditioning of agents.

3. *Exposing social agents to alternative ideologies and conflicting values creates internal conflict which manifests as negative emotional states. Employees therefore are compelled to alleviate this internal conflict.*

Archer maintains that reflexive reconfiguring of identities occur in situations of discontinuity. Discontinuity in social relations or contradictory systemic configurations leads to increasing feelings of dissonance. This has been shown in a number of studies [see Cooper & Stone, 2000; Evans, 2005; O'Mahoney, 2005; Bergh, & Theron, 2007]. Contradictions present in the agent's social reality introduce conflicting ideologies that challenge the individuals internalized beliefs and values. This creates an internal conflict which causes psychological discomfort and negative emotional responses, and increased feelings of dissonance. The social agent is compelled to either change their internally located perceptions or attempt to change their externally located context, both of which are an attempt to remedy the contradiction. This process entails that they question the social structures around them as well aspect of their self identities that are informed by the structures.

The varying levels of dissonance that were measured throughout the study are an indication of the contestation between internally held perceptions and externally presented reconfigured structures, and indicates the presence of reflexive processes. Employees make use of various strategies and

mechanisms in order to alleviate their psychological discomfort and internal conflict. The various mechanisms used demonstrate varying degrees of reflexive engagement.

4. *The various strategies reflexively employed to reduce the individual's internal conflict can be seen by examining the changes taking place in various components of their self identity. This study focused particularly on Race and Gender Identity by looking at hegemonic whiteness and hegemonic masculinity. Some of these strategies include:*

Social agents can choose to simply **ignore** the dissonant cognition or **avoid** being exposed to alternative ideologies. They can also alter its importance, **reducing the significance** of their internalized value that is being challenged. This is the case with Dissociative masculine and Avoidant racial identity formations.

Alternatively they can **reject** the conflicting ideologies and draw on meanings from within their own racist discourse to legitimate their beliefs. They can also **challenge** or attempt to **change** the structural configurations that have introduced the alternative ideologies. This is the case with Retrogressive masculine and racial identity formations.

They may decide to **engage** with and **internalize** this contesting knowledge as a means of lessening their psychological discomfort. Employing this strategy leads to the greatest amount of reflexive self identity reconfigurations and is observed in Grounded racial and Evolutionary masculine identity formations.

Because the various components of self identity, such as race and gender, form a complex matrix of influence upon one another, as study such as this that considers only some aspects of identity and

not others is necessarily limited. The influence of other identity components cannot be accounted for. Therefore, the above findings are fallible as the influence of extraneous variables cannot be excluded entirely, accordingly any generalizations upon the findings should be undertaken with care.

Unlike the reflexivity of racial identity amongst the respondents, where the majority did show varying degrees of reflexive engagement, comparatively few respondents reflected any substantial reconfiguration of their gender identities, and the majority of constructions still reflected varying degrees of alignment with hegemonic constructions of masculinity. It is evident that the organizational structures did not change enough to impact the hegemonic masculine identity formations of employees. The strong patriarchal element embedded in the operational structures of the organization persistently undermined gender strategies for empowerment. It can only be speculated that those retaining power within the organization, regardless of race or gender, still subscribe to patriarchal discourses and only instituted incremental changes so as not compromise their vested interests.

Thus, it can be concluded that changes in organizational structures resulting from a broad organizational change initiative cause employees to reflexively engage with the component of their identity that is being contested by the altered organizational structures and alternative ideologies. As 'race' was a key element of the transformation of the organization, employees are reevaluating their racial identities. However, the organizational change relating to gender issues was marginal and incremental, thus employees did not engage in any significant way with their masculine identities. If they had done so, it was shown to have resulted from influences external to the organization (such as

living in Europe). This conclusively demonstrates that organizational change impacts upon the reflexive project of self. It must be noted that this causal relationship is most pronounced when there is a strong correlation between the direction of organizational change and the direction of broader social changes. It has not yet been established if this would still be the case if organizational changes ran counter to the prevailing systemic wide structural elaboration.

Conclusions drawn from research findings

This research is critical of popular change management approaches. I contend that none of the available models fully theorize or address the impact of organizational change on employees that stretch beyond behavioral changes. Seemingly none examine the deeper impact of structural reconfiguring on self-identity formation.

Collins, [2001] demonstrated that the majority of organizational change initiatives fail to achieve their strategic objectives, mainly because of a lack of proper consideration for the 'human factors' of change. I maintain that this is, at least in part, because the change strategies fail to take into account the impact that organizational change has at the fundamental level of individuals self-identity constructions, and are therefore are not able to deal with the numerous unintended consequences that result. As there is a lack of consideration for the impact of structural-organizational change on reflexive reformulations as intervention models tend to focus only on mitigating the immediate negative responses to change, and are thus not equipped to deal with the full extent of these negative responses.

The wealth of documented case studies of organizational change consistently reflects that, regardless of the method/process or outcome of the organizational change, affected employees report negatively about it. Feelings of insecurity, unhappiness, disorientation and anxiety are inevitably displayed at some point during the change process, resulting in the change being described as unexpected, misdirected, traumatic and unnecessary [Martin 2001]. It follows that, because of process of reflexivity is fraught with contestation and negative emotions, it is likely that these immediate negative responses to change are actually caused by the individual experiencing increased dissonance. Generally, employees would attribute their negative responses to the change process (but have difficulty defining what exactly it was they felt negative towards), since it would require some reflexive engagement to identify the origin of the negative emotions as internally located rather than as a result of external changes.

This research shows that it is not because the organization is changing or even how it is changing, which is the cause of the initial discontentment and insecurity felt by all employees - it is because the structural organizational shifts change the structures that inform the individual employee's identity. These reconfigurations cause individuals to re-evaluate these aspects of their self identity that are informed by the shifting structures. It is this process of re-evaluation that causes strife, because calling ones identity into question threatens an individual's ontological security, which necessarily brings with it feelings of anxiety and insecurity.

I can draw inferences from the above conclusions concerning the impact that self identity reconfigurations have on the success levels of a given organizational change process. I believe that as

long as organizational change management processes treat the presence of feelings of dissonance as a direct effect of an organizational change rather than as a symptom of a much deeper process occurring in the employee, they will continually fail to recognize and address the true impact of the change processes on individuals and thus, will be ill prepared to mitigate these unintended consequences.

5. *Thus, I conclude that, unless organizational change methodologies and approaches take cognoscente of the impact of the change on the fundamental level of individual identity, their efforts will continue to be misdirected.*

Summary of Contributions

It is hoped that the conclusions of this research will contribute towards the growing body of evidence motivating for a paradigm shift within organizational change discourse and practice, as well as contributing towards the positioning of a new approach of holistic change facilitation within the South African Business context.

Implications for existing theory

The Duality of Structure

In the 30 years since its formulation the ontology of structure and agency has itself gained hegemonic status in social theory, as all can be reduced to the relationship between the agent and social structures. Seemingly, the social relations between human beings have become irrelevant, and thus the '*social*' essence of society is being ignored. Theories such as Morphogenetics, although useful in their explanations of macro social processes, reduce the infinitely complex unique processes

of social interaction to a rational mechanical model: structure imposes on agents, and agents reproduce and shape structure. However, it is social relations that shape our social reality, as meanings are transmitted through people and their engagements with one another.

Morphogenetics

Archer's Morphogenetic approach, whilst demonstrating considerable explanatory power at the macro social level of engagement, has limited predictive capabilities when applied to micro-level contexts such as organizational change. This is in part because her critical realist perspective oversimplifies the processes of social interaction and reduces the significance that inter-agenic social relations have on mediating the impact of structure. Therefore any application of this theory to organizational context should be done with caution.

Hegemonic Masculinity and Whiteness

Both masculinity and whiteness in the South African context are still heavily under theorized, which in and of itself bears testament to their relatively hegemonic position within the South African academia. Whiteness in particular has been heavily under critiqued and is theorized as the racial norm, by deflecting attention away from itself and onto the racial margins. This research is intended to contribute in some small way to rendering the invisible, visible by exposing how masculinity and whiteness are embedded in the historical and material relations, and demonstrating their discursive operations of power in the present organizational context. A central concern in the development of a post apartheid, postcolonial discourse should be to deconstruct the hegemonic position of whiteness

and masculinity, and encourage reflexive engagement so that white men may begin to construct their own versions of whiteness and masculinity suited to the new South Africa.

Organizational change theory

If the impact of organizational change on reflexive self-identity reconstructions is taken into account when planning and executing change initiatives, organizations may be better prepared to mitigate the negative effects of such change on employees, and thus there will be fewer unintended consequences, which opens up the possibility of creating greater buy in.

Because of the relatively poor success rates of change management strategies, the academic community is becoming increasingly critical towards organizational change theory. A consequence of this is that emerging theories are far more convoluted and complex in an attempt to increase their predictive capabilities. In doing this, the great many theories have lost sight of the basic relationships between structure and agency that underlie most organizational processes. This is not to imply that all can be reduced to a simple structure agency dynamic, as the discussion in the literature review has demonstrated that it is a highly contested area of social ontology. However, the vast majority of popular organizational change discourse shows a strong bias towards managerialism, and a structuralist focus that greatly undermines the importance and influence of agency and inter-agenic relations in organizations, and the processes and outcomes of organizational change.

Implementation Recommendations

Every attempt needs to be made to bridge the macro-micro divide that exists between macro-social theories and micro-level organizational change theory and practice. This can only be achieved by developing and implementing change plans that conceptually situate the local in the global. Thus

they need to include a system wide view of the desired change, taking into account the organization's interaction with broader social structures and processes, but should include scenario building that considers individual employee profiles (self-identity markers and psychological attributes), and how these individuals are likely to understand and respond to the intended organizational change.

Future Research

In general, the majority of theories that concern identity formation, and particularly those discussed within the context of this research, demonstrate a lack of an evolved multi-disciplinary perspective. They therefore do not consider the psychological aspect of self identity formation, and thus the resilience and permanence that exists within self identity is largely ignored. It is recommended that any further research into this topic and take a more nuanced approach in the development of the theoretical framework to analyze the identity construction. Beyond this, any further elaboration upon the identity formation typologies developed in this research through the use of comparative studies would be beneficial. Alternatively, a similar research design can be used to look at different components of self identity within the context of organizational change (for example black females).

Reflections upon my feminine whiteness

South African by birth, but Dutch in upbringing with an Afrikaans surname, I had always considered myself somewhat of an exception to the 'rules' of whiteness. I have always been aware that I am white, and that it is a colour like any other, and a minority one besides. But having lived out half my childhood in Europe, I felt I was a different shade of white than most. That is, I did not feel any

particular bond or loyalty to white South African heritage, nor did I fully identify with the various European constellations of whiteness. Further, after several years in the social sciences I felt I had confronted any latent racial bias I may have been carrying. However, in developing the typology for this research, I began to see disturbing inklings of myself, even though I am pleased to announce that in the main my general self-identity configurations can be located in the 'grounded racial identity' category. However, as I began to interact more with the material I began to identify some worrisome avoidant tendencies. Yes, I am white, but I thought I was a different kind of white, the kind that has no cause to feel white guilt, exempted from the privilege, thus exempted from personal guilt. And I thought everyone else could see this. So it came as a startling revelation the first time I was at the receiving end of black on white racism in the workplace. I was hurt, wounded – affronted- I felt there should be no cause for it. couldn't they all see that I was a different shade of white! I felt my victimhood surge- as I contemplated a nice little spot of my own somewhere in Perth or Sydney. I was a different shade of white- a liberal, educated, open-minded kind of white, how could someone else classify me like that And discriminate against me because of my colour! I was a different shade of white, stamped with European immunity to ward off white guilt. But quite suddenly then, whilst writing up my first draft several months back, the pennies began to pelt down, and slammed me into full awareness of my own internalized, deeply rationalized racial discourse. My quasi-colonialist upbringing lurched inside me and made me terribly aware of my own racial arrogance, not only did I assume that other races could simply sense my superior liberal European whiteness, I also believed that other white people could simply recognize this too. Thus, I would quietly take offence each time a respondent reacted negatively when they heard a white woman wearing an Afrikaans surname speak the queen's English- couldn't they see I was a different shade of white?!

No, they couldn't, because I'm not. Despite my years of introspection, my racial bias has always slipped under the radar, because- as an academic- my own rationalizations were so very convincing. But once these deceptions are unmasked, they can never be hidden again. Its difficult to feel the shame a lack of ignorance brings, but coming to know one's self also brings with it many new and worthwhile learning's.

So now my whiteness and I are on a journey, to construct a new version of my own personal whiteness, self-aware, critical and open, to see what the world can show me, and what I can show the world… just what this shade of white is made of.

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Permissions:

Our Reference: Francois C. Duvenage
Your Reference:

11 December 2009

UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND
WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sirs,

TL PIENAAR

1. With reference to the above, we confirm the following which is subject to a confidentiality and non-disclosure agreement with Tracey Leigh Pienaar relating to the data that was made available to her for her **MA Degree**
2. The Organisation is duly aware of the research undertaken by TL Pienaar.
3. The Organisation granted access to TL Pienaar to employees and associated employee information for the purposes of the research.
4. All personal information may only be used in such a manner as to protect the rights and confidentiality of the employees and the Organisation.
5. No information released to TL Pienaar or information received by employees will be used as evidence against them in any disciplinary or other labour matters, subject to the Organisation's internal policies.
6. TL Pienaar received no remuneration for her research.
7. TL Pienaar was granted permission to use content from documents and source information, in order to develop a profile of the Organization and its history and development (structure, function, composition, policies and practices).
8. TL Pienaar was granted permission to use the ESM, to modify it by adding further sections (done in 2004), as a part of her research. The questionnaire itself (sections 1 - 9 ESM) remain the intellectual property of the Organisation; any modifications are subject to final approval of the Organisation.
9. The name of the Organisation shall not be used in the report, to protect the interests of the Organization and confidentiality of the employees, similarly no names of employees or ex-employees may be used.

Kind Regards

FRANCOIS DUVENAGE
LEGAL SERVICES

Appendix 1: Definitions

Organization: An organization is the rational coordination of the activities of a number of people for the achievement of some common explicit purpose or goal, through the division of labor and function, and through a hierarchy of authority and responsibility [Schein, 1965: 8].

Corporate agent: The human being, as a social agent, initially involuntarily occupies a particular social position that defines the agents like chances. This position is dependent upon the socio-economic and cultural context which the individual is born into. The agent gradually becomes aware of their own self interests, and primary concerns [Archer, 2003]. When they act to meet these concerns, they cease to occupy involuntarily ascribed positions and therefore become social actors. Over time these social actors become aware of the common interests shared between themselves and other members of their social sphere. When they act in order to meet aligned collective needs, social agents become "corporate agents" [Archer, 2003]. In aligning their interests with the interests of others, corporate agents are able to access greater power and transformative capacity to personalize their locale in accordance with their own (and their groups) ultimate concerns. Because social actors occupying different levels of the social hierarchy have differential access to power, it is possible that micro-events (such as the conversation between three company directors) can have a macro-level impact (these decision they make directly affect the lives of hundreds of employees).

Psychological concepts of identity vs. sociological concepts of identity: The concept of identity as a psychological team differs significantly from the concept of self identity in sociological terms. Identity, as conceptualized by psychological theory and various theories of personality, describes identity as an individual's awareness of their own separateness and as a bounded collection of traits and characteristics that are relatively stable, and persist over time [Morgan, 1962]. Identity, in terms of this definition is discreet, relatively fixed and extending from an internal locus of control, it is how we define ourselves in contrast to things separate from us. While it is not denied that identity is given and shaped by the social world, there is an implication by this definition that

the formation of identity is predominantly a collaboration between biology and society-between each individuals unique 'hereditary endowments' and 'environmental influences', and occurs within the first few years with human development. Further, it assumes that – once identity formations have solidified -there is a general inflexibility and resistance to change of the fundamental foundations that define that individual's particular identity [Morgan, 1962]. By contrast, the conceptualization of self identity in sociological terms is intrinsically a part of social constructionist rhetoric that implies both that: identity is necessarily unstable in nature and that the social system in which identity is constructed is ambiguous and relative [Calloun, 1995]. Modern sociological thought converges around the notion that self identity has to be regarded as insecure, that as a system changes so too does the agent, and in the rapidly changing contexts of late modernity all familiar claims to the security of the stable individual self dissipate. Modern sociological though further, wholly disputes the psychological assertion of the stability of identity over time and the uniformity of the processes of identity formation, and acknowledges only that self identity in its very nature is a social construction, unstable and ambiguous, formulated and reformulated by a constant interaction between social context and individual agency, "a self that is simultaneously relational -constructed by discourse as the sediment of all social and cultural relations -and reflexive, that is absolutely unbounded" [Binnell & Hunt, 1999: 23]. Identity is the outcome of a complex series of social processes and is learned and relearned over time, rather than developing spontaneously, as personality and identity theories would suggest [Preston, 1997] In psychological discourse there is a tendency to err towards a definition of identity that in some way implies a certain givenness of identity, some element of naturalism in the composition and formation of identity that provides a non social base- or essence for it. But the ability of individual identity to shift with redefinitions of the social categories that define them demonstrates that any assertions that identities are an expression of some inherent essence of the individual are unfounded. Identity is the outcome of a complex series of social processes and is learned and relearned over time, rather than developing spontaneously, as personality and identity theories would suggest [Preston, 1997]

Structure and Agency: this is the central debate in sociology that centres around the relationship between individuals as social agents and social structure. The debate represents a tension between

how individuals have the capacity to act independently and actively construct social structures, and the extent to which social structures act upon individuals and determine their actions [Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000].

Structuration: this is a theoretical perspective put forward by Giddens [1984], in which he attempts to overcome the division between structure and agency by putting forward the idea of the 'duality of structure'[Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000: 9]- where structure is both the medium and the outcome of actions.

Morphogenetics: the temporal staggering of the relationship between structuring effects and agenic powers in the process of systemic elaboration [Archer, 1988]

Identity: this is a "sense of self, of personhood" [Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000: 171], and is defined through both sameness and difference. Popular understanding conceptualizes identity as fixed and innate to the individual psyche, however, sociological discourse views identity as "fluid and changeable" and continuously adjusting throughout our life projects [Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000: 171].

The social construction of identity: the process whereby people actively participate in the definition and building their social world and their identities, rather than have it imposed upon them. This asserts that identity itself is socially constructed rather than emanating from individual characteristics, of genetic or biological origin [Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000].

The Reflexive Project of Self: Giddens [1990, 1991] puts forward an account of the reflexive project of self which advocates that individual's identities are "no longer based just on external factors but are constructed by a constant reflection on, and a working or reworking of, their own Biographies" [Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000: 291].

Reflexive/Reflexivity: this refers to the way in which people, and institutions, particularly in modern societies, are continuingly self-examining, altering their practices and constructs in light of new knowledge [Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000].

Racism: this is when one's behaviour and actions are determined based on beliefs about specific racial characteristics. Racism can either be "overt and individual, involving individual acts of oppression

against subordinate racial groups or individuals, and covert and institutional, involving structural relations of subordination and oppression between social groups… while individual racism consists of intended actions , institutional racism involves the unintended consequences of a system or racial inequality" [Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2000: 286].

Gender: this definition asserts that just as sex is biologically determined (male, female), the gender of a person is culturally and socially constructed (masculine, feminine). An individual's sex is an intrinsic and (mostly) objective category of identification, however, the ascriptions of meaning, roles, and power associated with this biological classification, gender, are highly significant contributors to self-and social identity formation. Sex is not separate from gender but rather gender represents the way the body is socially interpreted and premised upon biological differences [Wetheral, 1997]

Organizational change: any event within or outside an organization that moves it from one state to a future, preferred state [Pierce, Gardner & Dunham, 2002] and further, requires of employees to change their behaviour in order to achieve this [McNamara, 2006].

Change Management: is a process led by change agents either internal or external to the organization that facilitates and guides organizations through the cycles of change by creating awareness, soliciting buy-in and ownership, and designing and imlementing change interventions. Change agents are tasked with ensuring that the change plan is executed and that changes are both successful and sustainable and thus drive changes across the organization [Hiatt et al, 2003].

Intervention: is a set of planned change activities performed by agents internal or external to the organization, intended to help an organization increase its effectiveness

Appendix 2: The South African workplace

The South African work place is a highly contested subject, its fractured and diverse nature bares testament to a turbid past and a present in rapid transition. The South African workplace is being profoundly transformed by broader social, political and economic transitions at a local and international level [Webster & Holdt, 2005].

Brief history

The South African workplace, since the onset of industrialization in earnest at the turn of the twentieth century, has always been stratified and segregationalist. Its segregationist beginnings are rooted in its colonial history. Before the union of South Africa in 1910 a large portion of the South African economy was based on rural production and non industrial enterprise. The key element that sparked the industrial development of South Africa was the discovery of gold. In the twentieth century the demand for gold by western nations was at its highest, as it was an internationally acceptable currency as well as having many industrial uses. From 1910 until the 1970's SA was the world's largest producer of gold, and the gold mining industry was a significant generator of income and a major contributor to the grose national product. Further, it was an important source of government revenue and until the late 1950's counted for more than half of the country's total export [Brietenbach, 1974]. The mining industry dominated South African economics until the 1920's, has little secondary industry and manufacturing had been developed (in 1912 the sector only constituted 6.7% of the grose national product). However, until the late 1930's the government of the union did not seem concerned with the growth of the manufacturing industry. Rather they poured extensive resources into the development of the agricultural industry, funding agricultural research, and providing various subsidies to white farmers. Parallel to this, the African tribal agricultural system remained relatively unchanged with the exception of the emergence of an African peasant farming class, often farming on land owned by white farmers. From the 1920's it became evident to the policy makers of the new formed union that the essential ingredient needed for economic growth and modernization of the entire economy was cheap African labour. Legislative steps were taken to ensure that the country's chief productive asset (African labour) was forced to join the market

economy for short periods while still remaining socially, economically, and geographically segregated from the white routing population. However, the use of cheap African labour was initially met with blatant resistance, particularly in the mining industry. As a result the color bar legislation that regulated the job levels which certain races could hold was entrenched.

The First World War had the effect of cutting South Africa off from many of the country's from which she received her imports. The stimulated a rapid growth within the secondly industry and manufacturing in South Africa. Further, her export economy grew rapidly. By the late 1920's the nation had developed a dual economy, with the industrialized sector (predominantly urban) displaying the characteristics of a typical modernized society, focused on material production and capitalist practices. The non-industrialized sector remained rural, mostly African and devoid of any significant means of manufacturing as a form of capital production. The 1920's presented a difficult time for the international economy, as the European economy attempted to reconstruct itself after the devastations of war, which was further aggravated by the excessive debt accumulated during the war and the crash of the American stock market in 1929. Conversely, the South African economy experienced an inflationary boom until the early 1930's when the full impact of the collapse of the diamond trade was felt. However, and this was offset by the country's enormous capacity for gold production. From 1933 the manufacturing sector began to expand rapidly, as a result of interventionist state measures intended to address the 'poor white problem' resulting in a 2% per capita growth in income each year between 1933 and 1965. But this figure does not demonstrate the severely unequal distribution of income in SA, nor does it present us with the complete picture of developments in the subsistence and sector of the economy. The political often overshadowed the economic during these years of development, as successive bouts of legislation were developed to raise the standard of living for whites, while completely neglecting the plight of the African population, ultimately resulting in the average real earning of the African labourer being 20 times lower than that of his white counterpart. The stimulation of the manufacturing industry led to an increase in demand for skilled workers particularly in the fields of science and engineering, as more factories became mechanized and the mining industry made greater use of cheaper locally produced

machinery. Further, by 1936 67% of the white population had become urbanized which led the economy to shift from that of subsistence to consumerism.

The onset of the Second World War had a profound effect on the development of South African manufacturing. The reduction in imports, and the increased military demand for iron and steel during the war had the effect of stimulating the internal production of substitute materials, causing a rapid growth in the manufacturing economy. Industry drew heavily on the rural areas for its supply of labor, and employed Fordist methodologies to fragment jobs thus that they could be performed by unskilled labor, as much of the skilled labor (predominantly white men) had been conscripted into war service. This led to a rapid change in the composition of the South African workplace. The decline in the profitability of gold production, the introduction of more women and Africans as semiskilled laborers to the work force, and active state intervention to stimulate manufacturing changed the landscape of the South African workplace. Further, major political shifts in power occurred in the 1940's. The pact government was defeated and the first fully national, Afrikaner government came to power in 1948. The election of 1948 was won on racial grounds, as Malan's proposal of a system of rule called 'Apartheid' promised to ensure the rule of the white race in South Africa. The national governments seizure of power led to a rapid shift in mainstream ideology from that of separate development to apartheid. The new national government motivated in part by the outcry from returning white soldiers who had found their jobs lost to woman and Africans embarked on an industrial strategy aimed at providing protection for white workers through the use of job reservation policies. The Apartheid government motivated by their belief that liberalization of political and economic spheres would threaten the existence of the white race in south Africa and destroy their way of life (rooted in colonial traditions), had within four years designed and legislated many of the policies that would provide a firm basis for all the social, economic and political aspects of Apartheid. The definitions of and rights afforded to the different racial groups were solidified. Further, the beginnings of the cold war in the northern hemisphere gave the government the justification to stamp out any leftist groups in the name of suppression of communism. Between 1945 and 1970 apartheid rule became more severe and pervasive. By far the political leader whose succession to prime minister in 1958, proved most detrimental to the political, social and economic fate of the African in South Africa, was H.F.

Verwoerd. His intensification of segregation efforts through the introduction of new legislation had a profound effect on the national landscape. As a part of his reforms, in 1959 the Extension of the University Act was introduced, which prohibited the enrolment of non-white students at 'white' universities. New colleges would be set up for all the designated races. This new system of tertiary education ensured that it became impossible for the majority of Africans to enter into any professional field.

The international community was becoming more antagonistic towards the ever evolving policies of racial discrimination, and South Africa opted to cut ties with Britain, establish a Republic, and isolate itself further through its decreasing international relations. After the Sharpeville incident of 1960, in which 61 peaceful protesters were shot and killed by south African police, the United Nations began a campaign of imposing various economic and diplomatic sanctions on against South Africa as a means of forcing the nation to abandon its apartheid policies.

One of the major areas of government Involvement in the 1960's was the intensification of internal security and defense, as a means of protecting its political power and dominance over non-white groups. The department of the defense, conscious of the growing hostility of the outside world (particularly from other African states) rapidly increased its military power by rapidly expanding its permanent defense force, and investing heavily in the local arms production industry and military technology research (the united states, under pressure from the United Nations, stopped the sale of weapons to South Africa from 1964 onwards).

The establishment of the organization under study in 1945 coincides with the growing demand for innovation to increase agricultural and manufacturing productivity. Thus, for the better part of four decades the main preoccupation of the organization's scientific and industrial research centered on the needs of heavy industry development and modernizing material production. Further, the demographic composition of the organization was dictated either directly or indirectly by the national political climate. All Africans were prohibited from taking up permanent employment in the areas demarcated for white people. Job reservation policies and the effects of excluding Africans from the

national university system resulted in there being very few African professionals in the sciences, and this and the representation as a part of the organization's workforce was negligible. Further affecting the composition of the organization's workforce was the government's active promotion of Afrikaner workers through protected employment. Thus the situation arose where most Afrikaners were employed in the public service as this was where the government had the greatest influence and control over the application of employment policy. The increasingly militaristic focus of the organization's research and technology development in the 1960's was as a direct result of national politics. The structure, form and function of the Organization can be directly attributed to the changing socio-political and economic landscape of the country.

From 1967, as a means of reducing its isolation, SA embarked on an "outward looking" foreign policy. It focused its efforts on building ties with other newly independent African states. Despite the hostile attitude of most African nations towards SA's domestic policies, this strategy of foreign policy proved to be somewhat successful. This was because South Africa was the most highly industrialized country on the continent, and it used its scientific and technological advantage to increase its economic connections on the continent, embarking on a number of technologically advanced development projects in these under developed African nations.

Although the international sanctions against South Africa did increase steadily from the 1960's, economics often outweighed ideology when it came to decision-making. This was clearly seen by the USA's official standpoint regarding South Africa. While it did cut some commercial ties as a sign of its disapproval of apartheid policies, is still maintained a number of its investments in South Africa, continuing many of its imports and exports to and from the country as the USA believed South Africa to be an important foreign market. Of great significance is that the USA also continued to maintain technological ties with South Africa, as facilities were made available at the Organization for space research allowing America established a satellite tracking station at their branch (Hartebeeshoek) near Krugersdorp. SA gained much in the way of technological knowledge due to this partnership.

Due to the increasing economic and political pressure placed on South Africa, as well as the general economic downturn in the late seventies, the cost ineffective and politically detrimental system of apartheid began to crumble. Internal pressure became more militant, as a new generation of freedom fighters reached maturity and they achieved greater political organization and unity. Further, banned African trade unions came increasingly militant and visible in the workplace, causing extensive industrial unrest, and highlighting the various political problems on an international stage.

Until this turning point, the South African workplace regime had taken much the same shape as the socio-political order. It consisted of a racially oppressive system of hierarchy dominated by racial segregation, heavily unequal power relations, and an institutionalized racial discourse. The result of these practices and structures was the development of an intense racial identity, tension and conflict. Much like the way in which power was exerted in society at large (mainly coercive), workplace regimes tended to reflect the same characteristics such as highly stratified, hierarchical and authoritarian management styles, antagonistic industrial relations, suppression of skills development of certain groups and the deprivation of the majority of workers of their basic rights. The Organization as an employer, was no exception. Although various interviews with long term employees have provided evidence that the apartheid workplace regime was often highly internally contested and at times intentionally disregarded. For the most part, the workplace under study was shaped by the dictate of the apartheid government regarding employment policy, procedures and operations. As will be discussed in greater detail further on in this chapter, the profile and demographic composition of the organization bear testament to the highly discriminatory nature of the apartheid workplace.

However, due to the above mentioned disintegration of the hegemonic rule of the system of apartheid beginning in the late 1970's, the SA workplace of the 1980's and 1990's was "characterized by such heightened contestation over the nature of the workplace regime that is constituted a 'chaotic transition' which generated disorder rather than the negotiation of order" [Webster & Holdt, 2005]. Privatization of a number of state assets was occurring at a rapid rate, and funding was being severely cut. This forced a shift in operational focus of the Organization, from an institution preoccupied mainly with innovative, but financially risky, 'pure' research to that of a service delivery

organization, offering scientific services and doing routine applications of scientific knowledge for the purposes of income generation. This reflexive shift in organizational identity began in 1987, at time that coincided with the most vocal and militant internal contestation of the apartheid regime. The apartheid workplace began to be deconstructed, both by intra-organizational reflexive forces and by national broader interests. This led to a period, stretching through the 1990's, of transition, where the hegemony and continuities of the previous workplace order were becoming increasingly disordered, and new competing and contending notions of what the new post apartheid workplace order should be struggle to achieve structural embeddedness.

South Africa is currently undergoing a triple transition, moving towards political democracy, economic liberalization and post-colonial transformation. This is a highly contested process that has generated contradictory pressures at national levels and at the level of the organization. The impact of globalization and the international inter-connectivity of workplace processes have dramatically changed the context, organization, and process of work [Webster & Holdt, 2005].

The beyond 60 process at the Organization, which concluded in October, 2005, marks embedding up a new post apartheid workplace regime. The institution engaged In a reflexive project drawing from a number of different sources of knowledge regarding the composition and future of the post-apartheid state, and this reconstructed and tailored a new organizational identity is deemed compatible with the new socio-political era, and encapsulated this in a new workplace regime.

The post apartheid workplace

The dismantling and deconstruction of the apartheid workplace regime was a lengthy process fraught with discontinuities, establishing reforms was a matter of constant struggle and confrontations between subordinates and manages increased (and owing to the division of labor on racial lines) each confrontation was drenched in racial and political meaning. The transition from one workplace regime to another was characterized by chaos and disorder. This was because the intrinsic codes of behavior embodied in the previous order had been dismantled but as yet no mutually agreed codes existed for defining acceptable behavior in the new order. A characteristic unique to the South African political

transition is that it was a negotiated transition rather than a revolution. Thus, one of the fundamental aspects of this transition process was that of compromise. Historically, the date of the ushering in of a new, democratic, post apartheid society is marked at the day of the ANC's victory at the first fully democratic election in 1994. However, the transitional process extended far beyond this date. It has taken over a decade for the racial structure of power that was embedded in both the formal and informal networks of organizations, to be deconstructed. But entrenched racial discrimination was not the only feature of the apartheid workplace that needed to be dismantled. The authoritarian, hierarchical, rigid management styles employed in the previous regime were no longer compatible with a new political and social system that emphasized cooperation, social cohesion and democracy. Thus, as is evident by the latest transformation in the Organization, the new post-apartheid regime required a complete shift in the way organizations were structured, the way management systems operated and a redefinition of the employee/employer relationship. It needs to be noted, that although the initialization of workplace regime shifts tends to occur somewhat spontaneously, as a reaction to a changing broader context which increases both internal and external contestation and pressure to change, the ordering of the new workplace, once it has fallen into chaos needs to be an active process, which ideally should be a negotiation between the various, contesting stake holders.

History of the case study

In order to understand the case study it is important that a comprehensive profile be drawn up of the organization's history, composition, and major milestones, as this whole frame in the context in which the research is taking place.

The organisation consists of approximately 2600 staff members including scientists, engineers, technologists, technicians, sociologists and support staff. The president and his five executive vice presidents, who make up the executive board, run the organization. This board oversees the 5 different operational units that make up the core focus organization [Archive Document]. This organization presents an ideal place to conduct the current research as traditionally its staff have been predominantly white Afrikaans males (because of the organizations location in Pretoria and because the types of qualifications required to work at the organization were traditionally those that

were stereotyped as masculine occupations, and under the apartheid system, few other races were offered the opportunity to gain the tertiary education needed for these qualifications

Location:

The organization has a number of campuses distributed across the country, such as in Johannesburg, Stellenbosch, Durban and Port Elizabeth. The main campus however, is the one situated in Pretoria, built on a large natural reserve area and encompassing over 60 separate widely dispersed buildings. The majority of core functions, administration, leadership, shared services, finances, computing services are all located on the Sciententia campus in Pretoria, and thus it has the largest staff complement of approximately 1700 employees [Archive Document]. It is also the campus that has truly felt the full force of the restructuring process, and is therefore the specific population that will be studied in this research.

Structure and divisions:

The Organization has recently implemented its new structure and operations model; therefore the new structure will be explained in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the way in which the organization has now been constructed. In the sections that follow, it will be explained why a transformation from the old organizational structure to the new one was considered necessary by the Organization leadership, and thus why the transformation process took place.

In the organization new structure, a number of the old structures have been consolidated (8 former business units collapsed into 5 operating units with distinct focus areas); whilst others have been divided into new structures ('corporate' has been divided into the leadership and shared services). The Organization is now divided into three distinct functional layers. The strategy and leadership layer comprises of the board and executive leadership [Archive Document].

The research and development core (R&D) layer consists of all the operating units as well as the national research centers, which are separate centers that function under the ORGANIZATION

mandate alongside the central business units. The operating units are focused on 5 strategic areas, which are tailored to address the primary areas of socio-economic impact in South Africa:

- Defense, peace and security
- Built environment, national infrastructure and spatial initiatives
- Biosciences
- Material sciences, manufacturing and advanced beneficiation
- Natural resources and the natural environment [Archive Document]

The majority of employees in this layer occupy positions scientists, researchers, engineers, technicians, research managers and research assistants [Archive Document].

The various operation units have 3 focus areas, firstly emerging research areas, secondly research and development, and finally research and development outcomes. This layer is the central core of the new Organization and is thus the most relevant, as it is in this layer that the renewed focus of the Organization on knowledge generation and application is realized. This layer is mainly funded by the parliamentary grant and can therefore focus more on experimental high risk research, that is of high risk as its capital generation potential is not direct or explicit, but has the potential to actively respond to the evolving national priorities and trends in science and technology, and heighten levels of research productivity, rather than be dictated to by the private sector business objectives, that encourage low risk research [Archive Document].

The third layer in the new operating model is that of shared services, which is designed to provide decentralized generic and specialized services to all the operating units [Archive Document].

The shared services functional layer consists of financial services, HR services, management services and learning and information services. This layer provides services to all the business units, the national research centers, and knowledge services*. These services are shared, which means all of the business units operate through them, rather than having their own internal services such as HR or finance. This increases continuity in function, policy and implementation, and creates shared operational protocols and outcomes [Archive Document]. Since the 1980's the operating units (formally referred to as business units) had become gradually more independent from one another and had began to operate in a more autonomous fashion developing their own internal standards and

operating procedures, whilst management had become increasingly centralized, hierarchical and bureaucratic [Archive Document]. With this new structure in place therefore many areas are expiring drastic changes, as their operations and policy implementation now has to be brought in line with overall standards [Archive Document].

All of the above three layers fall within the Organization mandate and are funded by the parliamentary grant. A fourth area has been created that falls outside the mandate. This area is called *Knowledge services. This division carries out routine specialized testing activities and routine applications of scientific processes [Archive Document]. These services do not require new research knowledge, only application and management. Under the old operations model, a significant amount of resources and manpower was spent by the various operating units on the commercially driven application of existing routine knowledge. It was decided that under the new operations model a separate division would conduct this type of work, so that the researchers remaining in the operating units could focus more of their energies on experimental research. The knowledge services division therefore falls outside parliamentary grant funding, and therefore draws its funding from commercial endeavors and utilizes Organization IT platforms and research infrastructure on cost basis [Archive Document]. This in turn frees up more of the parliamentary grant for experimental research. This layer has a different operating culture, it is more commercial and therefore separating it from the research core will ensure that a clash of management principles does not occur [Archive Document].

Employee movements:

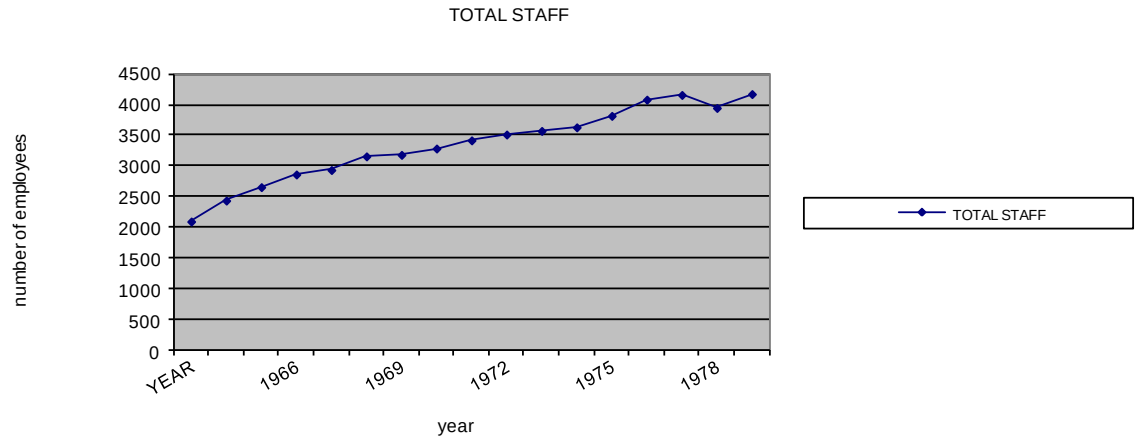
A synopsis of the employee movements was compiled from original source documents housed in the Organization archives, for the period extending from the formation of the organization as a research institute in 1964 to the development of the electronic database in 1980. Original raw data is indicated in black whereas, when more than one total staff count was available for that year (i.e. from different months), red was used. The following represents the total staff including both permanent and non-permanent positions; some totals may deviate as the definition of total staff changed over the years (sometimes including contractors and non-permanent staff and sometimes excluding them).

Staff totals 1964-1980

YEAR	TOTAL STAFF	WHITE STAFF	BLACK STAFF	PROFESSIONAL
1964	2099	1556	543	
1965	2440	1862	578	1593
1966	2659	2054	614	
1967	2865	2183	682	1700
1968	2938	2252	684	1765
1969	3160	2242	918	1995
1970	3185	2269	916	2010
1971	3288	2357	931	2117
1972	3421	2443	978	2280
1973	3516	2569	949	2249
1974	3575	2600	975	2367
1975	3633	2697	936	2440
1976	3820	2811	1009	2600
1977	4084	3049	1035	2856
1978	4161	3121	1040	3016
1979	3949	2878	1071	2731
1980	4175	3041	1134	3300

In 1964-65 only 6 permanent posts were available to black people, only one of which was a science post. In accordance with national apartheid legislation at the time all other posts designated to black people were temporary. As temporary employees they were not afforded the same rights and privileges granted to permanent employees under their conditions of employment [archive 1a]. Temporary staff do not receive benefits, many forms of leave (such as sick leave or family responsibility leave) or any form of job security. This is a clear demonstration of the racist practices employed by the Organization and most other organizations in South Africa at the time, and was supported and reinforced by national legislation. From 1965 employee counts were no longer recorded in demographic categories. Rather the categories of temporary and permanent were used until 1980, therefore the best estimation available of black employee numbers up until the creation of the electronic database is the number quoted under temporary employees minus the amount of staff in training positions, as they were also given temporary status but as indicated by archive material was more often white men in apprenticeships.

For the years captured on the above chart, the category of professional is defined as all permanent posts excluding those designated to administration or 'other', such as cleaning and maintenance staff. The current definitions of professional are somewhat different and more complex. Therefore if comparisons are drawn between the amount of professional staff prior to 1980 and those after 1980, the data may be skewed by the changing definitions used to set the parameters of the category.

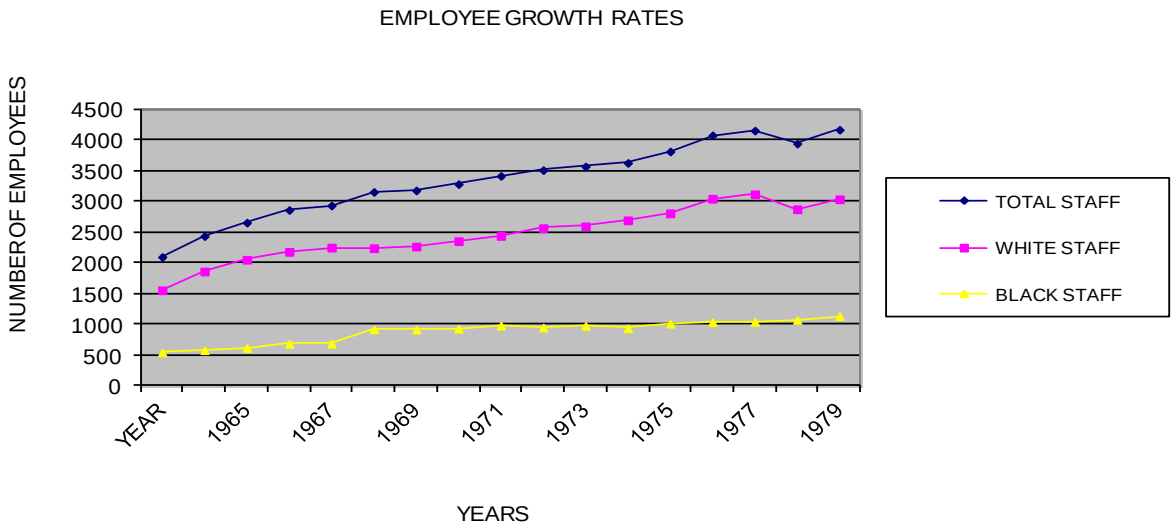


Although the data reflects that a large number of black* people were employed at the Organization in this time period, it must be borne in mind that the vast majority of them occupied low-level jobs. For example in 1965 there were 510 white scientists and only 1 black. There were 986 white technicians and only 31 black. Therefore it can be assumed from the data and from the historical context that for the most part the overwhelming majority of professional positions were occupied by whites.

The Organization experienced a steady growth in its overall employee counts due to the generalized expansion of the organization as a whole and an increase in its functions, adding staff to existing divisions and creating new divisions, in this time period. In 1964, the 3 new areas were added (republic observatory, SA wool and textile research institute and government mechanical laboratory); the introduction of these new areas expanded the organization by just over 300 employees. In 1965 the national institute for defense research and the national institute for rocket research were also added, further increasing the staff compliment by just over 70 employees. In 1968 the scientific liaison office in Paris was added further increasing the staff complement. In 1969 the nutritional diseases research area was removed from the Organization and incorporated in the medical research council,

the remaining activities were established into the national food research institute. Each year at least 1 new division was added to the organization, expanding existing operations and creating new ones. However from 1985 the staff compliment began to fall as a number of divisions became independent, were privatized or decommissioned or were reconstituted into other existing organizations or institutes (such as other research councils or academic institutions).

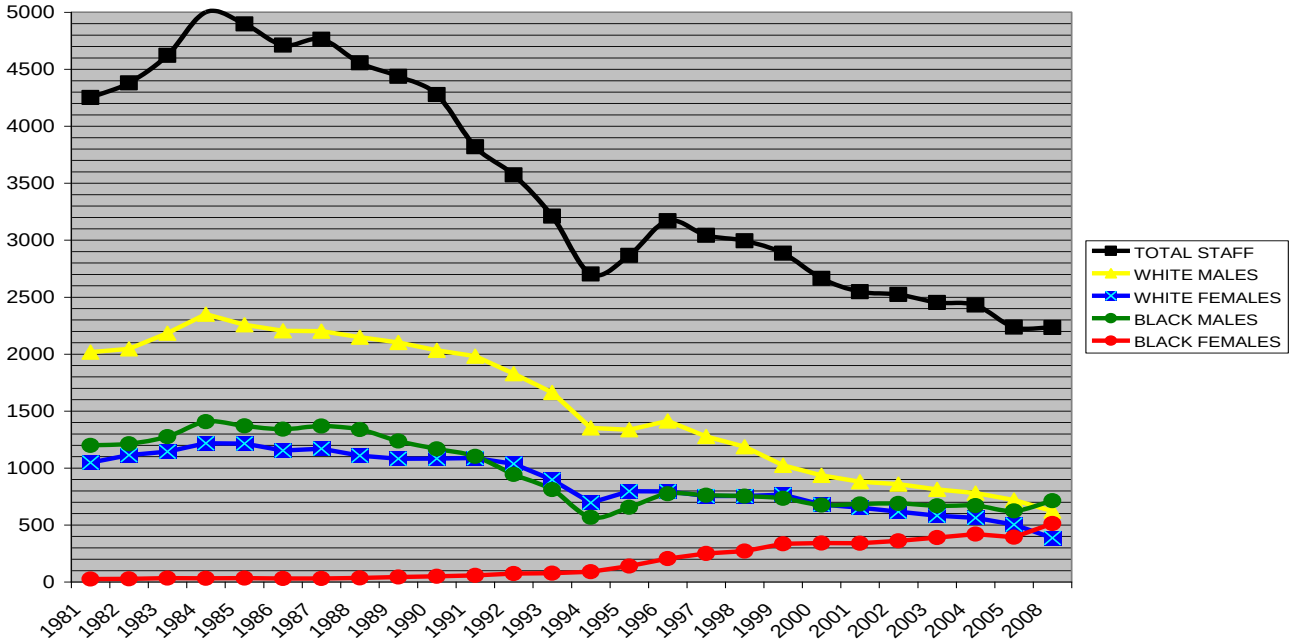
YEAR	TOTAL STAFF	WHITE MALES	WHITE FEMALES	BLACK MALES	BLACK FEMALES
1981	4252	2017	1047	1199	26
1982	4380	2046	1114	1213	28
1983	4622	2184	1144	1276	33
1984	5001	2350	1218	1406	32
1985	4898	2258	1215	1370	33
1986	4712	2205	1153	1341	31
1987	4763	2201	1169	1368	31
1988	4557	2148	1108	1338	35
1989	4438	2102	1082	1236	44
1990	4278	2033	1083	1168	49
1991	3819	1982	1087	1103	58
1992	3573	1828	1037	944	74
1993	3211	1663	897	810	77
1994	2703	1352	695	567	89
1995	2866	1336	796	656	140
1996	3171	1413	794	773	205
1997	3043	1277	754	761	250
1998	2994	1187	755	753	270
1999	2885	1024	766	734	335
2000	2664	936	680	675	341
2001	2548	880	652	684	339
2002	2524	859	616	689	360
2003	2452	812	582	668	389
2004	2430	780	562	669	420
2005	2401	756	544	672	429
2008	2237	719	503	623	392



As can be seen from the above graph the curve of the total employees and that of white employees follow one another quite closely, demonstrating that the majority of employees added to the staff compliment in this time period were white. The expansion of black employment remained relatively static and did not accelerate at the same speed as the white employees, demonstrating little expansion of employment opportunities for black staff within the organization at the time.

Staff totals 1980 to current

The staff compliment of the Organization expanded steadily until 1985, when it began to contract. This can be attributed to an increase in the decommissioning, transferring out of privatisation of a number of the organizational divisions. Within the South African context, the government began an intensive program of privatisation of many state organs from 1985, which is evident in the decline in the staff compliment. Further the Organization underwent a massive restructuring process in 1986-7, which also impacted negatively on the staff compliment. In 2000, the cleaning services were privatised, which had a negative impact on staff numbers, particularly black staff.



This graph demonstrates that while the organization as a whole has being experiencing shrinkage in recent years (white males in particular, due to the national context and legislation discussed previously), black females have actually experienced a relative increase in staff numbers, which demonstrates the impact of national legislation (EE Act).

Total black staff in the Organization

The above demonstrates more clearly the trends in the amount of black employees from 1964 to current. The sharp decline from the early 1980's and its converse sharp incline from 1994 are both as a result of the political situation of the nation at the time, which impacted on the organizations composition. In the 1980's the apartheid government, realizing that its system was failing began an intensive program of privatization, in the hopes that if the black resistance movement did cease control of the government, it would no longer have any nationalized divisions to fund its operations. There are also the rumours that privatization was a means of securing economic control for the Broderbund how secretly bought up the privatized divisions (and fronts them as BEE organizations), or to create revenue to line the pockets of the previous leadership. Likewise, the dawn of the new South Africa in 1994 marked a rapid change in government and the policies governing the labour market. Thus the graph shows the impact of these policies in real terms.

Staff totals 1964-2005

YEAR	TOTAL STAFF			white staff			black staff
1964	2099			1556			543
1965	2440			1862			578
1966	2659			2054			614
1967	2865			2183			682
1968	2938			2252			684
1969	3160			2242			918
1970	3185			2269			916
1971	3288			2357			931
1972	3831			2443			978
1973	3516			2569			949
1974	3575			2600			975
1975	3633			2697			936
1976	3820			2811			1009
1977	4084			3049			1035
1978	4161			3121			1040
1979	3949			2878			1071
1980	4175			3041			1134
1981	4252	2017	1047	3064	1199	26	1225
1982	4380	2046	1114	3160	1213	28	1241
1983	4622	2184	1144	3328	1276	33	1309
1984	5001	2350	1218	3568	1406	32	1438
1985	4898	2258	1215	3473	1370	33	1403
1986	4712	2205	1153	3358	1341	31	1372
1987	4763	2201	1169	3370	1368	31	1399
1988	4557	2148	1108	3256	1338	35	1373
1989	4438	2102	1082	3184	1236	44	1280
1990	4278	2033	1083	3116	1168	49	1217
1991	3819	1982	1087	3069	1103	58	1161
1992	3573	1828	1037	2865	944	74	1018
1993	3211	1663	897	2560	810	77	887
1994	2991						
1995	3047	1503	805	2308	663	131	794
1996	3106	1413	794	2207	773	205	978
1997	3043	1277	754	2031	761	250	1011
1998	2965	1187	755	1942	753	270	1023
1999	2860	1024	766	1790	734	335	1069
2000	2631	936	680	1616	675	341	1016
2001	2555	880	652	1532	684	339	1023

2002	2524	859	616	1475	689	360	1049
2003	2452	812	582	1394	668	389	1057
2004	2430	780	562	1342	669	420	1089
2005	2401	756	544	1300	672	429	1101

Appendix 3: Quantitative Questionnaire- Employee Satisfaction Monitor

DEMOGRAHIC VARIABLES

Please complete **all** the questions below:

1. Functional group:

Professional	1
Professional support	2
Functional	3
In-training	4

2. Age: 20 – 30 years
   31 – 40 years
   41 – 50 years
   51 – 62 years

3. Gender:

Female	1
Male	0

4. Race:

Black	1
White	4
Indian	3
Coloured	2

Other: _____5__

5. Nationality:

South African	1
Other	0

6. Home Language(s): _____English – 1
   Afrikaans – 2
   IsiZulu – 3
   Sotho – 4
   Other – 5

7. Employee Status:

Permanent	1
Contractor	0

8. Education Level:

Less than Matric	1
Matric	2
Technicon B Level	3
Technicon Honours Level	4

Technicon Masters Level	5
Technicon PhD Level	6
B Level University Degree	7
B Honours Level University Degree	8
B Masters Level University Degree	9
PhD Level University Degree	10

9. Are you currently studying towards a higher qualification?

Yes	1
No	0

10. If Yes,

Are you studying in a direction to specifically further your career at the ORGANIZATION? or	1
Are you studying in a direction of more personal interest to you?	2

11. Years of service at the ORGANIZATION: x= >0<100

Set {0 – 5} years
{6 – 10} years
{11 – 15} years
{16 – 20} years
{21 – 25} years
{26 – 30} years
{31 – 35} years

Rounding to the nearest full year.
(after calculations)

12. Have you ever been employed at another organisation?

Yes	1
No	0

13. Total Package: (Net per Year)

Less than 150 000 p/a	1
150 000 – 250 000 p/a	2
250 000 – 400 000 p/a	3
400 000 – 500 000 p/a	4
More than 500 000 p/a	5

14. When was the last time that you received a promotion?

Within the past 18 months	1
Prior to the past 18 months	2
Never	3

15. Marital Status:

Single	1
Married	3

Divorced	4
Widowed	5
Living together	2

16. Number of Dependents: x= >0<100

17. Single or dual / multiple income family: Single = 1
Dual = 2

EMPLOYEE SATISFACTION MONITER- JOB SATISFACTION, IMPORTANCE AND DISSONANCE

Employee Satisfaction Monitor

The following section of the questionnaire is based on the Employee Satisfaction Monitor currently in use at the ORGANIZATION. It comprises of fifty questions and is focused on nine key areas relating to personal and professional perceptions and preferences for overall job enjoyment, achievement and fulfilment. It also measures the level of importance of each area for the respondent. Employee response is measured on a seven-point scale and will reflect both Satisfaction and Importance levels.

Template of column values and percentages

1. section This section deals with…..	Not in the least Important	Not Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Neither Important nor Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
Column percentage values	0	16	33	50	66	83	100	0	16	33	50	66	83	100
1.1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.2	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.3	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.4	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.5	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

This questionnaire comprises of 115 questions and is focused on twelve key areas relating to personal and professional perceptions and preferences for overall job enjoyment, achievement and fulfilment. It also measures the level of importance of each area for the respondent. The areas are:

10. Job Enjoyment and Importance
11. Personal/Professional Development
12. Performance and Reward
13. Management and Leadership
14. Policies and Practices
15. Teamwork and Participation
16. Work Environment and Quality of Life
17. Diversity
18. Communications

19. Justice Perceptions
20. Job Commitment
21. Work Preference Inventory

- This is a survey of all ORGANIZATION employees and can be completed on the web or in hard copy format.

- Employee response is measured on a seven-point scale and will reflect both Satisfaction and Importance levels.

- An analysis of ORGANIZATION's overall results will subsequently be made available to each Director, Centre Manager and BU HR Manager. Hard copies of these overall results will be distributed to each BU Management Team, for feedback to all staff.

SECTIONS 1 – 9:

- Please look at every statement in the next 9 sections and score each statement in terms of :
  - How important you believe that issue to be (IMPORTANCE), and
  - The extent to which you agree with the statement (SATISFACTION)
- Every statement **MUST** be scored in terms of **both** IMPORTANCE and SATISFACTION
- You score each item by placing a "cross" or a "tick" into the appropriate column
- If your response is incomplete (because you elected to not respond to all 50 statements in terms of both Importance and Satisfaction) then your response will regrettably be discarded
-

1. JOB ENJOYMENT AND IMPORTANCE This section deals with whether you enjoy your job and are you happy at the ORGANIZATION	
1.1	My job is enjoyable.
1.3	My job challenges my ability.
1.3	I feel positive about my opportunities in the Organization.
1.4	I believe that the Organization is making a difference.
1.5	I feel secure and know that my job is not threatened.

2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT This section deals with your own personal growth and development at ORGANIZATION	
2.1	I can grow as a person and improve my skills in my workplace.
2.2	I can achieve my own career goals in my workplace.
2.3	I am empowered to make my own decisions in my workplace.
2.4	I understand the Organization career ladders/fixed job approach
2.5	I get training to help improve my skills and knowledge in my workplace.
2.6	I get the coaching / mentoring I need to grow in my workplace.
2.7	I understand the Succession Planning Process in my work environment.

3.	**PERFORMANCE AND REWARD** This section deals with your understanding of what is expected of you in your job and how your performance is rewarded.
3.1	My skills and abilities are used effectively in my workplace.
3.2	I have well defined KRAs agreed on with my manager.
3.3	I get the feedback I need on how I'm performing.
3.4	My contribution is recognized and rewarded accordingly.
3.5	I understand the Organization's Performance and Remuneration Policy System.
3.6	Poor performance is appropriately addressed in my workplace.

4.	**MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP** This section explores your relationship with your immediate manager and your perception of their behaviour and actions
4.1	My manager shares his vision (dream) for the future with us.
4.2	My manager is available when needed.
4.3	I am included in networking meetings by my manager.
4.4	My manager is supportive of me and my work.
4.5	My manager is decisive and takes responsibility for his actions.
4.6	My manager aligns all performance with our business goals.
4.7	My manager visibly upholds high ethical standards in the workplace.
4.8	My manager is fair and trustworthy.
4.9	My manager listens and communicates well.

5.	**POLICIES AND PRACTICES** This section deals with the rules and regulations which impact on you and your job at the ORGANIZATION.
5.1	Policies and practices are well communicated and explained in my workplace.
5.2	Policies and Practices are enabling and support our core business decisions.
5.3	I benefit personally by the Policies and Practices such as remuneration, benefits and Industrial Relations.
5.4	In my workplace actions reinforce its zero tolerance policy on unethical and criminal behaviour.
5.5	The behaviour in my work environment is aligned with the Organization's code of conduct and the organisation's Policies.

6.	**TEAMWORK AND PARTICIPATION** This section deals with the people you work with, what you achieve together and how you achieve.
6.1	In my workplace we work well together in teams to help meet OU and/or Project goals.
6.2	Teams in my workplace understand the benefits of working across boundaries in the Organization.
6.3	Conflict between team members is dealt with by our management and conflict is effectively resolved.
6.4	Our team meets regularly to discuss work issues.
6.5	There is an appropriate balance when handing out special achievement awards on both individual performance and team performance in my workgroup.

7.	**WORK ENVIRONMENT AND QUALITYOF LIFE** This section explores the importance of the physical environment and your work-life balance.
7.1	The physical environment (buildings, offices, gardens, parking) provide an attractive atmosphere in which to work.
7.2	Grounds and buildings are safe and secure.
7.3	Work pressures do NOT oblige me to spend more time at work than I should.
7.4	My job does NOT threaten or adversely impact on my other important non- the Organization roles and relationships.
7.5	My job does NOT cause me unacceptably high levels of personal stress.

8.	**DIVERSITY** This section is concerned with how effectively management is coping with the issues of diversity and equality.
8.1	Discriminating practices do not occur in my workplace.
8.2	There is understanding and respect for different cultures in my workgroup.
8.3	Issues of diversity and equality are openly discussed in my workgroup.
8.4	Issues relating to diversity and equality do NOT result in inter-personal conflict in my workgroup.

9.	**COMMUNICATIONS** This section deals with the quality of communication, and the communication channels used in your environment.
9.1	My Director/Unit Manager communicates directly with us all.
9.2	Important information is effectively shared in information sessions in my workgroup.
9.3	E-mail and web communication is an effective additional means of communicating between staff.
9.4	Notice boards, newsletters and posters serve as an effective additional means of communicating organisational information.

Appendix 4: ESM Scores 2002 – 2008

CALCULATIONS:

All scores in the ESM (Section 1- 9), excluding the demographic answers operate on a 7 point Lickert scale, ranging from strongly disagrees to strongly agree. All answers are calculated as a percentage. What is important to note, is that when interpreting the findings of the survey, the percentage scores obtained for each section reflects a range rather than a specific amount. In other words, a score of 38% does not mean a respondent is for instance 38% satisfied, it means rather that the respondent is indifferent, scoring in the range of 28.7 – 42.9%, and is tending towards negative feelings because they reflect an opinion of "somewhat disagree".

Formula: the sum of (column values) / (no of Lickert options – 1) / number of questions in subsection X 100 = %

Lickert scale number of options = 7	Strongly disagree	disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neither nor	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
Column Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Column value	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Column value median %	7.15 %	21.45%	35.75%	50 %	64.35%	78.65%	92.95%
Column value range %	0 – 14.3%	14.4- 28.6%	28.7- 42.9%	43- 57.2%	57.3 – 71.5%	71.6 – 85.8%	85.9- 100%

ESM 2002 IMPORTANCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Grand Total
Black	84.3	82.2	82.2	83.7	81.4	83.7	82.7	81.5	83.3	82.8
White	85.2	80.9	84.5	85.9	81.7	84.2	81.2	83.0	78.2	82.8
Grand Total	84.9	81.4	83.6	85.1	81.6	84.0	81.7	82.5	80.1	82.8
ESM 2002 SATISFACTION	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Grand Total
Black	71.4	68.7	65.9	75.5	70.4	72.0	73.6	64.3	76.8	70.9
White	68.0	64.2	66.3	75.8	65.3	69.5	66.6	72.7	71.2	68.9

Grand Total	69.3	65.8	66.1	75.7	67.2	70.4	69.2	69.6	73.3	69.6
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	12.9	13.5	16.3	8.2	11	11.7	9.1	17.2	6.5	11.9
White	17.2	16.7	18.2	10.1	16.4	14.7	14.6	10.3	7	13.9
Grand Total	15.6	15.6	17.5	9.4	14.4	13.6	12.5	12.9	6.8	13.2

ESM 2002 IMPORTANCE MALE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	84.2	81.2	81.9	83.0	81.3	82.9	82.6	81.1	83.0	82.3
White	84.7	79.7	83.5	84.9	80.6	83.0	79.3	81.0	76.5	81.5
Grand Total	84.5	80.3	82.9	84.1	80.9	82.9	80.6	81.0	79.0	81.8
ESM MALE 2002 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	72.3	68.5	66.8	76.1	71.9	72.8	73.8	65.7	76.7	71.6
White	67.8	63.2	66.3	75.9	64.0	69.8	64.3	72.6	70.5	68.3
Grand Total	69.6	65.3	66.5	76.0	67.1	71.0	68.1	69.9	72.9	69.6
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	11.9	12.7	15.1	6.9	9.4	10.1	8.8	15.4	6.3	10.7
White	16.9	16.5	17.2	9	16.6	13.2	15	8.4	6	13.2
Grand Total	14.9	15	16.4	8.1	13.8	11.9	12.5	11.1	6.1	12.2

ESM 2002 IMPORTANCE FEMALE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	84.5	84.5	82.9	85.2	81.5	85.4	82.7	82.6	84.1	83.7
White	86.0	82.8	86.0	87.6	83.5	86.2	84.1	86.1	81.0	84.8
Grand Total	85.5	83.3	85.0	86.9	82.9	86.0	83.7	85.0	82.0	84.5
ESM FEMALE 2002 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	69.5	69.0	63.9	74.0	67.1	70.1	73.1	61.2	77.1	69.4
White	68.3	65.7	66.2	75.7	67.4	69.0	70.2	72.8	72.4	69.7
Grand Total	68.7	66.7	65.5	75.2	67.3	69.3	71.1	69.1	73.9	69.6
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	15	15.5	19	11.2	14.4	15.3	9.6	21.4	7	14.3
White	17.7	17.1	19.8	11.9	16.1	17.2	13.9	13.3	8.6	15.1
Grand Total	16.8	16.6	19.5	11.7	15.6	16.7	12.6	15.9	8.1	14.9

ESM 2004 IMPORTANCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	85.0	82.8	82.7	83.8	82.1	83.4	82.5	82.6	83.5	83.2
White	86.6	81.2	84.7	85.8	81.8	83.8	81.9	83.9	78.7	83.2
Grand Total	86.1	81.8	84.0	85.1	81.9	83.7	82.1	83.4	80.4	83.2
ESM 2004 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	71.4	66.8	64.1	73.8	68.5	70.3	71.3	64.6	76.9	69.7
White	66.6	63.4	64.0	74.4	65.6	68.4	65.7	72.7	71.0	68.0
Grand Total	68.3	64.6	64.1	74.2	66.6	69.1	67.7	69.9	73.1	68.6

DISSONENCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Black	13.6	16	18.6	10	13.6	13.1	11.2	18	6.6	13.5
White	20	17.8	20.7	11.4	16.2	15.4	16.2	11.2	7.7	15.2
Grand Total	17.8	17.2	19.9	10.9	15.3	14.6	14.4	13.5	7.3	14.6

ESM 2004 IMPORTANCE MALE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Grand Total
Black	84.8	81.8	81.8	83.2	81.9	83.0	82.1	81.2	83.0	82.5
White	85.8	79.6	83.6	85.1	80.6	82.6	79.8	82.2	77.0	81.8
Grand Total	85.4	80.5	82.9	84.3	81.1	82.7	80.7	81.8	79.3	82.1
ESM MALE 2004 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	71.9	66.0	64.5	74.0	68.6	71.0	72.5	66.8	76.9	70.2
White	66.8	62.6	64.2	74.8	65.3	68.7	64.0	73.0	70.5	67.8
Grand Total	68.8	63.9	64.3	74.5	66.6	69.6	67.3	70.6	73.0	68.7
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	12.9	15.6	17.3	9.2	13.3	12	9.6	14.4	6.1	12.3
White	19	17	19.4	10.3	15.3	13.9	15.8	9.2	6.5	14
Grand Total	16.6	16.6	18.6	9.8	14.5	13.1	13.4	11.2	6.3	13.4

ESM 2004 IMPORTANCE FEMALE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Grand Total
Black	85.4	84.8	84.4	85.1	82.6	84.2	83.4	85.3	84.7	84.4
White	87.8	83.3	86.1	86.8	83.3	85.3	84.7	86.2	81.0	84.9
Grand Total	87.1	83.7	85.6	86.2	83.1	85.0	84.3	85.9	82.1	84.8
ESM FEMALE 2004 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	70.5	68.4	63.4	73.4	68.2	68.8	69.0	60.4	76.8	68.8
White	66.4	64.5	63.8	73.8	65.9	68.0	68.0	72.4	71.6	68.3
Grand Total	67.6	65.7	63.7	73.7	66.6	68.2	68.3	68.8	73.2	68.4
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	14.9	16.4	21	11.7	14.4	15.4	14.4	24.9	7.9	15.6
White	21.4	18.8	22.3	13	17.4	17.3	16.7	13.8	9.4	16.6
Grand Total	19.5	18	21.9	12.5	16.5	16.8	16	17.1	8.9	16.4

ESM 2005 IMPORTANCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Grand Total
Black	85	87	84	85	86	87	85	88	85	86
White	86	85	85	85	84	84	84	85	78	84
Grand Total	86	85	85	85	84	84	84	86	80	84
ESM 2005 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	56	59	46	62	54	59	61	48	65	57
White	53	53	49	65	50	59	60	62	61	57
Grand Total	54	55	48	65	51	60	61	59	62	57
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**

Black	28	28	38	23	32	28	24	40	20	29
White	33	32	36	20	34	25	24	23	17	27
Grand Total	32	30	37	22	33	27	24	27	19	28

ESM 2005 IMPORTANCE MALE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	84	85	82	83	84	85	83	86	82	84
White	86	83	84	84	82	82	82	84	76	83
Grand Total	85	84	83	84	83	83	82	85	78	83
ESM MALE 2005 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	59	60	50	64	54	61	64	50	67	59
White	52	53	48	66	48	60	59	64	59	57
Grand Total	54	55	48	65	50	60	60	60	61	58
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	25	25	32	19	30	24	19	36	15	25
White	34	30	36	18	34	22	23	20	17	26
Grand Total	31	28	35	19	33	23	22	28	17	26

ESM 2005 IMPORTANCE FEMALE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	89	91	88	89	89	90	90	90	91	90
White	86	87	86	87	86	86	86	88	81	86
Grand Total	87	88	87	88	87	86	87	88	83	87
ESM FEMALE 2005 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	50	56	39	57	52	56	56	44	61	52
White	53	53	50	64	51	59	63	58	62	57
Grand Total	53	54	48	63	51	58	61	55	62	56
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	39	35	49	32	37	34	34	46	30	37
White	33	34	36	23	35	27	23	30	19	29
Grand Total	36	34	43	28	36	31	29	38	25	33

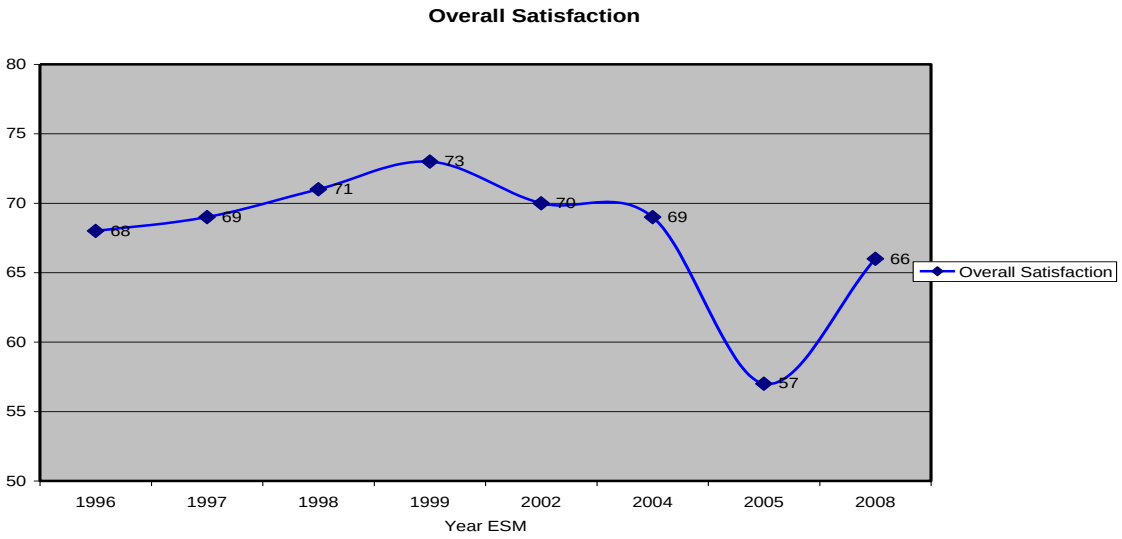
ESM 2008 IMPORTANCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	84	82	84	84	83	85	84	84	84	84
White	87	81	85	84	82	83	82	83	76	83
Grand Total	86	82	85	84	81	84	83	82	79	83
ESM 2008 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	70	62	62	70	64	67	70	62	75	67
White	65	61	61	74	61	66	63	71	68	66
Grand Total	67	61	61	72	61	67	66	67	71	66
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	14	20	22	14	19	18	14	22	9	17

White	22	20	24	10	21	17	19	12	8	17
Grand Total	18	20	23	12	20	18	17	17	9	17

ESM 2008 IMPORTANCE MALE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	84	81	81	83	82	83	83	82	83	82
White	86	80	83	83	80	79	80	80	73	80
Grand Total	85	81	82	83	81	81	82	81	78	81
ESM MALE 2008 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	69	60	59	69	62	66	70	62	75	66
White	65	61	61	76	59	67	60	72	68	65
Grand Total	67	61	60	73	62	67	65	67	72	66
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	15	21	22	14	20	17	13	20	8	17
White	21	19	22	7	21	12	20	8	5	15
Grand Total	18	20	22	11	21	15	16	14	7	16

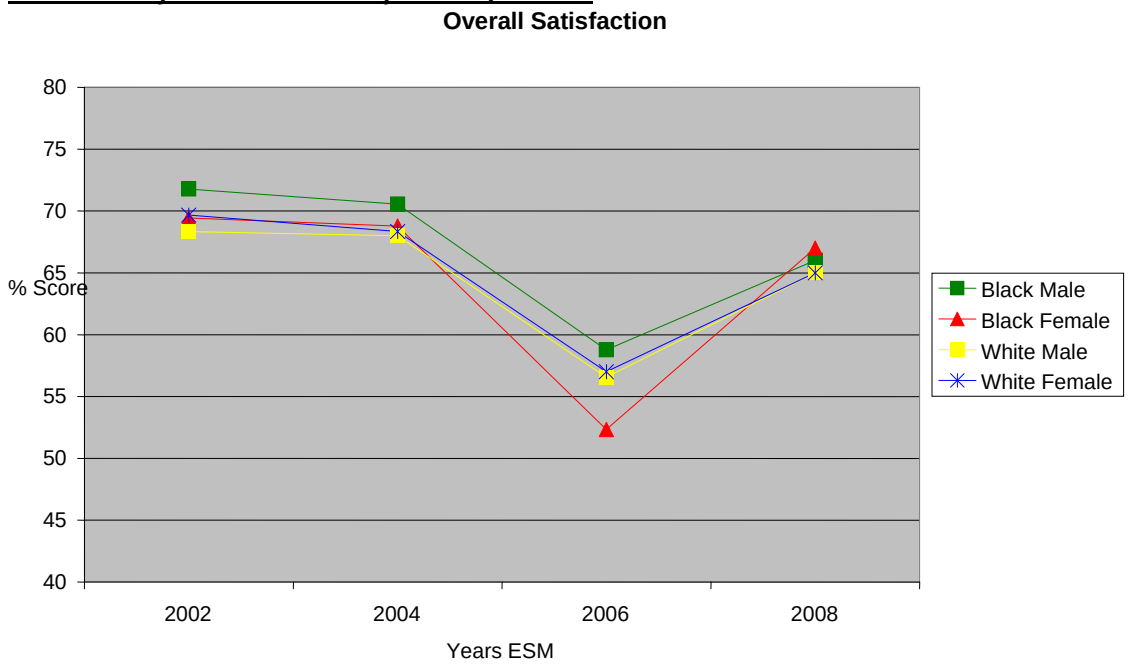
ESM 2008 IMPORTANCE FEMALE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	85	83	86	85	83	86	84	85	84	85
White	87	81	86	85	82	84	85	85	79	84
Grand Total	86	82	86	85	83	86	84	85	84	85
ESM FEMALE 2008 SATISFACTION	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Grand Total**
Black	71	64	64	71	65	67	69	61	75	67
White	65	61	60	71	62	65	66	70	67	65
Grand Total	68	63	62	71	64	66	68	66	71	66
DISSONENCE	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**Total**
Black	14	19	22	14	18	19	15	24	9	17
White	22	20	26	14	20	19	19	15	12	19
Grand Total	18	20	24	14	19	19	17	20	11	18

Satisfaction Trends: for the Organization



- The levels of satisfaction: were increasingly positive until 2000, employee perceptions began to become less positive.
- 2004 – 2005 employee perceptions became ambivalent (neither/nor)
- By 2008 definite turn-around, employee's levels of satisfaction increasing markedly

Overall Satisfaction ESM Score per Race/Gender



As can be seen from the graph above, there is a noticeable race related pattern in employee satisfaction scores. Since 2002 black males have consistently been the most satisfied in the Organization. However, in the current year of measurement (2008), black females have shown the greatest increase in satisfaction scores from the previous year, and are the most satisfied group in the organization. What is interesting to note, is that while the different racial and gender groups do have the same angle of change from year to year (showing that they are all affected equally by contextual issues regardless of race or gender), the views of white males and white females tend to be much more closely aligned then that of black females and black males.

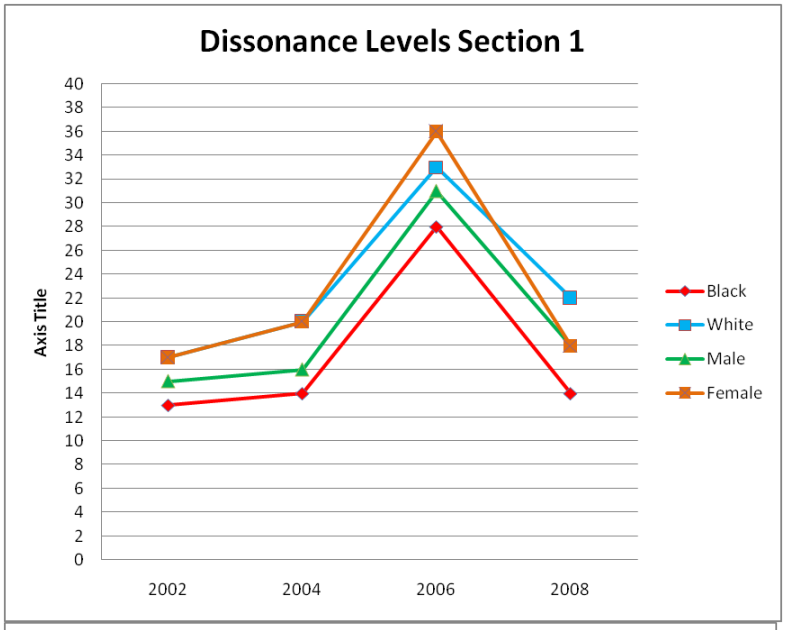
If there is a discrepancy in difference totals across the tables it is because rounding off of numbers to no decimal places was only done once calculations for each group (e.g. white females) had been done

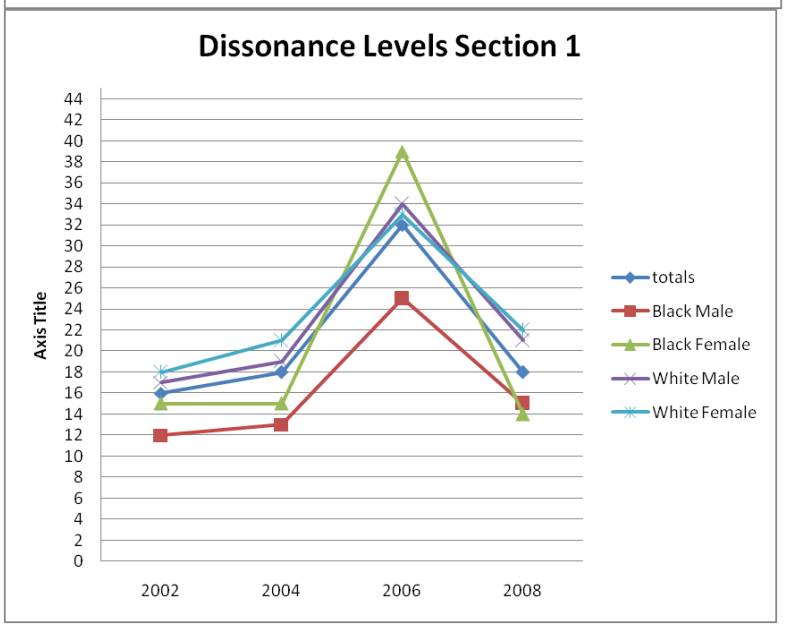
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 1

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	16	12	15	17	18
2004	18	13	15	19	21
2006	32	25	39	34	33
2008	18	15	14	21	22

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 1

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	13	17	15	17
2004	14	20	16	20
2006	28	33	31	36
2008	14	22	18	18



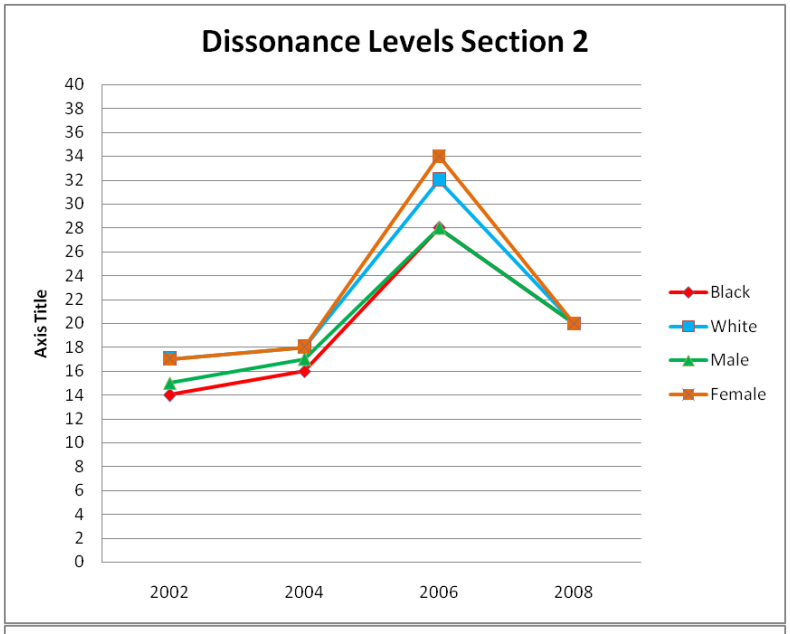


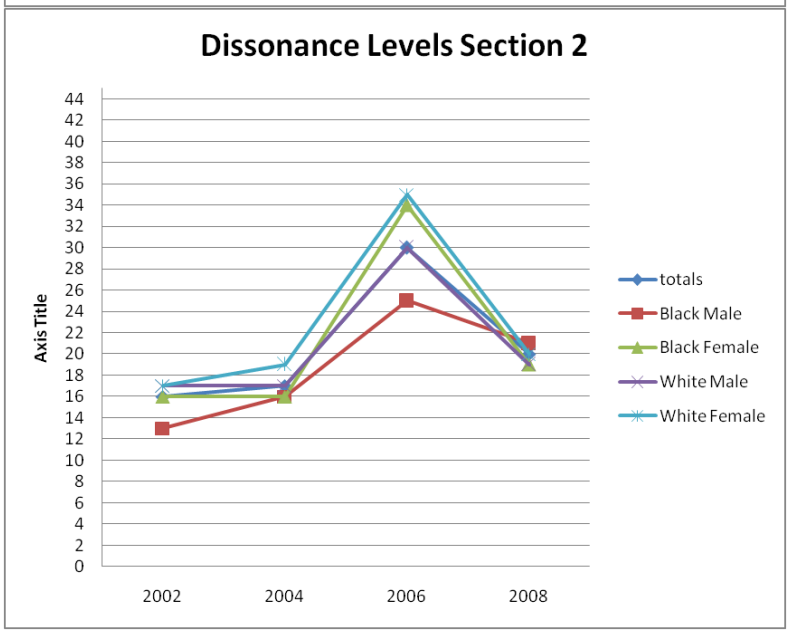
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 2

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	16	13	16	17	17
2004	17	16	16	17	19
2006	30	25	34	30	35
2008	20	21	19	19	20

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 2

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	14	17	15	17
2004	16	18	17	18
2006	28	32	28	34
2008	20	20	20	20



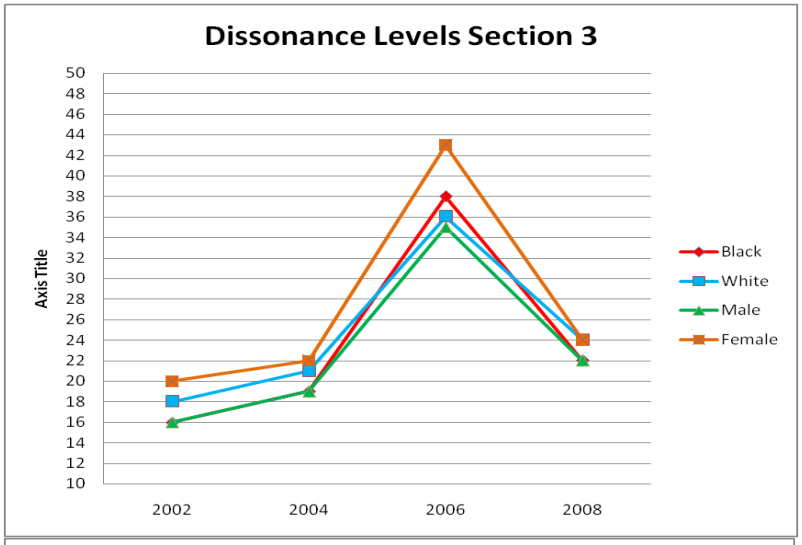


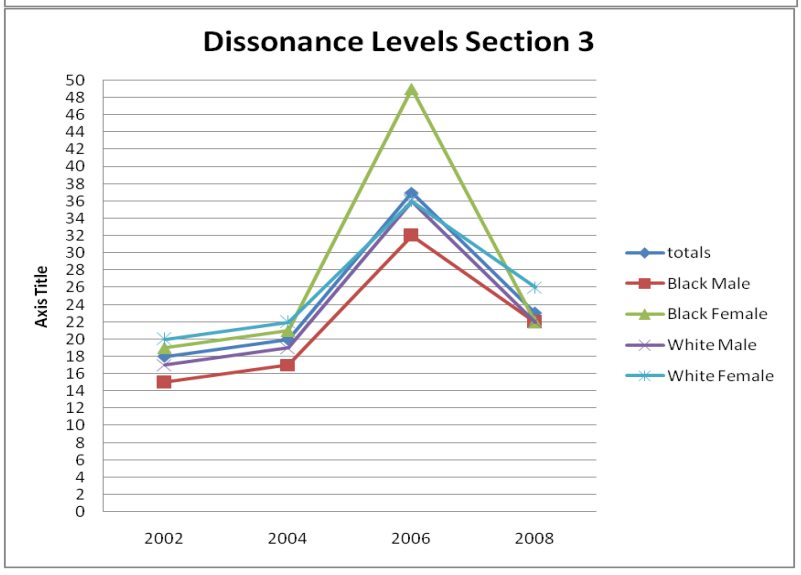
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 3

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	18	15	19	17	20
2004	20	17	21	19	22
2006	37	32	49	36	36
2008	23	22	22	22	26

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 3

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	16	18	16	20
2004	19	21	19	22
2006	38	36	35	43
2008	22	24	22	24



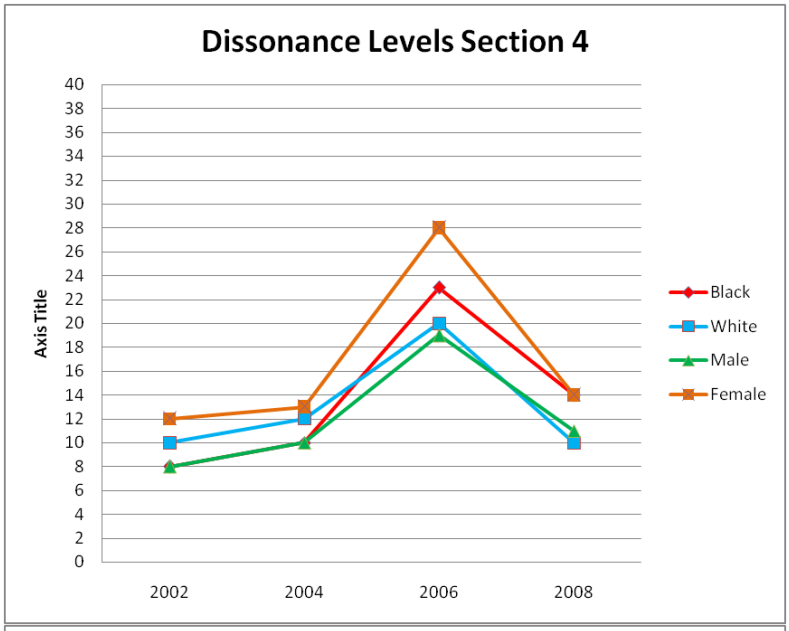


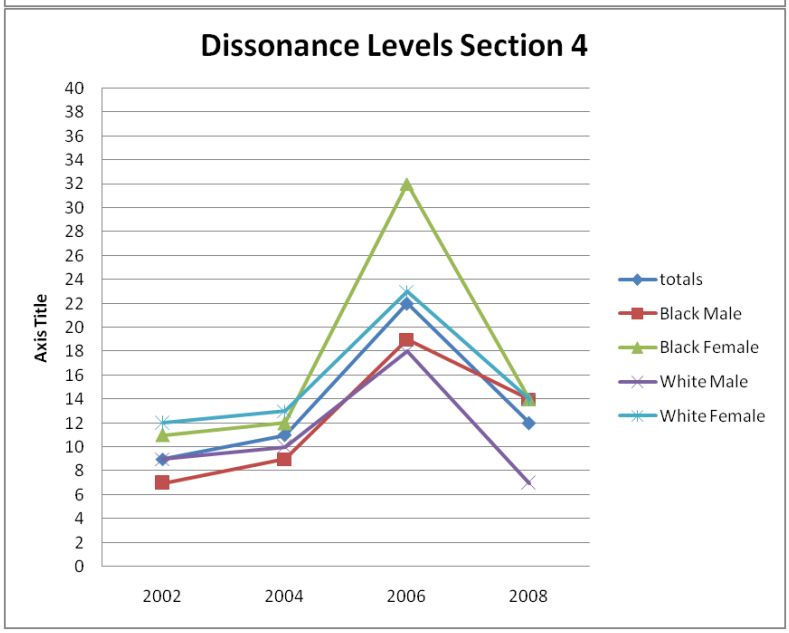
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 4

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	9	7	11	9	12
2004	11	9	12	10	13
2006	22	19	32	18	23
2008	12	14	14	7	14

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 4

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	8	10	8	12
2004	10	12	10	13
2006	23	20	19	28
2008	14	10	11	14



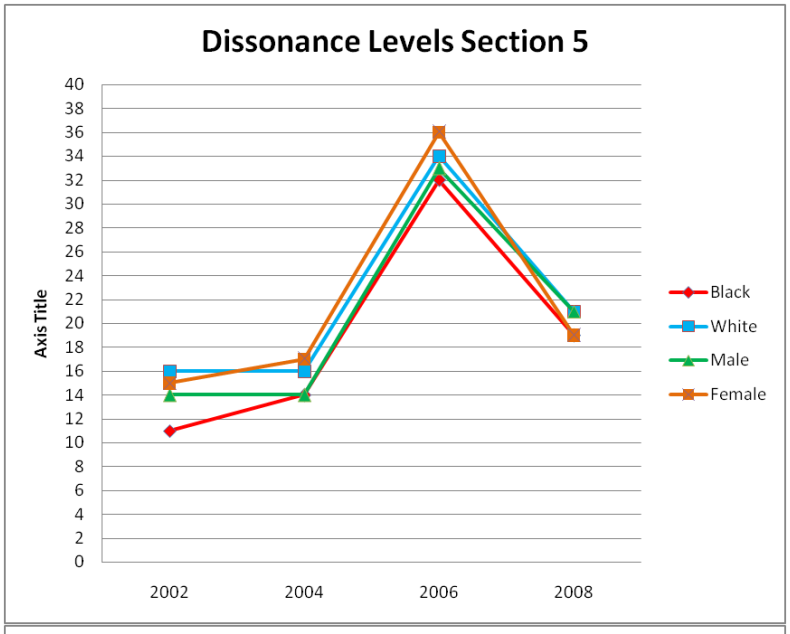


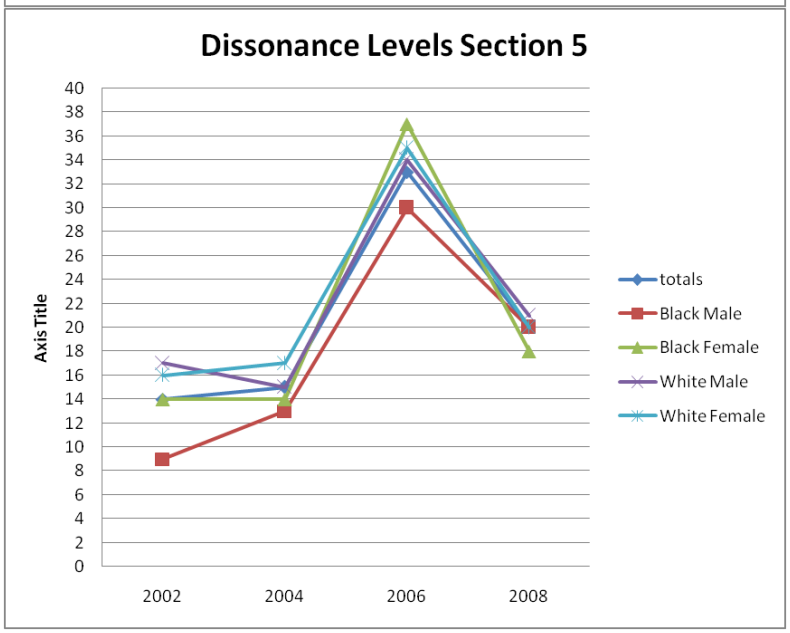
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 5

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	14	9	14	17	16
2004	15	13	14	15	17
2006	33	30	37	34	35
2008	20	20	18	21	20

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 5

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	11	16	14	15
2004	14	16	14	17
2006	32	34	33	36
2008	19	21	21	19



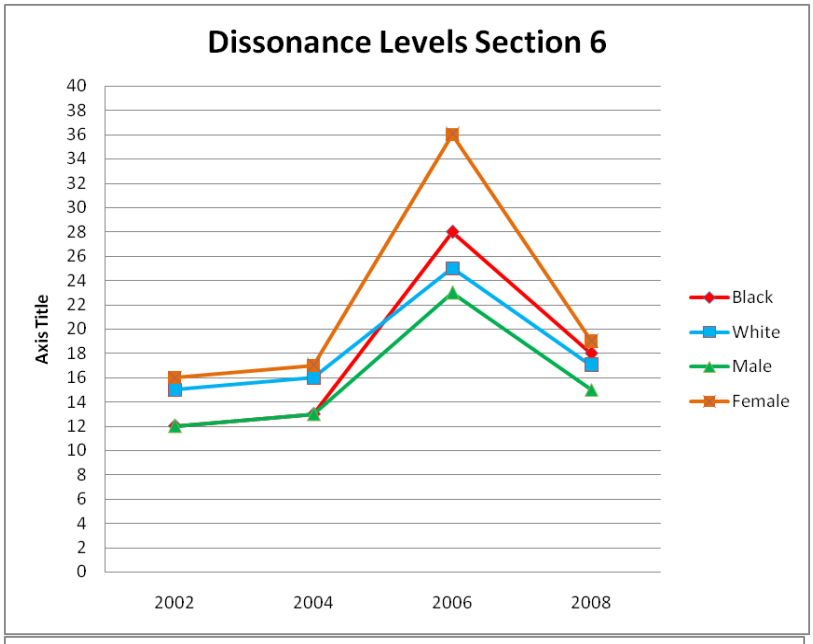


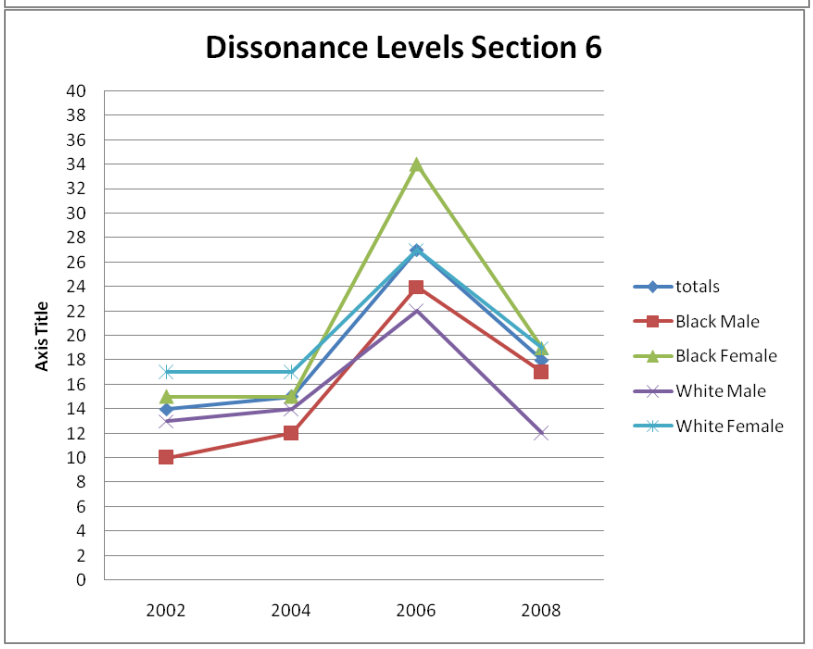
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 6

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	14	10	15	13	17
2004	15	12	15	14	17
2006	27	24	34	22	27
2008	18	17	19	12	19

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 6

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	12	15	12	16
2004	13	16	13	17
2006	28	25	23	36
2008	18	17	15	19



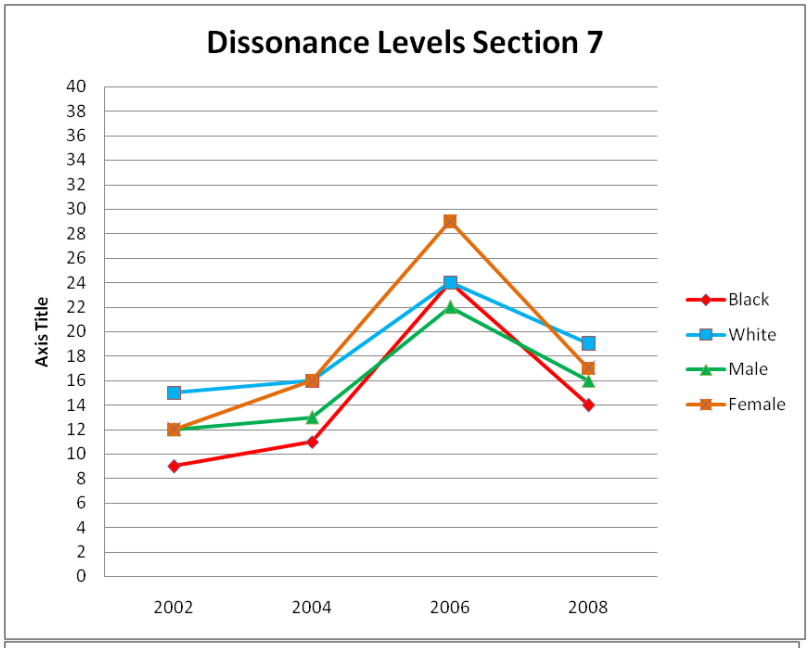


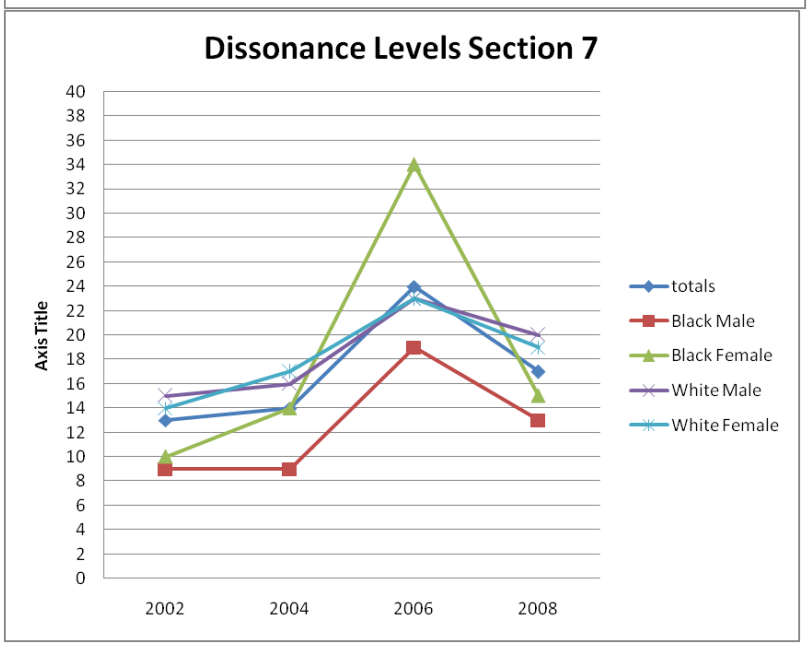
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 7

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	13	9	10	15	14
2004	14	9	14	16	17
2006	24	19	34	23	23
2008	17	13	15	20	19

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 7

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	9	15	12	12
2004	11	16	13	16
2006	24	24	22	29
2008	14	19	16	17



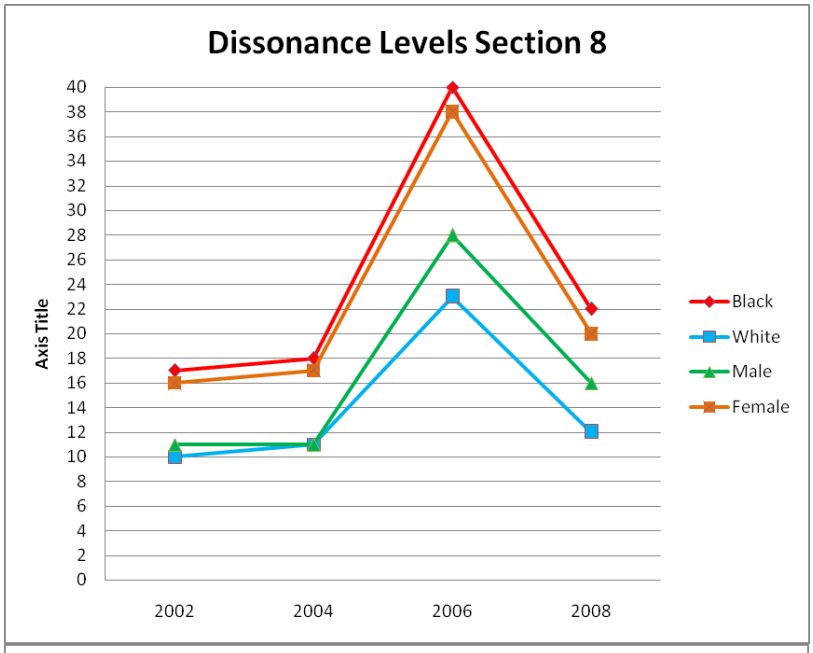


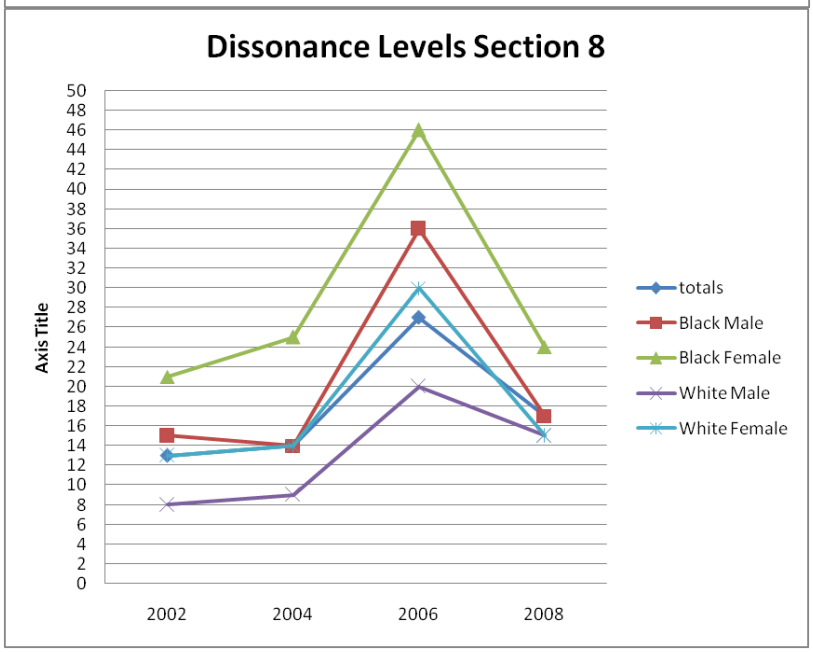
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 8

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	13	15	21	8	13
2004	14	14	25	9	14
2006	27	36	46	20	30
2008	17	17	24	15	15

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 8

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	17	10	11	16
2004	18	11	11	17
2006	40	23	28	38
2008	22	12	16	20



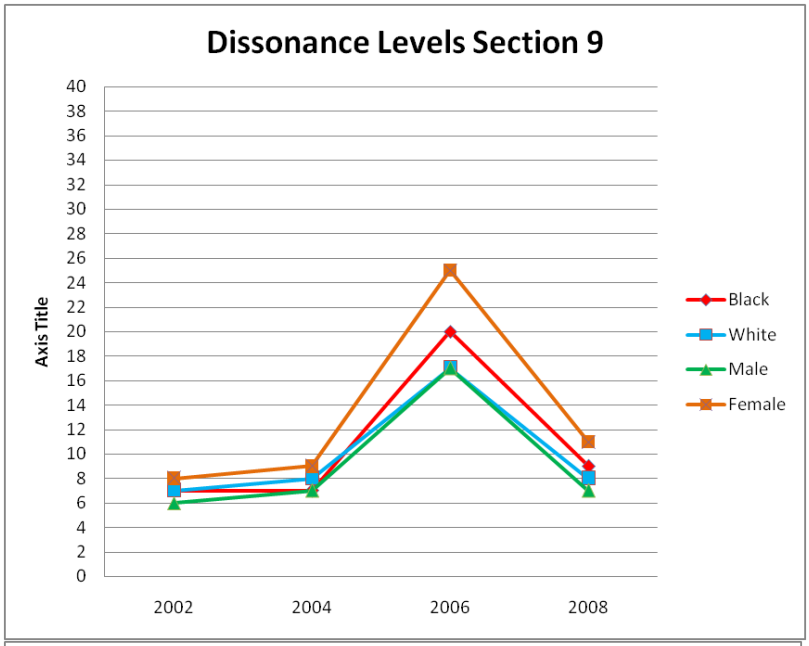


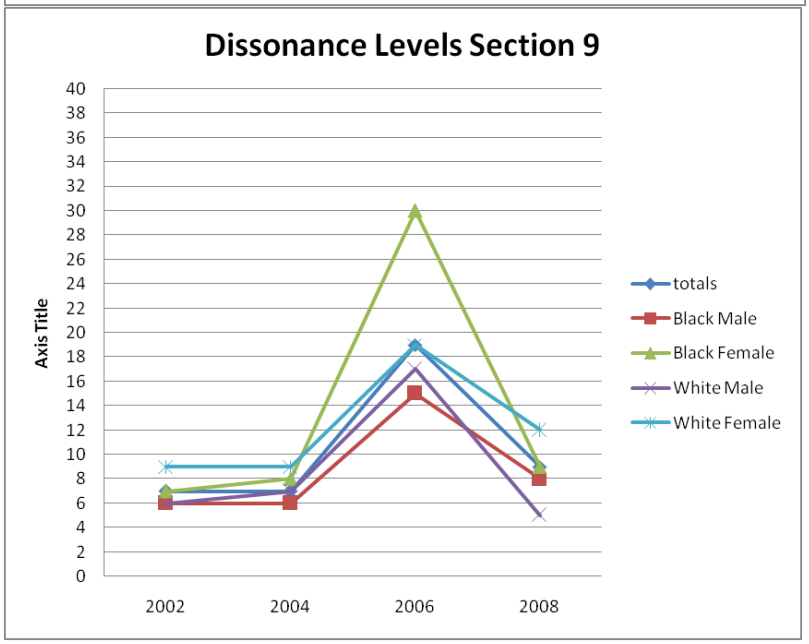
DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 9

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	7	6	7	6	9
2004	7	6	8	7	9
2006	19	15	30	17	19
2008	9	8	9	5	12

DISSONANCE LEVELS
SECTION 9

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	7	7	6	8
2004	7	8	7	9
2006	20	17	17	25
2008	9	8	7	11



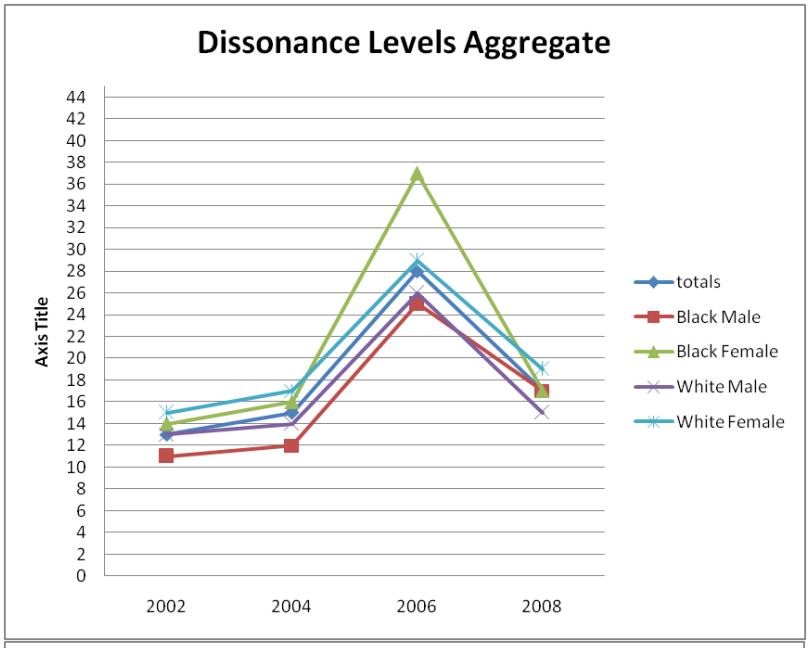


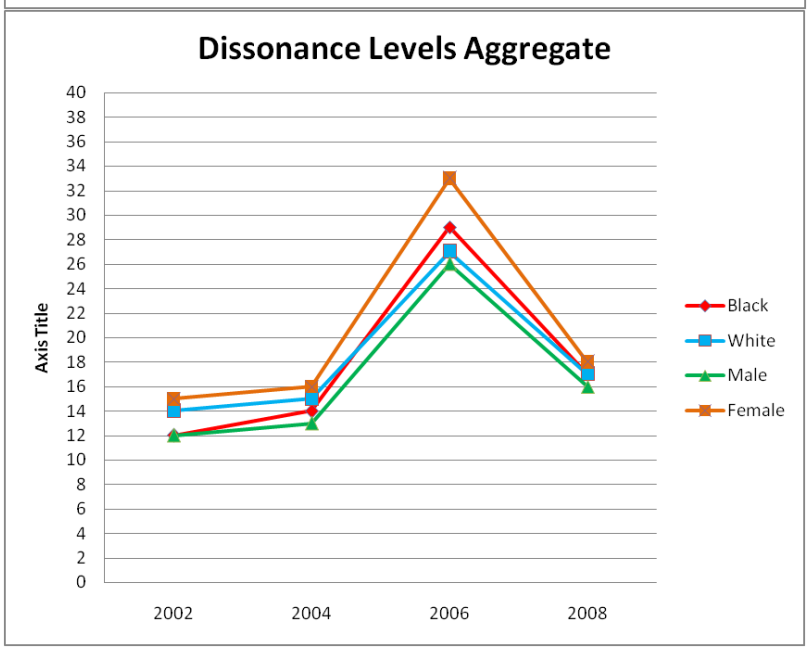
DISSONANCE LEVELS
overall

year	totals	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female
2002	13	11	14	13	15
2004	15	12	16	14	17
2006	28	25	37	26	29
2008	17	17	17	15	19

DISSONANCE LEVELS
Overall

year	Black	White	Male	Female
2002	12	14	12	15
2004	14	15	13	16
2006	29	27	26	33
2008	17	17	16	18





Appendix 5: In-depth Interview Script

Consent Form:

I, _____, employee of the CSIR of Pretoria hereby grant Traceyleigh Pienaar (MA Research Student) permission to interview me for the purposes of her MA research.

I acknowledge that I am under no form of coercion from either the researcher or my employer, and therefore my participation in this research is voluntary. I acknowledge that the answers given herein will b as open and honest as possible.

I grant the researcher the permission to use the contents of this interview and/or all surveys completed by me, in her research.

Further, I acknowledge that my views do not necessarily reflect the views of the researcher, the University of the Witwatersrand or the CSIR.

I understand that my identity will remain anonymous and the content of the individual interviews will remain confidential.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Interview Theme Areas

Section 1: Personal History

Section 2: Self report of subjects Identity

Section 3: The CSIR and the transition

Section 4: Contextualizing the change in the broader socio-economic context

Section 5: Personal Assessment of the interview enviroment