Intersectionality and Employment Equity in South Africa

Amber E. Warnat WRNAMB001

Masters of Philosophy in Justice and Transformation

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

2012

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:_____ Date:_____

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract

The objectives of the South African Employment Equity Act include providing equal opportunity in the workplace. However, the existing methods for achieving equality of opportunity have been unsuccessful because they do not engage sufficiently with the complexity of, and reasons for, inequality in the workplace. This thesis argues that the body of literature on intersectionality has great potential to contribute to the process of improving equality of opportunity. Derived from the literature, an intersectional analysis offers employers a way to engage with the complex nature of inequality, by obtaining a fuller, more nuanced and specific understanding of the phenomenon in a particular place of work. In this way, profound and effective solutions can be found. The thesis offers background on employment equity in South Africa and an overview of intersectionality, which reveals its value as a theoretical paradigm. It then describes the development of instruments to be used to analyse (in)equality of opportunity in a workplace. A case study is presented in which a rigorous intersectional analysis using these instruments is applied to a South African retail organisation. The case study confirms in practice that there is great merit in using intersectionality to address employment equity and to contribute to the process of transforming the work environment.

Keywords: Intersectionality, Employment Equity Act, Equality of opportunity, Transformation, South Africa

Introduction

The purpose of the South African Employment Equity Act (EEA) includes providing equal opportunity in the workplace. I will argue that the current methods employed to provide equal opportunity (those specifically required by the Act, as well as those typically implemented by employers) are ineffective because they do not determine *why* there is inequality in the workplace. These methods are unable to interrogate the complexity of inequality, preventing us from fully understanding the phenomenon, and therefore from being able to eliminate or reduce its negative effects. Current solutions are thus superficial at best. I will further argue that an intersectional analysis would offer employers a way to engage with the complex nature of inequality in the workplace, to obtain a full, nuanced understanding, and to begin to determine profound, effective solutions.

Intersectionality is useful because it gives us a multidimensional perspective. Although it is a complicated form of analysis, this is valuable and indeed necessary because the nature of oppression and privilege is complicated. If businesses hope to achieve the objectives of the EEA, they must understand how these complexities perpetuate privileges and continue domination, thus preventing transformation. Only through improved understanding will organisations be in a position to truly transform the workplace.

To my knowledge this particular argument, which – contends that intersectionality can be used to identify barriers preventing employment equity in South Africa – has never been argued before. This may be at least partly because a proposal to apply intersectionalist notions in a commercial context is unusual because intersectionalists have traditionally been anti-capitalist. Many of the feminist theorists I admire and respect would probably argue that I am aiding in the domination of the

capitalist system because I am not arguing to abolish it. While I fully acknowledge this critique, I argue that there is good reason to support intersectionalist ideals within a capitalist system. What I am proposing is not meant to resolve all the social injustices in the world; however, I do hope it will aid in transition. Thus, this work is an attempt to extend an olive branch from the social sciences to the business community, in order to support those in commerce who are searching for sustainable and humane ways of doing business.

Intersectionality is a contested body of theory. In this context, my main purpose is not to engage fully in the debates within intersectionality, but rather to provide an overview of the common threads within intersectionality. Based on these commonalities, I will propose a framework that will give an enriched analysis of the discriminatory experiences of employees. I will then demonstrate, using a case study, how this framework can be applied in practice by human resources practitioners in assessing their workforce.

The structure of this thesis is as follows: first, I will provide – and briefly argue for – definitions of some key terms. I suggest the reader refers to these definitions as and when they are presented and discussed in the body of the thesis, but they are provided immediately for both clarity and ease of reference. Next, I offer a description of the EEA and its emphasis on equality in the workplace. This is followed by an account of the current, insufficient attempts to achieve this objective. Then I review the literature on intersectionality, and argue for the value of using an intersectional approach in assessing inequality in the workplace. Next, I propose a framework for doing this, and then describe how I derived assessment instruments from this framework. I will then present a case study in which these instruments are applied, revealing the findings, offering an analysis, and demonstrating the sorts of

action which may be taken once an enriched understanding of inequality in the workplace has been obtained. Finally, I conclude with recommendations for the future.

Definitions of Key Terms

Intersectionality should be understood as a paradigm that examines the complex interactions between various social categories, history, social spaces, processes, systems, self, and perceptions of positive and negative norms, to identify areas of oppression and privilege in order to eradicate domination. For instance if we were using an intersectional paradigm to study a group of poor black women from South Africa we might discover that the apartheid system of domination historically prescribed oppressive circumstances on the women, which impacted the way they understand themselves in the present. They may suffer from multiple interacting forms of oppression such as racism, sexism, and classism, etc. which impact the way they currently understand themselves, and how they self-identify. From this holistic understanding decisions can be made on how to better the womens' lives, while striving to abolish the barriers preventing them from the pursuit of a quality life.

Systems of domination as defined by Rita Kuar Dhamoon (2011) are "…historically constituted structures of domination such as racism, colonialism, patriarchy, sexism, capitalism, and so on" (p.234). These systems are external forces that thwart an individual's ability to choose autonomously to pursue their potential. For instance, members of the general population may feel more comfortable with a male political leader, rather than a female one, because a patriarchal system of domination projects a negative stereotype on women and their ability to lead. The stereotype may be inaccurate, but it still impacts women's abilities to obtain positions of power.

Transformation is also a contested term but for the purposes of this thesis we will draw on the work of Christina Jorgens (2006) because she discusses workplace transformation. She defines transformation as:

> … the process whereby an institution actively promotes and engages in steps that lead to a working environment where there is no discrimination and all employees can enjoy equal opportunities. A transformed workplace is one where all members understand and respect their colleagues, which leads to a more harmonious and productive working environment. (p.31)

I would like to build on this definition by suggesting that transformation in the workplace also includes moving away from identifying 'others' as inherently better or worse, and breaking down the systems of domination that perpetuate these beliefs, to allow all employees equal opportunities to excel and advance to any position within an organisation, while eliminating unfair employment practices based on discrimination.

Categories of difference are the categories we use to define ourselves and others (Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 23). Some examples of categories of difference include race, age, class, gender, sexual orientation, and nationality.

Intra-group differences are the variations that occur within social groupings, as opposed to inter-group differences, which are the differences that occur between different groupings. Intra-group differences remind us to recognise individual experiences even while we account for commonalities. If we examine the categorical grouping of 'women' we can quickly identify that not all women are the same. Women will have various categories of difference that diverge. Some women may be poor while others may be wealthy, some may be Black and others White, Asian, or Indigenous. When we examine intra-group differences we examine the variations within the group.

Affirmative action measures are "measures designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups have equal employment opportunities and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce of a designated employer" (EEA, 1998, p.9). Jorgens (2006) argues affirmative action is

when "…one group is given preferential treatment in selection and training procedures over any other group in order to compensate for previous discrimination of that group" (p.30). I will show that affirmative action measures implemented in practice may engage to some extent with the EEA's goal of equitable representation, but they do not deal with the issue of equal opportunity.

A diversity approach in a work environment is one in which employees are encouraged to value and embrace each other's categories of difference (Esty, Griffin, & Schorr-Hirsh, 1995). From an organisational perspective "[m]anaging diversity is more than simply acknowledging differences in people. It involves recogni[s]ing the value of differences, combating discrimination, and promoting inclusiveness" (Green, Lopez, Wysocki, & Kepner, 2002, p. 2). In an organisation with a successful diversity approach, people value others' opinions and perspectives because they recognise that, in a group, differences can be an asset as each person can contribute in unique ways.

The notion of human equality is also a contested notion. Some may reason from a mathematical perspective and claim that two things must be exactly the same for them to be equal. Most would argue that this is an unrealistic cause to aspire towards: under social conditions it is very unlikely that there will ever be total equality on all levels. Alternatively, the concept of equal opportunity is more attainable.

Equal opportunity means everyone is allotted the same opportunity to succeed as everyone else (Arneson, 2002). In a socio-political space, inequality occurs when someone is denied that opportunity. Jorgens (2006) adds that "equal opportunity includes promoting fairness of procedures in employment, training, recruitment and selection" (p.30) . I will argue that in order for everyone to acquire equal opportunities, all the obstacles preventing employees from reaching their full potential

must be removed. This definition also accepts that different people have different abilities, and therefore different potentials. It also acknowledges that individuals are autonomous and may choose whether to embrace their potential. With that said, in order for there to be equal opportunities there cannot be any barriers preventing them from accessing their potential if they so choose. The barriers are of many types, and are not only the result of conditions within the organisation. They would include the sorts of disadvantages that the employees experience in various socio-political spaces outside of the work environment, for example, how employees might experience racism, or sexism in their community. Thus, employers serious about achieving the goal of equality of opportunity need to look beyond the work environment in order to question the societal norms that lead to inequality in the first place.

Inequality in the Workplace

It is uncontroversially true that South Africa has a long history of institutionalised racism, patriarchy, heterosexism, and other systems of domination (Steyn & van Zyl, 2009). Sampie Terreblanche (2002) notes that "… South Africa's modern history has been shaped by a special relationship between power, land, and labour" (p.6). Mamphela Ramphele (2008) suggests that South Africa's history has left South Africans with the remnants of four systems of domination that are worth examining: racism, sexism, ethnic chauvinism, and authoritarianism. She feels that as long as these systems persist, South Africa's constitutional aspirations to transformation into an egalitarian society will be stagnated (p.25). These systems have impacted the disparity between the rich and the poor leaving South Africa rife with inequality.

According to a report produced by the Presidency of the Republic of South Africa (2009), the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing. It also reports that in 2008 South Africa's Gini coefficient was 0.666 and the mean per capita income per annum for the poorest 10% of the population was R1,041, while the richest 10% was at R97,899. Additionally, it was found that although overall income was rising, the richest 10% of the population was becoming wealthier faster (p. 23-25).

In comparison with other nations, the disparity between the rich and the poor in South Africa is one of the worst in the world (Bhorat & van der Westhuizen, 2008). According to the CIA World Factbook (2005-2008) out of one hundred and thirty-nine countries, only two nations had a Gini coefficent worse than South Africa's. The Gini coefficients of other countries are: Norway 0.250, Canada 0.321, Greece 0.330, The United Kingdom 0.340, The U.S.A. 0.450, Mexico 0.517, Brazil 0.430, Ecuador 0.460, Haiti 0.592, Seychelles 0.658, and Namibia 0.707.

It is generally agreed that South African corporations either contributed to the apartheid system or at least benefitted from it indirectly. The Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) certainly found this to be true, and it made recommendations on ways that the business community could reconcile and contribute to the transformation process. The TRC's final report (1998) asserted that the private sector has a moral obligation to the community, and that it should take the opportunity to redress for its past wrongs. Some of the recommendations the TRC called for in the report were "…[socially responsible] investment programmes, support for NGOs, improved employment equity programmes and the like" (p.54). Sampie Terreblanche (2002) argues further that the business community in South Africa needs to be accountable for its actions, and he reasons that,

> While the White political establishment should accept full responsibility for creating and maintaining the immoral political system of White supremacy, the White business establishment should also accept full responsibility for helping to build and maintain the exploitative and equally immoral economic system of colonial and racial capitalism, and for accumulating huge wealth and power in an exploitative way. (p. 58)

In order to favour White South Africans, the apartheid government and the White-run trade unions imposed laws that privileged the White population and exploited the non-White population (Horwitz, Bowmaker-Falconer, & Searll, 1996, p.135). An intersectional analysis will draw attention to how this history of inequality in South Africacurrently impacts employees. Once a holistic understanding has been achieved, employers can make more informed decisions regarding the future.

The Employment Equity Act

Since the end of apartheid, the new democratic government of South Africa has dramatically overhauled employment legislation in an attempt to prevent, correct, and, to some extent, reverse these historical abuses. The lynchpin of this body of legislation is the Employment Equity Act of 1998, which draws from the South

African Constitution's Bill of Rights (1996), and applies it to all employers in South Africa.. The statute states that:

> *The purpose of this Act is to achieve equity in the workplace by-*
> *a) promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination; and*
> *b) implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce* (EEA, 1998, p.5)

In addition, the EEA stipulates that no person can be discriminated against because of their "race, gender, sex, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, HIV status, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language [or] birth" (p. 7). The Act also asserts that discrimination is acceptable in order to correct the unfair treatment of designated groups through affirmative action (p. 9).

The "designated groups" are the so-called "Black" people, which describes Africans, Coloureds, and Indians, as well as women and people with disabilities (EEA, 1998, p.8) By amendment, people of Chinese descent who are old enough to have suffered oppression under apartheid legislation have been included as Black people (Mbola, 2008). It is also important to note that promoting equal opportunities is not aimed just at the designated groups. If we examine premise (b) in the purpose of the act, we can see it stipulates that affirmative action is intended to target designated groups, but if we examine premise (a) we can see it does not; therefore, it can be interpreted to mean that equal opportunities should be extended to everyone.

In order to ensure compliance with the Act – so equal opportunities are afforded to all employees – the statute also requires employers to create a detailed plan, in consultation with employees, for the implementation of affirmative action initiatives. They must designate someone in the organisation to manage that plan,

maintain open communication with employees regarding the plan, and record the results (EEA, 1998, p. 9-13).

Furthermore, the Commission for Employment Equity (CEE) was also established by the statute. Its task is to monitor the progress of employers in their implementation of their EEA plans, and to ensure there is advancement. In addition, employees are entitled to bring a complaint against an employer if they feel they have been discriminated against (EEA, 1998, p. 16-21).

The Employment Equity Report

Some progress has been made to reduce inequality in the workplace. There has been an ideological shift – the apartheid regime indoctrinated many people with the belief of inequality – and now most people agree that employment equity and diversity in the workplace are desirable (Commission for Employment Equity, 2011, p. 3).

In more practical terms, there have been some shifts towards more equitable representation due to affirmative action plans. The quality of reports being submitted by businesses is improving, and compliance is becoming more commonplace (Commission for Employment Equity, 2011, p. 22).

However, considering that the EEA was established in 1998, South African employers still have a long way to go in terms of employment equity. The EEA requires employers to submit reports on their progress (Department of Labour Republic of South Africa, 2008), and a yearly report on employment equity in South Africa is produced from these reports. This report, known as the Employment Equity Report, is primarily quantitative in nature, although it does offer some qualitative analysis.

The 2011 Employment Equity Report stated that White able-bodied males still dominate the business community, especially in high-ranking positions (p. 22). From 2010 to 2011, White males occupied 63% of top management positions, while White females occupied 12%. Considering Whites only account for about 9% of the South African population, there is a clear disparity (Bureau of African Affairs, 2011). There has not been a lot of change in this category, as White males filled 67% of the top positions in 2003 (Department of Labour Republic of South Africa, 2003, p. 12). However, it seems there has been a shift in racial representation in the qualified skills category. In 2003 African and Coloured populations usually held low paying jobs that required low skill levels (Department of Labour Republic of South Africa, 2003, p. 32), whereas in 2011 there was more equitable representation in the qualified skills grouping (Commission for Employment Equity, 2011, p. 15). Equality for women in the workplace is still lagging behind as well. Even at the skilled level women still only account for 43.7% of the working population (Commission for Employment Equity, 2011, p. 17). This is a much better ratio than in top management, but women are still underrepresented. People with disabilities are given very little consideration; even though they are supposed to be included in the EEA initiatives, they just do not seem to be given priority (Jorgens, 2006, p. 39; Commission for Employment Equity, 2011, p. 22). There seems to have been very little progress in this area since 2003 (Department of Labour Republic of South Africa, 2003, p. 43). In the 2011 report there have been some shifts so that by looking at successive Employment Equity Reports, some improvements in numerical representation are observable,[1] but the overall message is that the South African workforce is far from the ideal of equitable representation.

[1] The precise changes in numerical representation between 2003 and 2011 are not available as the categories used in the respective Employment Equity Reports were slightly different.

Statistically equitable representation is only one objective of employment equity. The other stated objective of the EEA is the promotion of equal opportunity and fair treatment, which requires that employees' qualitative experiences also be considered. In spite of this, there seems to be a lack of focus on this qualitative goal. The Employment Equity Report itself focuses almost entirely on quantitative analysis. It is dominated by graphs and charts with numerical data, with very little discussion of equal opportunities (Commission for Employment Equity, 2011).

Similarly, employers are also focused on quantitative targets as a measure of equity in the workplace. A study conducted by Jorgens (2006) on one of the largest South African financial institutions, found that in practice, employment equity plans were somewhat limited, that they were focused on meeting number goals and not on transformation, and that this was due to skills shortages in designated groups, plus the pressure to comply with the EEA and proposed employment equity plans. She also found barriers to skills training because of the strong focus on meeting quotas (p. 33-34). Thomas (2002, p.239), Booysen (2007, p.63), as well as Horwitz and Jain (2011) support Jorgens, arguing that poor employment choices are made specifically to reach EEA targets.

There appears to be some disagreement regarding why there are hindrances to meeting employment equity goals. Some argue, as above, that the talent pool for the designated groups is weak because of a lack of access to equal education (Berg, 2005; Horwitz & Jain, 2011; Jorgens, 2006). Others argue that reverse discrimination and White fears seem to be continual barriers to achieving employment equity (Booysen L. , 2007, p. 57; Thomas, 2002, p. 239). It seems probable that multiple factors are at play, and likely need to be addressed. However, in order to do so there needs to be a

stronger focus on identifying the reasons why employment equity is lacking in the first place.

As indicated above, the plans and reports legally required of employers are certainly focused on equitable representation, but not on equal opportunity. Therefore, it seems that the development of employment equity plans are a start, but they are not sufficient. In order for employees to actually have equal opportunities once they have entered the workplace, the barriers that prevent them from reaching their full potential must be removed.

In conflict studies, most practitioners argue that it is essential to tap into the core reasons for the conflict that one hopes to resolve (Henkeman, 2011a; Nathan, 2011). I would argue that the same holds true if we are hoping to implement conscientious practices in the workplace, aimed at achieving the goals of the EEA: we must address the core reasons behind *why* there is inequality in the workplace in the first place. A more complex understanding of the sources of the problem would allow the formulation of a comprehensive plan to address the inequality, which would ideally lead to the transformative process that would improve employment equity.

If barriers in a particular workplace are preventing employees from experiencing equal opportunities, a serious undertaking to remove these barriers should begin with a detailed understanding of what types of inequality and disadvantage exist in the workplace and how they have arisen. This includes looking beyond the workplace to identify the social structures in place that perpetuate inequality in society. For example, in South Africa the legacy of apartheid lives on in the social and economic structures fuelling South African ideology, and racist discrimination still continues despite the abolition of legal discrimination (Terreblanche, 2002, p. 58). For instance, although there is

formal equality through the entrenchment of the right of access to education in the constitution (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), in reality schools in traditionally black poor areas tend to have poor facilities and funding, whereas traditionally, White affluent areas have schools with far better resources (Equal Education, 2011). Other examples of identifiable systems of domination would be patriarchy, heterosexism, and ethnocentrism. Each of these systems has a series of beliefs which support stereotypes, and the conviction that one group is superior to another.

Diversity in Employment Practices

An important and encouraging development has emerged in recent years, whereby some employers are looking beyond meeting affirmative action targets, and moving towards implementing diversity programmes (Horwitz & Jain, 2011, p. 306). They concentrate on the need to welcome different aspects of people's identities through inclusion, rather than advocating assimilation into uniform corporate cultures (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010; Hoog, Siebergs, & Linde, 2010; Moleke, 2006). These employers promote diversity in the workplace, rather than focusing solely on meeting targets for equitable representation (Allard, 2002; Green et al., 2002, p. 3).

When employers take what we might call a diversity approach, they are working towards addressing another part of the EEA mandate, which is the issue of unfair treatment. Diversity approaches can certainly begin to dismantle some of the barriers to equal opportunity. Diversity approaches might include workshops and policy changes, but they require long-term commitments to changing employees' behaviour, including employees' understanding of their personal biases (Green et al., 2002, p. 3). Using a diversity approach moves beyond affirmative action initiatives because it can expose issues such as White male fear (Jorgens, 2006, p. 36), or how

some disadvantaged groups may hold positions of power because of affirmative action plans, but may still feel socially excluded (Barak, 2000, p. 48). Although a positive step forward, these diversity approaches still focus predominantly on issues related to peoples' identities, and fail to ask employees and employers to grapple with questions of power, and the deeper questions regarding *the sources of inequality in the workplace*.

I will show in the following section that intersectionality offers us a way to explore these questions, at least partly because intersectionalists look beyond identity to systems of domination that prevent people from meeting their full potential. Intersectionality highlights historical understandings, and questions the shifts that happen to our identity in different socio-political spaces. Intersectionality also accounts for people's experiences in their personal lives, and asks for a self-reflection on one's own privilege and disadvantage, ultimately demanding that individuals each admit and acknowledge their own participation in domination.

Intersectionality as a Means to Understanding Inequality

Background to Intersectionality

Intersectionality recognises people's various identities, in the same way that the EEA and diversity approaches do. For example, a person's race and gender are relevant to an intersectionalist because they inform intersectionalists about the way people self-identify, or are identified by others. They also advise intersectionalists about historical contexts, and the systems of domination at play within a society. Despite these informative features, intersectionality goes further than other more simplistic analyses: it also examines the ways in which these identities interact with one another to create different experiences for different people. Perhaps the most fundamental notion within intersectionality is that a deep understanding of a person's experience cannot be obtained simply by looking at a list of their identities, but rather consideration must be given to how these identities intersect. A person's race and gender, for example, tell us much less about him/her when they are viewed separately than when they are viewed together. In other words, intersectionality focuses not just on the categories, but on the interactions between them (Hancock, 2007). Crenshaw (1991) argues that "the problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference, as some critics charge, but rather the opposite – that it frequently conflates or ignores intra-group difference" (p. 1242).

Intersectionality was originally a reaction to both the feminist movement and the anti-racist movement by Black women who felt that neither of the movements represented their experiences effectively. It "…was intended to address the fact that the experiences and struggles of women of colour fall between the cracks of both feminist and anti-racist discourse" (Davis K. , 2008, p. 68). Intersectionality is a critique of the unitary perspective, and a reaction to identity politics which isolated

social categories in order to study them, but in so doing failed to capture the complexity of people's experiences (Hancock, 2007, p. 64).

The term "intersectionality" was popularised by an anti-racist feminist theorist Kimberle Crenshaw (1989, 1991) in the late eighties and early nineties. It developed on the back of the social movements of the twentieth century, which fought for recognition of discrimination based on identity (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 78), and emphasised how people experience multiple forms of oppression (hooks, 1981).[2]

Originally the focus was on marginalised women whose race, class, and gender worked together to create multiple forms of oppression (Davis K. , 2008, p. 71). Beverly Lindsay and Deborah K. King have called this interaction "triple jeopardy" suggesting for instance that poor Black women experience three forms of oppression (Lindsay, 1979, p. 328; King, 1988, p. 46). Crenshaw (1991) observed this relationship when examining Black women and violence, and found that "…multilayered and routini[s]ed forms of domination that often converge[d] in these women's lives, [hindered] their ability to create alternatives…." (p. 1245).

The intersection of these three categories is identifiable and relevant in South Africa. Blacks may be subjugated because of racist societal norms, but may be further oppressed if they are women because they are living in a patriarchal society. Furthermore, if they are poor they may have to cope with a range of challenges that arise in poverty-stricken South African communities.

Intersectionality then branched out, moving beyond the idea of examining only race, class, and gender to include more multifaceted identities. In addition it moved beyond the feminist anti-racist argument to include everyone who experiences oppression. Kathy Davis (2008) argues that

[2] The 'h' in hooks is not capitalised intentionally. She prefers to have her name in lower case.

> 'intersectionality' refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power. (p. 68)

Intersectionality became concerned with the way any number of different aspects of people's identities intersected, in different ways, to create different experiences of discrimination, systems of domination, and privilege.

Again the relevance in South Africa should be clear: an upper-class White female may have to deal with the limitations of living in a patriarchal society, but her White upper-class privilege will make it easier for her to access education and financial stability. These multiple forms of subjugation and privilege could work individually to impede – or assist – these women; but they certainly also work collectively.

Types of Intersectionality

It is worth noting that not all intersectionalists have exactly the same views. There are predominantly two schools of thought in intersectionality, both of which I will be using for this work: one is American and focuses principally on structural domination; the other, constructivist, school of intersectional thought comes out of the United Kingdom, and includes postmodernists (Phoenix, 2006, p. 188).[3] It is of course true that some overlap exists between the two schools of thought depending on the scholar.

Intersectionalists who focus on structural domination examine the structures in place that prevent people from accessing power. They look specifically at structures like patriarchy, heterosexism, and racism (hooks, 2001) and examine the way these structures interact with one another to create dominating paradigms (Smith, 2006).

[3] There are other forms of intersectionality but these are the two dominant schools of thought. For an example of another minor school see Sondergaard, D. M. (2005), or Staunaes, D. (2003)

Intersectionality was adopted by many postmodernists particularly because it critiques the idea that there are universal, clear-cut binaries (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Phoenix, 2006).

Constructivists and postmodernists who have engaged in the intersectional debate ask us to critique the idea of homogeneity because it tends to marginalise individual political agency. They argue that people cannot be categorised into homogenous groups because each individual has his/her own unique experiences of the world, and we need to account for the complexity of individuals (Phoenix, 2006, p. 187). This concept underscores the intricacy of individuals, and claims that specific aspects of identity and social life cannot be isolated in order to analyse them through a single lens. Multiple aspects will impact each characteristic, and this will happen in different ways for different individuals (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 76). These theorists argue further that we cannot make broad, universal generalisations about groups of people based on categorical differences, because generality fails to recognise the differences between individuals in the groups (Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 231).

Notwithstanding conceptual variations between the types of intersectionality, there are common themes besides an emphasis on the importance of considering how categories of identity intersect. The following sections will describe several such themes.

Hierarchy of Identities

In addition to recognising that our identities intersect, many intersectionalists also agree that there is often a hierarchy to our identities. This means that we may identify more strongly with one aspect of our identity than with another, and that these may shift. For instance when a young gay man is spending time with his gay

friends, he may be more aware of his sexuality than his age. On the other hand, when he is complaining to a middle-aged customer service manager about poor service, he may be more aware of his youth, and the associated stereotypes. This shifting of hierarchies was confirmed by a study done on hotel workers, which found that women's identities shifted depending on the context, and certain aspects of their identities were highlighted under different circumstances at work (Adib & Guerrier, 2003, p. 429-430).

Given the hierarchy of identities, Mieke Verloo (2006) argues that we need to be careful not to assume that all inequalities are experienced similarly, especially when dealing with multiple inequalities (p. 223). Beverley Skeggs (2006) also supports Verloo (2006), as she points out how different divisions within society can operate in different ways. Therefore, intersectionality can be useful because it does not just ask us to categorise different aspects of our identity, but it also recognises there is a shifting hierarchy to these aspects.

Vertical and Horizontal Interactions

South African efforts to promote employment equity tend to deliver a mixed message about the impact of history on the workplace, in some cases undermining the recognition that persisting repercussions are still present. For instance, the designated groups in the EEA are often referred to as "previously" or "historically" disadvantaged; giving the impression that these groups now have access to equal opportunities despite the fact that they clearly do not (as shown by the Employment Equity reports). On the other hand, intersectionalists ask us to fully acknowledge how history has affected the contemporary world (Hancock, 2007, p. 74). In particular, they challenge us to identify how the past has influenced the various lenses people use to distinguish current understandings of difference and identity. Dhamoon (2010)

argues that we cannot extract our current understandings of the world from their historical context because one informs the other. Similarly, Sarah Henkeman (2011a) calls for what she refers to as a "horizontal analysis", arguing that we must account for the past, examine the present, and decide where we want to go in the future (Henkeman, 2011b).

In addition, the EEA and diversity approaches do not generally offer a vertical analysis. A vertical analysis investigates the various socio-political spaces in employees' personal lives. Then intersectionalists examine how these interact with other aspects of the human experience such as employees' identities (Henkeman, Lecture, 2011a). For instance, one socio-political space that would impact an employee's identity would be his/her family setting. If there is stress in the family because of money problems, abuse, or physical ailments, this will inevitably interact with that employee's identity and thereby determine how he/she functions in the workplace. Another example of a socio-political space that could influence an employee is a national socio-political space. In the post-1994 South African environment the dialogue of national pride has been emphasised. This could potentially impact whether an employee feels accepted or rejected socially because of his/her nationality. A more dramatic feature of the national socio-political space, could be xenophobia, which would make an obvious difference to foreign employees. If employers really want to support equal opportunities, they must account for the impact of socio-political spaces on employees, because employees' experiences in other socio-political spaces can impact – directly or indirectly – their ability to access equal opportunities in the workplace.

A "vertical analysis" also examines the interconnections between, various socio-political spaces and history (Henkeman, Lecture, 2011a). Different individual

and conjoining aspects of identity and history can interact with these spaces in various ways (Anthias, 1998; Collins P. H., 1990, p. 227; Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 235; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Patricia Hill Collins (1990) discusses this complexity and notes that there is a "…level of personal biography; [a] group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and [a] systemic level of social institutions" (p. 227). Furthermore, Henkeman (2011b) believes we should consider as many of these spaces as possible including: individual spaces, family spaces, community spaces, organisational spaces, regional spaces, provincial spaces, national spaces, and the global space.

In a South African context, one can see quite easily that history impacts what lenses people use to differentiate and identify. For instance, South Africa's racist and patriarchal past leads it to be highly racialised and gendered. If we include a socio-political space from the vertical analysis – such as the interactions between an individual and the nation – we see that the national political space has played a major historical role on individual and collective identities. We can also examine how the nation-building process of the post-1994 government has impacted the present, and will likely affect the future. For instance, the apartheid state enforced segregation impacting the current understandings of race, yet post-1994 many South Africans support equality for all South Africans regardless of race. Intersectionality seeks to identify how aspects of our identities (such as race and gender) can interact with one another to privilege or marginalise people differently (George, 2007).

The EEA and diversity approaches are only scratching the surface when examining these important points.

Self-Critique

An important aspect of intersectionality is that it asks us to face our own demons. As intersectionality developed out of the feminist movement, it calls on us always to critique ourselves and our processes. It asks us to question accepted norms and realities, and to acknowledge our own strengths and weaknesses. Henkeman (2011b) argues that each of us has a "light" and a "shadow" side. Rather than assuming we have an innate nature of either good or evil, she points out that we all have the ability to be either, depending on the context. In the film "The Corporation" Noam Chomsky notes, "[t]he nature of humans allows all kinds of behaviour. I mean, every one of us under some circumstances could be a gas chamber attendant and a saint" (Archbar & Abbott, 2003). Henkeman (2011b) calls on us to be aware of these tendencies in both ourselves and others, in order to work with them. She argues that having a shadow side is not a problem, but being unaware of it can be dangerous, because it contributes to a negative cycle of blaming others and painting ourselves as pious.

Henkeman (2011b) suggests that if each of us identifies his/her default lens,[4] we can then challenge our othering tendencies, and work to break down the negative barriers we have developed between ourselves and others. Diversity programmes sometimes encourage this for employees, (Green et al., 2002, p. 3) but an intersectional analysis will take this reflection to a deeper level by examining how and why employers and employees participate in different systems of domination (see below).

[4] A default lens is the way in which each person naturally views the world, given his/her combination of identities. As I am a young, White, Canadian, able-bodied female my default lens includes a female, Western Multicultural, White and able-bodied, youthful understanding of the world. Knowing this is very helpful, because only by being able to identify how I naturally understand the world can I use critical thinking skills to question this default lens and its validity.

Being unafraid to turn a critical eye on oneself is necessary for employers to achieve employment equity. If South African employers and employees start questioning how they participate in perpetuating inequality, they can really start to address some of the root problems such as domination.

Domination

Intersectionality has also grown to include an examination of power relations, which is largely lacking in the EEA and diversity approaches. Intersectionalists question how systems of domination interact with peoples' identities to prevent or support disadvantaged people's ability to access power (Anthias, 1998; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983; Collins P. H., 2000; Davis K. , 2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Theorists recognise that various aspects of people's identities are interconnected and then sustained by intersecting systems of domination (Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 232; Razak, 1998, p. 13). Thus, intersectionalists have argued for a complex understanding of domination and power relations (Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 234) in order to be able to begin to abolish domination (hooks, 2000).

Intersectionalists have called on us to embrace and empower the silent voices in society. They ask us to acknowledge how power can shift contextually, and how it can manifest in different ways. It draws attention to issues of privilege and how those who have it are often unaware of it, despite being unwilling to give it up (Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 234-236; McIntosh, 1986; Rothenberg, 2000). In addition, intersectionalists draw attention to how we all have the ability both to be oppressed and to oppress others. Collins (1990) points out that "an individual may be an oppressor, a member of an oppressed group, or simultaneously oppressor and oppressed" (p. 225). Smith (2006) discusses how a Black person in America could be oppressed as a result of racist norms in his community but could at the same time be

an oppressor because he might own a house on illegitimately-acquired indigenous land.

These issues can lead to policy problems as different groups fight for government resources. Groups participate in what has been coined by Elizabeth Martinez the "Oppression Olympics" where marginalised groups compete for resources by arguing that politically they are the most oppressed group (as cited in Hancock, 2007, p. 68). Intersectionalists examine how policies can perpetuate unequal distributions of power (Hancock, 2007, p. 66). In addition, they discuss how policies assume that group categorisation is homogenous: individual differences within groups are ignored and an assumption is made that everyone who falls into that category is the same.

This is also recognisable in South Africa. There are various communities in competition for the country's scarce resources, each one often claiming that it is the most oppressed and the most entitled. For instance some people from the Coloured community may claim they have been oppressed by both the White apartheid government and the Black majority government which succeeded it. At the same time, some people in the gay community may claim they are oppressed by the majority of the straight South African population. What intersectionalists call on us to acknowledge is that there are people who experience both racism and heterosexism (and/or ageism and/or sexism and/or lookism, etc.) so to assume group homogeneity would be incorrect.

Deciphering what systems of domination are impacting employees' lives is a crucial part of an intersectional analysis. This must be balanced with the recognition that these systems may impact various people in different ways because of intra-group differentiation. Then, when combining a critical reflection on participation and

perpetuation of these systems, we can really start to gain a deeper understanding of why employment equity still evades employees.

As a result, by doing an intersectional analysis we will be able to better identify the impact of these systems and determine the stereotypes that they perpetuate, but an intersectional analysis will also not make the assumption that these stereotypes always manifest as either privilege or oppression. In some socio-political spheres, traditionally privileged positions may actually end up in a disadvantaged position. This is why intersectionality is focused on reducing all types of domination.

In summary, what needs to be acknowledged is the interconnections, interactions, and various ways categories of difference, history, socio-political spaces, and systems of domination, manifest, shift, and influence one another. Then we need to question how we and others participate and perpetuate domination.

The Value of Intersectionality

A good social theory, argues Murray S. Davis (1986), will arouse the interest of the anticipated audience by tackling some aspect they consider to be essential. It will concentrate on explaining an issue that threatens to disrupt their current understanding of the world, and this threat will stimulate their interest in the theory in order to resolve the disruption and restore a sense of order (pp. 287-290). It unsettles previously believed notions of reality, offers a new way of looking at the situation, and provides a new and convincing explanation (pp. 310-311). A good social theory must also be able to provide a complex explanation, in simple enough terms, so it does not exclude most academics (p. 295). Finally, Murray S. Davis argues a good social theory must be vague enough that it can stimulate further discussion, interpretation, and improvements (p. 297).

Kathy Davis (2008) argues that the qualities mentioned by Murray S. Davis, "are the qualities that allow a theory to weather the storms of competing interpretations over one another. In short, successful theories do well precisely because they do not settle matters once and for all; they open them up for discussion and inquiry" (p. 77). She further argues that "…the vagueness and open-endedness of 'intersectionality' may be the very secret to its success" (p. 69).

Intersectionality also has great value as a result of its application to many dimensions of analysis. Dhamoon (2011) has observed that

> [i]n intersectional-type work, at least four aspects of socio-political life have [been] and continue to be studied: the *identities* of an individual or set of individuals or social group that are marked as different (e.g. Muslim women or black women), the *categories of difference* (e.g. race and gender), the *process of differentiation* (e.g. raciali[s]ation and gendering, and the *systems of domination* (e.g. racism, colonialism, sexism and patriarchy) (p. 233).

Perhaps because of its multidimensional nature, intersectionality is becoming a popular and accepted theory amongst academics, policy makers and employers. Theorists such as Crenshaw (1991) have used these concepts to assess the equity of the legal system in America. bell hooks (2001) has convincingly demonstrated the value of using an intersectional lens when examining the experiences of Black men and women in the United States. Peggy McIntosh (1986) uses intersectionality as a tool to unpack the concept of her own White privilege through a comparison with her experience of patriarchy. Smith (2006) applies intersectionality as a way to demonstrate that intersections can create situations where someone is oppressed by one intersection, but able to dominate in another. Yuval-Davis (2006) encourages us to examine the different ways various social categorisations interact with one another and thereby reinforce each other (p. 205).

Within the United Nations, policy groups such as the Commission on the Status of Women recognise intersectionality as a useful paradigm (Patel, n.d.). In addition, The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development has argued for policy-change based on ideas stemming from intersectionality (Bennett, 2001). Johanna Kantola and Kevat Nousiainen (2009) have shown how the concept of intersectionality is even being incorporated into institutions such as the European Union, particularly into its anti-discrimination laws.

With respect to employment specifically, Amel Adib and Yvonne Guerrier (2003) have written about the gender interactions between race, ethnicity, and class in the hotel industry. Irene Browne and Joya Misra (2003) have examined using intersectionality to assess the U.S. labour market inequality and found their hypothesis – that race and gender *do* intersect – supported. In short, intersectionality is becoming widely accepted as a useful theoretical lens.

Perhaps the greatest merit of intersectionality is that it captures the valuable complexity of the human experience, while still allowing room for us to find shared experiences to connect. As Hancock (2007) explains: "[i]ntersectionality stands ontologically between reductionist research that blindly seeks only the generalisable and particularised research so specialised that it cannot contribute to theory" (p. 74).

Critiques of Intersectionality

Being protagonists of self-criticism, intersectionalists also ask us to critique intersectionality itself. Dhamoon (2011) notes that traditionally intersectionality works at critiquing itself from within (p. 233). This is one of the strengths of intersectionality. As a theoretical paradigm, there is always room for debate about its validity and value, but because intersectionalists constantly challenge their own assumptions, as well as those of fellow theorists, it is constantly evolving and

improving. I will now present some of the internal and external critiques of intersectionality, and provide some responses in order to defend my choice to use intersectionality despite the critiques.

Constructionists critique the type of intersectionality that concentrates on structural domination, because constructionists feel that examining the structures does not account for individuals' power to resist. Ann Phoenix (2006) argues, along with Prins, that the systemic approach limits the complexity, because it assumes that systems of oppression are able to impose identity categories on individuals – while the constructionist perspective acknowledges that people also have the ability to self-identify regardless of how they might be categorised by a system (p. 188).

I would argue that it is important to acknowledge the value of examining structures of domination, while recognising that individuals are also capable of resisting these structures. Each argument could be useful in different ways depending on the context. When examining the workplace it will be important to know what systems of domination are imposed on employees; however, it will also be important to identify how individuals might be resisting these systems. We do not want to deny people their agency, but under certain circumstances it may be appropriate to identify systems of domination.

This thesis thus shares Hancock's perspective on intersectionality in that it asks us to account for difference, but not to completely ignore our commonalities. Refusing to make any generalisations ignores the many commonly-shared human needs,[5] yet universalising all human experiences fails to account for the wonderful nuances between individuals. Alternatively, if we are able to acknowledge the

[5] For more on human needs theory, see Max-Neef, M. (1991), and Maslow, A. (1943).

advantages and disadvantages of each method and include both in our work, we could reasonably expect a more comprehensive understanding of human behaviour.

David Backer (2009) points out that when doing comparative work "[t]he observable differences need not imply that the cases are altogether incomparable. Instead, a plausible assumption is that at least some similarities exist, that not all differences are ultimately consequential, and that the remaining distinctions could account for the distribution of outcomes across the population of cases" (p. 57). Of course, striking the right balance between emphasising the similarities and the differences between individuals may prove very difficult. To this Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela (2011) argues that, although it is difficult to navigate social complexities we should embrace them anyway, because we connect to others through this embrace.

There has also been some debate regarding the models used by intersectionalists. Dhamoon (2011) uses a series of diagrams to demonstrate some of the common models (see below).[6] She demonstrates that many do not capture the complexity of the interactions between various internal and external influences on the self. She has developed what she calls a "matrix of meaning-making" which powerfully portrays the complexity of intersectionality, while still capturing its essence (p. 236-238). I would argue that this model is the most representative of the concepts behind intersectionality; however, for the purposes of this analysis it is not very useful, because it does not allow space to discuss separate categories of difference. This is arguably the point, but it lacks the practicability needed for the purposes of analysing an actual workplace.

[6] See Figures 1-9. I attempted to acquire the originals from Dhamoon; however, she did not have them in her files. I was able to extract them, but some of the quality was lost in the process. The diagrams are from Rummens, J. A. (2003), and Carbado, D. W., & Gulati, M. (2000-2001), and (Jang, 2010, cited in Dhamoon, R. K. (2011).

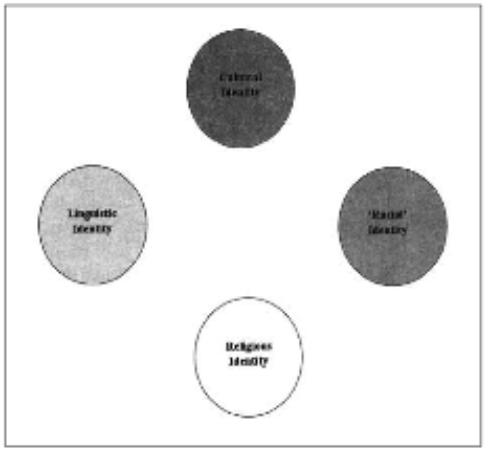


Figure 1. Identity as a concept
Source: Rummens (2003, 14).

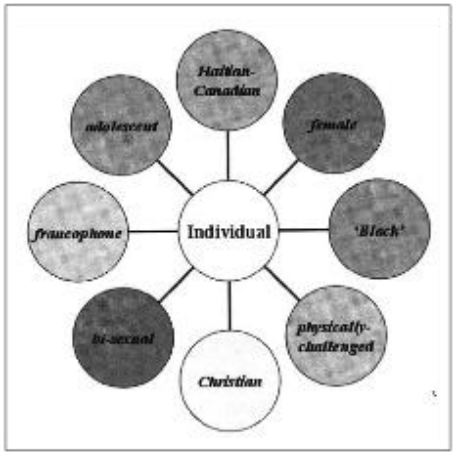


Figure 2. Radial approach
Source: Rummens (2003, 16).

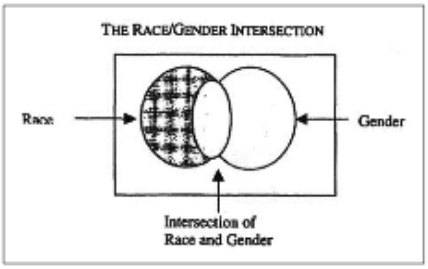


Figure 3. Intersecting categories
Source: Carbado and Gulati (2000-2001, 705).

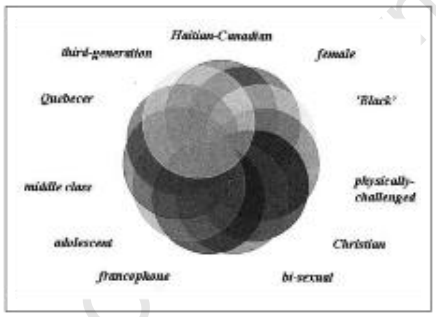


Figure 4. Multiple intersecting identities
Source: Rummens (2003, 17).

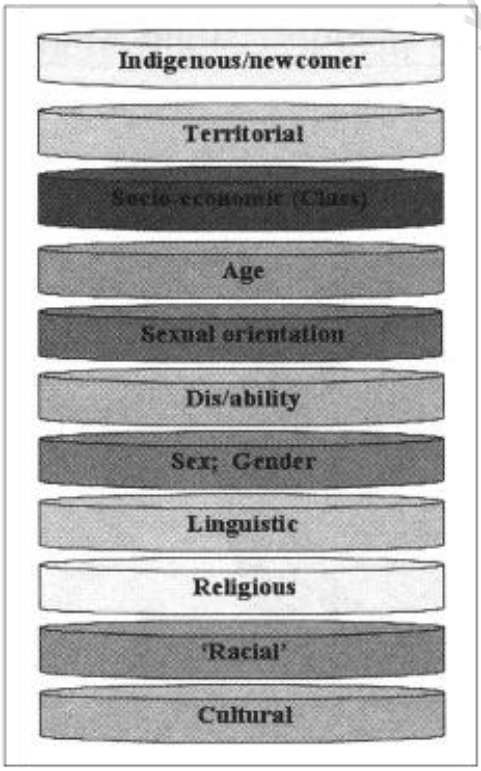


Figure 5. Stacking approach
Source: Rummens (2003, 15).

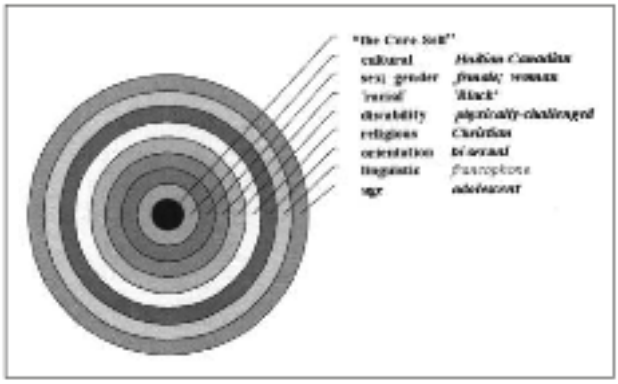


Figure 6. Centrifugal approach
Source: Rummens (2003, 16).

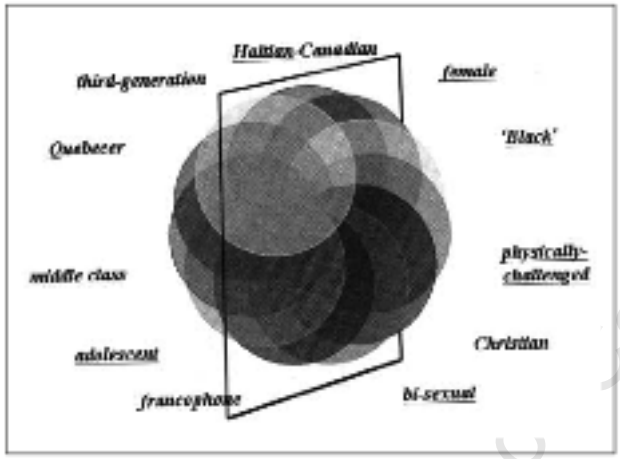


Figure 7. Multidimensional approach
Source: Rummens (2003, 20).

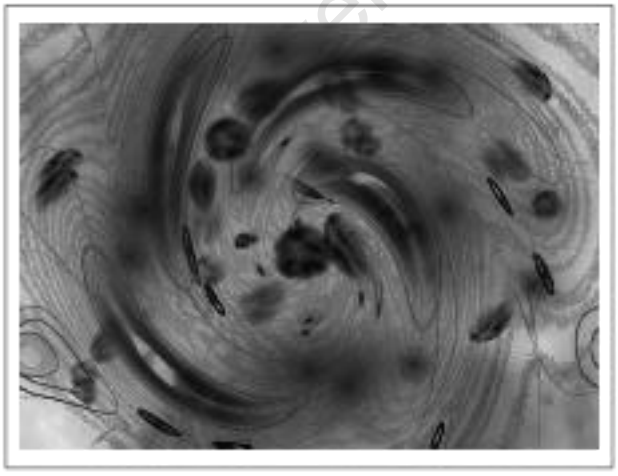


Figure 8. A matrix of meaning-making
Source: Jang (2010).

Dhamoon (2011) – along with many other intersectional theorists and postmodernists – warns against identifying categories of difference because this can

lead to their validation (p. 233). Intersectionalists as a general rule do not accept that the ways in which we identify ourselves are predetermined or self-evident, and many are concerned about the whole process we use for identification. Intersectionalists believe that categorisation, identification, othering,[7] and the way we understand reality is socially and historically constructed (Hancock, 2007, p. 74). However, some argue that naming any category is problematic because it runs the risk of normalising that category, legitimising the stereotyping of people who can be described as belonging to the category (Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 233).

Jasbir Puar (2011) argues that categories have been generated from within the intersectional debate, but this is problematic because many intersectionalists are reproducing the process of othering that perpetuates domination. Dhamoon (2011) argues that "[w]hile the primary focus of existing intersectional-type research has been on including and pluralising marginalised voices and experiences, this paradigm also reveals knowledge about what (and not just who) is taken as given or normalised" (p. 240). Intersectionalists are concerned that if we assign these categories to others, and ourselves, and act as if they really exist, we are continuing our attachment to the othering process, perpetuating domination and the existence of these categories (Dhamoon R. K., 2011, p. 235; Miles, 1989).

Wendy Brown (2008) has found herself frustrated with these categories and unsure about the stability of feminism in general. She reports feeling restricted by the labelling imposed on her by others; while at the same time realising that she fought for the academic recognition of many of the labels being given to her (p. 2-17,70).

I acknowledge the merit of these concerns; however, for practical reasons I have still chosen to engage in this process. People need to be aware of the process

[7] Othering is the process of defining who is different from ourselves. When we self-identify in a certain way, invariably we see those we consider to be different from ourselves as part of the 'other' group.

before they can deconstruct it. If intersectionality is to be useful, we must surely recognise some categories (and the intersections between them) to be able to do something about them. My hope is that this thesis will help to increase the awareness of this process, and in order to deal with some of these concerns, I have given space in my model for people to self-identify, rather than giving them prescribed options.

It is valuable to note that the way we categorise shifts over time. There were once strong divisions between Whites in Europe and the United States. For instance, people were classified and discriminated against because they were of Italian, Irish, British, or French descent. Since then, social groupings have shifted and these dividing lines have faded, along with the related discrimination.[8] Similarly, Western women of generations past were kept out of universities, whereas in those same countries this idea is now preposterous. These shifts do happen, and I would argue that when they do, the importance of the previous categorisation will lose its potency, and the tendency to use the category will dissipate. For now though, it seems better to acknowledge these categories – especially if they are being used to discriminate – than to ignore them because it is erroneous to categorise. So long as acknowledging the category will lessen or eliminate the discrimination attached to it, doing so can only be a good thing.

Vimla Pillay, (2011) a trainer at the Centre of Conflict Resolution in Cape Town, argues that the issue is not whether we categorise, but whether we use categories to dominate over others. She says we are all different but we can embrace that, because no one group is better than another. The issue is whether we make use of difference to argue that one group is superior to another, and whether we use these

[8] I recognise that the social norm shifted at least partly because Whites began to "other" people with different skin tones, but the point is that there was a shift and these categories no longer have the same strength to discriminate than they once did. This means that shifts are possible, and we may be able to eradicate the negative connotations attached to difference altogether.

excuses to dominate. Thus, we should use intersectionality in business precisely to address issues of domination, because in order to rectify inequality in the workplace domination must be reduced (or ideally eradicated). It is for these reasons that I have chosen to include categories in my model and analysis.

Another concern regarding intersectionality is a lack of consensus on a definition (Verloo, 2006), while others have argued that clearer methodological strategies are needed for studying these complexities. Leslie McCall (2005) suggests that there are two types of approaches that can get at these complexities: inter-categorical and intra-categorical, however there is no common agreement about this. For instance, Lisa Bowleg (2008) shares McCall's view, but she feels that currently the available methodologies are still limited (p. 322).

Many others are also concerned that one cannot accurately capture intersectional quantitative data sets. Bowleg (2008) points out that simply adding different identity categories together will not account for the intersections. Both Bowleg and Adam Trahan argue further that intersectionality must include a qualitative research component to capture the essence of intersectionality accurately (Bowleg, 2008, p. 312; Trahan, 2011, p. 11). Kathy Davis (2008) argues that many feminist theorists share this concern, as they would like to use intersectionality in their work but are uncertain how to do so. She further proposes that "[i]n order to reach its full potential, intersectionality is in need of a definition, a set of clearly demarcated parameters, and a methodology that will eliminate any confusion among researchers concerning how, where and when it should be applied" (p. 78).

In response to these concerns, in this thesis I offer a clear definition and a useful methodology, and I will advocate strongly for qualitative analysis.

The above critiques are largely the result of the complexity necessitated by any intersectional analysis. Ange-Marie Hancock (2007) indicates that many critics shy away from using intersectionality because they "…envision a paralysis emerging from the inclusion of increasing numbers of variables" (p. 66).

While some argue that intersectionality requires too many features to be considered in understanding a person's experience, they risk ignoring one of the central and most valuable premises of the theory: that a consideration of many features of a person's experience is necessary to understand it. Hancock (2007) argues that intersectionality is really about finding a middle ground between drawing broad generalisations, and being too individualistic (p. 74).

Applying Intersectionality in a Capitalist Context

I anticipate that one of the major potential criticisms of this work is that I am using intersectionality unconventionally. As mentioned in the introduction, many intersectionalists would likely argue that I misunderstand intersectionality, because I am applying it in a capitalist context. Of course, I could respond that my recommendations for employers are limited only to the public sector, but I believe that this would be limiting their scope unnecessarily. In fact, I see innovative business leaders to be just as likely to affect the sort of change envisaged by this thesis, especially because they have resources available to them that the public sector does not.

Simply as a result of my willingness to envisage an application of intersectional theory within a capitalist economy, many intersectionalists would likely argue that I am missing the interconnections between the dominating systems of White supremacy, capitalism, and patriarchy. Theorists such as hooks, Dhamoon, and

Sherene Razak who feel these cannot be separated, may add that I am altering the intentions of intersectionalists by working it into a capitalist system.

Many intersectionalists follow a Marxist tradition, and therefore feel that the capitalist system should be overthrown. They would likely claim that I am perpetuating the problem by giving capitalists a way to reform rather than abolishing the system altogether. They might point out that in order for there to be a revolution the proletariats must experience enough suffering before they rise up against the bourgeoisie, and by reforming the current system I would be pacifying the proletariats longer, therefore preventing or prolonging the dawn of the revolution.

There is of course a slim possibility that these critics are correct; many have tried to overthrow capitalism and failed, and there appears to be no sign of change. To these critics I would point out that I am not proclaiming that I have a perfect solution, but that with no sign of a revolution, reform is better than the *status quo*. Although capitalism is not ideal for creating equality, it is the system we are living under. It would seem that presently the transformation process in South Africa needs to occur within a capitalist context, and any claim otherwise is both naïve and unproductive.

It is also important to acknowledge that the model I will present is not for those who subscribe to the libertarian belief that business is only about enriching shareholders. To the extent that I advocate reform measures for the private sector, I am relying on the expanding view (known as stakeholder theory) that a business is for all of its stakeholders, and therefore that the equality of opportunity experienced by its employees is something worth paying attention to. In particular, this thesis speaks to those in the business community who are interested in being innovators. For instance, Oliver F. Williams (2009) argues that many of the business executives involved in the recent financial crisis lacked courage and integrity. He believes

> [t]hey were involved with self-deception or insincerity with themselves. What is life all about for these leaders? Their hopes, fears, aims, and guides for conduct? In my view, some of the business leaders involved with the financial crisis were vivid examples of the human phenomenon of self-deception. (p. 2)

The model proposed in this thesis is for transformative leaders who are interested in promoting sustainability, responsible corporate citizenship, equality, and progress.

I have argued that to comply fully with the EEA, an employer should seek to promote one of its key purposes – equality of opportunity – by identifying and ultimately breaking down barriers to equality in the workplace. This is not, however, a legal opinion. The EEA is vague about how equality of opportunity should be promoted, and the government has so far appeared (e.g. through the EEC and Employment Equity reports) to be much more concerned with the quantitative aspects relating to equitable representation. Both of these circumstances suggest that an employer which fails to go so far as to conduct a full analysis of its employees' experience in the way envisaged here will hardly be held legally liable for the nuanced forms of inequity that such an analysis would unearth.

The objective of this thesis is therefore not to help businesses and other employers to avoid prosecution, but rather to help those who genuinely embrace, for their own sake, the ideas of philanthropic capital, transformation, and equality in the workplace. This is not so much about compliance with the EEA as it is about stretching employment practices to fully embody its spirit.

It should be noted that this is not an unrealistic hope. Modern corporate social responsibility (CSR) arguments include the notion that businesses have a role to play in minimising their negative effects on the society and environment from which they profit, including by creating a more equitable work environment for employees. CSR defined by William Werther (2006) is "[t]he broad concept that businesses are more

than just profit-seeking entities and, therefore, also have an obligation to benefit society" (p. 7). Many academics, business practitioners, plus public and private employers have adopted this view. Oliver Williams (2009) argues that many capitalists believe Adam Smith claimed that the "hidden hand" would maintain the common good if everyone simply sought after profits. Williams feels this is a misunderstanding of Smith and that actually "Smith assumes that 'self-interest' would not be equivalent to selfishness or greed, but rather that the self would be shaped by the moral forces in society, especially the family" (p. 1-2).

CSR birthed The UN Global Compact (2011) initiative in 2000 and since then it has grown to include "more than 8 000 participants, including over 6 000 businesses in 135 countries around the world. Similarly, we see CSR initiatives in numerous firms – such as the Social Equity Group (1997-2012), and Trillium Asset Management (1982) – who specialise in socially responsible investing. Numerous corporations have also subscribed to CSR, and they have their own CSR plans and objectives. Fortune Magazine lists Vodafone, BP and Royal Dutch Shell as the three companies with the best CSR records in 2006 (Demos, 2006). Additionally, many philanthropic organisations have grown out of the CSR ideal such as the Acumen Fund (2012) that focuses on using business strategies to fight poverty.

There are leaders in the South African business community who are working towards a transformative, equitable future for all South Africans. For example, the past and present King Reports – which outlines appropriate CSR behavior for companies operating in South Africa, with which the JSE Securities Exchange now requires all listed businesses to apply (or explain the reason for not applying), as well as the JSE's Socially Responsible Index, are both initiatives which have come from

within the business community (The Institute of Directors of Southern Africa and the King Committee, 2009; Johannesburg Stock Exchange, 2010).

Intersectionalists may also argue that the model I am using will not accurately capture the complexity highlighted by intersectionality. As discussed earlier, Dhamoon (2011) in particular offers this critique of other intersectional models and instead calls for a "matrix of meaning-making." However, her model does not offer a practical framework for those who are either new to intersectionality, or those who need to be reminded of the different aspects that should be accounted for (p. 238). Therefore, I have chosen to rely on a model developed by Henkeman, and integrate some of Dhamoon's work into that model in order to incorporate a sufficient degree of complexity. Perhaps future work in this area will find ways to develop the model further in order to accept a greater degree of complexity.

Regardless of these challenges, I have chosen to draw on the body of intersectional literature in order to demonstrate its value in an unfamiliar context. By examining and highlighting the ways that different interactions can create different experiences of domination for employees in both the public and private sectors, I believe that I will show how intersectionality can play a vital role in changing the experience of the South African people.

An Intersectional Analysis to Understand Inequality in the Workplace

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the value of using an intersectional paradigm to assess inequality in the workplace, with the ultimate objective of enhancing equality of opportunity. Below is an explanation of a proposed process for developing a tool to use intersectionality in this way. The explanation is included so the reader may follow the intellectual process of bridging theory and practice. This is followed by a case study in which this tool was applied to a South African employer, to add practicable force to the theoretical argument.

An Explanation of the Design Process

The Approach

An intersectional analysis method was chosen because it highlights many social categories that are often overlooked. By exploring as many intersections as possible we can engage the complex nature of individual human experiences. Then by examining the commonalities we can find the similar threads experienced by multiple people. By gaining a more well-rounded understanding of the nature of inequality in the workplace, we increase the likelihood of being able to identify the reasons for the inequality, which then makes it possible to address the root causes. One may be able to arrive at many of the same conclusions if one were to use multiple other forms of analysis, however intersectionality renders this unnecessary as a result of its all-encompassing nature.

Intersectionality demands that we look at what is happening, and then asks the question *why.* There may not always be a clear answer, but if there is not, then at least doing an intersectional analysis helps us to identify further questions to ask.

The central proposition of this thesis is that an intersectional analysis of a workplace would be a powerful tool for enriching the employer's understanding of

employees' experiences of inequality, thus improving the likelihood of successfully intervening to promote equality of opportunity.

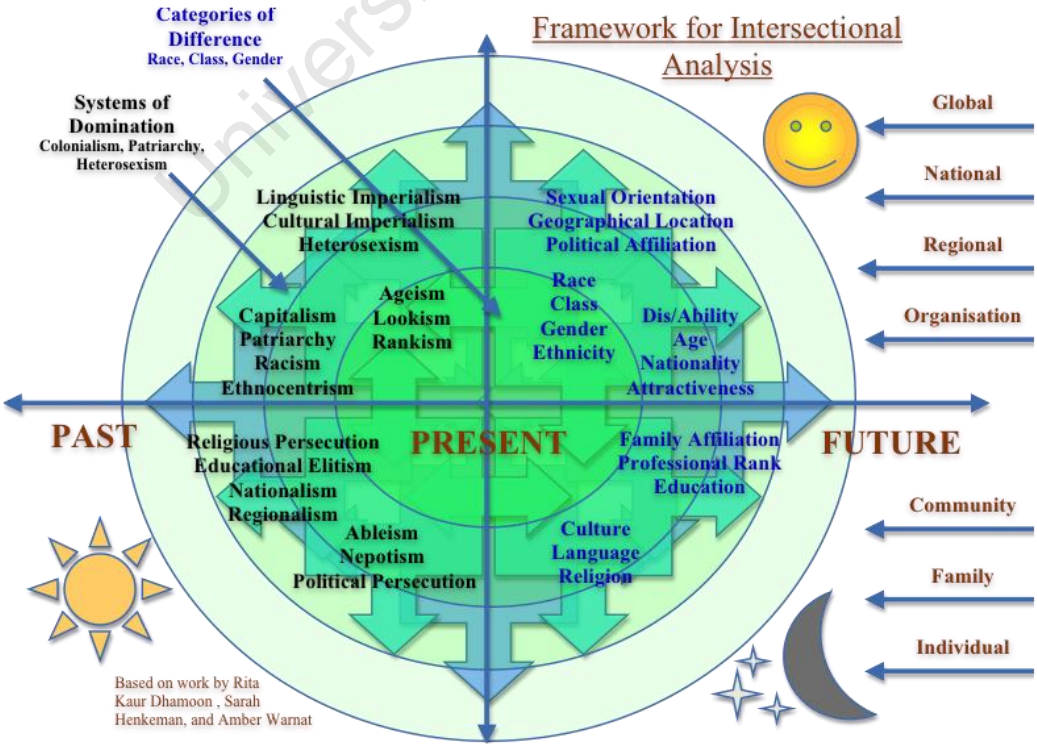
To further demonstrate this proposition, I will take the following steps:

1. An intersectional model: I will use the understanding of intersectionality described above to develop a theoretical model to distill the salient features of intersectionality
2. An intersectional tool: I will establish a process (derived from the model) for conducting an intersectional analysis of a workplace
3. The case study: I will apply the analysis to an actual South African workplace in order to test its efficacy

Each of the above steps is described in the following three sections.

An Intersectional Model

The model is best understood with reference to the diagram below, which is intended to represent the societal and personal forces that act on an individual from an intersectional perspective. In developing this model I have combined the work of Dhamoon and Henkeman, and have also incorporated other aspects of the intersectional literature.



Intersectionality has so many dimensions that it can be difficult to keep track of all the aspects one should consider when doing an intersectional analysis, and so a guiding principle in developing this model has been the imperative to capture the complexity of intersectionality, while still providing a practicable tool.

The crux of the intersectional argument is the recognition that individuals' categories of difference intersect with other categories of difference. The categories of difference, and the intersections between them, then interact with systems of domination, history, and various socio-political spaces. The arrows in the background of the model represent these constant interactions. They should prompt us to remember the intra-group differences, and how individuals can resist categories placed upon them by others. The arrows overlap to remind us of the commonalities found between us.

For the model to aid in the development of an intersectional analysis tool, it also needs to capture the hierarchical nature of our identities and the fact that certain aspects of our identities will shift to become more important under different circumstances. The various circles are intended to trigger our memory to consider these shifts. The circles are different sizes to indicate the hierarchy.

As I have already argued, in order to gain a practical intersectional understanding of people's experiences, we need to identify the categories of difference, which have the potential to act as barriers to equality, despite the concerns of some intersectionalists who suggest that acknowledging these social constructions amounts to endorsing them. Thus, inside the circles on the right hand side of the model, there is a list of some categories of difference. This is by no means an exhaustive list, nor is it prescriptive in nature, but it serves as a reminder that we often

draw on categories of difference to self-identify, and to identify others. This list contains some of the most commonly identified categories.

It is vitally important to be able to identify systems of domination when doing an intersectional analysis, and so inside the circles on the left hand side is a list of systems of domination. These amount to one of the core causes of inequality, because they socialise people to believe that moral inferiority and superiority can be inferred from amoral categories of difference. If we hope to tackle inequality in the workplace we must include these systems. Again, the list provided is not exhaustive; in fact, one should always try to identify additional systems, because such systems are always evolving.

All of the forces mentioned here act in a historical context. One cannot produce an intersectional explanation of inequality without taking this into account. For instance, one cannot isolate the issue of racism without accounting for colonial history. Therefore, the horizontal line that runs through the centre of the model calls our attention to the past, so we can acknowledge the current impact it has had on the present, and then this understanding can help guide our hopes for the future.

The vertical line corresponds with the socio-political spaces listed on the far right hand side. To gain an intersectional understanding of a person's experience, one should know the various ways his/her experiences interact with various socio-political spaces to produce experiences of privilege or inequality. This is true even if the model is to be applied in a specific setting like the workplace, because employees' personal lives influence their behaviours at work. For example, a South African employer's Zimbabwean employees may be in danger on their way to work if they live in an area troubled by xenophobia. Their community experiences could certainly play a role in their behaviour in the workplace. Understanding inequality in the work environment

could well be explained by such situations, but employers will not know about these sorts of factors unless they investigate employees' experiences in various socio-political spaces. Again this is not a list of every possible socio-political space; it serves as a reminder to account for the various levels at which social interactions can occur.

As noted, the element of critique is fundamental to an intersectional analysis. We must be able to acknowledge both the good and the bad sides of human behaviour. It is important to acknowledge accomplishments, but also to recognise the areas still in need of improvement. In the diagram, the depictions of a sun and a moon remind us of the light and shadow side within all of us, and our ability to do both good and evil. The "smiley face" is intended to prompt us to do this both externally, but more importantly internally, for we must be willing to critique ourselves. In order to create a space where everyone has equal opportunities, we must be willing to admit our own participation in, and perpetuation of, systems of domination.

An Intersectional Tool

Using the model described above, I developed a tool for performing an intersectional analysis in a workplace environment. This was achieved by first designing a set of "analysis questions" to gather information that would help to gain a deep, intersectional understanding of barriers to equal opportunity in the workplace. From these questions, I further developed two instruments (a set of interview questions and a written questionnaire), each containing a series of more specific and accessible questions designed to extract from employees the information needed to answer the analysis questions.

The interview questions were developed to gain a robust and complex understanding of why there is inequality in the workplace (see Appendix A). Note

that the analysis questions are shown in italics, while the actual questions asked of the participants are not in italics. Some examples (as shown) are provided for certain questions which participants may find confusing. These are to be used only when necessary, to avoid leading the participants unnecessarily. The interview should last about an hour.

An advantage of the interview format is that it provides a greater discussion and quantity of information to answer the analysis questions. Another advantage is the ability of the interviewer to provide greater clarity as to the meaning of the questions.

As the participants were asked during the course of the interview to refer back to previous answers, a tracking sheet (see Appendix B), was used to help them remember their responses. It was felt that the reflection involved in documenting their answers would also allow them to offer more carefully developed answers.

Given that employers may consider the interviews too long for use on all employees, the written questionnaire was also developed to supplement the information obtained from the interviews (see Appendix C). The questionnaire was developed so participants could complete it on their own, in approximately twenty minutes.

The sections in the interview roughly correspond to the sections in the questionnaire. Both instruments are designed to gather qualitative data as well as quantitative data. The quantitative data supplies a quick overview of the key categories of difference and their intersections, but the rich understanding which emerges from the qualitative data is necessary to answer the analysis questions fully.

Once the data has been gathered, the data can be relatively easily summarised and analysed, but the crux of the information will come from processing the qualitative data. The whole analysis will identify: vulnerable employees, issues that

employees are unhappy about, problems between employees, possible areas of rebellion, singular and intersecting areas of privilege and oppression, unexpected categories of oppression and privilege, unexpectedly unproblematic aspects with respect to employment equity, intra-group and inter-group differences, issues between the organisation and employees, ways that employees and the organisation perpetuate domination, shifts in the way employees self-identify, employees experiences of privilege and oppression in their personal lives, and how history has impacted the present.

The analysis questions in section A ask about the categories of difference used by employees to define themselves, in order to reveal the intersections that impact how employees experience the world. The responses to the questions in this section should identify who might be privileged or disadvantaged, who might be particularly vulnerable to discrimination, how employees understand themselves, and what sorts of intersections impact employees' experiences.

The analysis questions in section B are focused on identifying hierarchies in the ways employees self-identify, and how their self-identification process impacts their lives either positively or negatively. There are also analysis questions which focus on deciphering the impact of history on their categories of difference, and others which identify the different ways their categories of difference interact with different socio-political spaces. Finally, there are analysis questions that aim to discover how employees' identities include or exclude others, and how they might perpetuate prejudices.

The interview questions B1 to B4 try to decipher the shifts in how employees self-identify, and how this impacts their self-esteem. B5 and B6 examine the employees' views on how history affects them presently, and how they think it will

influence their futures. Questions B7 and B8 ask employees about their experiences in various socio-political spaces, and how their categories of difference might change their experiences in these settings. Question B9 to B12 ask employees to reflect on their tendencies to other, and whether they are capable of self-reflecting on the biases they have. Before question B9 in the interview questions (and in the equivalent place in the written questionnaire) there is an explanation as to how we "other". This is intended to ease the minds of the participants by explaining that othering does not necessarily mean wrongly discriminating. This explanation is there for ethical reasons and also to encourage full disclosure. The questions in section B have been chosen because we want to know more about the employees' intra-personal processes, so we can improve our understanding not only of the employment equity problems they endure, but also of those that they might produce or perpetuate.

Section C revolves around the interpersonal interactions employees experience. The analysis questions are concerned with how employees' categories of difference interact with other employees, how history impacts these intersections, and if changes in socio-political spaces change how employees behave. In order to answer these questions, the questionnaire invites employees to discuss the various forms of discrimination that they have participated in, or witnessed, at work or in their private lives. This part of the analysis was included because it further elucidates some of the employment equity issues that employees are dealing with, by honing in on the specific incidents.

The analysis questions in section D concentrate on the institution. These questions are intended to discover how the employer interacts with the employees and what role the institution plays in the current inequalities in the workplace. These questions account for the institution's historical role, and the ways in which

employees' personal lives interact with the interests of the institution. Finally, the analysis questions ask the employer to self-reflect on how they contribute to inequality in the workplace. Many of the answers to these questions will be found by looking at the vision and values of the institution, and how these are implemented.

The questions in section D are intended to reveal how the values and actions of the institution have impacted the employees. They ask employees to reflect on their relationship with the employer, whether they feel their employer has been discriminating in any way, if the employer can aid them with any oppression they deal with in their personal lives, and if the employer can improve employment equity in any way.

Section E contains only analysis questions because it examines systems of domination, and it is considered unreasonable to expect all employees to understand what a system of domination are. Instead, it is expected that the person doing the analysis should have enough of an intersectional background to identify the systems at play based on the participants' answers to the earlier questions and some historical research. These questions were designed to gather information on how the systems impact employees and the employer, how the employees and the employer participate and perpetuate the current systems of domination, and how the employees and employer might work to change these systems in the future.

The written questionnaire was designed to gather similar information to the interview, but in less detail. In some cases, the questions are identical to those in the interview, e.g. the whole of section A and questions B1 to B3. In other cases, a list of possible answers is provided (unlike in the equivalent interview questions), and then participants are invited to elaborate on their answer. For example, section C asks employees about discrimination they have either been a part of or witnessed. They are

asked to choose either “Yes”, “No”, or “Sometimes”, and then they are invited to elaborate. The responses, if any, to this invitation are potentially important because they help to gather qualitative data for the intersectional analysis. Similarly, section D requests that they reflect on two historical questions, and to circle either “Strongly Disagree”, “Slightly Disagree”, “Neutral”, “Slightly Agree”, or “Strongly Agree”. This allows us roughly to identify the participants’ opinions, while cutting down on time.

Finally, when the responses have been collected, it needs to be analysed. This should be done by someone with some background in intersectionality. Though the analyst would not need to be an expert in intersectionality, he/she would certainly need to be familiar with notions like systems of domination, categories of difference, and intra-group differences, in order to know what to look for in the information provided.

The analyst would go through the analysis questions one by one, answering them holistically, while using the data from the interviews and questionnaire questions, in addition to other relevant information acquired about the firm. The analyst questions are designed to lead the analyst to answer them from an intersectional perspective. However, the participant responses relevant to a particular analysis question may not always be in the corresponding section, such that the most effective analyst will consider the responses holistically.

At all times, the analyst should keep in mind that there will be some intra-group differences, and should studiously avoid inaccurate generalisations that do not account for individual differences.

Once the barriers to equal opportunity have been identified, recommendations can be made about what kinds of policy changes, programmes, skills training, and other interventions might be necessary to curb some of the identified problems.

The Case Study

The following case study was developed and implemented in order to test the efficacy of the intersectional workplace model and analysis tools derived above.

The Organisation

This case study was conducted over two weeks in December 2011 at an international fashion retailer that has multiple outlets in South Africa. The organisation is historically innovative in many respects, including its approach to managing employees. Its current programmes, values, and goals espouse the ideal of transformation as defined in this thesis. Thus, its regional director was open to applying the intersectional tool developed above to its employees, and to considering implementing the recommendations offered.

Participants

A total of twenty-five employees participated. They were not randomly selected: the eight employees who participated in the interviews were chosen by the regional director of the organisation in order to guarantee variations in the interviewees, while the seventeen employees who completed the written questionnaires volunteered to do so. A reasonable range in the variations of the participants' categories of difference was achieved: for example, they ranged in age from nineteen to thirty-four; there were seven males and eighteen females; and seven identified themselves as White, six as Black African, and twelve as Coloured.

Design

The tool was conformed to the specifications developed earlier in this thesis. It made use of two instruments. One was a written questionnaire that took about twenty minutes to answer. The other was a long-answer interview that took about an hour. Some of the questions on the two instruments were duplicated; others were different.

Copies of the questions used for the instruments are included as appendices. Once the participants' responses to the instruments were collected, a qualitative intra-group analysis and comparison of these responses was performed. As explained earlier in this thesis, the questions were derived from intersectional theory, and the method of analysis of the responses was also intersectional in nature.

Ethical Considerations

Both the retailer and the participants' names have been kept confidential at their request. The participants' individual responses have not been included as an appendix for confidentiality purposes. After the interviews, participants were asked if they were feeling okay, and if they needed to talk about the process at all. A letter of thanks was then sent to the organisation so that it could be posted, with an invitation that anyone who had any concerns or questions should contact me through my email address, which was provided.

Procedure

The individual interviews took place in the back room of the retail outlet, and were recorded on a voice-recording device, which was later transcribed. The participants were allowed to ask questions, and examples were provided if they were requested. They were thanked both at the beginning and the end. The written questionnaires were handed out and then collected by the store managers.

Responses and Analysis

This section presents the responses to the instruments, and the analysis of these responses. I propose that this analysis offers a deeper understanding of the oppression experienced by the organisation's employees, and the systems of domination that perpetuate that oppression. From this information, the organisation

should be able to identify clear steps to creating more equitable opportunities for its employees now and in the future.

It may be worth reminding the reader that it is a central premise of this thesis that in order to break down negative socially-constructed categories we first need to identify what they are, and how they manifest as discrimination in the workplace. Based on the responses to the instruments, there were certain issues that stood out as more problematic. This section includes sub-sections, which present analyses of the socially-constructed categories that were emphasised as important by the participants. We will also examine the systems of domination and the stereotypes that perpetuate the negative connotations associated with these systems in order to understand the reasons why there are not equal opportunities in the workplace. This case study took place in an organisation in South Africa, where heterogeneity is pervasive and where the social constructions of apartheid still linger. In this context, it is critical to identify the barriers preventing equal opportunities for all employees.

Categories of Difference

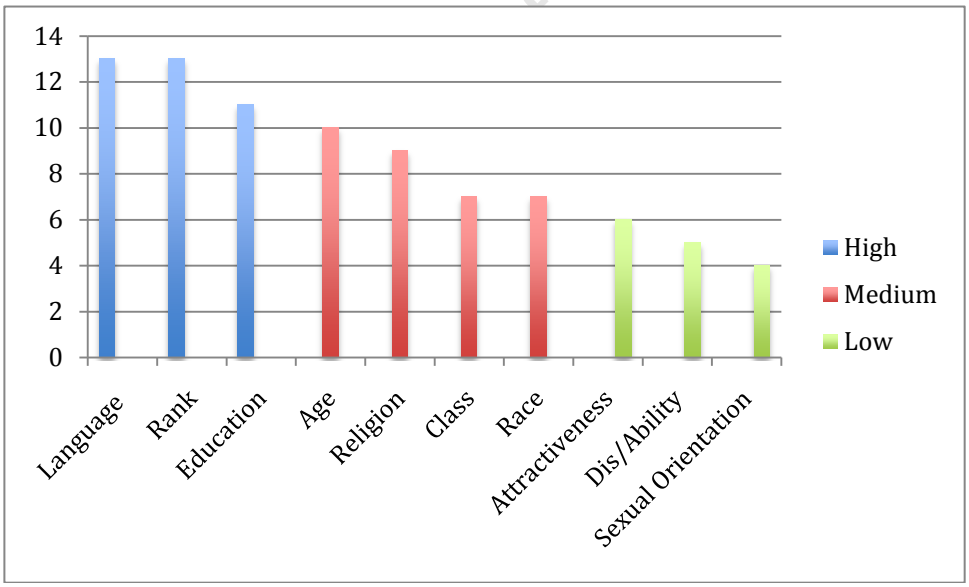
Both instruments asked participants to self-identify according to a range of categories of difference, and then asked "[g]iven the questions you have just answered do you notice that any of the answers seem more important in the workplace?"

As mentioned previously, the idea is to have both an individual and general understanding of employees' experiences. A general understanding can be obtained by creating a report of aggregate responses. An individual understanding is to be derived from careful analysis of each participant's set of responses, in conjunction with the general understanding to provide context.

To create a report of aggregate responses, the individual responses were compiled and then ranked based on how many times a specific category of difference was mentioned as important.

Categories of difference that were listed as important by ten or more participants (i.e. by more than 40% of the participants) were given a status of high importance. Those that were identified between seven and ten times were given a level of medium importance. Categories of difference that were mentioned four to six times were considered to be of low importance (at least for the purposes of the aggregated information). Anything from one to three was considered too insignificant to contribute to a general understanding, and should only be used when trying to understand individuals. Chart 1.1 shows the results of this exercise.

Importance of Categories of Difference Based on Aggregated Responses: Workplace
Chart 1.1

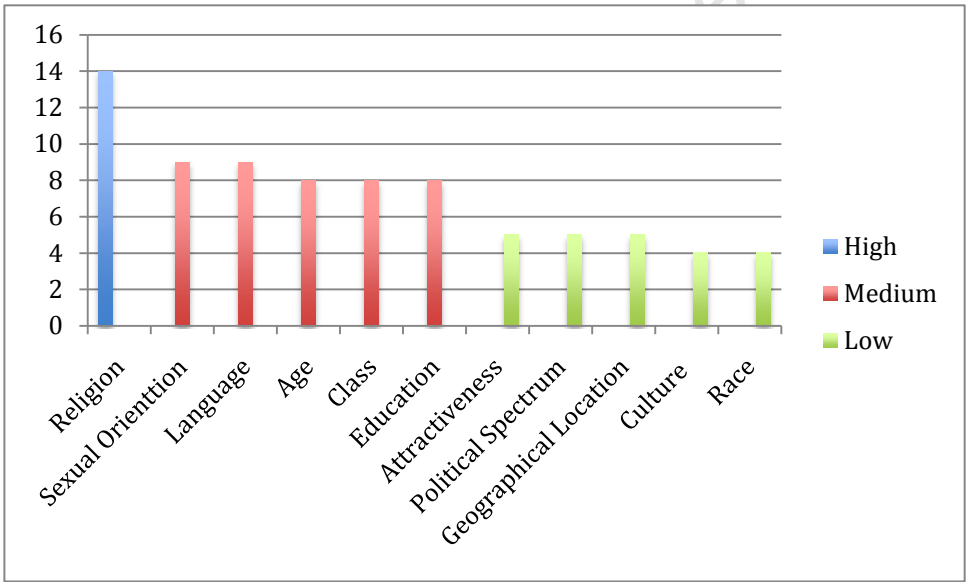


I would recommend using the overview to help the organisation identify privileged and vulnerable individuals. By identifying the various statuses of the categories of difference, the organisation could then identify who might be included

or excluded from those various categories, and who might have multiple categories of difference that would intersect to place them in a more vulnerable position. I provide more detail on this below.

Based on questions B1 and B2, hierarchical differences were found between what participants found to be important at work and what they emphasised in their personal lives, although there was also quite a bit of overlap. The results are shown in Chart 2.1 below. By comparing these rankings with the rankings in Chart 1.1, an employer would be able to determine what conditions are peculiar to the workplace as opposed to a general feature of the employees' lives.

Importance of Categories of Difference Based on Aggregated Responses: Private Life
Chart 2.1



What the above charts do not show is the important intersections between the various categories of difference identified as important. This was done by scrutinising the responses to see which categories of difference were often listed as important alongside other categories of difference listed as important. The charts also do not show intra-group differences, which occur when individuals who self-identify within

one category of difference do not experience the related privilege or oppression in the same ways because they have other categories of difference that intersect differently.

The remainder of this section will discuss the various categories of difference identified as relevant to the workplace, in such a way as to identify important intersections and intra-group differences. Appropriate attention will also be given to understanding individuals' experience, rather than focusing solely on the aggregated information. In each case, the findings will be explained by reference to the systems of domination at play.

Rank, Education and Age

Within the workspace rank, age, education, and often race (see below) were areas of concern for most employees, though each of these stood out on their own in some cases.

Thirteen participants placed rank as important in the workplace. This fact on its own could simply arise because in a work environment what position one has largely determines one's job description, which is significant for obvious reasons. However, based on some of the qualitative answers it seems that rankism may be an issue in the organisation. One interviewee commented that "what rank you have in this business determines how you are accepted in your organisation." Another commented that other employees passed off their work to him/her because the participant was at a lower rank.[9] One comment on a written questionnaire states "[m]anagment are trained to deal with all levels of people, but when it's time for them to interact they discriminate in some cases and in some cases are also narrow minded and vindictive to 'extract' a particular person from the company." Another interviewee stated that "[p]eople think just because you have a certain position you

[9] I want to acknowledge that the use of he/she, him/her, etc. is awkward, but given that the sample size is so small these conventions have been used in order to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

are not really educated. Then you get treated differently. You know if you are a sales consultant you cannot say the same things as a manager." Another participant mentioned that some full-time staff members (who carry a higher rank than part-time staff) assert their power over some of the part-time staff members.

Eleven participants emphasised education. One of the interviewed participants commented that education matters because it is easier to communicate with people who have similar educational backgrounds. Another participant felt judged negatively on his/her level of education because he/she had not received any tertiary education, and the participant was concerned that he/she was moving up in the organisation too slowly because of this. The participant felt that this was unfair, as he/she was just as capable as other people who held higher positions. However, the participant also expressed a desire for more skills training, and hoped that this would be offered by the organisation.

Age was identified as important by six of the interviewees, and ten participants picked age out as important in the workplace. One of the interviewed participants commented that "[a] lot of people think because of my age I do not deserve to be where I am, and that I am just simple-minded, or too eager to do things." Another participant pointed out that he/she felt that it was difficult to deal with people older than him/her if they shared the same position ranking in the organisation. He/she felt that the older employees would sometimes disregard him/her because of his/her age.

When we ask why the employees experience these things, we start to understand what systems of domination might be influencing employees, and how they might be manifesting. For instance, Western capitalist society values education which is then rewarded by rank (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 2). This in and of itself is not a

problem, and it conforms to the widely-accepted norm that more advanced skills should be rewarded with greater job status. However, this becomes a discrimination issue when people begin to think that higher levels of education and rank make someone superior to others.

In addition there are often negative stereotypes placed on people in their teens and early twenties. Gunhild O. Hagestad and Peter Uhlenberg (2005) argue that "individuals in late life are targets, but that also young people, especially teenagers, are confronted with stereotyping and discrimination based on age" (p. 350). These negative stereotypes do not account for the many young people who defy these stereotypes. One of the younger interviewees commented that age was the most important aspect at work because people judge you on your age. He/she remarked that people "… think that [age] determines how much you know." Another felt that he was often judged to be immature because of his age, and found this frustrating because he had many friends outside of work that were ten years his senior. The major system of domination occurring in this instance is ageism. We also should keep in mind that Western capitalist societies also tend to discriminate against those that are elderly because assumptions are made regarding their productivity and their physical capabilities declining as they get older (Nelson, 2002, p. 169). However, no participants were elderly, so this form of ageism could not be identified.

Thus, the intersectional tool seems to identify rankism, educational elitism, and ageism as systems of domination, and this puts individuals with low-ranking positions, those with no tertiary education, and young employees at risk for discrimination in this organisation.

Race

Racial discrimination was often discussed separately, particularly when employees felt that they had witnessed racial discrimination against others. Seven participants picked out race as important in their work environment, although fifteen people brought up race as an issue while answering other questions. One Black African participant commented that "[i]f you are [from] a particular racial group, you get undermined and made to feel incompetent. [You] always have to prove that you are capable." Another interviewed participant felt that race was important because opportunities to move up in the organisation are dependent on race.

A discussion of race allows for an illustration of how attention to history is valuable in achieving a richer understanding of employees' experiences. Eight of the interviews and questionnaires either slightly agreed or strongly agreed with D1, while twelve of them either slightly agreed or strongly agreed with D2. Additionally, six of the interviewed participants felt that history impacted present day circumstances in South Africa. Those who commented in the interviews felt that apartheid played a major role in producing inequality in the workplace. One participant commented that Black Africans were not able to access the same job opportunities in the past and that Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) initiatives allow them to do so now.

Three of the participants who were of Black African descent felt that they still had to work harder to prove themselves. Fifteen participants said they still felt racism was an issue in South Africa. Three of the White participants expressed frustration with BBBEE. They supported the principles of it, but felt that BBBEE was unfair because it was not based on competence. In addition one of the Black African interviewees strongly supported BBBEE but was also frustrated with its

implementation. Everyone who commented on BBBEE seemed to support the values behind it but many felt that it is too focused on meeting numerical goals, and does not pay enough attention to skills training.

Certainly, apartheid played a historical role in the racialised unequal distribution of wealth, which has prevented Black Africans from accessing resources today (Terreblanche, 2002, p. 58). These issues highlight how history has influenced the relationships between race, class, rank, and education, especially when discussing BBBEE. Despite the fact that almost all the interviewed participants seemed to be hopeful about the future, and wanted a more equitable society, most of them were still cognisant of the fact that history was still impacting their lives today, regardless of what race they were. One participant commented that "[i]n South Africa most people of race still have a mentality of [B]lack stand together, [W]hite stand together [as well] as [C]oloured whereas we are [one] nation".[10]

Awareness of these issues can help the organisation in its goals of socioeconomic transformation and meeting its BBBEE targets. Understanding the historical context will strengthen the company's CSR initiatives, which in this case already prioritise skills training for employees and educating youth in local communities.

The intersectional tool has revealed that race based discrimination is a problem in the organisation under study, and everyone regardless of their race seems to feel the pressures of history on the present situation.

[10] The changes made are to correct grammatical errors in the participant's written response.

Intersections Between the Above Categories of Difference

Beyond the alleged observations of discrimination based on a single category of difference, the aforementioned categories appeared to be important in creating intersectional experiences as well.

Of the thirteen participants who felt they had not personally experienced discrimination in their current work environment, six of them had higher-ranking positions, six of them were in their thirties, five of them had some kind of tertiary education, and five of them were White. However, eight of them had at least three of these categories intersecting together.

Of the twelve participants who believed they had specifically experienced discrimination in their current work environment, ten of them had low-ranking positions, ten of them were in their early to mid twenties, three of them had no tertiary education, and ten of them were either Coloured or Black African. Ten of these participants had at least three of these categories of difference intersecting.

Interestingly, from the first group only five noticed discrimination against others at work. However, ten members of the second grouping noticed discrimination. One of the employees from the first group commented that "[a]lthough I don't feel discriminated against, fellow [colleagues] do feel that growth is unfairly granted." From the second group one employee commented that he/she had witnessed discrimination against "the lower-educated Coloured or Black employee[s]." This participant mentioned that "[m]anagement do not take them serious[ly] because [of] either their education[,] speech [,] or the way they would articulate something."[11] Another commented that they had noticed discrimination against employees based on

[11] The changes made are to correct grammatical errors in the participant's written response.

age and felt this was because they are "…considered young with no experience and minimal knowledge".

Race is indeed tightly intertwined with rank and education, particularly in South Africa, because historically, people of colour were generally not allowed to access high-ranking positions of employment or higher education (EEA, 1998). In addition, capitalism benefitted from this because it meant there was an unskilled, inexpensive workforce available for jobs requiring hard manual labour (Terreblanche, 2002, p. 6-8). Due to this history, many people of colour now deal with multiple forms of discrimination, and a lack of resources to challenge the negative stereotypes they face.

The intersectional tool has shown that the intersecting systems of domination of ageism, educational elitism, racism, and rankism have an impact on employees, and therefore, those who have these intersections in less advantageous positions are more likely to suffer oppression in the workplace.

Language

Another category of difference that stood out was the ability or inability to speak certain languages. Thirteen out of twenty-five participants felt that language was important in the workplace. Many of them seemed to feel that being able to speak English was essential for their job. One of the interviewed participants commented that most of their local customers speak English, and many of their foreign customers also speak English – at least as a second language – so it is very useful. Another interviewed participant commented that having a second language was a huge asset, as it allowed employees further opportunities to communicate with each other and customers.

Two of the Black African participants interviewed found that having English as their second language could be limiting at times. One in particular felt that employees who speak English as a first language were sometimes impatient with employees who speak it as a second language. He/She also noted that people who speak English as a first language are often unwilling to try to learn others' languages, such as isiXhosa. The participant reported frustration when required to express emotions in English at work. He/She found speaking in his/her mother tongue far more expressive and struggled to communicate as effectively in English.

An intersectional analysis of these responses points to the presence of linguistic imperialism. English dominates as the most spoken language for conversing in Western capitalist societies (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). According to Sean Alan Bowerman (2000) "English remains the truly dominant language of South Africa; it is the language of education and economic power, the language of parliament (indigenous languages are seldom heard in Parliament) and international popular culture" (p. 30). Having English as a second language can be useful for people who do not share a mother tongue, but it can also be problematic under certain conditions as was demonstrated by the participant who struggled to communicate emotions at work.

An employer who acknowledges these forces can more readily identify who might be disadvantaged by the dominance of one language. Even though employees are forced to spend time together in the workplace they may feel isolated if they are worried about communicating. Furthermore, employees will often make friends at work, and they may feel estranged from their coworkers if they speak different mother tongues. This is important for a country like South Africa with strong social

and cultural divides (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001, p. 47). In order for transformation to take place, people need to integrate socially in order to break down these barriers.

Linguistic Imperialism has been identified as a possible system of domination in the organisation under study. This means that those who do not speak English, or who have English as a second language are more likely to experience discrimination.

Religion

South Africa is a nation heavily influenced by religion (Elphick & Davenport, 1997) so one might expect religion to be important in employees' personal lives, but it also turned out to be an important topic in the workplace under study. This was especially true when it came to the right to religious practice. This could be because the case study was conducted during the holiday season, but almost all participants claimed that religion is an important issue regardless of the holidays. Twenty-three out of twenty-five participants considered themselves to be religious. Twenty-one were Christian, one was Muslim and the other considered him/herself to be "spiritual". Nine people placed importance on religion in the workplace, fifteen in their personal lives, and seven of them felt that issues regarding religious holidays were an issue in the workplace.

Four of the participants elaborated, explaining that the biggest issue seemed to be over who will work on public holidays. Because the organisation is a retailer they are open for most public holidays. Christians expressed frustration because they felt that employees who practiced another religion were entitled to take their religious leave, while Christian were expected to work. They felt that the organisation was being unfair and favouring non-Christians. One of the interviewed participants noted that "this past Christmas weekend we had a big clash of who needs to be off and who needs to work, so religious beliefs [do] play a big role with us." Another participant

commented that "[a]ll of our Muslim staff get […] days off to attend ... Eid ...[and] in some cases it's [four] time[s] a year, but when it comes to Christians [Christmas] we are told we should work because the business requires it. Preference is given to one [r]eligious group over another."[12] In the long term this could prove problematic. Non-Christians may suffer under the resentment of the frustrated Christians, and Christian employees may rebel against the organisation.

An intersectional explanation for why religious issues might manifest in this way would refer to the systems of domination known commonly as religious persecution, capitalism, and cultural imperialism. The organisation functions as a business with capitalist, largely secular interests and therefore shuts down as seldom as possible, doing the bare minimum to accommodate religious interests (Perelman, 2000).

In this incidence it seems that capitalism is the major system of domination affecting employees, and if it is not dealt with it could potentially turn into religious persecution. Those who are religious are at risk of feeling oppressed.

Class

Thirteen of the participants discussed class as an important category of difference at some point during their interview, or in their written questionnaire. This in itself was not interesting given the strong class divides in South Africa (Terreblanche, 2002). However, it was fascinating to note that of the twenty-two participants who chose to label their class, everyone put themselves into the categories of middle (18 participants), upper middle (three participants), or upper class (one participant), regardless of whether they came from an affluent area or a poor area. In fact the participant who labelled him/herself as upper class came from

[12] The changes made are to correct grammatical errors in the participant's written response.

Mitchells Plain (a less affluent area) (Yu & Nieftagodien, 2008, p. 12). Interestingly a participant who came from Constantia (a very affluent area) (Pape, 2002) labelled him/herself as middle class.

When we investigate why everyone identified themselves as middle or upper middle class, we might hypothesise several different explanations. First, it could be that the participants did not understand the question, or that they did not understand the concept of class. However, no one interviewed seemed confused. Another possibility is that they really are all middle class, and there is a lack of variety because the organisation inadvertently chooses middle class staff members who are socialised to fit in well with what the organisation expects of their employees. Another option is that the participants want to be seen as middle class *because* of the strong class divides. Some may feel embarrassed about either coming from a wealthy home or a poor home. Another possibility is that participants may be comparing themselves to the people they live near. For instance, they may have a nicer home than some of their neighbours, but not as nice a home as others. There is not a clear-cut explanation for this, so it is difficult to decipher what the systems of domination are (although capitalism will clearly play some role.) Further research would be recommended here.

Attractiveness and Dis/Ability

Another two categories of difference that were emphasised by participants were level of attractiveness and dis/ability. Intersections can often be found between these as some physical disabilities could be considered 'unattractive'. Three of the participants who filled out the written questionnaires considered attractiveness to be important in the workplace, and three of the interviewed participants felt that attractiveness was beneficial for their job, and that this was important because they were working in the retail industry. Seventeen out of the twenty-four participants that

answered the questions on attractiveness considered themselves to be above average in looks.

Attractiveness is an important category of difference, given the much-researched general bias towards attractive people (Langlois, Kalakanis, Rubenstein, Larson, Hallam, & Smoot, 2000). Indeed, the fashion industry is particularly biased towards people considered to be attractive (Ashmore, Solomon, & Longo, 1996). At the organisation under study, the interviewed employees that felt attractiveness was important in the workplace felt that it was important because they were representing a fashionable brand both at work and in their personal lives. One interviewed participant commented that "it is all about appearance that makes sales." The fashion industry's strong association with style and beauty likely explains the high priority placed on the attractiveness of staff.

Four of the participants that were interviewed felt that being able-bodied was a real asset considering their positions in the organisation. They were concerned that someone with a physical disability would not be able to do the job well because of the physical requirements. One of the interviewees commented that "I think a disability will set you back in a workplace, and people will treat you differently." However, no one mentioned mental disabilities, except for a participant who was being treated for clinical depression, but the participant gave no indication that it hindered his/her work.

African nations in general struggle to offer equal opportunities to disabled people, although this is slowly changing in South Africa (Disabled World, n.d.). Nonetheless, South African society does not yet readily accommodate disabled people in the workplace (Commission for Employment Equity, 2011, p. 20-21). Companies often struggle to include people with disabilities because there is a stereotype that

their productivity can be lower than that of able-bodied people (Baldwin & Johnson, 1995). One needs to look no further than Stephen Hawking to see that this stereotype is unfair: his amyotrophic lateral sclerosis has not prevented him from being one of the greatest physicists of our time. He has published numerous books and articles, as well as receiving "twelve honorary degrees, and numerous awards" (Stephen Hawking, n.d.).

It thus appears that the organisation under study is exposed to the systems of domination referred to as lookism and ableism, which would disadvantage less attractive and/or disabled employees in terms of employment equity.

Sexual Orientation

Nine participants reported observing discrimination against gay employees in the workplace. Some noted that they saw light teasing and comments, others felt that it was sometimes more serious. In addition, two out of the three gay participants felt that they had personally experienced heterosexist behaviour in the workplace. One of them noted the types of comments people would make, saying,

> On a weekly basis, more than once, there is a debate about 'why are you gay; you're such a handsome guy.' 'This is just a phase. Are you sure?' This happens every week; every week. And we go through the same thing over and over and over again. 'Have you ever thought of a girl? If you would take a woman who would she be, and what would she look like?' 'Don't you want to have children, if you want to have babies how are you going to have babies?'

Although, these questions may be motivated more by curiosity than by an intention to harm, they are an invasion of privacy, which noticeably upset the interviewee.

As this is an intersectional analysis it is important to identify some of the intra-group differences to remind us that even though we may have chosen to examine commonalities found in the workplace, within those commonalities there are also

differences that need to be acknowledged. In order to identify intra-group differences we look at a single category of difference, and then within that group we look for the areas of oppression and privilege that differ from one another. The category of difference where this was most apparent in the organisation being studied was sexual orientation, particularly when examining the position of openly gay participants.[13]

The intra-group differences stand out because only two of the three felt that they had experienced discrimination based on their sexual orientation in the workplace. Conversely, all of them had experienced it outside of the workplace. The major differences between those who had experienced workplace heterosexism and those who had not were: position, age, race, and education. When exploring their answers in the interviews or written questionnaires, the older, White, high-ranking participant with no tertiary education did not experience heterosexism in the workplace, while the younger, Coloured, lower-ranking, participants with certificates in higher education did experience discrimination. This too supports the conclusions drawn earlier regarding rank, age, and race, but also highlights why we must acknowledge that we cannot simply group people into categories of difference and assume everyone in that category has the same experiences.

In considering why this heterosexist behaviour is occurring, it could be argued that there is an intersection between South Africa's history, the tendency towards patriarchy in South African society (Ramphele, 2008), and the fact that South Africa is influenced by Christian religion (Elphick & Davenport, 1997) which leads to a general societal discomfort with the gay community. Even though the South African constitution is very progressive with respect to sexual orientation (Constitution of the

[13] I specify "open" or "out of the closet" gay participants because there may be other unidentified gay employees who participated, but who did not feel comfortable sharing their sexual orientation.

Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 1247), South Africans are still catching up socially with the legislation (Fihlani, 2011).

The system of domination that employees are working under in this circumstance is heterosexism. This means that anyone who is not straight will be at a disadvantage.

Unproblematic Categories of Difference

Nine participants felt that politics was an important category of difference. Three of the participants interviewed thought that political persecution was an issue in the workplace. However, on closer inspection of the information provided there does not seem to be political persecution, just a politicised staff. The participants commented that there are sometimes passionate debates around politics at work, and during elections tensions run high. This of course may just indicate that there is healthy political debate between employees. Although some participants felt that the debates were 'bad' because they caused conflict, there seemed to be no indication that anyone was ostracised because of their political beliefs.

One might find it surprising that gender was not identified as an issue. South Africa is still a patriarchal society (Ramphele, 2008, p. 25), and so we may have expected there to be sexism. Yet there was no discussion of any misogynistic behaviour. Five people mentioned gender, and overall there seemed to be no ill-will between genders. One participant did comment that there were certain roles that each gender seemed to fill. The men do more of the heavy physical labour and the women are more focused on fashion design. The fact that the men were prone to more physical labour is reasonable due to the strength differences between men and women. It is possible that because women are not striving for high power positions in this particular environment, that they do not notice gender inequalities. It is also

possible that sexism is simply not an issue amongst this particular group of participants, or that gender concerns are shadowed by other issues.

Recommendations for the Organisation

The instruments and consequent analysis revealed a great deal about the dynamics within the organisation, in terms of categories of difference, systems of domination, the impact of history, the ability of employees to reflect on their own prejudices, and so on. The question now becomes: how is this information to be used to reduce inequality in this workplace? What follows is a set of ideas about how this question can be answered. This is not an exhaustive list, and not all of these ideas would need to be implemented in order for the intersectional tool to make a positive impact; the intention here is simply to show that the sort of information produced by an intersectional analysis of an organisation can lead to real, practicable, change.

Identifying the Pervasive Systems of Domination

Now that we have examined some of the employees' experiences with respect to their categories of difference, and the systems of domination they are dealing with, we can consider how these interact specifically within the organisation.

Recall that all systems of domination are likely to impact the employees' lives in some way, but they do not affect employees equally. Based on the participants' responses, certain systems of domination stood out more than others. Capitalism, educational elitism, rankism, linguistic imperialism, Western cultural imperialism, religious persecution, racism, lookism, ageism and heterosexism significantly impact participants' working lives.

This is important to know because the organisation can work to transform these systems if its leadership is willing to acknowledge the current levels of exposure and participation. This knowledge will also help the organisation identify the systems

of domination that the employees may resist in the future if the issues are not dealt with. For instance, one of the participants appeared to challenge the capitalist paradigm in commenting that many of the security and cleaning staff do not make wages high enough to sustain a decent standard of living and pointed out that if conditions like this were to continue, both the organisation, and South Africa, would be impacted negatively. An awareness of the employees' concerns about unchecked capitalist features of the workplace could motivate the organisation to reform – possibly through its CSR initiatives – some of the negative aspects of capitalism as they apply to the organisation, like wage inequality. At a societal level, corporate employers can choose to use their power to change the way business is done through CSR initiatives. They can influence society at large through education programmes and skills training, and they can lobby government to change policies that will support better avenues for achieving employment equity.

Identifying Vulnerable Employees

Based on the participants' answers we can determine who is likely to be privileged, and who is likely to be vulnerable, because we can identify the advantageous and disadvantageous categories of difference. The priority would be to identify those who are vulnerable in order to empower those who are oppressed. Moreover, an intersectional analysis can also help us to assess those who might be oppressing others. For instance, one participant reported pleasure in having power over others, yet based on the participants answers to other questions, he/she was one of the most vulnerable participants. This participant should also remind us that people who have suffered oppression can, and often do, oppress others because they are trying to find ways to gain control over their own lives (Brison, 2000).

It is important to acknowledge that the intersectional tool also found that these categories of difference impacted employees in their personal lives. Fifteen participants either witnessed or experienced discrimination outside the workplace. The relevant categories were sexual orientation, race, age, nationality, religion, politics, and socioeconomic status. The organisation needs to be aware of this, because discrimination, even away from the workplace, will likely have an effect on employees' mental health and may also influence their physical health as well (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2002).

By identifying who is vulnerable, we also identify who is privileged. These individuals may also oppress others, often unknowingly (McIntosh, 1986). Additionally, when we are examining privilege and vulnerability we should keep in mind how intra-group experiences can create different experiences for individuals – as we acknowledged when we examined the experiences of the gay participants.

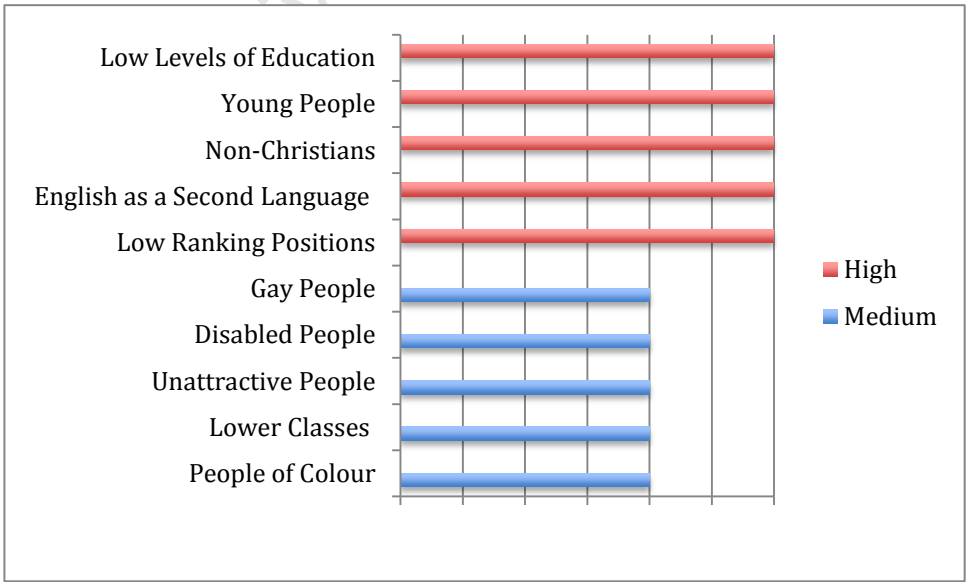
Below is a list of identified traits that could increase the likelihood of vulnerability. These traits have been identified as leading to potential vulnerability based on the participants' answers and South Africa's history. Some of the categories will seem obvious, while others may have gone unidentified if using a different form of analysis. The "vulnerable" categories of difference were then divided further into two groups: those that indicated high vulnerability, and those that indicated medium vulnerability. They are based on the number of times participants identified various issues, in conjunction with the corresponding qualitative data. Categories that are high-risk were identified at least eight times by participants, and also supported with qualitative information, which can be found throughout this thesis. For instance, thirteen people mentioned that rank was important, and it became more apparent that having a low-ranking position was disadvantageous, because six participants offered

qualitative data to supplement the quantitative information. One interviewee told a story about how she had experienced discrimination based on her position over the past few years. She said, "I was looked down upon. It was like 'Shhh what do you know' … and there are only certain things that you can do and that 'we will allow you to do'".[14] Risks for vulnerability were based on answers like these, in conjunction with the quantitative answers.

For a category of difference to be listed as medium-risk, it had to be mentioned four to six times, and also supported with qualitative data. For instance, only four people noted sexual orientation as important, but seven people mentioned that they had either experienced or noticed discrimination against gay staff members in the qualitative data. Each of the categories that have been considered to be of medium vulnerability was identified in this way.

The categories that were mentioned zero to three times were not ranked because they were not mentioned many times, and also because there was very little qualitative data to supplement them.

Categories of Difference that May Indicate Vulnerability
Chart 3.1



[14] Some of the quote has been omitted for confidentiality reasons.

Note that there may be categories of difference, which are not listed above, but which are *potential* issues not indicated by the instruments as a result of the issues not yet having surfaced. The vulnerability of transgendered people in a heterosexist environment, and of foreign people in a country where xenophobic attacks are not uncommon (Harris, 2002), may be potential issues of this kind.

Once this list had been compiled, the participants' responses were analysed to see how many of the privileged and vulnerable traits they possessed, in order to determine their likely level of vulnerability. In this way, it was determined that eighteen of the participants belonging to more privileged categories of difference than vulnerable categories of difference, whereas seven were more likely to be vulnerable.

Of course having multiple categories of difference in vulnerable positions should be taken seriously as these could work together to create multiple intersecting experiences of discrimination. We should also keep in mind that certain vulnerable positions might be hierarchal, and shift. Under certain circumstances, a vulnerability might seem like a non-issue. For instance, if a participant is young but surrounded by fellow employees whom they consider to be in the same age category, the issue of age might be very low on their hierarchy of importance. If that circumstance shifts and the participant finds him/herself in the company of a group ten years his/her senior, their youth might move to the top of their hierarchy.

If the organisation uses this information to identify those who are privileged and those who are vulnerable, this could have a real, positive impact on the experiences of individuals in the workplace. The organisation could work with groups and individuals to empower them and encourage self-reflection and awareness of privilege to help break down the barriers preventing equal opportunities for all

employees. It would also be possible to identify new staff who might be vulnerable, and provide pre-emptive support to them.

Reducing Discrimination by Encouraging Self-Reflection

Based on participants' responses to Section F on the written questionnaires, and to Questions B9 to B12 in the interviews, it seems one of the most pressing issues identified by the intersectional tool was the inability of participants to reflect on their own propensity to discriminate. Eleven participants were unable to self-reflect at all, meaning they were unable to recognise their own propensity to discriminate, or question their tendencies to stereotype. Seven were able to self-reflect only slightly, so they were sometimes able to acknowledge that they believed negative stereotypes, and they were able to question them, but they found it difficult to reflect on how they might sometimes exclude people because of this. Five participants were able to self-reflect on their tendencies to discriminate, to acknowledge how this might impact some of their behaviour, and to question their stereotyping. One participant was able to acknowledge that he/she discriminates against others, but the participant could not see the harm that this would cause to his/her colleagues. The participant also mentioned enjoying the feeling that arises from being able to command the lower-ranking employees, especially the cleaning staff and security. This participant also had several "vulnerable" traits which may explain his/her behaviour: perhaps he/she tries to gain a sense of control over his/her own vulnerability by targeting others.

Whatever the reasons that people discriminate, the ability of employees to self-reflect is particularly important in this organisation because there is such a wide range of privileged and vulnerable traits amongst the employees. Thus, a series of workshops on self-reflection and privilege would potentially have great value. Individuals who are able to reflect a little could benefit from the workshops a lot

because the workshops would trigger more reflection. For those currently unable to reflect, a well-run workshop would be a safe place to demonstrate the privileges they may have, which could be preventing them from seeing the discrimination that still exists. Also, those who are already able to self-reflect well would be useful for encouraging the others, in addition to being given an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of themselves.

In addition, workshops that focus on self-reflection and acknowledgement could be vital for breaking down barriers between employees. Systems of domination – and the oppressive behaviours that go along with them – often go unacknowledged because of ideologies that advocate unity and harmony. Those who do suffer under the oppressive systems can become resentful when their suffering appears to go unrecognised by those they regard as privileged. If these systems and behaviours are acknowledged and discussed openly in workshops it could be eye-opening for those who have been indoctrinated with the idealistic belief that we should not see difference in other people.

The facilitator should use exercises that highlight differences and similarities between employees, along with exercises that help employees to recognise their own privileges. In addition, the workshops should include a section where participants can see that everyone is capable of oppressing others, and that even if they are from an oppressed group they may at the same time be part of another, privileged group.

Specific issues such as rank, age, linguistic imperialism and so on could be used in many of the exercises. Part of the workshops should include a discussion of the distinction between acknowledging differences between people, and believing that these differences make certain people morally superior to others. Finally, there should be some components focused on self-discovery and recognition of human needs.

I recommend that a series of workshops be spaced out over many months, to give participants the requisite time to grapple with these difficult issues. Profound personal changes require time for passive reflection, and also the changes are more likely to last if the workshops are not simply once- or twice-off events. Workshops like these have been shown to be effective when implementing diversity approaches (Green, et al., 2002), and also when attempting to raise consciousness around White privilege (Katz, 2003). These types of workshops could easily be extended to include various types of discrimination and privilege.

Workshops such as these could be key to transforming the work environment. If the more privileged employees could work together with the more vulnerable employees to break down systems of domination, this would go a long way to breaking down the barriers to equal opportunity.

Identifying, Acknowledging and Explaining Contentious Issues

The intersectional tool revealed several contentious issues, which, once identified, could potentially be resolved by sensitive acknowledgement and rational explanation of the issues by the organisation's leadership.

An example of this sort of issue is the situation in which Christians are asked to work on some of their religious holidays, while those who practice minority religions are often accommodated. Once the organisation has acknowledged that this is an issue for some people, it should openly state that it supports each employee's right to practice his/her religion freely, but that it also expects to be able to continue to function as a business. Next the organisation should be open about the fact that the reason minorities can be accommodated is because the organisation can generally still function with enough staff members to run the business, because the majority of the staff is Christian. Then the organisation should point out that it is open to a solution

that would accommodate as many Christians as possible but still keep the business running. A small workshop could be run with the purpose of finding a mutually satisfying solution. By encouraging the solutions to come – at least in part – from the staff members, the organisation empowers employees to see that they can determine their own destiny, and to feel that the organisation respects them.

Another issue is that of BBBEE. The organisation should be more transparent about its BBBEE initiatives, how various groups will be affected, and in particular what kind of long-term opportunities will be offered to those who feel threatened by BBBEE. Also, new forms of skills training could be offered in order to keep employees stimulated and give them opportunities to develop themselves regardless of how they are impacted by BBBEE.

The organisation may also choose to think creatively to resolve the issues identified above relating to language. Again, an open, transparent, rational approach to the issue would be imperative. Perhaps the organisation could also encourage employees to learn some basic communication skills in each other's home languages. This would be beneficial for building bridges between coworkers, and would also help some customers to feel more at ease.

Finally, the organisation may choose to have a small workshop about political debates when elections are coming up. This could emphasise the positive aspects of having a large, politically active population, and the beneficial nature of debate. The facilitator could offer some short exercises that would help employees learn how to debate respectfully.

Recommendations for Future Intersectional Analyses of the Workplace

The main function of the case study as it is presented in this thesis is to demonstrate in a practical, real-world context that an intersectional analysis of the

workplace has merit. In the conclusion of the thesis I will argue that the case study successfully performed this function.

However, the case study was the first of its kind and is still in the early stages of development. Because a subsidiary goal of the case study is to inspire, and also provide advice for future studies of this kind, it is appropriate to point out some of the limitation of the initial instruments and analysis.

The Interviews

The interviews were perhaps a bit long to do in one sitting as participants were generally tired by the end of the interview process. It would be difficult to shorten the interview because of the loss of penetration necessary to do the analysis. Therefore I would recommend doing a similar interview, but instead breaking it into two parts. This would likely be more manageable for the participants, and lead to richer responses to the second half of the interview.

Section A was extremely useful because it helped us identify how participants understood their categories of difference. In addition, it served as a reference point for the participants so they could answer questions later in the interview more effectively. However, the questions about where they would place themselves on the political spectrum would need to be removed or substantially revised, as many of the participants were too unfamiliar with the political spectrum to be able to answer the question reliably.

Section B was useful because it helped us, and the participants, identify the hierarchies to their categories of difference and the ways that these shift between the work environment and their personal lives. The “horizontal” section helped when discussing how history has impacted the participants’ experiences, though some were unwilling to offer much detail.

The "vertical" section was quite confusing for a lot of the participants. Many of them seemed unable to place themselves in the different socio-political spaces. I would recommend that in future a description be given for each socio-political space to help the participants to imagine it first. Only then should they be asked to reflect on their experiences. It may also be wise to offer a range of socio-political spaces in the workplace, which should lead to a more enriched understanding of their various experiences at work. For instance, participants could be asked about the differences between interactions that happen around the water cooler, in the boardroom or over a business lunch with superiors.

In the section on self-reflection, participants struggled to understand that simply identifying their othering tendencies did not mean that they were necessarily judging others. Many of them have been indoctrinated with the idealistic belief that we should not see difference in other people. It was very difficult for them to realise that question B9 was not asking them to judge difference as good or bad, but simply to identify it.

Reflecting on question B10 – which does ask them to question their tendencies to stereotype – was also difficult for them. This is perhaps to be expected as identifying one's own imperfections is usually a difficult process, even for the most emotionally mature individuals. In order to put the participants at ease, in the future it might be useful if the administrator went through each question and honestly answered them out loud in front of the participants. If the participants can see that the administrator is open about their own tendencies to other, the participants may not be worried about being judged. It may also be useful for the administrator to openly reflect on his/her privileges, and the ways they hope to change. That way the

participants can see that it is acceptable to acknowledge privilege in order to work towards a more equitable workplace.

Some of the participants struggled with the wording of C3. They did not understand how to envision changes in their interpersonal relationships in different socio-political spaces. Participants also laboured with all of Section D, quite possibly because the questions in this section were not sufficiently concise. This could and should be improved.

The Written Questionnaires

These proved to be vitally important for identifying the commonalities between individuals, which were difficult to ascertain in interviews owing to their extremely in-depth nature.

Sections A and B worked similarly to the way the interview questionnaires did, although one feature of the questionnaires – the fact that participants could not ask questions – led to some confusion on a few questions such as "what is your culture?" Also, some participants gave no explanations in Section C. This was disappointing because the explanations were often the most important part of the data. Both of these problems could be avoided in future if an interviewer is present for the written questionnaire.

Questionnaire participants seemed to struggle less with the questions regarding socio-political spaces in Section E than the interview participants. This may be explained by the fatigue experienced by the interview participants, or it may have been caused by the way the questions were asked in the interview. Regardless, there was still not enough useable information gathered from Section E in the written questionnaires to comment extensively with respect to socio-political spaces, and so future questionnaires should be changed accordingly.

Section F confirmed the results of the interviews in that many of the participants were not able to self-reflect effectively. The space provided for sharing any of their thoughts was used a few times, but often it was left blank. Here again it might be useful to ask the administrator to answer the questions honestly for him/herself; if the participants can observe another person making themselves vulnerable, perhaps they will feel more comfortable doing so themselves.

Lastly, it was disappointing that out of approximately fifty staff members, only fifteen filled out the written questionnaires, possibly because they were concerned about confidentiality. Luckily this was supplemented by the interviews, but in future studies it may well be necessary to have fuller participation. Future studies conducted by or on behalf of an employer could presumably avoid this concern by insisting that all employees participate, while at the same time ensuring anonymity. If a similar study were to be used for academic purposes in the future, it would be advisable that a more transparently confidential form of collection be used.

Conclusion

The Employment Equity Act (EEA) seeks to promote employment equity in South Africa. However, we know from multiple sources that there is still inequality in the country's workplaces. It is clear that the ways in which the EEA is currently being implemented does not address the full purpose of the EEA. This is at least partly because these initiatives do not focus enough on how to create equal opportunities in the workplace.

It is true that some pioneering organisations do acknowledge the extent inequality, and are working to move beyond the numerical goals inherent in affirmative action plans towards embracing diversity in the workplace. However, before organisations can hope to implement equal opportunities, they must first have a deep, nuanced understanding of the complex issues preventing equal opportunities for their employees. In order to do this, organisations must identify and acknowledge not only the individual prejudices that still exist, but also the systems of domination that perpetuate the stereotypes which fuel those prejudices. Equal opportunity initiatives superficially aimed to treat the symptoms of inequity instead of thoroughly investigating the root causes, are doomed to be, at best, temporary fixes.

My central hypothesis is that the required depth and complexity of understanding can be achieved by using the body of theory known as intersectionality to develop a model for understanding inequality in the workplace. I have supported this hypothesis in two ways: a theoretical argument presented many good reasons to accept the hypothesis; and a case study demonstrated that it would in fact work in practice.

At the theoretical level, a primary benefit of using an intersectional analysis is that it compels us to ask why there is inequality in the workplace. This enables an

assessment of who is actually disadvantaged, what the issues are, and what systems of domination are perpetuating inequality. Intersectionality looks beyond simplistic understandings of identity to the complex nature of oppression and privilege. It highlights the historical context, and questions the overlapping experiences employees have at work and in their personal lives. Intersectionality requires that we embrace the uncomfortable reality that there is inequality and that in order to reduce it we must be willing to acknowledge the part we play in it. Once employers have an understanding of some of the root causes of inequality, and if they are willing to reflect on how they participate in the inequality, they can use that information to decide how to transform their businesses.

Another strength of intersectionality is its all-encompassing nature. It highlights many social categories that are often overlooked by calling on us to account for complexity. By exploring as many intersections as possible, we can get insight into the complex nature of individual human experiences. Then, by examining the commonalities we can find the similar threads experienced by multiple people. One may be able to arrive at some of the same conclusions if one were to use other forms of analysis, but few, if any, other individual forms of analysis would provide such a multidimensional account of the issues.

The case study successfully demonstrated that an intersectional tool offers an informed and improved understanding of the workplace. Of course there is merit in having one's suspicions confirmed, but there is arguably even greater value in discovering that one's presumptions were false. It was therefore pleasing to note that the case study identified some expected issues, but also some surprising ones. For example, though some racism was evident, one might have expected it to be more prominent given South Africa's history. Conversely, ageism was unexpectedly

prevalent, given that the age gap between employees was quite small. It was also valuable to observe that gender appeared to have no effect on equality of opportunity (which may be disappointing for some, given that intersectionality is traditionally a feminist theory).

By using intersectionality to derive the survey instruments and to analyse the participants' responses, it was possible to confirm that employment equity is still evading the organisation, regardless of its dedication to employment equity. By engaging the questions of why there is inequality, the case study offered the employer an understanding of the underlying reasons that certain categories of difference were emphasised, including the role of the external influences that contribute to inequality in the organisation, such as the systems of domination, the societal influences, and history. Without this information, the employer cannot fully understand the inequality that persists amongst the employees and cannot deal with the core issues.

If the organisation had chosen another form of analysis, the intersections between race, education, age, and the historical contribution to these issues may have been missed. More importantly, the systems of domination that contribute to these types of oppression may not have been recognised, and the most vulnerable employees would not have been identified. Furthermore, other forms of analysis may not have required the self-reflection which is essential to an intersectional analysis, and possibly key to ultimately resolving issues of inequality.

Ultimately, I believe that I have shown that intersectionality offers a richly informed, practicable and holistic approach to improving equality of opportunity in South African workplaces. This is important because in order to embrace the full purpose of the EEA – and defeat the remaining inequality in the workplace – South African organisations need holistic approaches that identify the root causes of

inequality in order to address them. If South African organisations embrace approaches like this, they have the potential to be model employment equity employers.

Works Cited

Acumen Fund. (2012). Retrieved January 18, 2012, from Acumen Fund: www.acumenfund.org

Adib, A., & Guerrier, Y. (2003). The Interlocking of Gender with Nationality, Race Ethnicity and Class: the Naratives of Women in Hotel Work. *Gender, Work and Organization , 10* (4), 413-432.

Allard, M. (2002). Theoretical Underpinnings of Diversity. In C. H. Allard (Ed.), *Understanding and Managing Diversity.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Pretice Hall .

Anthias, F. (1998). Rethinking Social Divisions: Some Notes Towards a Theoretical Framework. *Sociological Review* , 557-580.

Anthias, F., & Yuval-Davis, N. (1983). Contextualizing Feminism: Gender, Ethinc, and Class Divisions. *Feminsit Review , 15*, 62-75.

Archbar, M., & Abbott, J. (Directors). (2003). *The Corporation* [Motion Picture].

Arneson, R. (2002, 8-October). *Equal Opportunity*. Retrieved 2011, 6-June from Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosphy: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/equal-opportunity/

Ashmore, R. D., Solomon, M. R., & Longo, L. C. (1996). Thinking About Fashion Models' Looks: A Multidimentional Approach to the Structure of Preceived Physical Attractiveness. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin , 22* (11), 1083-1104.

Backer, D. (2009). Cross-National Comparative Analysis. In H. v. Merwe, *Assesing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Emperical Research* (pp. 23-89). Washington, D.C.: USIP Press.

Baldwin, M. L., & Johnson, W. G. (1995, October). Labor Market Discrimination

Against Women with Disabilities. *Industrial Relations* , 555-577.

Barak, M. E. (2000). Beyond Affirmative Action: Toward a Model of Diversity and Organizational Inclusion. *Administration in Social Work , 23* (3/4), 47-68.

Bennett, J. (2001). The Racism of 'Gender Equity'? A Discussion on Policies on Sexual Harassment in South Africa. *Racism and Public Policiy* (pp. 1-10). Durban: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Berg, S. V. (2005). How Effective are Poor Schools? Poverty and Educational Outcomes in South Africa. *SACMEQ International Invitational Research Conference.* Paris.

Bhorat, H., & van der Westhuizen, C. (2008). *Economic Growth, Poverty, and Inequality in South Africa.*

Booysen, L. (2007). Barriers to Employment Equity Implimentation and Retentions of Blacks in Managment in South Africa. *South African Journal of Labour Relations , 31* (1), 47-71.

Booysen, L., & Nkomo, S. (2010). Employment Equity and Diversity Managment in South Africa. In A. Klarsfeld (Ed.), *International Handbook on Diversity Managment at Work* (pp. 218-244). Cheltenham: Edward Elger.

Bowerman, S. A. (2000, July). Linguistic Imperialism in South Africa: The 'Unassailable' Position of English. Capt Town, South Africa: The University of Cape Town.

Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + Lesbian + Woman /= Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Quantitative and Qualitative Intersectional Research. *Sex Roles , 59*, 312-325.

Brah, A., & Phoenix, A. (2004). Ain't I a Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality. *Journal or International Women's Studies , 5* (3), 75-86.

Brison, S. J. (2000). Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self. In M. Bal, J. Crew, & L. Spitzer (Eds.), *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (pp. 39-54). Hanover.

Brown, W. (2008). *The Impossibility of Women's Studies.* The United States of America: Duke University Press.

Browne, I., & Misra, J. (2003, June 4). The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market. *Annual Review Sociology* .

Bureau of African Affairs. (2011, October 3). *Background Note: South Africa*. Retrieved November 28, 2011, from U.S. Deparment of State Diplomacy in Action: www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2898.html

Carbado, D. W., & Gulati, M. (2000-2001). The Fifth Black Woman. *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues , 11*, 701-729.

Central Intelligence Agency. (2005-2008). *The World Factbook*. Retrieved January 25, 2012, from Centrral Intelligence Agency: www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2172.html

Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black Feminsit Thought: Knowledge Conciousness and the Politics of Empowerment.* Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Collins, P. H. (2000). It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation. In U. Narayan, & S. Harding (Eds.), *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World* (pp. 156-176). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Commission for Employment Equity. (2011). *11th CEE Annual Report: 2010-2011*. Department of Labour Republic South Africa. Pretoria: Department of Labour.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. (1996). Bill of Rights Section 9, No. 2. Pretoria.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum,* (pp. 139-167).

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review , 43* (6), 1241-1299.

Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful. *Feminist Theory , 9*, 67-83.

Davis, M. S. (1986). 'That's Classic!' The Phenomenology and Rhetoric of Successful Social Theories. *Philosophy of the Socail Sciences* , 285-301.

Demos, T. (2006, October). *Fortune*. Retrieved January 18, 2012, from CNN Money: http://money.cnn.com/popups/2006/fortune/g500_accountability/index.html

Department of Labour Republic of South Africa. (2008, September 12). *Basic Guide to Employment Equity Plans.* Retrieved December 8, 2011, from Department of Labour Republic of South Africa:www.labour.gov.za/legislation/acts/basic-guides/basic-guide-to-employment-equity-plans

Department of Labour Republic of South Africa. (2003). *Employment Equity Analysis 2003.* Department of Labour Repbulic of South Africa. Department of Labour Republic of South Africa.

Dhamoon, R. K. (2011). Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality. *Political Research Quarterly , 64* (1), 230-243.

Dhamoon, R. K. (Performer). (2010, Spring). *Lecture on Colonialism, Post-Colonialism, and Anti-Racism.* The University of the Fraser Valley, Abbotsford, British Colombia, Canada.

Disabled World. (n.d.). *Health and Disability News and Statistcs for Africa*. Retrieved January 21, 2012, from Disabled World: www.disabled-

world.com/news/africa/

Elphick, R., & Davenport, R. (Eds.). (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History.* Berkley: University of California Press.

Employment Equity Act. (1998). *No. 55* . Pretoria: Government Gazette.

Equal Education. (2011). *What is EE*. Retrieved February 5, 2012, from Equal Education: www.equaleducation.org.za/what_is_EE

Esty, K., Griffin, R., & Schorr-Hirsh, M. (1995). *Workplace Diversity: A Managers Guide to Solving Problems and Turning Diversity into a Competative Advantage.* Avon, Massachusetts: Adams Media Corporation.

Fihlani, P. (2011, June 30). *South Africa's Lesbians Fear Corective Rape*. Retrieved January 21, 2012, from BBC News: www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13908662

George, S. (2007). Why Intersectionality Works. *The World Conference Against Racism.* Isis International Manila.

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (Performer). (2011, 10-October). *Lecture on Narrative Trauma and Forgiveness.* University of Cape Town, Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Green, K. A., Lopez, M., Wysocki, A., & Kepner, K. (2002). *Diversity in the Workplace.* Retrieved 2011, 8-December from http://intranet.hsgd.org/IndexPageMaterials/Diversity%20Article.pdf

Hagestad, G. O., & Uhlenburg, P. (2005). The Social Seperation of Old and Young: A Root of Ageism. *Journal of Socail Issues , 61* (2), 343-360.

Hancock, A.-M. (2007). When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Qucik Addition: Exmining Intersectionality as Reseach Paradigm. *Perspectives on Polotics , 5* (1), 63-79.

Hargreaves, A. (2003). *Teaching in the Knowledge Society: Education in the Age of Insecurity.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Harris, B. (2002). Xenophobia: A New Pathology for a New South Africa? In D. Hook, & G. Eagle (Eds.), *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice* (pp. 169-184). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Henkeman, S. (2011a, April). Lecture. (A. Warnat, Interviewer)

Henkeman, S. (2011b, February). Multi-Perspective Analysis Lecutre. (A. Warnat, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Hoog, C. O., Siebergs, H. G., & Linde, B. (2010). Affirmed Identities? The Experience of Black Middle Managers Dealing with Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity Policies at a South African Mine. *South African Journal of Labour Relations , 34* (2), 60-82.

hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism.* Boston: South End Press.

hooks, b. (2001). *Salvation: Black People and Love.* New Yor: HarperCollins Publishers.

hooks, b. (2000). Visionary Feminism. In b. hooks, *Feminsim is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* (pp. 110-118). London: Pluto Press.

Horwitz, F. M., & Jain, H. (2011). An Assment of Employment Equity and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Developments in South Africa. *Equality Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal , 30* (4), 297-317.

Horwitz, F. M., Bowmaker-Falconer, A., & Searll, P. (1996). Human Resource Development and Managing Diversity in South Africa. *International Journal of Manpower , 17* (4/4), 134-151.

Johannesburg Stock Exchange. (2010). *The Johannesburg Stock Exchange SRI Index:*

Background and Selection Criteria 2010. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Jorgens, C. (2006). Perceptions of Employment Equity Implementation at a Major South African Multi-National Financial Corporations. *Postamble , 2* (1), 30-45.

Kantola, J., & Nousiainen, K. (2009). Insitutiinalizing Intersectionality in Europe. *International Feminist Journal of Politics , 11* (4), 459-477.

Katz, J. H. (2003). *White Awarness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training* (Second Edition ed.). The University of Oklahoma Press.

King, D. K. (1988). Multiple Jeopardy, Multiole Conciousness: The Context of Black Feminist Ideology. *Signs , 14* (1), 42-72.

Langlois, J. H., Kalakanis, L., Rubenstein, A. J., Larson, A., Hallam, M., & Smoot, M. (2000). Maxims or Myths of Beauty? A Meta-Analytic and Theoretical Review. *PsychcArticles , 126* (3), 390-423.

Lindsay, B. (1979). Minority Women in America: Black American, Native American, Chicana, and Asian American Women. In E. C. Snyder (Ed.), *The Study of Women: Enlarging Perspective of Social Reality* (pp. 318-363). New York : Harper & Row.

Maslow, A. (1943). A Theory of Human Moivation. *Psychological Review , 50* (4), 370-396.

Max-Neef, M. (1991). Human Scale Development: Conception Application and Further Reflections. In M. Max-Neef, *Development and Human Needs* (pp. 197-214). The Apex Press.

Mbola, B. (2008, June 18). *SA Chinese Now Qualify in terms of BEE, BBBEE.* Retrieved November 28, 2011, from BuaNews: www.buanews.gov.za/news/08/08061812451004

McCall, L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs , 30* (3), 1771-1800.

McIntosh, P. (1986). *White Privledge and Male Privledge: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Stuides* . Massachusetts Center for Research on Women. Massachusetts: Anna Wilder Phelps Fund.

Miles, R. (1989). *Racism*. London: Tavistock.

Moleke, P. (2006). After 10 Years of Employment Equity, It's Still Business as Usual. *HSRC Review , 1*, 4-5.

(n.d.). Retrieved 2012, 21-January from Stephen Hawking: www.hawking.org.uk/about-stephen.html

Nathan, L. (Performer). (2011, July). *Lecture.* The University of Cape Town, Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Nattrass, N., & Seekings, J. (2001). "Two nations"? Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa Today. *Daedalus , 130* (1), 45-70.

Nelson, T. D. (Ed.). (2002). *Ageism: Sterotyping and Prejudice Against Older Persons.* Massechusettes: Massechusettes Institute of Technology.

Oxford English Dictionary. (2012). *Xenophobia*. Retrieved February 5, 2012, from Oxford English Dictionary: www.od.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/view/Entry/230996?redirectedFrom=Xenophobia#eid

Pape, J. (2002). The Struggle Against Enchroachment: Constantia and the Defence of White Privilege in the "New" South Africa. In D. A. McDonald, & J. Pape, *Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery in South Africa* (pp. 123-142). Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Publishers.

Patel, P. (n.d.). *Notes on Gender and Racial Discrimination: An Urgent Need to*

Integrate an Intersectional Perspective to the Examiniation and Development of Policies, Strategies and Remedies for Gender and Racial Equality. Retrieved November 13, 2011, from United Nations Commission on the Status of Women: www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/Patel45.html

Perelman, M. (2000). *The Invention of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy and the Secret History of Primitive Accumulation.* United States of America: Duke University Press.

Phillipson, R., & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1996). English Only Worldwide or Language Ecology? *TESOL Quarterly , 30* (3), 429-452.

Phoenix, A. (2006). Editorial: Intersectionality. *European Journal of Women's Studies 13* (3), 187-192.

Pillay, V. (Performer). (2011 йил 10-November). *Lecture for the Center for Conflict Resolution.* The River Club, Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Puar, J. (2011, January). Retrieved January 18, 2012, from eipcp: http://eipcp.net/transversal/0811/puar/en#_ftnref6

Ramphele, M. (2008). *Laying Ghosts to Rest: Dilemmas of the Transformation in South Africa.* Cape Town: NB Publishers.

Razak, S. (1998). *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rothenberg, P. (2000). *Invisible Privilege.* Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

Rummens, J. A. (2003). Conceptualising Identity and Diversity: Overlaps, Intersections, and Processes. *Canadian Ethics Studies , 35* (3), 10-25.

Skeggs, B. (2006, January 18-20). 'Which Bits to Exploit? Making Value from Emotional Telling on Reality TV'. Aalborg.

Smith, A. (2006). Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy. In

Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology (pp. 66-73). Massachusetts: South End Press Cambridge.

Sondergaard, D. M. (2005). Making Sense of Gender, Age, Power, and Discipinary Postiton: Intersecting Discourse in the Academy. *Feminism and Psychology, 15* (2), 189-208.

Staunaes, D. (2003). Where Have All the Subjects Gone? Bringing Together the Concepts of Subjectitifation and Intersectionality. *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies , 11* (2), 101-110.

Steyn, M., & van Zyl, M. (2009). *The Prize and The Prince: Shaping Sexualities in South Africa.* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Terreblanche, S. (2002). *A History of Inequlaity in South Africa 1652-2002.* Scottsville: University of Natal Press.

The Institute of Directors of Southern Africa and the King Committee. (2009). *The King Code of Governemnce 2009.* The Insitute of Directors of Southern Africa.

The Presidency Republic of South Africa. (2009). *Development Indicators 2009.* The Presidency Republic of South Africa.

The Social Equity Group. (1997-2012). Retrieved January 18, 2012, from The Socail Equity Groups: www.socialequity.com

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (1998). *Volume Four Truth and Reconcilation Commission of South Africa.* The Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The United Nations Global Compact. (2011, July 28). *UN Global Compaact Perticipants*. Retrieved January 18, 2012, from The UN Global Compact: www.theunglobalcompact.org/ParticipantsAndStakeholders/index.html

Thomas, A. (2002). Employment Equity in South Africa: Lessons from the Global School. *International Journal of Manpower , 3* (3), 237-255.

Trahan, A. (2011). Qualitative Research and Intersectionality. *Crit Crim , 19,* 1-14.

Trillium Asset Managment. (1982). Retrieved January 18, 2012, from Trillium Asset Managment: http://triliuminest.com

Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple Inequalites, Intersectionality and the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies , 13,* 211-228.

Werther, W. B. (2006). *Stratigic Corporate Social Responsibilty: Stakeholders in a Global Enviorment.* Sage Publications.

Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2002). Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Health: Findings from Community Studies. *American Journal of Public Health ,* S29-S37.

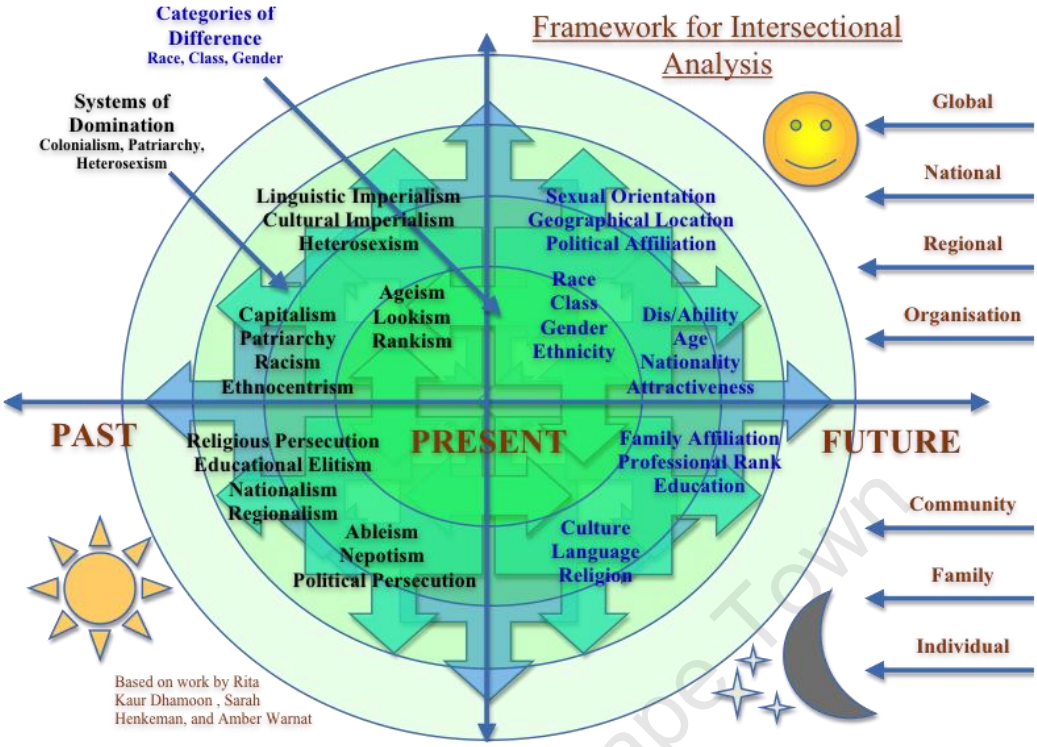
Williams, O. F. (2009, June 8-9). *Recasting the Bottom Line: Educating for Capitalism in the 21st Century (PRME).* Retrieved May 20, 2011, from http://nd.edu/~ethics/publications/PDF/Prof%20Oliver%20Williams%20-%20Recasting%20the%20bottom%20line%20.pdf

Yu, D., & Nieftagodien, S. (2008). *Poverty and Migration: Evidence from the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Area.* South African Labour and Development Research Unit. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). *Gender and Nations.* London: Sage.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies , 13,* 193-209.

Appendix A: Interview Questions



Do not read any italics out loud these are for the researcher only. Read the Questions exactly as they have been written including the instructions, and only offer the EXAMPLE if the participants need further clarification.

The data collected from this survey will be used to analyse equal opportunities in the workplace. The information will be used for a Masters Thesis at the University of Cape Town. This questionnaire will be completely confidential; so do not be afraid to answer honestly. Please feel free to ask questions if you do not understand, or you need further clarification. Thank you very much for your time and effort!

Section A

Lenses of Difference

What lenses, or combination of lenses, do employees use when observing and interacting with the world around them? Is there a clear explanation? If so, what is it?

Is there anyone who has been identified as particularly vulnerable to discrimination? If so, who and why?

Please write your answers down on your tracking sheet, and verbally answer.

- A1: What is your position in the organisation?
- A2: What is your ethnic background? *EXAMPLE*: my ancestors came from Germany, Malaysia, and the Congo.
- A3: Do you see yourself as belonging to a certain culture? If so then what is it? *EXAMPLE*: Indian, or Jewish, or South African Afrikaans
- A4: What is your home language?
- A5: Do you speak others reasonably fluently? If so what are they?

- A6: Do you consider your looks to be above average?
- A7: Do you have religious beliefs? Is so what religion do you belong to, if any?
- A8: What race do you consider yourself to be?
- A9: Do you see yourself as belonging to a particular class? Which one? *EXAMPLE*: Middle Class
- A10: What is your gender?
- A11: Do you have any disabilities? If so what are they? *EXAMPLE*: Epilepsy
- A12: How old are you?
- A13: How would you describe your age category? *EXAMPLE*: Mid thirties
- A14: What is your nationality?
- A15: What is your sexual orientation?
- A16: Which area do you live in? *EXAMPLE*: Stellenbosch, Malbury, Kayamundi
- A17: Do you see yourself as having any political affiliations? If so what are they? *EXAMPLE*: ANC
- A18: Where would you generally place yourself on the political spectrum? *EXAMPLE*: Left Wing Liberal, or Socialist, or Conservative
- A19: What is your level of education? *ONLY ASK IF THEY ANSWER SOME LEVEL OF HIGHER EDUCATION*: If you studied higher education what did you specialise in?
- A20: Are you related to anyone you work with? If so, to whom?

Section B

Intrapersonal

Is there a hierarchy to these lenses in the workplace? If so, what is it, and is there a clear explanation for why this hierarchy exists? If so, what is it?
Does the hierarchy change in employees' personal lives? If so, how, and is there a clear explanation for why this hierarchy exists? If so, what is it?

- B1: Which of your answers in Section A seem more important when you are in the work environment? Please rank your answers on your tracking sheet by their level of importance starting with the most important. (You can list as many as you like) Please verbally explain your answers.
- B2: Which of your answers in Section A seem more important when you are in your personal life? Please rank your answers on your tracking sheet by their level of importance starting with the most important. (You can list as many as you like) Please verbally explain your answers.
- B3: If your answers to B1 and B2 are different, why do you think that is? Please verbally explain your answers.

Do certain lenses or combinations of lenses impact the employees' relationship with themselves in positive or negative ways? If so, which ones, and is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
How do these lenses, or combination of lenses, impact employees' aspirations either positively or negatively? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
What lenses, or combination of lenses, motivate employees to live their lives the way they do? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?

- B4: Which of your answers in Section A, if any, impact your self-esteem? Please verbally explain your answers.

Horizontal

How has history impacted the lenses the employees use today? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
Are certain lenses, or combinations of lenses, more prominent today because of history? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
How does the past, present, and future, inform the employee's sense of identity? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
Are there certain lenses that could be dropped or added in the future that would enrich the employees' lives? If so, what are they?
Do the employees hope for a new way of understanding in the future, in relation to themselves? If yes, then how? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?

- B5: How do you think history has shaped your ability to obtain the position you have in the organisation today? Please verbally explain your answer.
- B6: Do you feel like that might change in the future? Please verbally explain your answer.

Vertical

How do the employees' lenses, or combination of lenses, impact their experiences of themselves, their families, their communities, etc.? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
Do different lenses become more dominant in certain interactions than in others? If so, which ones? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
How do employees understand themselves to be included or excluded from their community, nation etc. because of the lenses, or combination of lenses, they use? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
How do the employees' experiences of different socio-political spaces impact how they feel about themselves in the workplace? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?
Is there anything the organisation could do to limit the employees' negative experiences? If so what?

Look at your answers to Section A. Then look at each socio-political space provided and imagine yourself in each setting.

- B7: Do you feel like any of your answers in Section A hinder or help you if you are in a different socio-political space? Does this ever impact your self-esteem? Please verbally explain your answers.
- B8: Which of your answers in Section A seem more important when you imagine yourself in each socio-political space? Please verbally explain your answer.
  EXAMPLE: Do you feel like your family, and organisation accepts you, but your community rejects you because of your sexual orientation?

Dark and Light

How does the way employees self-identify perpetuate prejudices? Who do they include or exclude when they self-identify? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?

Everyone has an identity based on his or her answers to section A. Then based on those answers they determine who is either similar or different to themselves. If you had to create a profile of yourself using **your** answers in Section A, who would you see as different from yourself? Please go through each of your answers and verbally identify whom you would understand as similar and different. It has nothing to do with acceptance or rejection on a personal level just identify who you see as an other in relation to your profile. By identifying whom we understand as different, we can then assess whether we are able to accept them for their differences, or if sometimes we still use negative stereotypes. Please keep in mind this exercise is not meant to make you feel either good or bad. It is simply meant to help us all identify our strengths and weaknesses so we can improve. We ask you to please *gently* reflect on your answers to Section A, to decide who you might understand as similar or different from yourself. Remember everything you say is completely confidential so no one will know your answers. The more honest you are the better the study will go.

- B9: Based on each of your answers to Section A, are you able to identify whom you consider to be different or similar to yourself? Please answer each one verbally. *EXAMPLE*: If you consider yourself to be South African, then everyone you consider to be South African is similar to you and everyone you think of as foreign is an 'other'.
- B10: Are you able to reflect on whether there are any positive or negative stereotypes you associate with your answers? If so, what are they, and please verbally explain why you think that is. Remember that you do not need to be politically correct here, we all fall into the trap of stereotyping sometimes even if we do not mean to. The point is we need to identify where we do this before we can challenge it within ourselves. *EXAMPLE*: Do you sometimes think men are good drivers and women are bad drivers because of a stereotype?
- B11: Looking at the different socio-political spaces, do you find you are more inclined to use stereotypes in certain socio-political spaces, and not in others? If so which ones, and please verbally explain your answer. Please refer to the socio-political spaces list.
- B12: Are you able to question your stereotypes? Can you identify how some of these stereotypes might be preventing you from accepting others? Please verbally explain your answer?

Section C
Interpersonal

How do employees' lenses, or combination of lenses, interact with those of other employees? Is there a clear explanation for why they interact in the ways that they do? If so, what is it?

- C1: Have you ever felt that other employees discriminated against you because of any of your answers to Section A? Please rank your answers on your tracking sheet by their level of importance starting with the most important. (You can list as many as you like) Please verbally explain your answers. *EXAMPLE*: I am

careful not to talk about my sexuality because I know some of my coworkers sometimes make fun of gay people.

- C2: Have you ever thought someone else at work was discriminate against because of any of **their** answers to Section A? Please verbally explain your answer.

Horizontal

How does the past, present, and future, impact how employees treat each other? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?

Vertical

How do the employees' experiences of different socio-political spaces impact how they interact with one another? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?

Is there anything the organisation could do to limit employees' negative experiences? If so, what?

- C3: Look at each socio-political space provided, and when you imagine yourself in each setting, do you sometimes feel you are discriminated against because of some of your answers to Section A? If so, how? Please verbally explain your answer. *EXAMPLE*: Does your family life/ community life/ national life impact your ability to cooperate with your co-workers?

Section D
Institutional

How do employees' lenses, or combination of lenses, interact with the organisation? Is there a clear explanation for why they interact in the ways that they do? If so what is it?

- D1: Which of your answers in Section A, if any, impact your relationship with the organisation positively or negatively? Please rank your answers on your tracking sheet by their level of importance starting with the most important. (You can list as many as you like) Please verbally explain your answers. *EXAMPLE*: A certain woman might claim that being female has affected her negatively within the organisation because the organisation pays women less money than men.

Horizontal

How has the organisation's history impacted how the employees feel valued in the present? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?

Do different departments' past, present, and possible future differ in some way from other departments? If so, which ones? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it ?

Do the employees hope for a new way of understanding in the future, in relation to themselves, other departments, or the organisation? If yes, then how?

How does history impact the lenses we use today as a company, and how do these interact with our employee's lenses? Is there a clear explanation?

- D2: When you examine your answers in Section A, do you feel that South Africa's history has impacted how much the company values certain aspects of

your identity? If so which ones? Please rank your answers on your tracking sheet by their level of importance starting with the most important. (You can list as many as you like) Please verbally explain your answers. *EXAMPLE*: A certain White male may answer that because the organisation historically valued middle-aged White males, he has been historically privileged through access to high levels of skills training.

- D3: Are there certain departments in the organisation that you feel are either privileged or discriminated against because of South Africa's history? If so which ones? Do you think this will change in the future? Please verbally explain your answer.
- D4: What are your hopes for the future? Please verbally explain your answer.

Vertical

How do the employees' experiences of different socio-political spaces impact how they interact with the organisation? How does this impact the company, either positively or negatively? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it? Is there anything the organisation could do to limit the employees' negative experiences? If so what?

- D5: Look at each socio-political space provided, and when you imagine yourself in each setting, do you sometimes feel the organisation discriminates against you because of some of your socio-political spaces? If so, how? Please verbally explain your answer. *EXAMPLE*: Your community is in Mitchell's Plain, and you feel like the organisation looks don on people from that community.
- D6: If there are any negative experiences, is there anything the organisation could do to help reduce these? If so, what? Please verbally explain your answer.

Dark and Light

How do our company lenses impact the employees' lenses to encourage or discourage equality?
Does this have an impact in the workplace? If so, how? Is there a clear explanation as to why? If so, what is it?

- D7: Do you ever feel that the organisation has certain preconceived ideas about people that either encourage or discourage equal treatment? If so what are they, and please verbally explain your answer?
- D8: How do you think these ideas impact the workplace? Please explain your answer.

Is there some way that the organisation could work with employees to create an environment that would support the usage of new, more accepting lenses? If so, which ones?
Are certain lenses considered to be more important to employees than to the organisation? If so which ones? Is there a clear explanation as to why? What is it?
Are there some new lenses that could be cultivated that would be more useful for both the organisation and employees? If so, what are they, and why?
How and why will the promotion of new lenses interact with other lenses already in use?

- D9: How could the organisation build an environment that would make employees feel more accepted by the organisation? Please verbally explain your answer.

Section E
Systemic Inequality

Employees

What systems impact our employee's lives? Is there a clear explanation?
Which systems do they struggle against? Is there a clear explanation?
Do these systems work together to dominate or empower our employees? How do they dominate or empower them, and is there a clear explanation?
What is the history of the systems that employees perpetuate? How do they do this, and is there a clear explanation?
What is the history of the systems they have resisted? How have they done this, and is there a clear explanation?
How have the past systems impacted the systems employees participate in today? Is there a clear explanation?
How do the systems the employees participate in differ from the ones the organisation participated in? Are these interactions positive or negative? Is there a clear explanation?
What systems do employees participate in personally, communally, and nationally, et cetera? Is there a clear explanation?
What systems of domination or empowerment do employees participate in? How do they participate in them, and is there a clear explanation? What are the positive or negative effects on employees, and how do these impact the organisation? Is there a clear explanation?

Organisation

How might employees resist against systems in the future? How might the resistance impact the organisation negatively or positively?
Is there any way the organisation can break down systems of domination while maintaining the interests of the organisation and its employees? If so, how, and is there a clear explanation?
Are there any negative systems that we could work to break down that would be beneficial to employees? Is there a clear explanation?
Are there any systems that we need to perpetuate? Which ones, and is there a clear explanation?

Appendix B: Interview Tracking Sheet

Tracking Sheet

Section A

Please write down your answers to the questions when asked to do so in the interview.

1. Position: _____
2. Ethnicity: _____
3. Culture: _____
4. Language: _____
5. Other Languages: _____
6. Attractiveness: _____
7. Religion: _____
8. Race: _____
9. Class: _____
10. Gender: _____
11. Disabilities: _____
12. Age: _____
13. Age Category: _____
14. Nationality: _____
15. Sexual Orientation: _____
16. Geographical Location: _____
17. Political Affiliation: _____
18. Political Spectrum: _____
19. Education: _____
20. Family Relations: _____

Section B

B1: _____

B2: _____

10. Gender: _____
11. Disabilities: _____
12. Age: _____
13. Age Category: _____
14. Nationality: _____
15. Sexual Orientation: _____
16. Geographical Location: _____
17. Political Affiliation: _____
18. Political Spectrum: _____
19. Education: _____
20. Family Relations: _____

B9:

1. Position: _____
2. Ethnicity: _____
3. Culture: _____
4. Language: _____
5. Other Languages: _____
6. Attractiveness: _____
7. Religion: _____
8. Race: _____
9. Class: _____

Section C

C1: _____

Section D

D1:

Positive

Negative

D2:

Thank you very much for your participation. Please make sure you leave this with your interviewer.

Appendix C: Written Questionnaire

The data collected from this survey will be used to analyse equal opportunities in the workplace. The information will be used for a Masters Thesis at the University of Cape Town. This questionnaire will be completely confidential; so do not be afraid to answer honestly. Thank you very much for your time and effort!

Section A

A1: What is your position in the organisation?

_____

A2: What is your ethnic background? *EXAMPLE*: a mixture between German, Malaysian, and Congolese.

_____

A3: Do you see yourself as belonging to a certain culture? If so then what is it?

_____

A4: What is your home language?

_____

A5: Do you speak other languages reasonably fluently? If so what are they?

_____

A6: Do you consider your looks to be above average?

_____

A7: Do you have religious beliefs? Is so what religion do you belong to, if any?

_____

A8: What race do you consider yourself to be?

_____

A9: Do you see yourself as belonging to a particular class? *Example:* Middle Class

_____

A10: What is your gender?

_____

A11: Do you have any disabilities? If so what are they? *EXAMPLE*: Epilepsy

_____

A12: How old are you?

_____

A13: How would you describe your age category? *EXAMPLE*: Mid thirties

_____

A14: What is your nationality?

_____

A15: What is your sexual orientation?

_____

A16: Which area do you live in? *EXAMPLE*: Stellenbosch, Malbury, Kayamundi

_____

A17: Do you see yourself as having any political affiliations? If so what are they? *EXAMPLE*: ANC

_____

A18: Where would you generally place yourself on the political spectrum? *EXAMPLE*: Left Wing Liberal, or conservative, or socialist?

_____

A19: What is your level of education? If you studied higher education what did you specialise in?

_____

A20: Are you related to anyone you work with? If so, to whom?

_____

Section B

B1: Which of your answers in Section A seem more important when you are in the work environment? Please rank your answers by their level of importance starting with the most important. (You can list as many as you like)

_____

_____

_____

B2: Which of your answers in Section A seem more important when you are in your personal life? Please rank your answers to by their level of importance starting with the most important. (You can list as many as you like)

_____

_____

_____

B3: If your answers to B1 and B2 are different, why do you think that is? Please explain

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section C
Please circle one answer (either: yes, no, or sometimes) and give a quick explanation.

C1: Have you ever felt that other employees discriminated against you because of any of your answers to Section A?

Yes	No	Sometimes

Explanation

C2: Have you ever felt that the organisation discriminated against you because of any of your answers to Section A?

Yes	No	Sometimes

Explanation

C3: Have you ever thought someone else at work was discriminate against because of any of *their* answers to Section A?

Yes	No	Sometimes

Explanation

Section D
Please circle to what extent you agree with the statements.

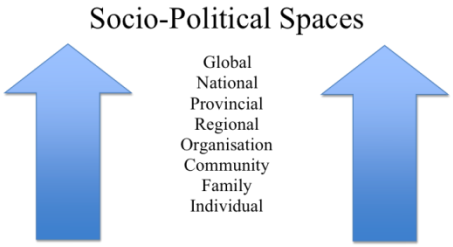
D1: How much do you think history impacts your answers to Section A?

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

D2: How much do you think history impacts discrimination?

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

Section E
Please circle to what extent you agree with the statements below and give a quick explanation. Below is a list of socio-political spaces that will help you answer the questions.



E1: I feel like my answers to B1 change depending on which socio-political space I am in.

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

Explanation

E2: Because of my answers in Section A, sometimes I feel like people discriminated against me in different socio-political spaces.

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

Explanation

E3: Sometimes when *other* people are in different socio-political spaces I think people discriminated against them, because of *their* answers to Section A.

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

Explanation

Section F

Everyone has an identity based on his or her answers to section A. Then based on those answers they determine who is either similar or different to themselves. If you had to create a profile of yourself using **your** answers in Section A, who would you see as different from yourself? Please go through each of your answers and verbally identify whom you would understand as similar and different. It has nothing to do with acceptance or rejection on a personal level just identify who you see as an other in relation to your profile. By identifying whom we understand as different, we can then assess whether we are able to accept them for their differences, or if sometimes we still use negative stereotypes. Please keep in mind this exercise is not meant to make you feel either good or bad. It is simply meant to help us all identify our strengths and weaknesses so we can improve. We ask you to please *gently* reflect on your answers to Section A, to decide who you might understand as similar or different from yourself. Remember everything you say is completely confidential so no one will know your answers. The more honest you are the better the study will go.

F1: Sometimes I exclude people because they are not like me.

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

F2: Sometimes I accept that negative stereotypes are true.

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

F3: I am able to question the validity of negative stereotypes.

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

F4: I think the company could do more to break down negative stereotypes.

Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree

Please explain how you think this could be done and which ones need to be broken down _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

F5: Please feel free to share with us any other comments you have about this process or the equal treatment of employees _____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you very much for your participation.