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Participants' perceptions of affirmative action programmes in South Africa

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The reasons why affirmative action programmes often fail to attract and retain black managers in reasonable numbers lies largely in the fact that they are conceived as short-term, technical exercises to address problems of skills shortage, rather than as a significant part of long-term, holistic plans to secure and improve the company's performance. The ideological and socio-cultural shifts which are implied by changes in the composition of the workforce are too often ignored by programme planners. Programme aims are not made explicit, nor are they communicated well. Measures of accountability are often left out of programme designs altogether. So white managers can easily evade or resist hiring black managers in significant numbers, or supporting them in their work. Many of the problems surrounding affirmative action programmes could be meaningfully addressed by bringing the perspectives and expertise of adult education into play.

To date, corporate programmes based on the human resources development model of affirmative action have benefited only the black middle class. This is no reason to condemn them completely. It does, however, indicate a necessity for additional interventions to address unmet needs in those sectors of society untouched by such programmes. Here the RDP offers the most promising framework, incorporating affirmative action as a force for the redistribution of resources, and the reconstruction and development of society as a whole. What is needed is concerted attempts to expand socio-economic opportunity in South African society. The elimination of poverty and oppression is a necessary condition for the genuine affirmation of black people.

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managed to parlay his three-year work experience into a position on the programme.[5] After a while, 'Blackenization' was succeeded by the Bank's 'Accelerated Training Programme', a management development programme which had accommodated only white employees up to this time. Participants were to attend periods of training at the Bank's College in Pretoria, interspersed with inservice training in various departments of the Bank. Andrew attended classes at the College, but was repeatedly assigned clerical duties rather than training opportunities. He found it difficult to find anyone prepared to give him training.[6] There was a series of delays and obstructions in his postings; progress was slow, and Andrew's job grades and pay were always below those of his white counterparts. He found it intensely frustrating and discouraging, and wrote a letter complaining of his treatment, accusing the Bank of being a racist institution. In 1981 a job offer from Nedbank prompted someone in the Personnel Department to read, and partially address the issues raised in his letter, and Andrew remained at the Bank.

By 1982 Andrew had been trained as a manager, but it was felt that he could not be appointed Assistant Manager in either a city or a provincial branch because it might displease white customers. He was offered a post in the newly established Bank of Bophuthatswana, and accepted a transfer to Mmabatho, where he remained until 1984 when he applied for a transfer back to the Witwatersrand Region. The transfer was refused and Andrew remained in Mmabatho, but three weeks later he was promoted to Assistant Manager. The struggle to move up the managerial ranks in the last ten years is "another story".[7] He is now an Account Executive in Johannesburg, but is doing the work of an Account Analyst. He is underemployed and bored "I am biding my time ... doing things I learned to do 13 years ago, things which don't develop me in any way".

Andrew describes himself as "determined, proactive and assertive". He says "no one paves the way for you at the Bank, you must be prepared to fight". Although he would prefer to work towards goals in harmony with others, his experience at the Bank has taught him that you have to fight for recognition and rewards. His career progress at the bank has been characterized by resistance, double dealing and delays on the part of his white colleagues and supervisors.

Andrew married and divorced in the 1980s. He remarried in 1991, and lives with his wife, a television executive, in Robindale, an upmarket suburb in Randburg. In his free time he is a "serious golfer".

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[5] Andrew was one of only three candidates selected from 22 candidates for the Accelerated Training Programme. He is the only one who completed the programme.

[6] In one instance a manager's clerk flatly refused to train him. In another, he was simply given a book to study in order to learn about balance sheets. (Andrew cites this incident as a positive example of "the only person who did something to improve my lot"). In a third instance, after undergoing nine months training in securities, he was assigned a further period of training under a woman who had herself undergone only one month's training and who knew nothing about the job.

[7] Andrew observes wryly that at one stage the Bank introduced an advertising campaign on the theme "Banking with a Smile". Andrew was asked to resign because he wouldn't smile.

Stranger is widowed and has two daughters. In his free time he plays squash and chess, and enjoys practical philosophy, a process of "uncovering the truth".

ANDREW KGANTSI
Account Executive
Interviewed on 13 and 20 September 1994 in Marshalltown

Andrew Kgantsi was born in Alexandra Township on 22 May 1950, the youngest of his parents' four boys. When Andrew was nine, the family moved to Diepkloof in Soweto, in line with the Johannesburg City Council's 'slum clearance' scheme. Living conditions in Diepkloof were better than in Alexandra, and the family welcomed the move.[4] Andrew's father worked as a messenger; his mother was a domestic worker. Both parents stem from Eersterus near Pretoria. At the time of the move to Diepkloof, Andrew's parents separated and finally divorced, so Andrew was brought up by his mother as a single parent. An older brother had started to work, and contributed to the family income. Andrew went to primary schools in Alexandra and Diepkloof, and to Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto. On weekends he earned money, first by gardening for his mother's employers, then by mowing neighbours' lawns in Diepkloof, using one of the first petrol driven lawnmowers seen in the townships. He mowed lawns on Saturdays, and on Sundays sold eggs door to door for a township entrepreneur. He earned a good income in this way (R15-R20 in a weekend, more than many of his peers, who had left school, earned during the whole week). Andrew was known to be trustworthy and well-behaved, popular with adults in the neighbourhood. He bought himself decent clothes, then textbooks for school, and had enough money to take his girlfriend to the cinema. He stayed in school because he enjoyed it, and because his older brothers and his mother insisted on it. He performed well until his final two years of school, when his mother suffered a severe accident and was unable to work. Andrew decided to support her, and his performance at school dropped off. He left Morris Isaacson with a school leaving certificate rather than a matric, and went to work.

Between 1970 and 1975 Andrew held a succession of jobs with the Bantu Resettlement Board, Volkskas Bank, First National City Bank, Coca Cola and the Johannesburg Traffic Department. His advancement beyond supervisory positions was limited by the job reservation system, and his lack of tertiary education qualifications. He began the Institute of Chartered Secretaries course at the Britzius College of Education (a forerunner of Damelin College) but did not complete the programme, for a number of reasons. Instead, in 1976, he joined the Bank and sought educational and advancement opportunities there. In 1978 he was posted to Mafikeng in Bophuthatswana. In 1979 the Bank introduced a 'Blackenization' programme, whose purpose was to recruit black candidates for inservice managerial training over a five year period. Although he did not have the degree required for entry to the course, Andrew

[4] Families were promised more space and privacy in Diepkloof (a three or four roomed house for each family, instead of six or seven families sharing one partitioned house in Alexandra. Tenants would pay stable rents to the government, rather than to landlords, who could raise the rents at any time. Andrew mentions, too, that crime was rife in Alexandra. Residents lived in fear of the 'Spoiler' and 'Msomi' gangs which roamed the township. There was a sense that Diepkloof was a better and safer place to live.

invited to start an employee relations department in the Bank. In May 1994 he moved to the Human Resources Planning Department, in which responsibility for affirmative action and managing employee diversity are included.

Asked to describe himself, Andre said that he was a conscientious and conservative person, autonomous, though dependent on others for affirmation. He likes living in harmony with others, and finds pleasure in advising and helping people. He now realizes that he would have found satisfaction in a career as a medical doctor, but this idea was never seriously entertained in his youth, because of financial constraints.

Andre is unmarried and does not have children. In his free time he enjoys travelling, and assisting in the renovation of old houses.

STRANGER KGAMPE
Manager: Quality Engineering Support
Interviewed on 15 September and 6 October 1994 in Marshalltown

Stranger Kgampe was born in Phokeng, near Rustenburg in the Transvaal, on 30 January 1954. He is the last born of five children. His father was a factory worker; his mother was a domestic worker who was employed in Johannesburg from 1960 onwards. Stranger's name arises from his mother's experience of living with her parents-in-law. She felt her husband was a stranger in their house, and named her son to commemorate the estrangement.

Stranger grew up in Phokeng until 1971 and attended primary and secondary schools there. On the basis of his good performance at school, he won a place at Moroka High School, a boarding school in ThabaNchu in the Orange Free State. After matriculating in 1973, he worked at Ga-Rankuwa Hospital as an in-service trainee medical technologist. In 1976 he joined the South African Institute for Medical Research, where he was engaged in research into the industrial hygiene of the environment in which asbestos miners worked. From 1980 to 1981 he was a Technician at the Nuclear Physics Research Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand.

He completed a BSc in Biochemistry and Genetics at Wits, and did an honours degree in Human Genetics in 1986. He then began an MSc (upgraded to a PhD in 1987) on human growth and development in rural areas. In 1989-90, while a fulltime student, he worked as a Research Officer in the Department of Anatomy and Human Biology of the Wits Medical School in Parktown, and became involved in the 'Birth to Ten' project. He was also the Warden of a Wits student residence, Braamfontein Centre, and a Chief Invigilator of examinations at the University.

Since 1989 Stranger has been a member, and is now Vice President, of the National Black Consumer Union, an organization which educates the public on consumer affairs. For the past three years Stranger has been a consultant in the areas of productivity and quality. He travelled to the USA in 1988-9, on a fellowship to the University of Chicago, and in 1993 to the University of Pennsylvania. He was employed by the Bank from July 1994 to carry out a audit of the Bank's quality management. He is keen to promote the African concept of 'Botho' (relationships, respect, interdependency) in the organization.

ANDRE DU TOIT
Manager: Strategic Resources
Interviewed on 27 October and 22 December 1994 in Marshalltown

Andre du Toit was born in Pretoria on 19 October 1949, his mother's third and youngest child. During Andre's early childhood his father worked for the South African Railways in Pretoria. The family moved to Durban, and Andre's father worked as a contracts manager in a small corporation. The family settled first in Durban North, later in Westville, a pleasant, upper middle class suburb. Andre went to good state-run primary and secondary schools there. The family's socioeconomic standing, a bit tenuous in the early years in Durban, improved over time. Andre remembers having to be careful with money. As a teenager he worked during vacations in a department store to earn money for books, clothes and his own entertainment.

Andre's mother was a housewife who did a great deal of community and charity work, and developed a particular talent in floral art. She came from a conservative Afrikaans home, and her parents were staunch members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Andre's father, and Andre himself, grew up in an English speaking home. Andre observes that his own social values were shaped by the relatively liberal environment of Natal. He expressed a degree of alienation from the strict mores of his family home, and observed that he had experienced a lonely childhood.

After matriculating, and still uncertain of his future career direction, Andre completed a BSc in biological sciences and psychology at the University of Natal in Durban. He then spent a year travelling and working, including a stint as a management trainee in industry. Influenced by his older sister, who enjoyed teaching, and by his girlfriend at the time, he returned to the University of Natal and did a Postgraduate Diploma in Education. Andre was not a politically active student, and does not recall any engagement with the black consciousness movement amongst students on the campus. He taught for two and a half years at Durban High School, before deciding that teaching was not for him. He wanted to engage more in life and to earn a better salary. He was offered a job in production planning and technical support in a consumer company, and relocated to Johannesburg. He spent two years at the firm, but was not comfortable with his line of work. In 1977 he worked for SACHED,[2] an educational NGO, as a project evaluator, and had his first experience of working closely with black people in a professional capacity. In 1978 he was employed as a commercial assistant by ICI,[3] and found that he enjoyed the variety and resources of a large organization. He worked first in marketing and sales, then in human resources at ICI, spending a year and a half overseas as part of his training. On his return to South Africa he was promoted to Group Personnel Manager, and remained at ICI in that capacity for three and a half years. In 1989 he was offered a senior human resources post Manage at a firm providing motor vehicle finance in the consumer and commercial markets. When this company became a division of the Bank and its human resources functions were amalgamated with the Bank's, Andre was

[2] South African Committee for Higher Education.

[3] Imperial Chemical Industries.

LINDA DUMA
Manager: Manpower Projects
Interviewed on 16 and 23 September 1994 in Marshalltown

Linda Duma was born in Alexandra Township on 6 January 1964, the first son in a family of four children. When Linda was six months old his parents moved to Diepkloof, Soweto, where Linda grew up and still lives today. Linda's father worked as a driver for an upholstery company; his mother was a domestic worker. Both parents valued education as a way for their children to achieve success and prosperity. Linda describes a strict upbringing, a "protected environment", which prevailed in his youth. His parents worked hard to ensure that he got an education. They also instilled in him respect for his elders and for society, and for "getting on in life".

Linda went to primary school in Diepkloof, and attended secondary school there to Standard Seven. After the Soweto schools uprising of 1976, his parents became concerned about the prospect of continuing his education in Soweto, and sent him to live with his maternal grandmother near Newcastle in Northern Natal. He completed Standard Eight there, then went to Msinga High School, a boarding school near Tugela Ferry, for Standards Nine and Ten. While the school in Newcastle had been well staffed and run, the Msinga school was not. Linda remembers large classes, few study aids and no teachers at all for English and Maths. Students formed self study groups, and managed as best they could. Students from the local community were much older than their counterparts from Soweto, Pietermaritzburg and Dundee, having been headboys in their early youth, before being drafted into age regiments.[1] Msinga is a poor area, overpopulated and dry, best known for endemic faction fighting. Facilities at the school were so poor that boarders slept in classrooms converted into dormitories, and there were no proper kitchens. Despite spartan, trying conditions, Linda matriculated well, and in 1982 proceeded to the Soweto College of Education, where he completed a Senior Teachers Diploma. While at the College, he was Vice President of the Student Representative Council and a member of the Azanian Students Organization, and therefore under police surveillance. He spent six months in detention in 1985, but still won a prize for the best results in his year.

Linda moved to Yeoville, in Johannesburg, in 1986, and taught for a year at Immaculata High School, while active in the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA). In 1987 he registered as a fulltime student at the University of the Witwatersrand, graduating with a BA in Industrial Psychology and Sociology in 1989. He then completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Management, also at Wits. In 1991 he was employed by the Perm as a Consultant in Industrial Relations, and in September 1993 he joined the Bank as Research Officer. In February 1994 he was promoted to Manager: Manpower Projects, in which he became involved with the planning of projects such as the dedicated car policy. From October 1994 his primary function will be the implementation of the Bank's affirmative action strategy.

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[1] Pupils commonly started school at the age of fifteen. At seventeen, Linda was one of the youngest boys in his class. The senior prefect, chosen because of his age, was 28.

APPENDIX TWO

BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS IN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMMES

The biographical profiles appear in alphabetical order, in four groups, according to the companies in which individual managers were employed. References to organizations, places and events which may be little known outside South Africa are explained in footnotes. They gain greater meaning in Chapter Six, which links insights into participants' lives with their experience and perceptions of affirmative action, and Chapter Four, which provides an historical overview of affirmative action in South Africa.

Are you married? . . . . . Any children? . . . . . .

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What do you like to do in your free time? . . . . . .

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Why does the company have an affirmative action policy/programme, in your view?

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Please describe the effects (positive or negative) of your company's affirmative action policy/programme on <u>you</u>.

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Please relate any recent experience or event in your working life which shows the nature of race relations in your company. . . . . .

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Where and when did you get your primary and secondary school education? .....

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Please list any tertiary education qualifications (where and when obtained) .....

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What three words describe you best? .....

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What personal o. professional attributes qualify you for your present job? .....

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Please list any leadership positions you have held outside your work (e.g. in professional, political, community or sports organizations) .....

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Did you grow up in a rural or urban area? .....

.....

What is your birth order? (e.g. second of five children, oldest son) .....

.....

What were/are your parents' occupations? .....

.....

.....

What language do you speak at home? .....

APPENDIX ONE

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

In order to understand different people's perceptions of affirmative action programmes, it is necessary to know something about them as individuals, particularly about the experiences and dilemmas they face at work. Please complete this questionnaire, which asks for mainly biographical information. Three open-ended questions about affirmative action are attached to the biographical questionnaire. Please answer these, too. It should take 20-30 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Jane Castle

Name ..... (first name and family name)

Date of birth ..... Male/Female .....

Place of birth ..... (town/city and province)

Present occupation .....

Employer .....

..... (company's name and location)

Telephone number (work) ..... (home) .....

What are your main activities and responsibilities at work? .....

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How long have you been in your present job? .....

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Briefly outline your previous work experience .....

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white clientele and the times (the height of the apartheid era). Humphrey was universally praised for his performance, and six months later was posted to the UK for management training. At the end of 1978 he returned to South Africa with high hopes, and an aim of becoming a district sales manager. This was not to be. Although the company accepted his credentials, it was felt that the predominantly white sales representatives in the retail division were not "ready" for a black manager. Humphrey was offered a position in the retail network department, but missed being in the forefront of marketing and sales. He left the company, and parleyed his childhood experience of informal trading into a job as Marketing Specialist at Nestle, the Swiss food giant. He remained at Nestle for seven years, rising to National Sales Manager, one of the top positions in the company. He ultimately accepted a position as Management Executive, but found his advisory role frustrating. He left the firm and went into business for himself.

With the help of the Small Business Development Corporation, Humphrey started an ice cream distribution company, whose primary market was township schoolchildren. When schools became sites of violence in the mid 1980s, Humphrey's business was adversely affected. He closed the business, and accepted a post at TOPS,[14] a non-governmental teacher upgrading programme. As Executive Director: Finance and Administration, Humphrey essentially ran the organization, and enjoyed some success, but he hated fundraising and the marginal position of Non-Governmental Organizations. He came to realize that he preferred working in a corporate environment with its superior support systems and opportunities. He returned to the Oil Company in 1987, this time as New Markets Development Manager, an exciting post whose brief was to position Shell favourably in the emerging black taxi and service station markets. In 1990 he was promoted to Regional Manager, Retail, Western Cape, a position which required a move to Cape Town. Eight months later he was offered the new position of General Manager, Public Affairs.

While Humphrey settled easily in Cape Town, his family missed their friends and extended family in Johannesburg. Humphrey was headhunted by a number of organizations, and, when he was offered a post at ABSA[15] in Johannesburg, the family moved back to the Transvaal in August 1993. He returned to the Oil Company once again, with an expanded portfolio and a base in Johannesburg, in January 1994. Soon thereafter he was seconded to the IEC. He returned to his post in Corporate and Public Affairs in May 1994.

Humphrey is married to Thandi, a social worker, and they have two children, aged 21 and 17. Humphrey is in the leadership of the Holy Apostolic Church. He enjoys outdoor life and game viewing, and occasionally plays a round of golf. He lives in Sandton, but frequently visits friends and family in Katlehong.

[14] Teacher Opportunity Programmes.

[15] Amalgamated Banks of South Africa.

but has declined because he does not want to be identified as an affirmative action appointment.

HUMPHREY KHOZA
General Manager, Corporate and Public Affairs
Interviewed on 4 and 19 August 1994 in Rosebank

Humphrey Khoza is the most senior black executive in the Oil Company, and one of the country's best known black leaders outside government and politics. He became prominent nationally as Chief Director of Communications of the Independent Electoral Commission, the body set up to run and adjudicate South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994. In 1992-3 he was Deputy President of the Black Management Forum, an association which advocates and supports black business management. He is a person of demonstrable talent and intelligence, and has a warm, confident, but unassuming manner, so it is not surprising that he is frequently asked to speak and write on matters of public and corporate interest, including affirmative action.[13] Humphrey's career and public profile are consequences of his ambition, self-determination and strong drive for success, traits rooted in his early years on the East Rand.

Humphrey is the eldest of seven children. He was born on 2 October 1947 in Germiston and received his primary and secondary schooling there. He feels the quality of his initial education was adequate, although classes were large in size and resources were limited. A positive aspect of his schooling was that black children of different ages and ethnic backgrounds were brought together to learn. Humphrey's parents received positive reports from their neighbours about his progress, and this helped keep him in school.

Soon after Humphrey's birth, his father became seriously ill, and the responsibility for the family's welfare fell on Humphrey's mother. This resourceful woman sold food and goods, and brewed Mageu (a non-alcoholic beverage brewed with maize) in and around the township, activities which were illegal at the time, but were her only means of making a living sufficient to feed, clothe and educate her children. The children accompanied and assisted her after school and on weekends. Humphrey remembers selling mealies at the racecourse, and his mother's periodic absences when she was arrested and jailed for her activities. Before his illness, Humphrey's father was a presser in a clothing factory. Both parents were uneducated and the family was poor. Through Christian faith, positive thinking was encouraged in the household: "If you really believe, good things, including heaven, are within reach".

Humphrey completed a year of studies at the University of Zululand in 1968 and worked for Barlows as a clerk, then at Colgate and Unilever as a sales representative. He joined the Oil Company as a trainee in 1975. His ability was quickly noticed by the manager of the service station to which he had been posted for short term training; this manager recommended that Humphrey manage the station in his absence, a rather remarkable event, given the station's

[13] See, for example, Khoza, H. (1993) 'Affirmative action: a personal view'. In Innes, D. et al (Eds) Reversing Discrimination. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Adon describes himself as "a fighter", "a hard worker" and as someone who maintains good relationships with others. He is a team player, but also a strategic thinker. Despite his career advancement, he believes he has been overlooked for promotion in the past, and says that his full potential has not yet been realized.

Adon is married and has three sons. He lives in Nordwyk, near Midrand, and in his free time enjoys going to the cinema and watching sport (soccer and boxing) on TV.

MOONSAMY (JOHNNY) GOVENDER
Regional Accountant
Interviewed on 18 March 1994 in Rosebank, and on 5 July 1994 in Boksburg

Johnny Govender was born in Pietermaritzburg on 27 March 1949. He is the eighth of ten children, but the oldest son of the family. Johnny's mother was a housewife; his father became a small farmer when he acquired a piece of land 80km south west of Pietermaritzburg and moved the family there, soon after Johnny was born. Johnny grew up on the farm, which was planted first with sugar, then vegetables. The farm did not prosper; it was too small and too distant from markets. Johnny's father died when Johnny was 16 years old, with devastating effects. Johnny left school, went to work, sold the farm and moved back to Pietermaritzburg. He completed Standard Eight at M.L. Sultan Technical College in Pietermaritzburg, and matriculated from Damelin College, a correspondence school, in the mid-1970s.

Before joining the Oil Company in 1983 Johnny worked for Jackson's Metals in Durban and later in Johannesburg. He remembers Jackson's Metals as a deeply conservative firm. Although he held a number of positions in commercial fields including in stock control, computer system installation, business analysis, salaries and wages, he was always classified as a clerk. When he first came to Johannesburg, in search of job satisfaction and a more free environment, he felt "like a fish out of water". At the Oil Company, he has been involved in internal auditing, financial accounting and management accounting. He now manages a regional accounts department, and has 15 subordinates reporting to him. Throughout his working life Johnny has pursued further studies, completing a BComm in 1981, and BCompt Hons in 1989, both at UNISA. He is currently registered in the Master of Business Leadership programme at UNISA, for which he receives study assistance from the company.

Johnny describes himself as "dedicated" and "persevering", qualities which have seen him through the long years of distance education and the hard grind of a career in accountancy. He is married and has three children, aged 15, 13 and 4. He lives in Lenasia South. In his free time Johnny enjoys reading, talking politics and watching sport (soccer, tennis and cricket) on TV. He was formerly involved in his local Parent-Teacher Association, and was secretary of the Tamil Cultural Organization, but has resigned these positions so that he can devote more time to his studies and his family.

Johnny is adamant that the affirmative action label is disabling; it creates a sense of entitlement amongst black managers and undervalues initiative and hard work. He believes that the company's policy is directed to African men, and that he has not been advantaged in any way. He was recently offered a position at a much higher salary by another company,

THE OIL COMPANY

ADON DUMSE
New Markets Development Manager
Interviewed on 11 May and 30 June 1994 in Rosebank

Born in George Goch[10] on 17 April 1958, Adon Dumse grew up in Dube, Soweto, the eldest son in a family of four children. The family stems from the Transkei; Khosa is spoken at home. Adon's grandfather, an itinerant minister of religion, had settled in Potchefstroom. His father, a chauffeur, married a "city girl" who worked as a seamstress.

Adon completed his primary schooling in Dube, then attended Orlando West High School. He remembers sitting a Standard Nine exam, and looking forward to a soccer match on June 16 1976, the first day of the Soweto schools uprising. Swept along by black consciousness ideology, a participant in the rebellion and resistance following the uprising, Adon missed three years of study at secondary school level. He also lost a childhood friend, who had nearly persuaded Adon to join him in exile. During this three-year period Adon worked for some months as a messenger, but disliked his menial duties. He was persuaded to return to school by his father, who offered to pay Adon's school fees in his "last chance" to complete his schooling. In 1980[11] he passed his matric exams, and proceeded to the University of Transkei (reputedly a quiet campus) with the intention of completing a BComm degree. He was unable to complete his studies when he and other "foreign" and "outside" students were expelled from the University in 1984.

Adon joined the Oil Company as a "temp" in September 1984, and soon thereafter was employed as a clerk the finance department. He worked in accounting for two years, but found the work stultifying. At the instigation of a sympathetic new boss, he underwent a three-month training programme to become a retail/marketing representative, and, rising from junior to middle management, accepted an 18-month transfer to the Eastern Cape as a sales promotion advisor. His disposition as "a people person" and "a team player" contributed to his being seconded in 1992 to a liaison position, interfacing the company and black business. He advised and monitored black service station managers who had been employed in an oil industry/SABTA[12] bid to encourage black business development in the transport industry. He is proud of his contribution to this dynamic and successful project, (noting, with irony, the benefits reaped by the company's competitor, Total, which has taken over many of the filling stations developed by the Oil Company). He is still a member of its management committee, and retains a special interest in dealer training.

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[10] George Goch was a district in the south of Johannesburg targeted in the town council's 'slum clearance' campaigns of the 1960s. Today a hostel and sports stadium retain the name George Goch, but the surrounding light industrial and commercial area is known as Malvern.

[11] The historian Davenport (1987: 459) describes 1980 as a year in which almost no black education took place, due to near continuous demonstrations, boycotts and the burning of classrooms.

[12] South African Black Taxi Association

On joining the Bank, an agreement was made that Dan would first work as an Account Analyst, and would later be drawn into the marketing side of Project Finance. At first all went well, and Dan passed his quarterly performance review to everyone's satisfaction. Then he was involved in a severe car accident, and started experiencing blackouts and headaches arising from whiplash. As his condition persisted and he sought medical advice, his work was affected. At the end of March he was called to a meeting by his senior manager, in which his performance was severely criticized. He was given three days to decide whether he wanted to remain in the Project Finance department. His illness was not taken into account; he was treated dismissively. Dan thinks this incident reflects a concerted effort to get him out of the division.

Dan went to the Bank's Human Resources Department and complained about the way he had been treated. He approached two marketing managers individually. One of them reversed his position and withdrew some of his complaints. The other said he thought Dan's senior manager had handled the situation poorly. In a reconciliatory move, Dan's senior manager asked whether Dan would now "settle down" and give his full commitment to the Bank. Dan explained that he had always given the Bank his commitment, but he felt he was being blamed for his illness. Although inclined to expose the whole incident, Dan was persuaded by the Human Resources Department to remain in the Project Finance Department "to avoid a scandal". "At first, I didn't want to believe it was racism, I wanted to give them a second chance." He agreed to work under the supervision of one of the Marketing Managers, and requested a monthly review of his work. At the end of May, things seemed to be going well, but in June, his half-yearly appraisal was characterized by reservations and criticisms.

Dan believes he was misrepresented and discredited in the half-yearly review. His good qualities, for example his interpersonal skills, were shown in a poor light. When asked about his relations with clients, Dan's colleague responded "At least I haven't heard anything negative in that respect". Dan has requested a transfer to another division in the Bank. As time goes on, he has been sidelined from important decisions and given menial jobs ("things which could be done by a messenger"). He occupies some of his time by studying towards a Higher Tax Diploma at the University of the Witwatersrand. He is weighing up whether he should join a firm where he can serve his articles and go into private practice.

Dan is married and has two children. In his free time he enjoys watching soccer and listening to choral music. He lives in Midrand, and travels to Swaziland often.

DAN SIMELANE
Manager: Project Finance
Interviewed on 13 and 20 September 1994 in Marshalltown

Dan Simelane was born in Evaton, a township near Vereeniging, on 8 March 1962. He is the second child of his parents, and their only son. Dan's father was a Swazi citizen, who in searching for work had migrated to South Africa, where he met and married Dan's mother. He returned to Swaziland in 1969, and in 1970, when Dan was eight years old, the rest of the family followed. Initially Dan stayed with his father's relatives in a rural village, where he made the major adjustment from a township environment to traditional village life. Dan remembers going to school and being a herdboy, and learning to fend for himself in attacks launched by the local boys. At the age of eleven, Dan joined his parents in Malkerns, a small town in the fruit growing area near Manzini. Dan's father worked as a manager in various companies in the local food and beverage industries. His mother was employed as a clerk typist and telex officer. Until 1978, when Dan's father died, the Simelane family lived in staff quarters provided by their employers and had a "reasonable" standard of living.

When Dan's father died, the family's finances became precarious, especially as Dan and his two sisters were still in school. On the basis of his good performance, Dan won a scholarship from Ephesus House, an international anti-apartheid developmental and educational organization, which enabled him to complete high school in Swaziland.[9] Inspired by Dr John Daniels, a political analyst from the University of Natal and the chairman of World University Service (WUS) in Swaziland, Dan proceeded to the University of Swaziland, where he completed a four year BA Law degree, then an LLB. Throughout his university studies Dan was sponsored by WUS, and was a WUS student representative during his LLB years. On graduating in 1987, Dan weighed up his options; he could do his articles with a Swazi firm, or return to South Africa. Because Afrikaans and Latin were not included in the Swazi law curriculum, and because he had been sponsored by the progressive WUS agency, Dan found it difficult to find employment in South Africa. He worked for a short period as a Research Assistant in UNISA's Institute for Foreign and Comparative Law, then accepted an invitation to head WUS in Swaziland for a year, on the understanding that he would then be sponsored to do a Master's degree in law at an overseas university. The year's contract stretched into two years as WUS, and its case load, grew. In 1990 WUS wanted to extend Dan's contract for a third year, but Dan considered that he had made sufficient contribution to the struggle. Sponsored by the University of Manchester and its Student Union, as an expression of solidarity with the people in South Africa, Dan spent a year in Manchester and Amsterdam completing an Masters Degree in International Business Law. In October 1991 he returned to South Africa and joined an international firm of tax consultants, Arthur Andersen and Associates, based in Johannesburg. There he spent a period becoming better informed about the South African tax system. He enjoyed the collegial and professional work culture at Arthur Andersen, but after 22 months, he wanted to extend his experience beyond tax. He applied to the Bank, and was offered the position of Manager in Project Finance, which he took up on 1 November 1993. Dan was the first black person to be employed in the Project Finance.

[9] Dan and a classmate were the first two pupils at his school to matriculate and enter university.

other social sports; he reads and goes to the movies. He holds a leadership position in CARE (Children's Advancement through Recreation and Education), an organization which seeks to bring together children of different race groups in and around Johannesburg. Siva is unmarried, has one child, and still lives in Lenasia.

KENNETH RACHIDI
Consultant: Education and Training
Interviewed on 17 September 1993 and 31 October 1994 in Marshalltown

Ken Rachidi is responsible for developing, running and evaluating workshops in the Bank's 'Employee Diversity Programme'. He joined the Bank in February 1992, after a period of ten years at Southern Life, where he had a range of responsibilities in the fields of administration, organizational development, employee care and training. He left Southern Life when its affirmative action programme, 'Project 2000', folded "because it was moving too fast for the people there". Before becoming involved in the human resources development field, he worked in clerical and administrative capacities in Consolidated Share Registrars and First National (City) Bank and Volkskas Bank, and had a short stint in marketing at Africhem in Springs.

Kenneth was born on 11 April 1944 in Ga-Nchabeleng, a village in the Sekhukhuneland district of the Northern Transvaal. He is the oldest son of his parents' four children. Both parents were teachers at local primary schools during Kenneth's youth. At the age of ten, Kenneth was sent to live with an uncle in Pilgrim's Rest in the Eastern Transvaal. He attended higher primary school there, then attended Kilnerton High School in Pretoria, a Methodist mission school which was closed when Group Areas legislation was enforced and Kilnerton became a whites only residential area. Kenneth then attended Sekitla Secondary School in Hammanskraal, from which he matriculated in 1965.

As a pupil, Kenneth admired a lawyer who was a friend of the family, and thought he would also study law, but his parents discouraged this. While still in secondary school, Kenneth became interested in the black consciousness movement, and belonged to NUSAS (National Union of South African Students). He enrolled in a BComm degree at the University of Fort Hare in 1966, and joined the UCM (University Christian Movement) and SASO (South African Students Organization), both offshoots of NUSAS, led by Steve Biko and guided by black consciousness ideology. He was suspended at the end of his first year at Fort Hare because of his political activity. In 1967 he returned to Johannesburg and sought employment while his political involvement intensified. He became a member, then Vice Chairman of the Witwatersrand Branch of the Black People's Convention (BPC). After the arrest of other prominent leaders of the organization in 1975, Kenneth was elected National President of the BPC until it was banned in 1977. Kenneth spent several periods in detention, in 1976 and 1977-1978. After his release, he was banned for five years from 1978 to 1983.

In the mid-1980s Kenneth joined the Orlando Golf Club and took an interest in its community projects. He also became the Treasurer of the Lutheran Church in Diepkloof, where he now lives. In 1992 Kenneth graduated from UNISA with a BComm degree. He is married to a librarian employed at Wits University, and has two sons and one daughter.

Computer Programming at Riosis College in Doornfontein. From 1983-1986 Siva worked in the accounts department of a manufacturing plant in Nancefield. In 1986 he joined Nedbank, and rose over a period of five years to be the officer in charge of the investment section. Siva says that there were no black people in the managerial ranks of Nedbank, and he did not see any prospects for himself there. In February 1992 he joined Standard Bank, attracted by the promise of the 'Branch Development Process' in which he could train as an administrative manager over an eighteen month period.

Siva participated in the programme and acquired the skills of an administrative manager. Much of his experience was gained through a series of short-term postings and relief work at various branches in the Bank's Witwatersrand region. Although he has been through the Bank's training programme, has functioned effectively as an administrative manager in many settings, and has received excellent appraisals of his work, he has yet to be appointed to a position of responsibility and control in the Bank. He has been told there are no openings for administrative managers in his region. In an incident which took place in 1993, Siva was posted to a branch for three weeks, and received the first negative performance appraisal of his career from the local branch manager. Siva believes this appraisal was inaccurate and malicious, infused with the branch manager's racism (which had been amply demonstrated to Siva in the period of his appointment). When Siva challenged the appraisal, in an effort to restore his credibility and prospects for future advancement, his letter was placed in his personal file and he was effectively sidelined for a year. In another, more recent incident, he accepted an appointment to introduce one of the Bank's new systems to branches in the region, anticipating an appointment to Rustenburg in the Transvaal. Instead he found himself part of a 'proto-team' sent to a branch in Marula, where the local people were engaged in industrial action, and a highly dangerous situation prevailed.[8] When Siva questioned the posting, he was told he had no option to leave, which he did. The next day, back in Johannesburg, he was told to meet the personnel manager to give an account of his decision to leave Marula. At the end of the briefing, Siva informed the personnel manager that white members of the proto team had sworn at black people on the streets and made numerous racist remarks about them. The personnel manager prepared a report which indicated that concrete evidence of racism was lacking, thus denigrating Siva's integrity. The personnel manager's report will be attached to Siva's file, and it could affect his career negatively. When Siva wanted to challenge the personnel manager's report, he was told that the personel manager was not available, and that his boss thinks he should "back off". Siva is at a loss in how to deal with this situation. He asks himself if he is the victim of an unfair labour practice. What are the consequences of asking too many questions? Will his career be damaged? What about all the favourable performance appraisals in his file? Do they count for nothing? Should he simply wait for something to happen? Are people trying to break him down psychologically? Who can he trust to deal with this? Siva is worried and very angry: "It has all been handled so very badly".

Siva describes himself as a warm and trusting person, fair minded and respectful. He feels he is good at motivating and managing staff. In his free time he enjoys playing volleyball and

[8] People attacked an official who approached an ATM machine and also attempted to force open a security door. Armed guards were racing up and down the corridors of the Bank.

In 1980, Bruce "hadn't the foggiest idea what to do with his life", but decided to go to university, and enrolled at the University of Fort Hare. There he met twin brothers from Orlando East, whom he hadn't known in Soweto, and discussed career prospects and academic requirements for the first time. He decided on a legal career as "the best option for me". After a strike at Fort Hare, classes were stopped and all students were expelled from the University. When the university announced that it was prepared to readmit the students, few returned. Now under duress because he had forfeited the first term's fees at Fort Hare, Bruce worked as a labourer in a sign-manufacturing company in Johannesburg for a year. In 1982 he went to the University of Zululand, and remained there for five years, completing a Bproc in 1987.

Once he had graduated, Bruce sought an opportunity to do his articles. He was employed in a one-man practice in Johannesburg, but fell out with his employer in 1989, and struggled to find another job. In 1990 he was employed as a clerk in another small practice in Johannesburg, where he served his articles and worked mainly on motor vehicle accident claims until the beginning of 1994. Dissatisfied with his work ("I wasn't learning anything new") and motivated by the benefits offered in a corporate environment, Bruce joined the Bank in January 1994. As Manager of Manpower Projects he is engaged in the implementation of the Bank's 'Strategic Action Plan'. Since joining the Bank, Bruce has completed a number of short courses through the Bank's College, as well as the Institute of Personnel Management's course in Human Resources Management.

Bruce describes himself as "honest", "ambitious", "determined", "realistic' and "pleasant, though not outgoing". He likes to play soccer, and enjoys reading and going to the cinema. He is single and lives with his parents in Orlando East, contributing to the education of his younger brother, who is now studying at the Pretoria Technikon.

SIVANAMDHA (SIVA) NAIDOO
Manager: Customer Services
Interviewed on 27 October in Marshalltown

Siva Naidoo was born in Chatsworth, an Indian township in Durban, on 21 December 1963. He is the fifth of six children. When Siva was growing up his father was a driver and his mother a housewife. The family was hard up financially, but was close and supportive. Siva says his parents "brought us up in the right way, I think, disciplined and hard working".

Siva attended primary school in Chatsworth, and secondary school at Nirvana Secondary School in Lenasia. The family moved to Lenasia, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, when Siva was fourteen, so that Siva's father and older brother and sister could take advantage of better work opportunities in Johannesburg.

Siva matriculated from Nirvana Secondary School in 1981. He was too young to be much affected by the Soweto uprising of 1976, but was, and is today, a supporter of the Black Consciousness movement, an allegiance shared by other members of his family. In 1980 he participated in the school boycotts, which were widely supported by the staff and students of his institution, staying at home to study for a period of five weeks. In 1981 Siva matriculated, and in 1982 he spent a year working in a series of short term jobs while doing a Diploma in

African consortium including NAFCOC. He completed the programme while seconded to the legal department of African Bank from 1989 to 1990. Internal political struggles at African Bank led Phinda to a decision to serve his articles, which he did with commercial and property law specialists Young Davis in Johannesburg. In 1992 he joined the Bank where he was given the employee diversity portfolio. Meanwhile he published a book, 'Affirmative Action in Corporate South Africa: Surviving in the Jungle' (Juta, 1993). Phinda left the Bank for TWS in February 1994. He consults on affirmative action and managing diversity, and is a director of a new communications consultancy, Simeka, which is mainly owned and managed by black professionals.

Throughout his life, Phinda has had "multiple mentors and heros". Lacking a relative or close friend to advise him, he would read or hear about successful black executives and seek them out, then consult them about his studies or career. Early in life he was inspired by a neighbour (who later turned out to be a bogus insurance executive) who took a fatherly interest in his young admirer and encouraged him in his aspirations.

Today, Phinda is married and has three children . He lives in Germiston, on the East Rand, and commutes to his office in Melville. He is much in demand as a speaker on affirmative action, and spends considerable time at conferences. He still writes poetry.

BRUCE MONTSO
Manager: Manpower Projects
Interviewed on 23 and 27 September 1994 in Marshalltown

Bruce Montso was born on 3 July 1961 in Orlando East. He is the eldest of three brothers who all grew up in their parents' home in Soweto. During Bruce's youth, his father was a filing clerk in an accounting firm in Johannesburg. His mother was a machinist in a leather manufacturing firm. Both parents are long term residents of Orlando, and Bruce's grandparents have homes there.

In Bruce's youth the family was not well off, and to bring in some additional money Bruce worked parttime during school holidays at a printing shop in which one of his aunts was employed. From early on in life it was clear to Bruce that if you were uneducated, you stood little chance of leading a desirable life. Education was the passport to a decent standard of living. Bruce is the first person in his family to hold a degree, an achievement of which he and his parents are proud.

Bruce was educated at primary and secondary schools in Orlando East. His schooling was interrupted for a year in 1976 due to the Soweto schools uprising. Bruce did not participate in the demonstrations himself - he remembers that he and his classmates were engaged in a game of soccer, unaware of the demonstration in Orlando West by students from other Soweto schools. Although some pupils from the school joined the demonstration, Bruce went straight home. Soweto schools were closed following the uprising, and Bruce had to repeat Standard Eight in 1977 when they reopened. In 1979 he matriculated, "by the skin of my teeth". Bruce attributes his success in the last years of secondary school to studying with a friend on weekends. There was no qualified teacher for maths and science in the school, so pupils had to "bridge the gap" by themselves.

Churches, a funding unit for self-help projects in black communities, where she remained for five years. In 1979 she joined St Barnabus College as a School Counsellor, and in 1983 was employed as a Coordinator of Youth Programmes in the Family Planning Association of South Africa, a non-governmental body. In 1987 she became Deputy Director of the Bursary Department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, and later the same year joined Anglo American Corporation's Graduate Recruitment Department. Her job entailed selecting candidates for Anglo's cadet scheme, later known as the bridging programme. In May 1993 she was invited to join the Bank in a new portfolio entitled `managing employee diversity'. She is engaged in building `recruitment pools' in the black community from which the Bank will draw future staff members. She aims to forge stronger links between the Bank and organizations such as the Black Management Forum and the Black Lawyers Association which promote the interests of black professionals. She will also extend the Bank's engagement in the education sphere through organizations such as the South African Student Foundation.

Daphne is divorced and lives in Hillbrow. She has three children, two of whom have left home. The youngest is a student at the University of the Witwatersrand.

PHINDA MADI
Formerly Project Manager: Employee Diversity
Interviewed on 21 January 1994 in Marshalltown, and on 16 September 1994 at TWS, the Atrium, Melville

Phinda Madi was born in Zondi, Soweto, on 21 March 1964. He is the second son in a family of three children. During his childhood Phinda's parents were small-scale entrepreneurs in Soweto. His mother cooked and sold food, mainly to schoolchildren. His father was a shopkeeper and taxi driver who was killed in the `taxi wars' of Soweto in 1981. Neither of Phinda's parents was highly educated, although his mother had completed Standard Three at school, and was semi-literate. Phinda's parents thought that getting an education was important, and the children were encouraged to stay in school and to aim for professional careers. Being a doctor or lawyer would ensure a financially secure living independent of whites, of whom the Madis were distrustful and afraid.

Phinda attended schools in Zondi until 1977, when he was sent to a boarding school near Empangeni to escape the ongoing disruption of Soweto schools. His parents were concerned that their restless, bright son might get swept up in political activism, and wanted to secure a safe learning environment for him. He returned to Soweto to complete his matric in 1981. He then went to the University of Zululand as a fulltime student, graduating with a BProc in 1984. While at university Phinda wrote poetry and short stories, and made an intellectual contribution to the political struggles waged on campus. He was inspired by a campus rebel and lecturer, Burgert Roberts, to write, to seek perfection, and to be "permanently engaged in questioning and research". In 1983, in the midst of his studies, the university was closed for a year, and Phinda completed a Diploma in Business Management through Damelin College in Johannesburg.

From 1987-1989 Phinda was employed as a trainee in corporate banking at French Bank in Johannesburg. During his tenure at French Bank he began the Joint Management Development programme, then administered by the French business school HEC, and a South

NOZITHA DAPHNE KOZA
Manager: Employee Diversity
Interviewed on 12 September 1994 in the researcher's office at Wits University, Braamfontein, and on 22 October in the researcher's home in Sandton.

Daphne Koza was born in Witbank on 13 July 1946, the youngest child of six. When Daphne was three years old, the family moved to Sharpville, where there were better work opportunities for her father, who worked as a labourer in the steel industry. Both Daphne's parents were illiterate, but her father learned to read and to write simple messages in literacy classes provided by his employer. She remembers him reading the Rand Daily Mail, and sending her brief notes when she left home to go to boarding school. Daphne's mother had been a farm worker, and in Daphne's youth worked as a laundress and domestic worker. She also cooked vetkoek and mealies, and sewed clothes which she sold in the township. In this way, she earned money which helped to feed, clothe and educate the children. As a girl, Daphne helped her mother with pride and pleasure to bake and market her goods, only realizing in her teenage years the life of unremitting labour which her mother led.

Daphne credits her mother with her own early political education. Although uneducated, her mother was a dignified and defiant woman, strongly aware of her oppression, and determined that her children would not be duped or diminished by whites, for whom she felt contempt and resentment.

Although the family was poor, the neighbours envied the Mahlangus for their achievements and energy. At primary school in Sharpville, Daphne was known to be a "bright little girl", worth the trouble and expense of educating. She came to the attention of the minister of the local church, Reverend Vo[illegible], who recommended that she be sent to Lesotho for her secondary school education, so as to escape the dubious 'Bantu Education' system then being introduced to black pupils in South Africa. Daphne won a scholarship to attend an Anglican school, St Agnes, in Teyateyaneng, Lesotho, and when she had completed Standard Eight, went to St Michael's High School in Manzini, Swaziland, where she matriculated. Because she had done well at school, Daphne looked forward to studying abroad, in Switzerland or the USA. She won a scholarship to do so, but was denied a UN passport to travel abroad by the Swazi authorities, and so was obliged to return to South Africa and go to the University of Zululand. At first she was disappointed by the inferior standard of education offered to black students at the 'bush colleges', but in a short time she began to appreciate her return to South Africa. In the early 1970s black consciousness ideology swept through the university campuses, and Daphne became a member of SASO (South African Students Organization, an offshoot of NUSAS). She was inspired by Steve Biko and Mamphela Ramphele, leaders of the black consciousness movement, and engaged in campaigns to raise the political consciousness of high school and university students throughout the country. She became an activist, and as such was under police surveillance. Like many other activists she was constantly harassed by the police, but nevertheless managed to finish her bachelor's degree in social work.

On graduating, Daphne worked in the Durban regional office of the Black Community Programme established by Biko. In 1974 she married and moved to Johannesburg with her husband. She found work in the Interchurch Aid Division of the South African Council of

Samancor) and relocated to Laudium, an Indian township on the outskirts of Pretoria. Ronnie was employed as a cost accountant at Sigma for two years. He was passed over for promotion in favour of a white man who knew nothing about the company, and whom Ronnie was required to train as his supervisor. This was unacceptable to Ronnie, and he began to look for another job. After being disadvantaged on account of race at Sigma, he met with another form of discrimination at the Conglomerate, when he was interviewed by a man who said "he was looking for an Indian just like you". He was hired, and in 1984 started as Senior Cost Accountant. In 1987 he was promoted to Commodity Controller, and in 1989 to Divisional Controller, first in the Electro-Tel Division, then in the Tape and Allied Division. From 1986-1988 he took part in the Joint Management Development Programme, from which he graduated in Paris, France. He is presently studying towards an MBA, part time and by correspondence, through the Heriot Watt College of the University of Edinburgh.

Ronnie describes himself as adaptable, independent and goal-directed. He is not aggressive, but feels he is assertive and proactive. He enjoys managing - which he describes as form of problem-solving - in his work and in his private life. He spends about ten hours a week counselling families in the Pentacostal church in Benoni, where he now lives. He is married and he has three children. In his free time he enjoys reading.

VEE JITHOO
National Sales and Marketing Manager
Interviewed on 15 July and 11 August 1994 in Isando

Vee Jithoo was born in Durban on 15 December 1955, the second son in a family consisting of three boys and three girls. Vee grew up in Durban and went to school there. His mother was a teacher at St Aidens, a catholic secondary school which Vee attended as a day scholar. After matriculating from a government school to which he was sent for Standards 8-10 because it was known to produce good matriculation results, Vee went to the University of Durban-Westville, where he started a Bsc with a view to entering the field of electronics. Stimulated by an interest in music and having spent years "building stuff in the garage", he thought of becoming an electronic engineer. However, the first year at varsity was "awfully tough", particularly as he had no background in physics (which was not offered at his school) and had to make up the subject as he went along.

The University of Durban-Westville was highly politicized at the time (1974-5). Of his own involvement in politics, Vee says he was not an activist, but that as a thinking person, and a person of colour subjected to an unfair system, he "could not be non-politicized." Vee says that education was considered important in his family, that parental expectations ran very high, and that this was the case in other Indian families: "It [education] was paramount ... It dictated who you were going to be and what you are in the world." Nevertheless he left the university and went to work in his father's printing and publishing business, somewhat reluctantly. He took over management of the reprographic studio, found the work more interesting and challenging than he had expected, and decided to remain in the business. While working he completed the National Diploma in Printing Management, which was offered as a part-time correspondence programme through the Witwatersrand Technikon and the M. L. Sultan Technikon.

to keep up to date ... to make yourself competitive in the marketplace you have to go for higher qualifications". She has been encouraged to study further by her boss, and has always been guided by her father, whom she describes as an important role model.

Jane describes herself as "quiet ... reserved with strangers ... I wouldn't take the initiative in new relationships ... but I get along with most people." By way of contrast, she still plays league hockey in the Wits Technikon team. She is a disciplined person, intelligent, observant and competitive. Jane lives in Bruma, a fashionable suburb in Johannesburg East. She is single and has no children.

RONNIE CHINNIAH
Divisional Controller
Interviewed on 22 July and 11 August 1994 in Isando

Ronnie Chinniah was born in Ottawa, near Umhlanga on the North Coast of Natal, on 16 November 1960. He grew up on a farm which was surrounded by a sugar plantation, where his father worked as an accountant. Ronnie is the oldest son in his family; he has a brother and sister much younger than him. During his childhood, Ronnie's mother ran the household and sold the vegetables produced on the family farm at local markets. The children were expected to help out in the garden after school and on weekends. Family life was happy, if busy, and the farm prospered sufficiently to support several older female relatives, as is often the custom in Indian families. In 1975 Ronnie's father died tragically,[26] and the family's fortunes were dramatically reversed. From that time onwards, Ronnie's mother had to support the family and keep the children at school on a tiny grant supplemented by the small profits derived from market gardening. Ronnie says that he "had to grow up almost overnight", and was forced to take on many of his father's responsibilities. He weighed up whether to remain in school or look for work, and decided to continue with his schooling, matriculating from the local secondary school well enough to win a bursary. He studied for three years at the M.L. Sultan Technikon in Durban, completing the National Diploma in Cost Accounting. This period was "quite tough ... no spending money ... and I had to walk about twenty kilometres to get to the railway station to take a train to college ... that's twenty kilometres in the morning and twenty in the evening". He resisted the lure of political activities at the technikon, knowing he could not afford to lose a year of school to boycotts and demonstrations. He commuted from the farm and worked part time and in the holidays in the tourist hotels at nearby Umhlanga. He learned to stand on his own two feet, and to think about what he wanted in life: "I thought, do I want to end up like the rest of my family or do I want to make headway in life?". "If I looked at the environment in which we lived, it was poor, and people felt sorry for themselves, but they didn't want to get out of the situation they were confronted with. I reckoned I wanted to be different. I didn't want to die in this rut. I thought, let me get some schooling, an education".

When he graduated, Ronnie worked for six months as a costing clerk at SeaLandAir, a shipping company in Natal. Then he got a job with the Sigma Motor Corporation (now

[26] Ronnie's father had been the chairman of the education committee at the school his children attended, and spent a great deal of time counselling and teaching members of the community.

JANE CHEN
Commodity Controller
Interviewed on 18 and 22 July 1994 in Isando

Jane Chen was born on 7 August 1969 in Port Zu, a village in southern Taiwan. When she was eight years old, her family moved to Lesotho, where her maternal uncle lived. The family settled in Maseru, where Jane's father owns a garage. Jane is the youngest child in her family; an older brother lives in Maseru and her sister stays in Johannesburg. Jane's mother is a housewife who assists in the spares shop attached to the garage. Other relatives live in Maseru and form an extended, supportive family.

Jane started her schooling in Port Zu. She remembers her teachers as demanding and strict, the entire school system as more "pressured" and competitive than in South Africa. She went to school for eight hours a day, six days a week. Education, particularly in mathematics, was of a high standard. When the family arrived in Lesotho, a tutor was hired to coach the children in English for six months prior to their entering school. Jane completed her primary education in Maseru. At the age of twelve she was sent to Brebner Secondary School a co-educational boarding school in Bloemfontein, which offered a higher standard of education than was available in Maseru,[24] and had accepted several other Chinese pupils.[25] She liked working with figures, and on matriculating in 1987, started studying for the National Diploma in Cost Management Accounting (a three year programme) through the Witwatersrand Technikon. While studying Jane played hockey competitively, and won the 1992 Sportswoman of the Year competition. She later completed the Higher Diploma in Cost Management Accounting at the Witwatersrand Technikon and won the Rector's medal for academic distinction.

Jane joined the Conglomerate as a cost accountant in the Tapes Division in 1991. Six months later, she was promoted to Senior Cost Accountant, and in early 1993 she became Commodity Controller, a job which entails calculating the profit and loss for specific products in the Consumer Division (home care, commercial care and stationery). Jane was nominated by her boss to participate in the company's Accelerated Development Programme, but had in fact already decided to do a degree through the Charted Institute of Management Accountants, a British institution whose Johannesburg office registers local students and provides distance education study materials. Some lectures are held at the Rapid Results College, a Johannesburg-based business management school. Jane's motivation to do this tough, two-year programme is partly her own desire to get a higher qualification and partly her observation that newcomers to the field enter with two or three qualifications: "You have

[24] There was only one English language high school in Maseru at the time.

[25] Jane notes that other schools in the predominantly Afrikaans Orange Free State were reluctant to accept Chinese pupils. When she started school there were only seven chinese families in Bloemfontein; now there are hundreds.

family home. Japhta spent the period between the ages of three and seven with his mother in Malmouth. He remembers looking after the family's cattle, and being proud of this responsibility. At the age of seven he returned to Kwa Mashu to begin his schooling. He went to primary and secondary schools in Kwa Mashu, and stood out from his classmates in that he enjoyed, and excelled in, mathematics. He performed at the top of his class throughout his schooling, then did a B Comm degree at the University of Zululand, graduating with first class passes in all his subjects, the first student to achieve this distinction at his university. His academic record is a source of pride for Japhta. who attributes his success to "sheer determination and will power". He agrees that he had early experience of setting goals for himself and achieving them in a competitive environment, with little support from others. In other respects Japhta had a conventional township upbringing, playing ball with friends on the streets, and working for pocket money during vacations. After graduating Japhta came to the Witwatersrand and worked for a year at JCI[22], the company which had provided his bursary at the University of Zululand. He disliked the company (it was conservative, "racist") and his job as graduate personnel trainee ("menial"). As soon as he could, he returned to Natal and found a position as Marketing Assistant, later Brand Manager, at Unilever. He was encouraged by the managing director, a German, who took an interest in his work, and who provided a model of a hands-on, approachable management style. Some time later Japhta joined the Coca Cola Company (ABI)[23] as a Market Development Manager, responsible for establishing a network of Coke dep ts in African townships. In 1993 he returned to the Witwatersrand ("where everything is happening") and was employed by the Oil Company as a Retail Territory Manager, a strategic placement for young managers with potential.

Japhta describes himself as "highly motivated, enthusiastic and brilliant", and indeed when interviewed for this study, he seemed to glow with vigour and confidence. He plans to start an MBA at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1995, for which he will received support from the company. In his free time he plays soccer, and he manages the company football team. He enjoys watching TV and reading newspapers and magazines. He is married and has one child. Another child is expected soon.

[22] Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, a major South African mining house.

[23] Amalgamated Beverage Industries,

STEVE TEBATSO RAMASIA
Public Affairs Adviser
Interviewed on 4 February and 11 May 1994 in Rosebank.

Genial and amusing, many of Steve Ramasia's personal qualities and interests might be ascribed to growing up in a large family in Western Native Township, adjacent to Sophiatown - a township once described as the 'Chicago of South Africa'.[20] Residents of Sophiatown and Western Native Township were evicted in the 1950s and 1960s to accommodate a new township for Coloureds. The Ramasia family settled in Moroka Township, which is now part of Soweto. Born on 18 July 1938, Steve is the seventh of ten children. He grew up in a poor but happy family, sustained by a strong Christian faith. His father was a labourer in a chemist's shop in Johannesburg and his mother a domestic worker in Hillbrow. He was educated at Adjoined Methodist School and Madibane High School in Western Native Township. After matriculating, Steve worked as a clerk in the registry at the University of the Witwatersrand, then in the circulation department of Newscheck magazine. He joined the Oil Company in 1975, and has worked variously as an industrial relations advisor, training officer, and personnel manager. Steve studied part-time and graduated with a BA in History and Sociology from UNISA in 1977. He completed a Development Programme in Labour Relations in 1983.

Steve is now employed as a public affairs advisor, a position he has held for six years, and which requires him to communicate with the public and assess project proposals submitted to the company in terms of its social investment policy. In his free time he enjoys listening to jazz and classical music. He sings in the Ionian Choral Society and plays golf in the Shell Sports Club. He is married, has four children, and lives in Randburg.

JAPHTA SIBIYA
Retail Territory Manager
Interviewed on 4 February and 1 July 1994 in Rosebank

Japhta Sibiya was born in Kwa Mashu,[21] on the outskirts of Durban, on 18 February 1966. He is the fifth of seven children, six of whom were boys. His father was a labourer at the Dunlop Tyre factory near Durban and his mother kept house in Malmouth, Kwa Zulu, the

[20] Western Native Township was built in 1918 by the Johannesburg municipality following a severe influenza epidemic. It was a 'controlled location', that is, it was entirely fenced, with access limited to only two points, one of which was manned by the location superintendent. Its streets and houses were laid out in a repetitive grid pattern, and buildings conformed to minimum standards of ventilation and construction. Sophiatown, which ajoined Western Native Township, was a freehold district known as a haven for gangsters and bohemians of all races. It was also a creative community which included journalists, musicians, and writers.

[21] Kwa Mashu is an African township of nearly one million inhabitants. It is only 18 kilometres from Durban, but falls under the jurisdiction of Kwa Zulu. Kwa Mashu is notoriously rough and dangerous; its residents, particularly in the poorer sections, are highly politicized.

MAURICE RADEBE
Public Affairs Manager
Interviewed on 14 January and 30 June 1994 in Rosebank

Urbane, politically aware and goal directed, Maurice Radebe has been the Oil Company's Public Affairs Manager since the beginning of 1994. His responsibilities include overseeing the company's social investment programme, corporate image and public relations. In the medium term, however, Maurice sees himself returning to line management, possibly in the retail field in which he worked from 1991 to 1993.

Maurice was born in Katlehong on 26 September 1960, the first son of relatively young parents. His father worked in Maurice's grandfather's grocery store, and his mother kept house. Maurice grew up in an extended family, first in Katlehong, where he attended primary school, and from 1972 in Nkandla, Zululand, where his grandfather had established a new business. Maurice attended Inkamana High School and Marianhill,[19] both private Catholic boarding schools. He remembers that from an early age he helped out in the family shop, and often heard his grandfather's pronouncement that only two things would lead to success in life: hard work or an education. Inspired by his family's values and encouraged by a Standard Six teacher who taught him how to apply to schools to further his education, Maurice initially aspired to be a doctor or lecturer. Instead he completed a Bsc in Applied Mathematics and Physics at the University of the North (Turfloop). There he was captivated by black consciousness ideals as well as by the example of a black senior executive from the mining company Anglo Vaal. This executive offered Maurice a scholarship to study metallurgy at the University of the Witwatersrand, and provided a glimpse of a lifestyle which encompassed po· mobility and comfort - a dazzling opportunity for a young black student at the time. M e took up the scholarship, only to discover that metallurgy held no interest for him. He . ; the university and was employed as a quality controller in a laboratory at Laminate Industries in Alrode, Johannesburg. He was und· paid and stifled by a miserable, racist boss. He felt he had no future at the company. He .1 got a job at World Vision, a Christian development organization, first as a project coordinator, then as training facilitator. While working at World Vision, he studied at the University of the Witwatersrand, completing a Higher Diploma for Educators of Adults (with distinction). He also became the first chairman of the Forum for the Advancement of Adult Education, a professional association. In 1989 he joined the Oil Company as Public Affairs Advisor. He shifted to the position of Retail Network Advisor in 1991 and became Retail Property Manager, Durban, in 1992, a promotion which involved a move to Natal, and which brought him wider exposure to senior management. In 1993 he returned to Johannesburg following a promotion to Public Affairs Manager.

Maurice is married and has two daughters. He lives in Parkmore, Sandton. He is a family man and church-goer, but retains an interest, and many contacts, in the fields of education and development. Much of his free time is taken up in speaking engagements, workshops and conferences connected to education and community development. Recently he has become more health conscious, has joined a gym, and runs in the mornings to keep fit.

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[19] Marianhill is a prestigious former mission school in Pinetown which accepts only top black scholars from around the country.

didn't take to hunting. He enjoyed the flexibility of the American school system, in which "you can get a diploma ... [which may only mean] you play basketball and American football ... or you can really excel academically". He graduated from high school for a second time, in Alaska.

Because he had been overseas, and had matriculated well, he won a place in the Anglo American/de Beers 'Cadet Scheme', and moved to Johannesburg for several months in 1980. He then proceeded to study Mineral Processing Engineering at the University of the Witwatersrand, completing the programme in 1985. Asked what Wits was like in the early 1980s, Theo says he was one of a small handful of black students at the time. They were not permitted to stay in the university residences and had to travel to campus from the Salvation Army Hostel in Soweto. There were few distractions from work, but he remembers that in 1981 two weeks of study were lost following a flag burning incident in protest against the twenty-first anniversary of the Republic. Concerning his own political engagement as a student, Theo describes a balancing act: "You didn't have a choice ... there was a small number of black students ... everybody knew who was who ... if you weren't towing the line, you might get ostracized. But then, you could say, "Who cares?", because the whites were not going to like you either. You didn't want to lose on both sides".

After graduating, Theo worked at the de Beers diamond mine in Cullinan, east of Pretoria. He took charge of the metallurgical laboratory when his predecessor fell ill and was boarded. He learned Afrikaans and Sotho, the languages spoken at the mine, and was promoted quickly. He adapted to the "macho" environment of the mines: "If you can drink hard, play hard and work hard, it helps. If you're a more academic type of person, you won't suit very well". In 1986 he married Lolo, a nurse, and started a family. In March 1989 he was transferred to the gold division of Anglo American in Brakpan. When the gold price went down, and the company began to retrench people in 1990, Theo was approached by the Managing Director of the Oil Company's Minerals Division, and was offered a position as metallurgist in Johannesburg.

Theo remained at the Oil Company for three and a half years, leaving when the Minerals Division was sold to Genmin in August 1994. Although he was offered several other managerial posts in the company's Oil Division, he didn't think they were suitable for him: "If you come in as an outsider, from the Minerals [side of the business] trying to fit into the oil business is a problem. Without them saying it in so many words, they believe you haven't paid your dues in the oil business. They offered me a job which was at a lower level, and I [would be getting] a salary much higher than the other people doing the job. That didn't make sense to me.... You have to be part of the group in all respects, and if you come in as a special case, they know that you're in favour, and that can cause problems."

Theo says he gets on well with people; he is adaptable to new environments; he is quick to learn the rules. In his free time he is an elder in the Presbyterian Church. He goes to gym occasionally, and is a reformed computer hacker. He has two children and lives in Bezuidenhout Valley.

(materials development in science and biology) and at Renown Food Products (Training Manager). In 1986 he joined the Oil Company as an Industrial Relations Advisor at Pering Mine, a lead and zinc mine 80k northwest of Kimberley. Here he initiated industrial and human resources procedures, designed a training programme for management, and advised senior management on current industrial relations procedures, leading to a recognition agreement with NUM (National Union of Mineworkers).

In April 1987 the new position of Development Manager was established, with the aim of furthering black occupational advancement. Reporting to the Director of Personnel, Rafilwe was responsible for making presentations to the Board of Directors, for setting affirmative action targets, and for helping to see that these were met. Rafilwe feels that significant progress was made between 1987-1989, but thereafter the programme lost momentum. There has been no sense of commitment to affirmative action on the part of senior management since 1991. Reasons for this lack of commitment changes include the recessionary climate and the domination of the company's rationalization programme. In 1992 the responsibility for affirmative action was shifted from Rafilwe to divisional managers. In 1993 Rafilwe accepted a transfer to the Employee Support Centre, where he counsels people retrenched in terms of the company's BPR programme.

In his spare time, Rafilwe enjoys going to gym and jogging. While acknowledging the superior geographic beauty of the Western Cape, he is distressed by the outcome of the recent elections, which saw the Nationalist Party returned to power at provincial level, and disappointed by the absence of night life and clubs in Cape Town.

THEO QABAKA
Formerly Metallurgist
Interviewed on 16 and 25 August 1994 at Be Beers Technology, Booysens Reserve

Theo Qakaba was born on 9 January 1960 in Kwa Zakhele, near Port Elizabeth, and grew up a "typical township kid". He is the second son in a family of five children. His mother, a housewife during Theo's childhood, but now employed by Pick 'n Pay, stems from the Transkei. His father, a labourer at the Eveready factory in Port Elizabeth, had settled in Kwa Zakhele some time previously. Theo's parents struggled to make ends meet, and from time to time the children would go to live with their grandparents or other relatives nearby. From an early age, Theo worked after school and on weekends for an Indian shopkeeper, contributing his earnings to the family's household expenses. Theo attended primary school in Kwa Zakhele, but went to another township, New Brighton, to attend the only technical high school for black pupils in the Port Elizabeth area. His original intention was to get a practical qualification, then work to earn money. Encouraged by his teachers, who considered him too intelligent to work with his hands, he stayed in school and matriculated in 1979 with distinctions in maths and science, the first person in his family to complete secondary school. Although he says his performance at school was unremarkable, at home Theo was thought of as "the crazy one", who wanted different things from life than the others. He was alert and observant, and was very competitive in sports.

He applied for, and won an American Field Service Scholarship, and went to Fairbanks, Alaska for a year as an exchange student. He learned to ski and fish through the ice, but

It seemed a promising country for a young, educated African couple. He and his wife taught in high schools in Manzini until 1977, when Ken realized that, as a South African there was no chance of job advancement in the Swazi civil service. He was uncomfortably aware that he was under surveillance by the South African police at this time, and was harassed at border crossings.

In 1977, still in Swaziland, Ken joined the Oil Company as a representative in the chemicals division, with responsibility for developing the local market in crop protection. He returned to South Africa in 1984, and moved to the company's coal division, where he worked as a Technical Assistant and then in the internal auditing department. From there he moved into the accounts department, rising to his present post of Regional Accountant, Transvaal.

When asked whether he had ever had a lucky break in his career, Ken laughed ruefully and said he felt he'd had more "unlucky breaks" than lucky ones, citing several disappointments and dead ends. He is now more careful, more measured, in his approach to work and life, but remains mentally active, sociable and curious. He and his wife live in Spruitview, south of Johannesburg. In his free time Ken enjoys a game of golf or table tennis. He watches golf and soccer on TV, and enjoys listening to music.

RAFILWE MOHAPI
Employee Support Centre
Interviewed on 1 June 1994 in Cape Town, and on 11 July 1994 on the telephone.

Rafilwe Mohapi was born in Kimberley on 11 September 1944, and grew up there. His father was a labourer in the diamond mines, and his mother was a housewife. He grew up in an extended family which included three older brothers, who followed their father's path to the diamond fields, and a younger sister who later became a nurse. He attended primary school in Kimberley, then went to a private Catholic school for his secondary education. By squeezing two years' work into one, Rafilwe and a few other handpicked pupils were able to complete the Junior Certificate before the imposition of 'Bantu Education' in 1960. After matriculating, he proceeded to the University of the North, where he studied Psychology and Zoology in preparation for a career as a medical doctor. Rafilwe notes that at this time there were few role models for blacks in industry and commerce. The range of professions open to blacks was pretty much limited to teaching, medicine, and the ministry.

At university Rafilwe was supported financially and morally by his older brothers, but he became disenchanted with the idea of a career in medicine, and instead returned to Kimberley to work as a science teacher. He married and started a family. Although he enjoyed teaching, in the mid-1970s he left the profession to become a personnel officer at Finch Diamond Mines in the northern Cape. He became involved in supervisory training on the mine, was promoted, and was transferred back to Kimberley where he became involved in training members of works committees, prior to the legal recognition of trade unions for black workers. In 1982 he had a "lucky break" - he won a Fulbright Scholarship to Rutgers University in the USA, where he completed an Msc in Industrial and Human Resources.

On his return to South Africa in 1984, Rafilwe was repeatedly told he was "overqualified", and was obliged to take lesser positions than he had anticipated. He worked at SACHED

unionists are perceived by business leaders as "communist or socialist, they have no work ethic...they cannot run a business...they are untrustworthy...could give away sensitive, confidential information to comrades". By way of contrast, John thinks his experience and personal attributes qualify him for his job: he describes himself as "ambitious" and "confident", "a good generalist manager". His optimism is tempered by realism. He has business acumen and good instincts; he knows people well and likes to deal with them.

Presently working in the Chemical Division, which manufactures solvents and resins, John is in charge of operations and the distribution of stock in the Transvaal. He has 22 people reporting to him. He emphasizes that his current position is a lateral move within the organization and not a promotion. He feels he has been bypassed for promotion, ever held back by others. He points out that he has received no special opportunities or advantages in terms of affirmative action. He has remained at the same job grade since joining the company, and wryly describes his employer as "just another plantation ... another place to work". John observes that race relations are generally good. He says, ironically, that since he has not held a position of authority in the company, there has been no opportunity for others to defy it.

John's English is rich and fluent, and he is an engaging conversationist. In his childhood, SePedi and Zulu were spoken at home; John now speaks eight languages. John and his wife have five children between them, ranging in age from five to 17. They live in Spruitview, a new suburb south of Johannesburg. In his free time, John used to coach an under-18s soccer team, but now goes to gym, plays snooker, reads, and watches sport live or on TV.

KEN MGENGEBULE
Regional Accountant
Interviewed on 1 February and 29 June 1994 in Rosebank

Born in Orlando East, Soweto, on 9 January 1940, Ken Mgengebule is the third son of a Court Interpreter and his wife, who worked as a Machinist. Ken grew up in 'Old Location' Benoni, where he attended St Alban's Primary School, a state-aided mission school, then Benoni Bantu Secondary School. He remembers the 'Old Location' as a slum, and recalls the overcrowded classes at school - 57 pupils in Form One, 80 in Form Two, then only 37 in Form Three, the year in which pupils wrote the Junior Certificate examinations. Ken and one other pupil from secondary school were selected to go to Marianhill, a strict Catholic boarding school in Natal, for their matric preparation. In 1958 he worked as a clerk in Benoni for a year, then resat his matric exams in order to get a university entrance pass. At the time, Ken aspired to be a doctor, and applied, unsuccessfully, for a place at Wentworth College. Instead he went to the University of Fort Hare and completed a Bsc degree there. On graduating he worked for 15 months as a Chemist in an electroplating laboratory, where he was "bored to bits". In 1964 he returned to Fort Hare to complete an honours degree in Zoology, and from there went to work as an Assistant Researcher at the South African Institute for Medical Research in Johannesburg. He enjoyed his work as an Entomologist and stayed in the job for two years, despite working for a boss who "despised blacks". Following an unsuccessful application for a lectureship at the National University of Lesotho in Roma, Ken, who had by now married, decided to leave South Africa and live in Swaziland. In 1968 Swaziland had just gained independence from Great Britain and did not practice apartheid.

course at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1991. Joe is now a retail property manager, a position which entails acquiring land in the "black areas" of the Transvaal for the development of new filling stations. Joe is proud of his negotiation skills, acquired through experience and observation, as well as through training. He presents himself as an open and fair partner in negotiations. He can talk to anyone, at any level, and says he is good at getting others to work for him.

Joe describes himself as a productive, persuasive and hardworking person, qualities which stand him in good stead in his present position. He does not consider himself to be an affirmative action appointment. He works hard, is well qualified for his post, and receives promotions on merit.

Joe comes across a serious person, vigilant and subtle, with a drive to understand how people and things work. He speaks Zulu and Sotho at home, and enjoys speaking to others in their home languages. In his free time, Joe jogs, plays "social" football, goes to the movies and reads, mostly non-fiction. He is divorced and lives in Randburg.

JOHN THAMI MABITSELA
Operations and Distributions Manager
Interviewed on 18 April and 9 May 1994 in Wadeville.

Born in Benoni, on 7 October 1954, John Mabitsela spent his early years at his grandparents' home in the countryside near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal. The family was poor, but not destitute. John's father worked as a farm labourer and deliveryman, his mother was employed as a domestic worker in Benoni. An only child, John attended a local Catholic mission school before being sent to Benoni, where he completed his primary and secondary schooling. Describing himself as an ambitious person and an active learner, John has always been impatient with long-term, formal studies. Instead of fulltime study at tertiary level, he opted for part-time correspondence courses (business management at Damelin College, a DPRL at UNISA), and has engaged in training and development courses sponsored by his employer. John credits his post-Matric involvement in the trade union movement as his "real break in life". As Deputy Secretary of the CUSA[18]-aligned Steel, Engineering and Allied Union of South Africa he was responsible for establishing new branches and raising funds. He represented his union on the Industrial Council, and travelled extensively in South Africa and overseas. He gained experience and confidence in himself in this period, exposed as he was to new people and cultures, as well as union operations and management systems. In 1986 he was awarded a British Council grant to study comparative industrial relations at Ruskin College, Oxford. On his return to South Africa, in the heyday of disputes over the recognition and powers of black trade unions, he was introduced to the Oil Company by a former opponent in wage negotiations. In the early part of his career, he was employed as an industrial relations advisor, then in various capacities in the departments of training and organizational development. John feels that a stigma connected to his involvement with the trade union movement has affected his career progress negatively. According to him, trade

[18] CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa), founded in 1980, was the moderate forerunner of NACTU, a trades union federation guided by black consciousness ideology.

JOE KHOZA
Retail Property Manager
Interviewed on 3 May and 24 June 1994 in Rosebank

Born in Alexandra township on 13 January 1957, Joe grew up in Soweto. In 1961 his family was relocated to Diepkloof in terms of the Black Urban Areas Act.[16] Only four years old at the time, Joe remembers seeing the removal truck, his childish excitement at the move, and the adults' sense of displacement when confronted with the rows of identical "matchbox" houses of Soweto. His mother was a domestic worker; his father, who died when Joe was very young, was a carpenter. Joe is the oldest child of his parents and the only male. He has two younger sisters. The family was not well off financially, and throughout his teens Joe worked at odd jobs ("piecework") on weekends and in school holidays, to pay for his school books and clothes, and for his own entertainment. Joe's characteristic self reliance, independence and sense of personal responsibility were formed from an early age.

Joe attended primary school in Diepkloof, and completed his secondary schooling at Orlando High School, which was destined to become a flashpoint in the 1976 Soweto uprising. He says many of his teachers were good, teaching beyond the prescribed Bantu Education syllabus. He particularly remembers an inspiring history teacher who spoke of political events in South Africa and beyond, including the black consciousness movement led by Steve Biko. The June 1976 riots were a traumatic period for Joe, then a Standard Ten pupil. Violent clashes between the police and students continued throughout 1976 and 1977 in Soweto, accompanied by the burning of schools, buses, beer halls and administrative buildings, and the detention of suspected activists. The matric examinations scheduled for 1976 were postponed until the following year in anticipation of renewed disruption at schools. Joe "couldn't bear the thought of going back in 1977". He studied at home, and passed his examinations in 1977.

In 1978 Joe joined the property department of Fedlife Insurance Company as a filing clerk, apparently the only black person to be employed at that level in the organization at the time. He found the work dull; he was expected to keep his head down and serve the interests of his white superiors. There was no opportunity for job advancement. He began to consider other careers, including civil engineering, but instead enrolled for a Bcomm degree at UNISA. Studying part-time while working at Fedlife, Joe completed his degree in only four years, graduating in 1984.

Joe joined the Oil Company as a trainee in 1984, perceiving the company to be a progressive employer with room for black managers. Since then he has been employed as a marketing assistant, retail representative and property analyst. Sponsored by the company, Joe commenced the three-year Joint Management Development Programme, but was recalled from the course after one and a half years due to pressures of work. He completed the MAP[17]

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[16] Alexandra is an overcrowded African township to the north of Johannesburg, now almost completely surrounded by white suburbs. In the 1950s and 1960s it was considered by the Nationalist government to be a persistent 'black spot' in white South Africa and many of its freehold residents were moved to the massive housing estates of Soweto.

[17] Management Advancement Programme.

SEADIMO CHABA
Training Manager
Interviewed on 10 and 20 March 1995 in Selby

Seadimo Chaba was born in Thaba Nchu, a small town in the Orange Free State, on 2 January 1958. When she was one year old, her mother moved to Maseru in Lesotho, where her parents felt their children would receive a better education than was available in South Africa. She is the youngest of eight children, of whom five were boys and three girls. Seadimo is particularly close to the four brothers and sisters nearest her in age.

Seadimo's mother was a qualified nurse who stayed at home to bring up her children. Seadimo's father was a businessman. He owned general stores and a bakery in Thaba Nchu, which he continued to operate while living part of the time in Lesotho. In 1967 his health failed and after a long illness he died. Her father's death meant a considerable decline in the standard of living and security of the family's finances: "From being born fairly privileged, where I didn't have to suffer for anything, our lives changed, and my mother had to fend for [us]". Fortunately Seadimo's mother was a resourceful woman, and she was able to find sponsorship for Seadimo's education through the Save the Children Fund. This sponsorship was contingent upon good performance at school, and Seadimo was always aware of the need to work hard and conscientiously. Although brought up as a staunch Protestant, Seadimo attended Catholic schools in Lesotho: first St Bernadette Primary School in Maseru, and later St Mary's High School in Roma. These schools were known to have high academic standards and were among the best schools in Lesotho. The environment was very competitive. When Seadimo performed well, the nuns would admonish her classmates, "How can you let yourselves be beaten by a protestant?'.

After matriculation, Seadimo began a BSc at National University of Lesotho in Roma, with the aim of becoming a medical doctor. Part way into her degree she switched to radiography, and went to Kenya where she completed a Diploma in Diagnostic Radiography. In 1980 she returned to Southern Africa and worked for three years as a radiographer at Queen Elizabeth II Hospital in Maseru. Her profession did not offer much scope for an ambitious young woman who wanted to "be in charge of my life, to determine what goes on". So, in 1983 Seadimo registered as a fulltime student at the University of the Witwatersrand, graduating in 1986 with a BA degree in Economics and Industrial Psychology. In 1987 she completed a Higher Diploma in Personnel Management at the Wits Business School. In 1988 Seadimo began to work at the chemical giant AECI, having come to the attention of an external examiner at the Wits Business School who was employed there. She worked initially as an organisation development consultant, then moved into training, affirmative action and industrial relations. A few years after she had joined AECI, Seadimo's mentor at the company departed, and Seadimo was left without a protector and advocate. She carried on for several months, then, in June 1994, came to the Retailer, where she perceived an opportunity to broaden her experience in human resources development work.

Seadimo describes herself as "ambitious, outspoken, non-conformist, and non-ideological".

really bored" in his first job, and after three months he resigned. He applied to the Conglomerate, and was employed as an order puller in the Distribution Centre, a job in which the salary was more attractive than the work. He was offered the job of supervisor, but declined because it was against his cultural values to give orders to men much older than himself. In rapid succession he became a receiving clerk in the Distribution Centre, then an expediter in the Manufacturing Division, and, in 1982, a materials controller. In this period he was a member of the company's works council, and became involved in establishing CAWUSA[35] (Chemical and Allied Workers Union of South Africa), which, after considerable resistance from management, ultimately succeeded in negotiating a recognition agreement. Asked how his involvement in trade union work had affected him, Harry says "It created a lot of confidence in me, which I never had before ... I had to [turn into] a leader ... I had to present things to people logically so that they would understand ... it [gave me] a feeling of achievement and recognition ... now at last we had a voice".

In 1984, on condition that he gave up his trade union work, Harry was sent to Minnesota for three months to complete a manufacturing training course offered by the Conglomerate at its headquarters in St Paul's. When he returned he was made Production Foreman, and was selected for the Joint Management Development Programme, a prestigious and demanding three year management development course offered by Clive Acton Associates in Johannesburg.[36] Harry graduated in France in 1987. He says the programme "was excellent ... intense and in-depth ... a must for South African managers because it features crosscultural management".

Meanwhile, in 1986, Harry had moved from the manufacturing side of the business to the position of Marketing Coordinator in first the Abrasives division, then the Health Care division. In 1988 he became the Sales and Marketing Coordinator of the Medical division, and in 1990 Product Manager. In mid 1993 he was promoted to National Sales Manager, the position he holds today. Harry is a member of the company's cross-functional management teams for social responsibility and the accelerated development programme.

Harry is an attractive and energetic person, with a great deal of personal charm. He describes himself as "shy", but this is at odds with the impression of confidence and openness he gave the interviewer on first acquaintance. He likes to "get involved" and to "make things happen", attributes which suit him for management. He is ambitious and easily bored with repetitive matters. Harry travels a great deal in the course of his work. In his free time he likes to garden and read. He is married and now lives in Croyden, near Edenvale in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. He and his wife have just adopted a baby girl, Obakeng.

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[35] CAWUSA, a NACTU-aligned union, has since been succeeded by the COSATU-aligned SACAAWU.

[36] The programme was initiated by NAFCOC, the Black Management Forum and local companies, with the initial impetus coming from Total, the French oil conglomerate.

Geoff describes himself as a person with strong visionary or conceptual powers. He expresses purpose and direction well and consequently often ends up in leadership roles. He is "a well suited corporate animal" because he is communicative, and enjoys working with people in teams. He likes to make things happen. He creates and responds to challenges: "By being proactive in a corporate environment you can always do the things you want to do. You have to stay one step ahead of the game ... and keep generating ideas. Leading is just more fun than following". He is also an outdoors person who enjoys gliding, mountaineering and adventures of all sorts. Geoff was married and divorced in Britain; his only daughter lives in Cornwall, but visits him in South Africa from time to time. Much of Geoff's free time is spent at Orient airfield. He is an accomplished pilot and member of the management committee of Magalies Gliding Club.

HARRY THIBEDI
National Sales Manager
Interviewed on 19 July and 8 August 1994 in Isando

Harry Thibedi was born in Saulsville, on the western outskirts of Pretoria, on 8 November 1958. When Harry was two years of age, his family moved to Tembisa, north of Johannesburg, a township developed in the 1960s to absorb the overflow of black people evicted from their homes in Pretoria and Johannesburg in terms of various apartheid laws.[33] Harry's earliest childhood memory relates to the time of the Sharpville Massacre in 1960. He recalls "There was just chaos, everybody rushing around, and ... being pushed in the house, because ... the police were coming ... and there was fear ... pandemonium." Later in life Harry met his present wife, whose father was killed in the massacre. Since then he has observed 31 March as a commemorative day.

Harry grew up in an extended family which included his older brother, two younger brothers and two sisters. His parents were not educated, but his father held a job as driver with the South African Air Force. His mother was employed as a domestic worker. Harry grew up in Tembisa and attended school there to Standard Six, when his father decided Harry was becoming troublesome and should be sent to boarding school. In 1975 Harry and a few of his classmates, whom he'd persuaded to apply with him, went to Batswana Commercial High School in Mafikeng.[34] This school was more strictly run than the schools he'd attended in Tembisa, and Harry responded well to the more disciplined approach, discovering that he enjoyed figures. Harry's older brother left school and sought work at this time so that he could contribute to Harry's education.

In 1978 Harry matriculated and, in 1979, while waiting for a bursary to study at university, worked for a short period as a switchboard operator at the Holiday Inn. He was "really,

[33] The family had already been moved from what is now the predominantly white suburb of Verwoerdburg to Saulsville.

[34] This was a reputable government school with high admission standards, both black and white teachers, and a curriculum which featured business economics and mathematics, subjects not offered at higher level in state schools for black pupils.

himself. In his free time he likes to play golf, and he enjoys watching sport on TV, especially cricket and rugby, which he no longer plays. His preference in reading lies in current affairs. Ian is married and lives in Benoni. He has three grown up children, who are struggling to find employment.

GEOFF TABBNER
General Manager: Human Resources and Branch Operations
Interviewed on 25 August 1994 in Isando

Born in Birmingham, in the UK, on 24 August 1948, Geoff Tabbner grew up in Balsall Common, a village in rural Warwickshire where the family had been established since 1734. Geoff is the second of two children. He and his older sister grew up on their parents' smallholding near Coventry. Geoff's father was employed as a work study manager at the Jaguar motorcar company, and his mother was a housewife who kept poultry to earn pocketmoney. Geoff was made to help to help his mother with the poultry, a duty he performed reluctantly, but in other respects he remembers his childhood as comfortable, and his parents as liberal. His primary education took place in the village school. Then, having passed the 'Eleven Plus' examination well, Geoff went to a state grammar school in Leamington Spar, where he was "an average performer, certainly not outstanding academically".

When he had completed his schooling Geoff spent two and a half years as a trainee auctioneer and estate agent in Coventry. Then followed a period of short-term employment in a variety of organizations, interspersed with mountaineering expeditions in the Alps and the Himalayas. In 1971 he joined Phillips Electrical, and, over an eight year period, rose through the ranks from Salesman to Product Manager and eventually to Sales and Marketing Director. Aware that he needed to improve his academic credentials, and spurred on by participation in management training programmes at Phillips, in 1979 Geoff became one of the youngest participants in the Sloane Fellowship[32] of the London Business School. The Sloane Fellowship was designed to prepare promising men for general management. Geoff found it a memorable learning experience; only the best faculty taught on the programme, students engaged in live consultancy, and were introduced to the latest management technology. When he had completed the programme, Geoff started his own consultancy project, and was self-employed for a year. In 1982 he was recruited by the Conglomerate in South Africa, and spent five months selling overhead projectors in Johannesburg. He became a National Sales Manager and worked his way up in sales and marketing in various divisions. Geoff's present position as General Manager: Human Resources and Branch Operations is "sixty percent HR, forty percent branch operations". The branch operations "keep me sane, get me out into the field occasionally. I get cabin fever if I'm in the office too much ... and it keeps me in touch with the customers".

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[32] The Sloane Fellowship is named for Alfred Sloane, Chief Executive Officer of General Motors in the 1950s. The Fellowship is a prestigious academic programme which started at the Massachussetts Institute of Technology, and is today offered at MIT, Stanford, and The London Business School.

JOHN RAYNEARD
Manager Corporate Affairs
Interviewed on 21 December 1993 and 20 January 1994 in Isando

Born in Malta in 1947, the second of two boys, John Rayneard grew up in England and Holland. During his boyhood, his father was a Lieutenant Commander in the British Navy, and was later employed as an engineer at Royal Dutch Shell. His mother was a nurse. John completed a BA in History and Sociology at Lancaster University, and aspired to be a history teacher. Instead, he emigrated to South Africa, married, and became involved in business, working as a project manager at Volvo and a business analyst at Xerox. He has been employed at the Conglomerate for 16 years, and has been the Manager of Corporate Affairs since 1994. His job involves strategic planning, intellectual property (ie trade mark) protection, market development and scenario planning - activities which engage his capacity (and enthusiasm) for lateral thinking and analysis. He describes himself as snobbish, intellectual, passionately interested in his work, and self disciplined. In his free time he is a Lifeline counsellor, and trains children in Judo. He enjoys gardening and reading (escapist literature and history, retaining an interest in the Civil War in England). He is engaged in affirmative action because it "makes good business sense", and believes firmly that Asian and Coloured workers deserve the same opportunities and benefits as Africans in the process of occupational advancement.

IAN SCHREIBER
Training Manager
Interviewed on 26 August and 7 September 1994 in Isando

Ian Schreiber was born on 16 February 1936 in East London. His youth was spent on the family's dairy farm near Berlin, and on Bolotwa trading station in the Eastern Cape. There he enjoyed "good, healthy, outdoor living", and learned to speak Khoza before English, his home language. Ian is the oldest son in his family. The family had been engaged in farming and trading in the border region since 1880. Ian went to a semi-private school, Dale College, in King Williams Town, for his primary and secondary education.

With the ambition of becoming an industrial chemist, Ian began a course in special science at the University of Natal, Durban, but he did not complete his degree. Instead, pursuing an interest in research and development, he worked for five years at an oil refinery in Durban, and from there joined ICI in England, where he spent a further five years working on plastics. In 1965 he returned to South Africa, and worked at AECI for two years, again in plastics research. In 1967, interested in the company's product range, he joined the Conglomerate as a laboratory technician in the Tapes and Allied Division. Over the years, Ian has worked in diverse capacities at the company, from process engineering, production, quality control, technical management to sales. In 1979 he became involved in training, his "secondary occupation". Ian has a repertoire of 20 courses which he presents regularly. These include train the trainer, life skills, public speaking, industrial relations, interaction management and supervisory skills.

Ian describes himself as "friendly", but "impatient and discontented". He feels there is always room for improvement; he likes action and purpose; he expects a lot from others and from

work, and found a job at Standard Bank in Boksburg.[31] Although she performed her job well, she was fired after six months for accepting employment under false pretences. It seems she had signed an application form (completed by her supervisor) which gave her race as white (Linda's complexion is light, she takes after her mother). The Bank's policy at the time prohibited non-whites from employment; it was assumed that Linda was attempting to disguise her "real" race. Since that time Linda has felt she should protect herself, and others, by disclosing her racial identity early on in social relationships.

Linda's next job was with the Conglomerate, and she has remained with the company for 13 years. She started as a cost clerk, and after five years became Commodity Controller. After six years in that job, she became Divisional Controller, a post she has held for 18 months. She is responsible for financial transactions in the division which handles products for safety, graphics, road traffic and library systems. She enjoys her work, and feels she has found a niche in which she can perform well, but still have time for her husband and child. Linda's husband works for the Conglomerate too, though in a different division.

Linda describes herself as "upfront", "particular" and "aggressive". She wants to get her own way, and is sometimes impatient and abrupt when called on to exercise people management skills. She finds working with women frustrating and demanding ("Too much talking and explaining ... women are so finicky ... you have to be so careful ...") and would much rather work with men who, she feels, would respect her for the work she does. While with the company she has completed inhouse training courses in public speaking, marketing and finance, all recommended to her by her boss. She is looking forward to doing the Certificate Programme in Principles of Business and Management for New Managers at the University of the Witwatersrand in the last half of 1994. Although she is a disciplined person, accustomed to setting her own goals and meeting them, she says she would never do a degree. It would take too long, and besides, she says she would be afraid of failing. As a member (and beneficiary) of the cross functional management team which guides the company's Accelerated Development Programme, she believes that qualifications derived from education and training will make her more marketable. Yet the prospect of advancement is somewhat threatening. Linda says she wants to "lead a balanced life" in which work does not overwhelm her family and social life. She would prefer to stay in her present post for a while, at least until her son is older.

Linda is an attractive woman, energetic, candid and direct. She and her husband live in Boksburg with their five-year-old son. In her free time, Linda enjoys reading and swimming.

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[31] Boksburg is a conservative East Rand mining town famous for upholding racially exclusive policies in the late 1980s when apartheid legislation was being rapidly dismantled elsewhere. A boycott of white businesses by residents of the surrounding black townships was successful in shifting the public positions of intransigent town councillors.

Following on from his secondary schooling, Paulus remained in Atteridgeville, married and started a family. He worked in a variety of jobs, starting as a labourer at Brooke Bond and Rutco Flour Mills. He remembers the backbreaking work of moving huge bags of food all day. He saw that the only escape from this drudgery was to improve his education, and in 1982-3 he attended night school in Atteridgeville, where he matriculated. He did a Diploma in Bookkeeping through the distance education college Technikon RSA, and became a member of the Institute of Certified Bookkeepers, thus qualifying for clerical positions in a number of Pretoria firms. He began a diploma in economics through Damelin College. He is presently enrolled in a B Comm degree programme at UNISA. He has done an introductory course in Human Resources Management through the Institute of Personnel Management, and in 1994 was sponsored by his company on a management training course offered by the University of Philadelphia and Howard University in the USA.

In 1986 Paulus joined the Conglomerate as a marketing assistant, then progressed to Marketing Coordinator, Cost Accountant and Commodity Controller before becoming Human Resources Officer. His responsibilities include recruitment, selection, salary administration and labour turnover analysis. He is a good listener with a thoughtful, analytical turn of mind, attributes which he feels will assist him in his new job. His tough early years have made him self reliant. He describes himself as "a fighter ... a pusher ... I want to be seen", but also as a person with endless sympathy for the underdog, and for the disadvantaged. People come to him for help and advice; his door is always open.

Paulus still lives in Atteridgeville, the town in which he grew up. SeSotho, Pedi, Setswana and English are all spoken at home, reflecting his own and his wife's linguistic prowess. In his free time he likes to play chess, read and listen to "good music". His taste in music is eclectic, developed by working for some time in a Pretoria music shop.

LINDA OGLE
Divisional Controller
Interviewed on 4 and 18 July 1994 in Isando

Linda Ogle was born in Pietermaritzburg on 1 August 1960, the eldest child in a family of five children. She describes her family as "close", explaining that she and her younger brothers and sister are the products of a mixed marriage between her mother, who is white, and her father, who is coloured. Mixed marriages were unusual, and illegal, in the 1960s, and the family was, perhaps, close-knit and supportive of necessity.

When Linda was growing up, her mother was a housewife and her father was a bricklayer. Both parents wanted their children to be educated and Linda's father was keen that they be professionals. As a girl, Linda wanted to be a nurse. She was privileged to attend a convent boarding school in Pietermaritzburg, but left school after matric so that she could help put her younger brother through university. In 1979 Linda came to Johannesburg to look for

were detained by the police, Thabiso for six months, and his brothers for two and a half years. They were never charged; Thabiso's brothers wrote their matric examinations in jail. The police harassed Thabiso throughout 1990, even as negotiations between the country's leaders were being set up and political organizations were unbanned. Children at his school were shot. As late as 1991 he thought of leaving the country.

Instead, in 1992, he left Bethlehem again and registered as a fulltime student for the Postgraduate Diploma in Management at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. On graduation he began to work for the Conglomerate. He started as Sales Correspondent in the Tapes Division, and in 1993 became Marketing Coordinator.

Thabiso is a survivor, independent and self-motivated, with great reserves of patience which he says he learned in jail. He is also a keen sportsman, with a special love for soccer and tennis, which he plays whenever possible. He enjoys reading, especially political and economic news, and likes to keep up with local and national events. He is single "but still looking" and lives in Bedfordview, a pleasant suburb in the Eastern part of Johannesburg. Whenever possible, he returns to Bethlehem, drawn by strong ties to his family and friends there.

PAULUS MOHOKARE
Human Resources Officer
Interviewed on 28 June and 11 July 1994 in Isando

Paulus Mohokare was born in Mooiplaats, Pretoria, on 24 November 1948. His father was a railway shunter at Iscor[30], his mother was a housewife. There were nine children in the family, of whom only five are living today. Two younger sisters died of childhood diseases associated with poverty, while an elder brother was stabbed to death. Paulus is the third male child in the family. He describes conditions in his childhood home as "poor ... really tough".

In 1955, when Paulus was seven years old, residents of Mooiplaats were forcibly removed to Atteridgeville, an African township on the far Western outskirts of Pretoria. Paulus remembers vividly the trauma of the moving day. He and his older brother were alone on the streets of Mooiplaats, separated from their parents, lost and miserable until rescued by a former neighbour and reunited with their paternal grandparents. Family life was not always happy; Paulus recalls that because he had no older sisters he "had to be a girl" and do a great deal of unpaid domestic work. The family was staunchly Christian, and in his youth Paulus aspired to be a priest. He attended primary and secondary schools in Atteridgeville, leaving at the end of Standard Eight because the family could no longer afford to keep him in school. Of his school days he remembers large classes and poor teachers. He says "we were the real products of Bantu Education ... we were not taught to fend for ourselves ... we were not taught to think but to obey".

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[30] Iscor, the Iron and Steel Corporation, was a parastatal organization established by the Pact government in 1927 under the banner of 'civilized labour' policies. It grew, and became profitable, during and after the second world war.

to Materials Planner.

Asked to describe himself, Doctor says he is a quiet person. "I don't talk a lot". Yet he is friendly and open, and has many friends of different ages. In his free time Doctor used to play softball, but his involvement in the sport dwindled because of the extra cost and inconvenience brought about by the 'unity movement'.[29] So now he likes to socialize and spend time with his wife and young son.

THABISO MOFOKENG
Marketing Coordinator
Interviewed on 22 July and 1. August 1994 in Isando

Thabiso Mofokeng was born on 24 October 1964 in Bethlehem, an agricultural centre in the Orange Free State, a province best known for the conservatism of its white farming population. He is the eldest son in a family of six children. Thabiso's father was a teacher and his mother was a housewife. South Sotho is spoken at home; both parents stem from Bethlehem. Thabiso's father was an important role model; he was educated and well known in town, prominent in community affairs, and had been a member of the ANC's Youth League at the time of the defiance campaign. In the family there was always talk about politics, about what was going on in town, what was happening in the national arena. Thabiso's father would give him a newspaper and ask him to summarize its contents for discussion at supper. He encouraged his children to read, and to challenge the status quo.

Thabiso went to public schools in Bohlokong, the African township adjoining Bethlehem, spending one year in his father's class. He was accelerated twice in primary school and matriculated at only sixteen years of age. Asked about the quality of his schooling, Thabiso says that in spite of poor facilities "I wouldn't really say we were disadvantaged, we made the best of the situation ... and we could compete with people from private schools at tertiary level". Thabiso remembers that everyone at school was politically aware and many were activists. Several of his schoolmates left the country in 1980. There were disruptions at school, but Thabiso never lost more time than he could make up. Although he was not ambitious academically, it was simply expected that as his father's son, he would matriculate and go to university.

When Thabiso went to the University of the North, in Pietersburg, he was on his own for the first time, and took stock of his situation. In orientation week, instead of registering for a BSc, as he'd been instructed to do by his father, he signed up for a BComm. He took it as a challenge that there were so few Africans qualified in commerce, and decided he would learn about business, "do something different". He graduated in 1985, then worked as a teacher at a commercial high school in Thabo Thokoza, eventually becoming the deputy principal of his school. 1986, however, was a very bad year. Thabiso and his twin brothers

[29] The 'unity movement' attempted to bring together white and black sports teams in nonracial, regional leagues. Although the original intention was to play games in one another's sports fields, the poor facilities of black townships plus the perceived threat to the safety of white players meant that increasingly games came to be scheduled in white areas, which meant added transport expenses and inconvenience to black sportsmen.

In his current position, Isaac relies on his experience as a production superintendent, his people skills and his sense of humour to get the job done. He describes himself as hardworking, dedicated and serious, but also as a tolerant person. He speaks several African and European languages, and is involved in the Conglomerate's community projects for the aged, and preschool education in Katlehong. In 1990 he moved to Benoni, where he lives with his wife and two sons. In his free time he plays golf, and is a member of the Wildlife Society. In 1994 he has enrolled (in terms of the company's Accelerated Development Programme) in the MAP[27] programme at the University of the Witwatersrand.

DOCTOR MAKWELA
Materials Planner
Interviewed on 15 and 22 July 1994 in Isando

Born in Alexandra Township on 9 November 1967, Doctor Makwela spent the first years of his life in the care of his grandmother in Alexandra. At the age of ten he went to live with his parents in Tembisa, north east of Johannesburg. Doctor's mother is Shangaan, his father is Tswana. Both parents' languages were spoken at home, and Doctor also speaks English, Zulu, Sotho, Pedi and some Khoza. Doctor's mother is a housewife. His father is a machine operator at World Power Products in Johannesburg. Doctor has an older brother and a younger brother and sister.

Doctor went to primary school (to Standard three) in Alexandra,[28] and completed his primary and secondary schooling in Tembisa. He remembers the 1984 school year there as "pretty dangerous", but also "exciting" because of the uprisings. No examinations were written in 1984, and 1985 was only a little better. The strikes and boycotts continued, but most students wrote end-of-year examinations, aware that they needed to finish their schooling. Some of Doctor's friends left school and went into exile in this period. 1986 "was a bit more normal" and Doctor matriculated at the end of the year. Although getting an education was considered important in his family, Doctor believes that finishing matric is ultimately a matter of personal will and staying power. He says that in his circle matric is seen as a trophy, or gateway -"beyond it you can do anything".

After matriculating, Doctor began to study part time through the distance education university, UNISA. When he started his degree, he aspired to be a teacher, and so chose education and history as his major subjects. While studying, he also worked part time as an interpreter at the Institute of Behavioural Sciences at UNISA, and later as a research assistant at the Bureau of Market Research. He also drove a taxi. He decided to marry, and began looking for a full time job with career prospects. In 1991 he was employed as a temporary worker at the Conglomerate, and after a short period was formally engaged as a machine operator in the Tapes Division. In January 1994 he transferred to the Customer Service Division, and in 1994 he returned to the manufacturing side where he accepted a promotion

[27] Management Advancement Programme

[28] Following the 1976 Soweto uprising, schooling was disrupted in Alexandra (as in many other townships throughout the Reef) contributing to the decision to move to Tembisa.

Chemicals, and to lecture part-time at Damelin College. In 1989 he applied for a marketing position at the Conglomerate, but during his interview was invited to take on the Training Department, which had been languishing for some time. Peter is credited with rebuilding the department and expanding the body of training and development courses offered by the organization. In addition to managing the department, he is actively involved in training and development. He is also a member of the cross-functional team which manages the Conglomerate's Accelerated Development Programme.

Peter enjoys contact with people. He describes himself as "expressive, outgoing and friendly". He is dedicated to training, and to his students, and still spends considerable time, on weekends and in the evenings, teaching at Damelin College. Peter is a motor racing enthusiast, and in his free time enjoys building models of Alfa Romeo cars. He is a supporter of the Airforce and war museums in Pretoria. He is married to a teacher and has an eight year old daughter. They live in Pretoria.

ISAAC MAKHOTHI
Manufacturing Manager
Interviewed on 28 June and 15 July 1994 in Isando

Isaac Makhothi was born in Germiston 'Old Location' on 14 September 1948. He is the eldest son in a family of six children. His father was a policeman, his mother a housewife who later worked in a factory to help make ends meet. The family originally hails from Lesotho, and came to Germiston by way of Vereeniging and Alexandra township. Isaac did his primary and secondary schooling in Germiston and Boksburg, rough towns on the eastern borders of Johannesburg to which his father was posted in the course of his career. Isaac completed his matric in Soweto in 1967.

Isaac's family believed that education was important - "the answer to life's problems". Isaac's first ambition was to be a doctor, but his marks in maths and science did not give him admission to medical school. So he worked for a year to finance his schooling, then trained as a health inspector at Pietersburg Technical College. On graduation in 1970 he looked for work for six months, and finally found employment as a health inspector in Tembisa, an African township north east of Johannesburg. He was stationed in Tembisa by the City Council of Germiston for four years, but the job was poorly paid. He wanted to marry, and decided to seek employment in industry where he could earn more money. He was employed as a laboratory technician at Cheeseborough Ponds from 1975, whereafter he became, in succession, a packaging technician, assistant packaging engineer and a laboratory supervisor. In this period he studied part time and completed a Diploma in Personnel Management and Training and a Diploma in Industrial Relations at Damelin College. In 1982 he joined the Conglomerate as a Personnel Officer, and for a short period was responsible for occupational health and safety. He spent three years as quality auditor, then four years as a production superintendent in the tapes manufacturing division. This positioned him for a promotion to Manufacturing Manager, a post he has held since 1 April 1994. He is responsible for the plant which manufactures face masks for industrial use; twenty workers (16 women and four men) report to him.

In 1980 Vee was feeling a need for a change. He was tired of the deadline-driven nature of the publishing business, and wanted a position which would allow more contact with people. He applied for a job as a Sales Representative with the Conglomerate in Durban, and was successful: "To my surprise I was hired ... I think I was the only person of colour interviewed for the job. I found out afterwards ... I was the first person of colour to be employed as a sales rep in the whole organization. It was quite ground breaking." He remained in the Reprographics Division for four years, during which time he received good quality sales training, and enjoyed travelling in his assigned territory of Natal north of Durban. In 1984 the printing trade underwent a recession, and Vee applied for a transfer to the Health Care Division of the Conglomerate. In time he became Area Manager for the Health Care division in Natal, and in 1992 he was promoted to National Sales Manager of the Medical Division, a position which required his relocation to the company's head office in Johannesburg. Eighteen months later he became the National Sales and Marketing Manager of the Dental Division, his present position.

When asked to describe himself, Vee hesitated, then said he was empathetic to others, and that he had a positive attitude to change. He is a versatile person, with "aptitude for anything", and makes decisions easily.

In his free time, Vee enjoys reading and, more rarely, painting and etching. He plays the guitar (steelstring and classical) for his own pleasure and at church. He is married and has two children. He lives in Edenvale, a suburb in the north eastern part of Johannesburg.

PETER LE SUEUR
Training and Development Manager
Interviewed on 26 August and 7 September 1994 in Isando

Peter Le Sueur was born in Pretoria on 2 September 1957, the third son of his parents. Peter's father was employed in the administration of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, and his mother was a trained draughtswoman, later employed as a secretary at Pretoria Boys High School. The early years of Peter's childhood were spent on a plot outside Pretoria, but for most of his youth, the family was settled in Pretoria. Both English and Afrikaans were spoken at home. Peter began his formal education at the age of four, when he entered Hatfield Primary School. He did his secondary schooling at Pretoria Boys High School, one of the best state secondary school in the country. As a boy, Peter had two ambitions, to be close to nature and to own his own business, but when he had finished school, he followed a different path. In 1974 he began to work for the United Building Society, but several months into the job was called up for military service. He did his basic training in the army in Pretoria, and received several postings, both inside and outside the country. In 1975 he returned to the United Building Society for a short period. He then joined one of his older brothers in a small construction firm, where he became involved in marketing. Feeling there was little scope for advancement in this small, family owned company, he sought a job at Marley Chemicals, a British company which manufactures plastic ceramic and other products for the building trade. He was employed in marketing and sales, but was increasingly drawn into training and administration. From 1985-88 he took several courses at Damelin College (Marketing and Sales Management, Successful Salesmanship, Business Management) and began to provide product training courses at Marley

Kedi struggled to complete her Standard Eight and to matriculate in the chaotic conditions which prevailed in black schools after the Soweto uprising. A brief stint of seeking employment as a clerk typist convinced her that she must qualify herself further if she wanted to find a good job. An older sister, who had by now graduated from the University of the North, offered to help finance Kedi's tertiary education, and so Kedi registered for a BA in Social Sciences at Turfloop in 1982. Although class boycotts and closures forced Kedi to repeat her second year of studies, she graduated in early 1986 and immediately sought employment.

Her first job was as a clerk in the Small Street branch of Standard Bank. Ironically, Kedi's first day of work fell on 1 May, Labour Day, and she was the only black person who appeared for work that day.[40] She was soon sent on the Bank's Management Development Programme (MDP), in which she received in-service training in a variety of postings. In 1988 she married and had her first child. Because her husband was working in Pretoria at the time, she applied for a transfer there. She was posted to a branch in downtown Pretoria, but was told that because she was black, and did not speak fluent Afrikaans, she was unacceptable to the Bank's white clients, and could not be given a front desk appointment. It was proposed that she be sent on the Bank's Accelerated Training Programme, and Kedi herself applied for work in the personnel field, for which she was qualified. Instead, she was posted to a clerical job in the Rosslyn branch, and asked to wait for an opportunity for further training. Disappointed, she resigned her job.

While at the Bank Kedi had registered for a Higher Education Diploma at UNISA, with a view to becoming a teacher, like her husband. When she left the Bank, she sent her CV to an employment agency and was soon offered a job as Training Personnel Assistant at one of the Retailer's largest branches. She accepted the post in 1990, and soon thereafter was promoted to Personnel Assistant. In May 1994 she became a Personnel Officer, and took on responsibility for recruitment, selection, induction, data collection, staff training and exit interviews in the quality assurance department of the Retail Group.

Kedi describes herself as "ambitious" and a "people person". She likes to be involved in decision making processes, and to put forward her ideas. In her free time, she enjoys jogging and running, and watching movies and TV. She lives in Spruitview, a suburb on the southern edge of Johannesburg, with her husband and two children.

MIKE STONIER
Group Training and Development Manager
Interviewed on 4 April and 8 May 1995 in Selby

Mike Stonier was born on 2 January 1948, in Salisbury, Rhodesia. He has three younger sisters and a younger brother. His father was a member of the police force. His mother was a housewife, and later secretary to the Catholic Archbishop of Rhodesia. Mike's youth was

[40] Other black employees claimed that lack of transport in Soweto prevented their coming to work. Kedi's presence in downtown Johannesburg, and her disclaimers about transport problems, caused initial resentment among her black colleagues. In time this was resolved.

curriculum, but Samantha feels that when she matriculated she was still "very naive about life". While at school, Samantha performed well academically and developed a "confidence which has stood me in good stead to face the world". She also formed close friendships with four other women who have subsequently entered professional careers in South Africa and oversees.

In 1979 Samantha entered the University of the Western Cape in a BComm programme, having won a bursary from the Rand Water Board. On completing her degree, she was offered employment by the Board, but was reluctant to leave her family home in the Cape. Instead she joined the Retailer as a credit supervisor at the regional credit office in Cape Town in 1991. She soon realised that she wanted a more people-oriented position in the company, and received training towards this in the form of a two-week Management Advancement Programme. After a year she became a personnel officer, and after a further six months, a personnel manager in two different stores in and around Cape Town. A year later, Samantha was offered the post of Area Personnel Manager at head office in Johannesburg. This has necessitated a move to Gauteng, and a dramatic change in her home environment. At the time of the interview, Samantha was struggling to balance the demands of her job with the domesticity required in establishing her first flat.

While still in the Cape, Samantha began an Honours Degree in Industrial Psychology through UNISA, which she hopes to finish in 1995. In her free time she collects stamps and enjoys walking. She is active in church affairs, and likes "quiet Time" when she can unwind from work. Samantha is single and has no children yet.

KEDI (KEDIBONE) PHASHA
Personnel Officer
Interviewed on 1 and 15 March 1995 in Selby

Kedi Phasha was born in Kimberly on 23 March 1960. Her parents' fourth child, she has three sisters and one brother. The family is close-knit. Kedi was raised by her grandmother in Kimberly up to the age of seven, when she joined her parents in Mapetla, in Soweto. Kedi's mother was a domestic worker; her father was a messenger for British Petroleum. Although neither of her parents was well educated, Kedi's mother, in particular, believed that education was the road to a better life for her children. When Kedi was young she remembers her mother saying "I know how difficult it is for one who is not educated. I don't want you to experience what I have experienced. It's not nice to work for somebody, I can tell you. I'm a domestic worker, but I want to see my kids being something in the future".

Kedi attended primary and secondary schools in Soweto, her secondary schooling falling within the period of the 1976 Soweto uprising and its aftermath. Up to Standard Six, Kedi had been a "brilliant child", always performing at the top of her class. She remembers having dedicated teachers who encouraged her to work hard. She also recalls her classmates' resentment towards the education authorities concerning corporal punishment and the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. Although she herself had learned Afrikaans as a young child, when she came to her Standard Seven class, and listened to history and maths lessons conducted in Afrikaans, "I couldn't understand a word. My June report was terrible."

Sandton. In 1986 she moved to head office, and became involved in coordinating the training for the chain's operating divisions. Thereafter, she became the head office personnel officer for another chain in the retail group, gradually taking over responsibility for training. In a lateral move, she returned to the Retailer, where she is employed as Human Resources Manager, Head Office Divisions. Her varied portfolio includes recruitment, selection, counselling, career planning, remuneration, budgeting, industrial relations, organizational structuring, the training and development of merchants, and management development at head office. Five staff members report to her.

Anne describes herself as "assertive, goal directed and independent". She sets high standards for herself and enjoys the variety of tasks inherent in a line management role. She enjoys developing other people and playing a mentoring role. While working in the retail group, Anne completed a Masters degree in Management at the Wits Business School, following which she lectured part-time in the Post Graduate Diploma in Management (PDM) programme at Wits. Although she no longer lectures at the Business school, she acts as an external examiner for the PDM, as well as the Master of Management and Master of Business Administration programmes.

Anne is married and has two young children, a boy and a girl. She lives with her family in Parkhurst, and her hours away from the office are mostly taken up with running a home and being a wife and mother. On holidays, she reads fiction voraciously, but she finds little time for leisurely reading in her daily routine. She notes that she has followed in her mother s footsteps in more ways than one. Not only did she choose an academic path in her education, leading to a professional career, but she is also a working mother who supplies a regular income to the family, offsetting the uncertainties of her husband's entrepreneurial activities.

SAMANTHA PETERSEN
Area Personnel Manager
Interviewed on 3 and 7 March 1995 in Selby

Samantha Petersen was born in Cape Town on 2 September 1970. She has a considerably older brother and sister who live in the Cape. Samantha's father was a minister in the New Apostolic church. Her mother was a theatre sister who worked in the Red Cross Children's Hospital. Samantha grew up in Crawford, part of Athlone, a suburb of Cape Town. She considers herself lucky not to have grown up in the poverty which afflicts many other Coloured families. Her family home was happy and stable. Her parents lived by strong moral principles, and the home was infused with their Christian beliefs.

Samantha attended Vanguard Primary School, and then Immaculata Convent, a private Catholic school in Wynberg, which she and her parents chose because of its high academic standards. In the convent she and other students were largely sheltered from the upheavals in state secondary schools of the mid 1980s. For her

parents, education was "something no one could take away from you". Samantha remembers her schooling as strict, and points to the important role of the nuns as mentors. They placed emphasis on an active, independent role for women in society, and promoted high academic standards in the convent. Both academic and spiritual development were focuses of the

Elaine describes herself as a "people person", meaning that she is sociable, approachable, and interested in people. In her free time she enjoys reading and going to the movies, and she is an active member of a women's group called 'Phambiri Bakatzi' (Forward, women!). She is happily married and has two daughters, aged ten and thirteen. She lives with her family in Lombardy West.

ANNE MUIR
Human Resources Manager
Interviewed on 2 and 20 February 1995 in Selby

Anne Muir was born on 4 December 1954, the youngest of three children born to parents who had married late in life. Anne's mother was a teacher, and is described by Anne as "a very strong, independent, goal directed, self-motivated person ... a stabilizing force in my childhood". Her mother's work provided a regular income which sustained the family during the vicissitudes of her father's health and business. Anne's father had started a business which manufactured and sold racing bicycles, but when he began to suffer from heart disease in late middle age he sold his business and moved into property development. Anne describes her father as "Afrikaans ... autocratic ... he wore the pants in the family". But family life centred on the home and Anne's mother, who raised the children in the Anglican church and created a caring and protected environment.

Anne grew up in the pleasant, middle class suburb of Emarentia, and attended state run primary school there. At Greenside High School she was "an average scholar" who nevertheless graduated with a first class pass, enabling her to go to university. In her matric year her father died, contributing to Anne's decision to stay at home and attend a local university. In her first year of studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Anne aspired to be an occupational therapist, but she came "unstuck" with physics. Her motivation was also negatively affected by severe injuries which her mother sustained in a car accident. In her second year at Wits Anne switched to Speech Therapy. On graduating in 1976 she worked for two years at the old Johannesburg Hospital as a Speech Therapist, moving to the new hospital and specializing in paediatric speech therapy for an additional year. In 1980, exasperated by the lack of recognition and resources awarded to speech therapy in the vast, inefficient bureaucracy of the state health service, she thought through her career options and entered the private practice of two ENT (Ears, Nose and Throat) specialists. In the two years which followed, she practised in audiology, after which she felt ready for new professional challenges.

Recognizing a personal need for recognition and stimulation, she decided to enter the commercial field, and worked for seven months as a consultant at Drake Personnel Services in Carlton Centre. The work provided the opportunity to enter the business world which she sought, but demanded that she "sell" people at a rapid pace, regardless of her personal assessment of their suitability for specific posts. Feeling out of place in a highly deterministic and impersonal environment, she applied for work in corporate personnel with the Retailer, and despite her lack of secretarial skills was appointed as Divisional Personnel Secretary. In rapid succession she completed a typing course at Damelin College, and an IPM Diploma in Personnel Management. In 1983, after two years in secretarial work, she became a store personnel manager in Eastgate, then transferred to a larger and more prestigious store in

careers. Later, when Elaine was in high school, the family relocated to Dube, Soweto, where they again enjoyed a lively, stimulating social environment.

Elaine attended primary school in Katlehong, and, falling in with her parents wish that she receive a good education at a mission school, was sent to Inanda Seminary, a boarding school for black girls in Natal. At Inanda, Elaine "came into her own". She gained new skills and confidence as she began to engage in dramatic arts, sports and public speaking. She took on leadership roles as a prefect, and as chairman of the debating society. She performed well academically, stimulated by the teaching staff, the physical resources, and the culture of hard work and achievement at the school. To this day she feels she can recognize "a special something" about Inanda graduates, and she takes pride in having been to school there. Elaine remembers that the pupils at Inanda were inspired by the theatrical productions and ideas disseminated by the black consciousness movement, and that leaders such as Steve Biko and Saths Cooper came to visit the school. A junior league of SASO[38] developed among students at the time, and there were many discussions of current issues and events. Yet, says Elaine, she and others were shielded by the school from the harsh realities of the real world, which she was about to taste.

In 1974 Elaine went to the University of the North, graduating in 1977 with a BA in English and Philosophy. Perhaps inspired by her own positive experiences at school, and the ideals of community service promoted by the black consciousness movement, she aspired to be a teacher. She completed a UED at Turfloop, but became disenchanted with teaching during her practicum, when she was assigned to teach in remote, poorly resourced schools in the Northern Transvaal. She realized that teaching was not for her, but that she would like to work with people in a different capacity. She returned to Johannesburg where she completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Management at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1979.

Elaine's first job was with an American company called Dun and Brad Street, a credit information service. She managed the company's social investment procedures, which were mandated by the Sullivan Code. When the American owners disinvested in 1987, and the company came under South African management, its social investment programme flagged, and Elaine left the firm. She went to work for Nestle, the Swiss food giant, as a personnel officer. In 1990 Elaine's husband wanted to return to university for fulltime study, necessitating Elaine's move to a more centrally located company. She found employment as an employee relations officer at Allianz Insurance, and she remained there until offered a better position at Aegis Insurance. She became a senior human resources manager, and was charged with setting up HR structures in the firm. In February 1994 she moved to the Retailer in the post of Group Advancement Manager. Her duties include driving and communicating the group's affirmative action policy to all stakeholders; consulting with managers in different chains on affirmative action; and monitoring and reporting progress to the board of directors and to the SAB[39] board.

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[38] South African Students Organization. The Inanda version was called JASCO, for Junior South African Students Organization.

[39] South African Breweries.

the political upheavals of the 1970s and 1980s because she was either too young to know what was happening, or, later, attended a secondary school whose principal had sufficient authority to prevent student uprisings. Nandi matriculated from Phefeni Senior Secondary School in 1984.

As a child Nandi had always enjoyed playing with dolls, dressing up and staging fashion shows. Although there was no career guidance at her school, and she was never taught to draw, she was always intrigued by the idea of becoming a fashion designer. Although her father disapproved of her career choice, preferring dentistry or architecture for his daughter, Nandi was supported by a maternal great aunt who lived in Britain, who discovered that it was possible to study fashion design at university there. So Nandi went to London, where she studied at the American College for the Applied Arts, graduating with a Ba[illegible]r of Arts and Fashion Design in 1989.

Immediately after graduation Nandi returned to South Africa and sought work in Johannesburg. She was employed by the designer Peter Soldatos for two months, but was frustrated by the slack pace of the work. She then joined the Retailer as a trainee in a busy downtown Johannesburg store. Finding that she could not relate to the merchandise, she entered the field of human resources, starting as a personnel assistant, and after only eight months, rising to personnel manager at a branch in Mmabatho. She became bored with the routine of personnel work and requested a posting in the field of fashion. In 1993 she became a merchandise planner in infants' wear. She has discussed her career interests and prospects with her employer and hopes to move into buying in 1995.

Nandi describes herself as a "hard worker, single minded and organized" both in her work and in her private life. In her free time she enjoys reading, walking, swimming and going to the cinema. She lives with her three year old son in Naturena, in the Southern suburbs of Johannesburg.

ELAINE MPULO
Group Advancement Manager
Interviewed on 7 and 10 February 1995 in Selby

Elaine Mpulo was born on 25 February 1955 in Germiston 'Old Location'. She is her parents' second daughter, and has a younger brother and sister. Elaine's mother was a nurse, who stopped work to stay at home after the birth of her third child. Her father was a journalist who worked for 'The Post' during Elaine's girlhood. Both Elaine's parents received their secondary schooling at well known mission schools - her mother at Marianhill in Natal, and her father at St Peter's in Rosettenville, Johannesburg.

Elaine remembers that when she was five years old, the family moved from Germiston 'Old Location' to Khatlehong. 'Old Location' had been a centrally located, mixed race community in which the family found many others with whom they shared values and interests. Khatlehong, by way of contrast, offered better housing than 'Old Location', but also a degree of social isolation. Reading and discussions of current events were encouraged in Elaine's girlhood home, and the children were taught to speak English before they went to school. It was expected that they would complete at least high school, and proceed to professional

House in Johannesburg. Over the next four years he rose from trainee to Area Manager and finally Promotions Manager in the marketing division. In this period, John completed a BComm degree through UNISA. While working at Sales House, he engaged in the development of black managers, and in 1976 was charged with contravening the Group Areas Act which prohibited the appointment of black managers in white commercial areas. Although the case was taken to the Supreme Court, John received a two year suspended sentence.

In 1978 joined Morkels, the furniture retail group, and spent five years in line management, four of which were in Cape Town. In 1983 he returned to the Transvaal and rejoined the Retailer, first as Divisional Marketing Manager, then as Manager of the Eastgate store, and finally as Divisional Personnel Manager. In late 1986 he moved to another retail chain in the same group as Divisional Operations Manager, then Personnel Director, while also completing an Honours degree in Commerce. In 1991 he returned to the Retailer as Personnel Director, and completed a Masters degree in Commerce. So, as he remarks, "I have gone out of my way to qualify myself academically and practically for the business world".

John describes himself as a proactive, pragmatic person who enjoys strategic thinking and systems theory, but who also has a bent for creative, unconventional, problem-solving. He is sensitive to peoples' needs and has always placed value on people management. He believes his experience as a line manager has helped him bring focus and a results orientation to personnel work. He is versatile, and enjoys the role of team player and team leader.

John is married and has four children, three boys and one girl. He and his family live in Weltevreden Park on the West Rand, where John is active on the board of his daughter's school and has also been instrumental in setting up a neighbourhood watch. In his free time he runs and does woodwork. He enjoys reading and music, and is keen to learn more about information systems and especially the Internet system.

NANDI MGOBOZI
Merchandise Planner
Interviewed on 14 and 30 March 1995 in Selby

Nandi Mgobozi was born in Soweto on 3 June 1968. She has an older brother and a younger sister, but because her brother lived in England for much of his youth, Nandi grew up with her sister. Nandi's mother, a social worker, stems from Durban, where Nandi often spent school vacations in the care of her grandmother. Nandi's father was a health educator employed by the South African National Tuberculosis Association. He died in 1985, leaving a pension sufficient to provide a modest living for his family.

As the child of well educated professionals, Nandi was expected to get a university education and enter a professional field. She performed well at school, even after skipping a year of study at Standard Three level, when her teachers advanced her and a few other children who appeared to be "bored and naughty" in class. She attended state primary and secondary schools in Soweto, and was fortunate to have had "enlightened teachers". Aware that the system of Bantu Education has been reviled in many quarters, she notes that many of South Africa's present leaders are the products of it. Based on their performance, she is inclined to ask "How inferior can it be?". While at school in Soweto Nandi was largely protected from

JOHN McCLOSKEY
Personnel Director
Interviewed on 2 and 10 February 1995 in Selby

John McCloskey was born in rural county Tyrone, Ireland, on 29 April 1941. He is the eldest of eleven children, all of whom were born on his parents' cattle and poultry farm. There was a dairy on the farm, and John recalls that milking and other chores had to be done before and after school. John remembers that hard work and tight economic circumstances prevailed during his boyhood, made all the worse by the long, cold, wet Irish winters. But the family was close knit and happy, there was "team spirit" and fun.

John attended a local primary school, run by the Catholic church and subsidised by the state. Two routes were then open to him. He could follow local custom and his parents' expectations and become a farmer, or he could go to high school, which would mean a financial sacrifice on the part of his family, and the loss of his labour on the farm. His observations of class distinctions in the local community led John to conclude that "... it was important to have an education, important to have qualifications ... to get away from farming. As a kid ... I modelled myself on guys that I'd seen around who had studied. Some of them had become lawyers, and had careers. The route to that was through high school." John considers that the quality of his education was good. He was lucky to have a headmaster in primary school who singled him and a few others out for special attention. This headmaster taught beyond the confines of the syllabus and nurtured an enthusiasm for learning among pupils. John has always liked learning ("I enjoyed finding things out ... and there was no radio or anything else"), and he was able to persuade his parents that he should attend a private boarding school run by the Salesian Order. The Salesian Order specializes in educating the children of poor families, in Ireland and overseas.[37] It ran this institution as a general high school, encompassing a junior seminary.

In his last year of secondary school, John was inspired to join the Salesian Order and to go abroad as a missionary. He was sent to the Transvaal to enter his novitiate, and to receive teacher training. He was then assigned to Daleside College near Meyerton, a boarding school catering for Standard 4 to matric, where he taught for several years, while also completing a BA degree through UNISA.

In 1965 John went to Rome to study, graduating with a degree in theology. He joined the Salesian Order and was ordained in 1969. Before returning to South Africa, he went to Britain and completed a Postgraduate Certificate in Education at Oxford University. On his return, he was posted to Daleside College, which at the time catered for white and chinese boarders. The school had received a poor report on its academic standards when it was inspected by Transvaal Education Department officials in 1970, and John was asked to take over as headmaster in 1971.

In 1974 John went through a period of turmoil in his personal life, and left the Salesian Order. He decided to look for employment in the open market, and joined the staff of Sales

[37] In Ireland, the Salesian Order runs two prestigious agricultural colleges, and regular high schools. In Southern Africa there is an institution for street children in Cape Town, and a high school in Swaziland.

mother was taken ill and decided to follow a vocation as a Sangoma. H s stepfather was severely injured at work, and did not receive workman's compensation. Despite suffering from severe asthma at the time, Joe started work at the Federated Insurance Company and soon thereafter married and started a family. His wife and he formed an agreement that he would support her financially while she completed her teacher training. Thereafter he would have an opportunity to study further.

Joe's next job was with Checkers, a major South African retailer. From there he went to work for Teltron, an electronics firm, as a credit clerk. While at Teltron Joe got his first formal qualifications in marketing. His first work experience in marketing came in 1980 when he got a job as a market researcher with an advertising agency. There he was lucky to have a mentor who was patient and knowledgeable, who "gave me a long rope, then made sure I made use of it".

In 1983 Joe decided to be a self-employed entrepreneur, and started a mobile kitchen which provided meals to workers in the industrial areas of Johannesburg. Ultimately the scheme failed, brought down by a combination of red tape and an unscrupulous business partner.

In a rich and varied career, Joe worked from 1984-1986 as a marketing consultant in Eric Mafuna's firm, Consumer Behaviour, and in 1987 as a market research executive at Linter's Advertising. From 1989-1993 he was employed as Marketing Research Manager at OK Bazaars. There he gained exposure to senior management, and learned to relate to all levels of the staff. When the company underwent a process of restructuring which involved a change of management, Joe left the company for a short stint with Partnership Advertising, then returned to the retail field in December 1993. He is now employed by the Retailer as Research and Development Manager, and is responsible for identifying new marketing opportunities, disseminating information and consulting with outside suppliers. He is often consulted by junior staff members, sometimes newcomers to the firm or to marketing, on matters related to work. He is something of a sounding board for the ideas and frustrations of these colleagues, who also tend to see in him a spokesperson for black issues and concerns in the company.

Joe completed a higher diploma through the Institute of Marketing Management in 1978-1979, and has participated in a number of nonformal courses in communications and management, often financed by himself. In 1986 he began a bachelor's degree in psychology through UNISA, but was forced to drop out half way through as financial pressures mounted when he and his wife decided to send their children to private schools. Joe observes that "I've got to work harder, be more observant, than guys with tertiary education".

Joe describes himself as "steadfast, patient, supportive". He is a family man, committed to helping the children of his older brother to complete their schooling, while is own children are still studying at tertiary level. He has a house on a plot in Zuurbekom where he hopes to retire one day. In his free time he enjoys reading, music and golf.

churchgoer and reads religious texts.

Throughout 1985 Shadrack looked for work, but was unsuccessful. Between 1986 and 1988 he was employed as a waiter in a Johannesburg restaurant, but he found the hours long and the work wearying. In 1989 he found a job as a sales assistant in the Retailer's Kempton Park store. He was given inhouse training and was assigned to work with a variety of people and merchandise in his first years with the Retailer. He was promoted to Supervisor in 1992 and to Store Merchandiser in 1993.

Shadrack describes himself as "communicative" and "a trier", as someone who "looks forward", who sees opportunities rather than obstacles ahead. He believes firmly that staff members have a responsibility to use the training and development they receive in every aspect of their jobs.

Until recently Shadrack was actively involved in sports. Now he has little free time, as he has a wife and young child, and works at night and on weekends at a restaurant to supplement his income. Shadrack lives with his family in Pretoria West.

JOE LUKHELE
Research and Development Manager
Interviewed on 22 February and 3 March 1995 in Selby

Joe Lukhele was born in Sophiatown on 12 February 1950. He is his parents' third child. Two of his brothers and one of his sisters died young, so Joe now has four brothers and one sister. Joe's mother was a cleaner and domestic worker. His father was an organizer for the ANC. He left his family, and South Africa, for Botswana in 1959, leaving Joe to be raised by his step father, a construction worker employed by Union Concrete. Joe's parents instilled in him the values of hard work and respect towards others.

When Joe was six years old, the family was forcibly removed to Meadowlands in Soweto, and thence to Senoane, where Joe stayed with his grandmother. He went to primary schools in Sophiatown and Soweto, and matriculated in 1970 from Sekanontoane Secondary School, where he was a classmate of Cyril Ramaphosa's. Joe was the only one in is family to matriculate, a remarkable achievement given his parents' poverty and hardship. Joe remembers that his teachers were mature, respectable professionals, proud of their pupils, and rather strict. He contrasts them with today's teachers, who are relatively young and inexperienced, not so committed to the development of the children in their care. More significantly, perhaps, Joe demonstrated from an early age the independent and enterprising spirit which characterizes him today. Because there was no money to pay for his school books and clothes, from the age of 13 onwards Joe worked on weekends at a variety of jobs ranging from trench digging, gardening, caddying and selling food at football matches. He learned to fend for himself, and to make his own decisions regarding the course of his life. Thus he broke with his family over African cultural beliefs and traditions, and joined the Methodist church while still a child. Later he moved to the Apostolic church and then to the Church of Christ, as his faith strengthened and he experienced a desire to be 'reborn'.

When Joe finished his secondary education he was unable to continue his schooling. His

and her brothers, and she does not recall being burdened with gender-specific roles and assignments. It was expected that she and her brothers would all complete high school and acquire professional qualifications.

Tunie attended a local primary school, then proceeded to St John's College, a co-educational government school which had previously been an Anglican mission school for boys. Tunie was one of the first intakes of girls to the school, and the only girl in her year who went on to university. She matriculated in 1972 and went to the University of Fort Hare in 1973 to do a BA degree in social sciences. Her period of residence at Fort Hare was a politically turbulent one, it being the heyday of the black consciousness movement on campus. In the first year of her studies, the university was closed for a period of more than two months, and along with other students, Tunie wrote her examinations late and under trying circumstances. Tunie describes herself as an informed and inspired participant in student resistance politics, but she was not an activist. She graduated in 1976, and immediately went to the University of the Witwatersrand, where she began an Honours degree in Industrial Sociology, and then switched to a Higher Diploma in Personnel Management. In 1980 she studied fulltime and completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Management.

In 1981 Tunie married and had her first child. In 1982, despite her qualifications in personnel work, she was employed as a clerk in the Orange Grove branch of Standard Bank, where she was the only black employee for much of the time. In 1986 she became a personnel officer, in charge of the recruitment and placement of affirmative action candidates in the Bank's branch network. She remained in this post to 1994, when, despairing of career advancement at the Bank, she joined The Retailer as Personnel Manager. In her present post she provides general personnel services, including recruitment, succession planning, career guidance and job analysis, to the Retailer's divisions.

Tunie describes herself as an easy-going, approachable person, who likes a "healthy working environment". Although not an extrovert, she enjoys being with people, particularly members of her family. Still married, Tunie has two daughters and lives in Kelvin, a suburb on the northern edge of Johannesburg.

SHADRACK KHUMALO
Store Merchandiser
Interviewed on 16 March 1995 at the Retailer's Menlyn Park store, Pretoria

Shadrack Khumalo was born on 31 January 1969 in Komatipoort, a small town on the border between South Africa and Mozambique. He is his parents' eldest son, and has a younger sister and brother. In Shadrack's youth, his mother was a domestic worker employed in Komatipoort. Shadrack grew up without a father. The Khumalos were very poor, and it became necessary for the children to be disbursed amongst various relatives who could provide for them. At the age of 12 Shadrack went to stay permanently in Soweto with a maternal uncle.

Shadrack had completed primary school in Komatipoort, and was to continue his schooling in Soweto, matriculating from Mahlobo High School in 1984. He credits his strict Christian upbringing for keeping him away from politics while at school. Even today, he is a regular

She is the sort of person who likes to offer advice and influence events indirectly rather than to exercise power herself: "I want to be close to the leader, but not be the leader". As a wife and mother of a young daughter, Seadimo does not have much free time, but enjoys reading, visiting a few good friends and going to movies when the opportunity arises. She lives in Bryanston with her family.

LETITIA FERNANDEZ
Divisional Personnel Manager
Interviewed on 3 and 31 March 1995 in Selby

Letitia Fernandez was born in Johannesburg on 12 July 1965. She is the eldest of two daughters, and grew up in the family home in Alberton, in the Southern suburbs of the city. In Letitia's youth, her father was a foreman in an electronics engineering company. Her mother was, and is still, employed as a pa, ...aster at the Pretoria Portland Cement company. Although her surname is Portuguese, Letitia grew up in an Afrikaans-speaking home. She describes her family as close knit. Traditional family values were upheld. Letitia was brought up in the Dutch Reformed Church, in a politically conservative environment.

Letitia attended state primary and secondary schools in Alberton, then went to Rand Afrikaans University. She graduated from RAU with a BA in Industrial Psychology and Communications in 1986. University studies were a broadening experience for her. She realizes now that her school curriculum was rather narrow, and that career guidance at secondary school level was poor.

In 1987 Letitia joined the Alberton branch of the Retailer as a personnel assistant, a position she held for one year. In 1988 she was promoted to Personnel Manager at one of the Retailer's stores in Krugersdorp. Thereafter worked in Westgate for two years and in Durban for 14 months. In 1992 she was appointed to the Market Street store in Johannesburg, a challenging environment for a young personnel manager because the union is particularly powerful and active there. In 1994 Letitia was promoted to Divisional Personnel Manager, in which capacity she oversees the human resources function in 46 stores.

Letitia describes herself as "even-tempered, flexible, patient with people, though not with things and events". She enjoys listening to music, reading, and going to art movies. She is single and lives in Albertville, a suburb on the Western fringe of Johannesburg.

TUNIE JOB
Personnel Manager
Interviewed on 20 February and 15 March 1995 in Selby

Tunie Job was born in Umtata, in the Eastern Cape, on 19 April 1954. She is the second of five children, and grew up in a home dominated by her father and four brothers. Tunie's mother was a registered nurse who worked at a local hospital during Tunie's childhood. Her father was the director of local government in the Transkei government. Tunie remembers her upbringing as strict, and her father as "a bit overprotective", perhaps because she was the only girl in the family. Rather unusually, household chores were shared equally among Tunie

7.	Dedicate part of each management meeting's agenda to reviewing AA and MED plans and progress. Initially the management team to be exposed to a one hour presentation entitled 'Managing Socio-political and Business Diversity'.	General Management	Arrange via RHRM/DPM for Mr Phinda Madi of Personnel Services Division to do presentation, thereafter create agenda item.
8.	Submit an AA/MED quarterly report for October - December 1993 by 24 January 1994.	General management and senior management.	RHRM/DPM to collate the report.

Key: GM = General Managers
RHRM = Regional Human Resources Manager
DPM = Divisional Personnel Manager
SDM = Senior Divisional Manager
ETD = Education and Training Department
MoC = Management of change
AA = Affirmative Action
MED = Managing Employee Diversity

APPENDIX FOUR

THE BANK'S STRATEGIC ACTION PLAN FOR EQUITY

TOWARDS EQUITY : EIGHT POINT PLAN (17 September 1993)

	ACTION	RESPONSIBILITY	METHOD
1.	Give feedback to the management team on the outcomes of the Strategic Issues Conference and August meetings of GMs.	General management initially, then senior management and later cascading to all staff (communication strategy available in October).	Initial communication pack available from HR late September - contact Regional Human Resources Manager/Divisional Personnel Manager.
2.	Distribute the Strategic Action Plan to managers. Discuss with them how each activity in the plan relates to the business unit. Develop your unit's action plan.	General management.	The Eight Point Plan and the Strategic Action Plan to guide plans and implementation. Consult SDM/Change Agent and HR Manager.
3.	Develop affirmative action plans for recruitment, development and promotion, particularly for current or potential black managers and generally for blacks, Asians and coloureds. Females and disabled staff to be included.	General management and senior management team.	Refer letter of guidance on targeting dated 13 September 1993, also assistance from RHRM/DPM and SDM/Change Agent.
4.	Appraise systems, procedures and practices and behaviours used within the business unit to identify those that hinder successful AA and MED.	General management and senior management team.	HR to assist in appraisal design and implementation. Results to be included in quarterly reports.
5.	Arrange for the senior management group to attend the two day workshop 'Valuing Diversity'. Then using MoC methodology, arrange for groups of managers, then supervisors to also attend.	General managers to arrange for the senior and other managers to attend.	Arrange via RHRM/DPM with ETD (Dr R Buwalda).
6.	Establish a Career Management Committee and include AA/MED items on its agenda.	General management and senior management.	Involve the RHRM/DPM and SDM/Change Agent.

RESPONSE FORM

PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AT X BANK

1. Are your views of affirmative action at the Bank fairly and accurately reflected in the discussion document? Please comment.

2. What corrections or changes to the document should be made, in your view?

3. What is the best way to use the research results reported here?

Thank you for completing this form. Please return it to: Jane Castle, Department of Adult Education, University of the Witwatersrand, P.O. WITS 2050.

APPENDIX THREE

FOLLOW-UP LETTER AND RESPONSE FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY

Mr X
The Bank

Date

Dear X

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed last year concerning your views of affirmative action at the Bank. Your participation in my research project has been of real value.

The first fruits of my investigation are now available in the form of a discussion document (enclosed). The document is being distributed only to those who participated in the study. It is partly a token of gratitude, and partly an effort to stimulate further discussion and action on affirmative action in the company.

I would appreciate your comments on the document, as well as any suggestions for its improvement and use. A short response form is enclosed for this purpose, but if you prefer to speak to me, I can be reached throughout January at (011) 802-8613 (h), and from February onwards at (011) 716-5229 (w).

Your sincerely

Jane Castle
Lecturer: Department of Adult Education

PJC/wp51/phd/quest

spent in a number of small country towns in Rhodesia to which his father was posted in the course of his career. The family was not particularly well off financially, but lived comfortably enough, sheltered by the structures of the Rhodesian civil service, and enriched by membership in the Catholic church. The family was close-knit, and Mike describes his upbringing as "happy ... stable and disciplined". Of these early years in Rhodesia he observes, "There was no white polity of any significance in Zimbabwe at the time. Our frame of reference was white. I was brought up in a narrow way, in a sheltered environment".

Mike received his first years of schooling as a pupil in a class of three, under the supervision of the District Commissioner's wife. Correspondence lessons were supplemented by weekly radio broadcasts from Salisbury. Thereafter, he was sent to local government schools. From Standard Four onwards he went to Catholic private schools, which meant a considerable financial sacrifice for his parents. He went to Hartman House preparatory school, and later to St George's College, a Jesuit school in Salisbury. Thereafter, Mike went to Rhodes University, in South Africa, where he completed a BA degree in economics and psychology in 1969. Of the quality of his schooling, Mike remarks, "I'm very pleased I was educated in Zimbabwe and not South Africa. I think we had a much broader education ... when I got into the wider world my education stood me satisfactorily."

In 1970 Mike joined the Ministry of Commerce and Industry so as to ensure an income while completing his military service. In this way he saved enough money to spend a year travelling in Europe, including a spell in Munich for the 1972 Olympic Games. At the end of 1972 he returned to Rhodesia and was immediately called up for more military service. With the whole country mobilizing around the War of Independence, Mike found it difficult to find employment. After searching for work for some time, he was offered three jobs on the same day. The most attractive of the three offers was from the Retailer, which proffered a management training programme in Rhodesia alongside the prospect of a transfer to South Africa. In 1974 he was appointed as an Area Credit Controller in one of the Retail group's business units in the Eastern Transvaal. In a series of postings which involved transfers between chains in the same retail group, he became Regional Personnel Manager in Pretoria, Divisional Personnel Manager in Durban in 1977, and Divisional Personnel Manager in Johannesburg in 1979. Thereafter he spent three years in Pretoria as an Area Manager, and five years as Manpower Development Manager at head office in Johannesburg. In 1993 he became Group Training and Development Manager of the retail group.

Mike describes himself as a "good husband and father" to his wife and six children. He is industrious, reliable, something of a perfectionist. He has "an adequate brain", he likes to be right, and he doesn't suffer fools gladly. He is interested in current affairs and enjoys watching and playing sport. In the 1980s he was active in the church-based Justice and Peace Movement. He led the 'Renew' process in his parish and has been chairman of the parish council. He provides counselling services within the church and is involved on and off with the management of his children's schools. He is excited about the prospects of the new South Africa and intends taking out South African citizenship.

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