THE O REPORT

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Executive Summary

This case study is one of ten case studies being conducted as part of a larger research project on Diversity and Equity Interventions in South Africa (DEISA). The aim of the research is to develop codes of good practice around diversity work in South African organisations. The organisation (O) was approached by INCUDISA to take part in a case study.

O is a small ingredient manufacturing concern based in Cape Town. At the time of the research they employed 232 people. An HR consultant was employed five years ago to implement an EE plan. Part of the implementation of this plan involved the establishment of an Employment Equity Committee. The EEC also took on the mandate of training, making it the Employment Equity and Training Committee. The HR manager named the EETC as the diversity intervention in this case. As the focus of the research was on good practice it was important that the HR manager judge this intervention to be successful. Although he/she admitted that there were areas of difficulty, the intervention was judged as a success overall.

The aim of this research was to investigate the effects that this intervention had had on the organisation. The effects were assessed at every node of the organisation. Both tangible factors like policy and structures and intangible factors like stakeholder experiences and organisational culture were assessed. The assessment was made in terms of two frames of references - legislative imperative i.e. the EE Act and critical/diversity management theory.

The point of departure for this assessment was that the mere fact that O were participating in the research was significant. It indicated that O are confident in their achievements and that they are open to opportunities for growth and learning.

Researchers spent two weeks on site collecting data. Data included documentation, interview material and observational material. These materials were then analysed under the following headings:

1. Workforce Profile
2. Policy (including Vision and Mission)
3. Stakeholder experiences
4. Organisational culture

1. Workforce Profile

O have made good progress in reaching and in some cases exceeding their EE targets. However, the organisation remains racially and gender stratified with white males dominating top positions. Furthermore, disciplinary action and terminations are racially skewed. There has been one disabled appointment in the last five years.

2. Policy

There is no policy driving the proactive engagement of diversity at O. Furthermore, much supporting policy (which could stand alone) is also absent. Examples of such policy could be policy around religious and lifestyle needs or the integration of diversity into performance appraisals etc. The reason for this lack is that diversity is not conceptualised as a business imperitive that could be leveraged on to gain competitive advantage and as such is not integrated into core business strategy. Even though "Embracing diversity" forms part of O's Vision and Mission, it is in no way clear, in the policy, how this will be done and for what reasons.

In so far as diversity is engaged by management it remains at the level of compliance and employment equity. O are performing well at the EE level, having met most legislative requirements. The major problems which exist at this level of analysis are 1) that the EETC was not elected by staff and is thus seen to be illegitimate and 2) that O has no clear policy to address how it will drive affirmative action.

At the level of diversity management, however, the mere fact that the EETC was named as a diversity intervention suggests that O are conflating EE and diversity management and thus not moving beyond compliance measures. The EETC and EE in general are tools in the implementation of successful diversity management but they are not diversity management. Diversity and its management encompass a much broader range of issues than racial and gender representation. This is a leadership issue and requires strategic engagement and clear policy.

3. Stakeholder experiences

Interviews with stakeholders suggest that although the EETC has achieved major success especially in the areas of recruitment and training, there are serious issues which undermine the functioning of the EETC. The major problems with regards to functioning are:

- the EETC is dealing with labour issues which should be dealt with by the unions
- the EETC does not operate in a proactive way according to the analysis it undertook, but rather in a reactionary ad hoc manner
- the terms of reference of the EETC and its members are not clearly defined

- EE representatives are not elected and therefore many stakeholders feel they do not represent their interests
- management dominate the EETC forum and as such many stakeholders do not feel their issues are taken up
- there are problems with communication, these are however related to the points above. An important issue is the way management see the EETC as a forum to communicate their issues "down" and not as a space where staff can communicate their issues "up".

Some of these problem areas are not particular to the internal functioning of the EETC but rather a function of a broader organisational culture.

4. Organisational culture

An analysis of the organisational culture revealed three major themes:

- The people / management divide -There is a very real divide which exists between "the people" and management. This is reinforced by structural factors such as separate lunch areas and entrances. This divide is not neutral. Management clearly hold power and staff are very aware of this. The problem arises when this power divide inhibits full participation by all staff, which seems to be happening at O. Management seem to dominate both communication networks and democratic structures like the EETC. As a result staff report feeling marginalised and threatened within these structures. While an element of this is common to all workplaces, there seems to be an overriding culture of fear which permeates the workforce over all levels (except senior management). Staff don't use the fora open to them as they fear victimisation or stigmatisation. This problem has been a serious impediment to the functioning of the EETC.
- A learning culture - The advances made in the training programmes have been accompanied by some problematic side effects. Training schedules do often not take lifestyle needs into account. Further to this, people going on especially ABET training are stigmatised. Overarching these issues is the presence of problematic racialised interpretations by management of why the training is failing in some cases.
- Gender, race and culture - Despite greater demographic representation O remains a problematically gendered and raced work environment. This is especially true for lower level workers, who are all black and coloured and where gender becomes most apparent in problems related to maternity and the presence of sexual harassment as documented by the staff survey.

In conclusion, O has made good progress in its implementation of EE. This, however, does not translate into much progress with regards to managing diversity. The problem lies at a strategic level and diversity

and its value needs to be seen as a positive that can be leveraged on to drive the business forward. The EETC itself has seen successes in recruitment and training but is dogged by internal and broader organisational culture issues which undermine functioning. Importantly the EETC is a body for EE and although EE is the foundation on which diversity is built, the EETC cannot be responsible for driving diversity as well.

It is recommended that O embark on a serious diversity intervention. This requires first of all repairing the relationship with the unions and establishing a legitimate EEC. It also requires establishing an independent task force to drive diversity initiatives in the organisation. Diversity needs to be conceptualised beyond EE and beyond race and gender. It needs to be integrated into the core functioning of the business. Strategy and policy need to be developed in order to do this. We strongly recommend that all members of staff should undergo diversity training and senior executives coaching, to assist them in this change process.

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Glossary and List of Symbols

Employment equity: The Employment Equity Act is an attempt at achieving equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reasons unrelated to ability and, in the fulfilment of that goal, to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced in the past by designated persons by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences (Tucson Corporate LGBT Coalition 2005)

Diversity: A broad definition of diversity ranges from personality and work style to all of the visible dimensions of diversity, to secondary influences such as religion, socio-economics and education, to work diversities such as management and union, functional level and classification or proximity/distance to headquarters (ibid.)

Valuing Diversity: Valuing diversity builds upon the critical foundation laid by workplace equity initiatives. The focus of this intervention is on recognizing the uniqueness in everyone, valuing the contribution that each can make and creating an inclusive work environment where awareness of, and respect for those of different cultures is promoted. It is the quality of the work experience, rather than simply the participation rate of designated persons (ibid.)

Diversity Management: Managing diversity is different from valuing diversity because it focuses on the business case for diversity. Under this scenario, capitalising on diversity is seen as a strategic approach to business that contributes to organizational goals such as profits and productivity. It also does not involve any legal requirements and is not implemented just to avoid lawsuits. Managing diversity moves beyond valuing diversity in that it is a way in which to do business and should be aligned with other organizational strategic plans (ibid.)

DEISA – Diversity and Equity Interventions in South Africa Research Project

O - Name of Company

EETC - Employment Equity and Training Committee

EE - Employment Equity

HR - Human Resources

ABET - Adult Basic Education and Training

R&D – Research and Development

1. Introduction

For the last ten years we have seen a growing 'industry' in 'diversity' work, where agencies offering consultancy on diversity (and related issues) have mushroomed. There are no standards by which such work can be categorised or assessed, especially regarding outcomes aimed at 'management of difference' vs. 'transformation'. The intention of this research is to theorise diversity and transformation from a South African position as well as to deepen the discussion around marginalisation, gender, culture and power in South African organisations. (DEISA SANPAD Proposal 2003)

This case study is the first of ten being conducted as part of a larger research project on Diversity and Equity Intervention in South Africa (DEISA). Please see Appendix 1 for a Summary of the DEISA Project. The aim of the research is to look in-depth at examples of successful diversity interventions and in so doing establish codes of good practice. The intervention in this case was the Employment Equity and Training Committee.

2. Methodology and Analysis

The aim of the case studies is to "measure the organisational experience and adjustment after the intervention" and collect and analyse "desk-top evidence of structural transformation as well as staff perceptions and experiences of change" (SANPAD Proposal 2003: 6). The case studies are made up of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. However, the major focus is on the in-depth qualitative examination of the organisation, most specifically through the use of personal interviews and focus groups. Using this triangulated data collection technique, the aim is to aim to gain 'thick' data for each case study.

Data was collected over two weeks in February 2005. As this was the pilot case study, it served not only as data collection but also as a refining of the data collection design. The original design for the pilot case study relied on 5 main data collection sources:

2.1. Questionnaire

This was originally the primary method of data collection. The questionnaire consisted of sixty-seven items. The first twenty-eight questions enquired after the general transformation process in O. The second thirty-nine questions asked respondents to identify a particular activity they found significant in this broader transformation process and comment on it. This dual focus was an adapted version of the original research focus which was on one activity or intervention. This dual focus was introduced as a result of a conversation with the HR Manager (14/02/05). It was this dual focus which made the questionnaire much longer than it should have been.

The questionnaire was to be used as a platform to conduct in-depth interviews and respondents had the option to volunteer for participation. The questionnaire was sent to the HR Manager who emailed it to all administrative staff, management and supervisors who were instructed to pass it on to their staff. This was done on the Thursday of the week before we went on site.

Collection boxes were put at security and reception. People also had the option to hand the completed questionnaires directly to the researchers. The researchers spent the first week on site further distributing paper copies of the questionnaire and making themselves available for assistance, especially during tea and lunch time, where they spent time in the canteen. It was hoped that being available for consultation would serve as a mechanism for assisting those employees experiencing difficulties with language and literacy issues. Within the first week, however, only eight questionnaires had been returned. It is for this reason that the questionnaire was not used a data source but replaced by additional interviews and focus group data.

We have reflected on some of the reasons for this poor response rate. There were methodological and logistical reasons:

- The questionnaire was too long.
- The questionnaire was in English and written. It is understandable that people who were not literate and not comfortable with English would not complete the questionnaire.
- Distribution was a problem. The questionnaire was e-mailed to everyone with access to company email. This would include management, administrative staff and supervisors but excludes the many people who work on the factory floor. Many of the floorworkers had never seen the questionnaire even though their supervisors were instructed by the HR Manager to distribute them. The questionnaire was also posted on the company electronic network but confounding issues of computer literacy served as barriers to access via this medium for some.

The above reasons suggest a problem with communication. This and other reasons serve to highlight the status of diversity at O. These will be explored in the findings.

2.2. Ethnographic observation

Throughout their time on site researchers made observations around anything they felt relevant to the organisational culture and the way in which diversity is being worked with.

2.3. Interviews and focus groups

Because it was not possible to follow the initial route via the questionnaires, interviews and focus groups were became the main source of data. They were selected purposefully. We tried to get as broad a picture as possible over various demographics and levels of seniority. The interviews for different levels were differently

focused, but all interrogated the Employment Equity and Training Committee. See Appendix 2 for interview questions.

The decision to conduct focus groups or interviews was largely pragmatic. We only did focus groups with the floor workers. The reason for doing focus groups with the floor workers is because there a lot of them, therefore it was possible to take more than one person out of their work at one time. This was not possible for admin staff, as the admin departments are small and a focus group would result in a whole department being brought to a standstill. Thus individual interviews were conducted for admin, middle management and senior management. The racial and gender representation of the interviews reflects the racial and gender make up of the various areas.

The majority of interviews were conducted in English. Some focus groups were conducted in Afrikaans, although translation was available for clarification. We appreciate how flawed this is when there were a minimum of four language groups represented on the staff. The decision to use primarily English was largely dictated by budgetary constraints.

2.4. Documents

These were downloaded from the shared folders on the company Intranet. These folders are electronically available to everyone in the organisation. These folders also contain posters that are put up on notice boards throughout the factory and admin areas. These are marked as such, including details of which notice boards they appeared on.

2.5. Basic stats and demographics

Basic descriptive statistics were collected from Annual Employment Equity Reports and the Staff List.

2.6. DEISA data collection model

The above data collection process was refined in a subsequent Steering Committee meeting (30/03/05 – 01/04/05). The biggest change made to the methodology was that the questionnaire was deemed unviable and dropped. A data collection model for further case studies was developed. Please see Appendix 3 for a graphic depiction of this research process.

2.7. Data sources

The above data collection yielded the following main sources of data used in this report:

- company policy documents
- company promotional materials
- minutes of management and EETC meetings
- company EE reports
- 27 in-depth interviews with staff of all levels:
  - 12 out of 15 EETC members including; 2 members of senior management, 1 member of middle, management, 2 shop stewards (floor staff), 5 administrative and technical staff, 2 floor workers
  - 4 individual interviews with floor staff (who did not want to participate in focus groups)
  - 5 admin/sales and marketing/lab staff
  - 2 members of middle management
  - 4 members of senior management (not in the EETC)
- 4 focus groups (with between 6 and 8 people in each group) with floorworkers
- observations of organisation and staff

2.8. Analysis

The data was analysed under different focus areas. Each section drew off all the data sources and explored issues relevant to equity and diversity in that focus area. This was done through referring to critical theory (Essed 2002, Foucualt 1977, Johnson 1997, Wildman and Davis 2000 etc.) and critical management/ organisational theory (Deetz 1992, Gardenswartz and Rowe 1997, Grimes 2001 2002, Hayes and Russell 1997, Hicks-Clarke & Iles 2000, Kersten 2000, Lorbiecki and Jack 2000 , Mills 2002, Nkomo & Stewart 2005, O'Hara-Devereaux 1994 etc, Roosevelt Thomas 1990 etc.). The following sets out the focus areas and the basic questions that were asked in the analysis on the data under these headings:

2.8.1. Workforce profile

What demographic changes have occurred in the make up of the organisation? What do the available statistical data reveal about patterns of employee movement and what, if any, are the connections between this movement, equity and diversity?

2.8.2. Legislative framework analysis, evaluation & interpretation

To what extent does O meet it's legislative requirements around EE and it's Employment Equity Forum? How if at all does a policy and a structure for EE work towards the valuing and managing of diversity?

2.8.3. Vision, mission, policy and diversity

In what ways are equity and diversity addressed in O's policies? To what extent is diversity valued and managed in O's policies?

2.8.4. The Employment Equity and Training Committee (EETC)

The EETC was evaluated using various data sources. Most notably, it was evaluated in relation to stakeholder perceptions. The relationship between the EETC and other structures was explored.

2.8.5. Organisational culture

The organisational culture of O was interrogated. The question was asked: how, if at all, has the EETC contributed to a more inclusive organisational culture and enabling environment for diversity?

2.8.6. Qualitative analysis

The qualitative data (including interview and focus group materials, minutes, promotional and policy materials) was analysed using Interpretive Grounded Theory (Lincoln and Guba 1985, Miles and Huberman 1994, Strauss and Corbin 1990 1994, Babbie & Mouton 2001). Emergent categories were arrived at inductively and prevalence, trends and patterns were described.

In some cases, these were interpreted using critical discourse theories. There was particular focus on the way in which speech can be "deployed" to render particular "interpersonal functions" as well as to have "ideological effects" (Potter and Wetherell 1988:169). Billig (1988:200) refers to ideology as "a pattern of ideas, values and interpretations" which is characterised by "different styles and traditions of explaining social events" (201). According to Billig (ibid.), "it is possible to study ideology by attempting to situate discourse within its wider ideological context" and that "an individual's thinking should therefore be interpreted in terms of broader social and historical patterns". Inherent in the conceptualisation of ideology are implications for power. What engagement of ideology in this way does is examine the way in which power relations, as manifest in these broader social and historical processes, are either perpetuated or challenged, in the telling of these stories. This analysis recognises that organisations are not "private" spaces but rather sites for the intersection of larger social phenomena (Deetz 1992; Kersten 2000). The discursive analysis seeks to explore some of the ways in which broader ideology is being challenged and/or perpetuated through the "stories" that are told in this organisation.

3. O Company Profile

O produces ingredients for the food industry. These products include chocolate products, syrups, non-diary whips and toppings. O focuses not only on manufacture but also on new product development. It prides itself on its R&D and its ability to "introduce tailor made solutions in phenomenally quick turnaround time" (O Promotional Literature 2005)[1].

[1] Name has been changed to protect the anonymity of the organisation.

Only by persistent and unremitting educational efforts will we one day see that mutual helpfulness and tolerance between differing peoples have become as important to our welfare as having clean air, clean water, and a healthy environment.

O is a family owned business. According to the O Newsletter (November 2004 Issue 4) this has allowed the company to develop a flat organisational structure with minimum bureaucracy, which allows it to respond rapidly to customer requirements. This keeps it competitively positioned in its field.

O was established forty years ago. O has experienced rapid growth over the last ten years. In 1994 it employed twenty-two people (Company News Letter November 2004 Issue 4), at the time of the case study that number was 232 (O Staff List 2004).

O is located north of Cape Town. This site includes the administration offices, research and development as well as manufacturing and packaging. As all these functions are present on one site, the full spectrum of the organisation's hierarchy is represented. According to the O Employment Equity Report for 2000 (4) the staff profile is "representative of the economically active Western Cape population, both in race and gender". The company also has sales offices in Johannesburg and Durban.

4. History of the HR function, EE and the EETC

The current HR Manager was employed in 2000 as an HR Consultant. Her main directive was to develop and implement an Employment Equity and Skills Development Plan (HR Manager 14/02/05).

A consultative process was followed in the implementation of the EE plan. There were presentations to staff of all levels about the content of the EE act and the importance of employees' involvement. A management Statement of Intent was signed and displayed on notice boards (EE Report 2000).

Representatives were then elected onto the Employment Equity Committee (EEC). Although elected, the members were also supposed to be representative of all company levels and categories as well as designated and non-designated[2] groups. There was also union representation. It was decided that the EEC serve as the Training committee (EETC). At the time of establishment, presentations were done to the committee on the requirements of the Skills Development Act and a sensitisation workshop on gender and race stereotypes. It was originally conceived that the Committee meet weekly in company time. (ibid.)

Various analyses were conducted on commencement of the EE plan:

(a) Review of policies, practices and working conditions: The EETC reviewed all company practices and procedures. Action points to remedy this were included in the Equity Plan. The researchers did not have access to this review. It seems, however, that generally, the practices and procedures were not documented.

[2] As per EE Act 1998 Section

(b) Workforce profile: Forms were given to all employees in order to allow self-declaration. Statistical data was obtained and comparisons made with comparable local companies within the industry.

(c) Workforce audit: The committee developed a questionnaire. All employees were asked to participate. The questionnaires were translated into Afrikaans and Xhosa. For the employees who had problems of literacy or understanding, committee members could assist. The results of the questionnaire were analysed and discussed by all the EETC Members. The results formed the basis for remedial action to be included in the Equity Plan (EE Report 2000: 17). It was not clear to the research team how the survey was designed and disseminated, the level of anonymity guaranteed and other such issues which may skew the findings. Nevertheless, the survey did highlight some important issues including the existence of sexual harassment, preferential treatment and racial and gender discrimination.

According to the EE Report (2000:17) "the company's strategic objectives were taken into account in the development of the Workplace Skills Plan and were to be the basis for the full Employment Equity Plan". The broad objective of the plan was to "balance the racial and gender mix across the levels". This was in spite of a clause which stated that "the nature of the work organisation, with significant manual work and the lifting of heavy items, tends to limit the employment of females" (ibid.) and "The nature of the manufacturing operation, limits the employment of the physically disabled and certain other disabilities are limited by safety considerations" (ibid.).

Monitoring and evaluation of the EE plan was undertaken through the EETC Meetings. It was noted that much consultation was required for the development of the EE Plan and that they would meet once a month to further develop it. Once this plan was developed it was planned that the EETC would meet quarterly to monitor the progress and prepare a report for the directors. The management team would then monitor the progress against the EE Plan on a monthly basis. (EE Report 2000)

The EETC is the "diversity intervention" under examination in this report. This report examines the extent to which the EETC is achieving its EE directives as defined by labour legislation and the extent to which it is an effective body for facilitating the valuing and managing of diversity.

5. Achievements To Date

It is important to note in the discussion around the findings, that the mere fact that O is participating in this research is significant. It indicates confidence in their achievements and openness to opportunities for growth and learning. In light of the difficulty the research team has had in accessing other organisations and the general silence around issues of EE, this willingness to participate and learn suggests that O are sincere in their efforts around EE. This sentiment is also clearly stated in conversations with the Directors and the HR Manager.

Furthermore, O have embarked on many initiatives to grow their people. In 2004 they applied for Investors in People[i] accreditation. They did not receive it but at the time of the case study were putting measures in place to reapply.

They have also achieved ISO 9001 compliance. ISO 9001 is "an internationally recognised standard for Quality Systems Management" (O ISO booklet 2004: 3). Although this is not a people management standard it does include aspects of HR which contribute to the quality assurance role it plays. We did not do an in depth analysis of ISO. The point to be made, however, is that it is evident that O are serious about growing their business and recognise the role of the people that they employ in that process.

It is from this point that we engage the analysis.

6. Workforce Profile 2000 - 2004 (Source: EE Reports 2000 - 2004)

6.1. Race, gender and disability

At the time of the analysis O employed 232 people (O Staff List 2004). Due to the nature of the business most of these people were either un- or semi-skilled. See Appendices 4.1 to 4.4 for a breakdown of staff according to level.

From 2000 to 2004 there was a 3% increase in the number of female staff and 3% reduction in the number of male staff. Overall there was a 7% increase in the staff body. Of this 7%, 6% has been female. Furthermore, if we refer to the EE targets to be met by 2005, O had exceeded their gender requirements. See Appendices 4.5 to 4.8.

There was relatively little movement in terms of the overall racial representivity of the organisation. The demographics of the organisation in some ways reflect that of the Western Cape, explaining the dominance of Coloureds and absence of Indians. There was, however, been a 5% increase in African employees. This is the most significant movement in staff over the last five years. There was also a 3% drop in White employees. O had just about met their EE Targets in terms of race. See Appendices 4.9 to 4.12.

There was one appointment of a disabled person, into administrative level.

6.2. Occupational levels by race and gender

The above descriptives have explored the overall make up and movement of the workforce. It is important, however, to examine how these demographics reflect across different levels of the organisation. This is

important in terms of the equitable representation of all people across the organisation, a key towards creating a more enabling environment for a diverse workforce.

When looking at the occupational level across gender and race in 2000, more than 50% of African men employed by O were unskilled workers with very little decision making powers and none fell in the top three levels of seniority. This was also true for African women although they were better represented at technical levels. Coloured men and women were also mostly represented in the lower levels of the hierarchy, but had broader representation across the organisation than African people. Coloured women were not represented in any senior management positions while Coloured men were and there was a greater proportion of Coloured women in lower level jobs. The most significant point to be made was that almost 50% of White males fell in the top three levels and none were represented in the lowest level. White women were also better represented within the top three levels, 40% of White women occupying these positions. There were, however, fewer women at senior management level than men, and none at top management. In general, it seems that race and gender were factors influencing the distribution of staff over different job levels in 2000. See Appendix 4.13.

As similar overall pattern occurred in 2004. There was a small shift in this distribution but none that contributed to a more racially or gender equitable *distribution of power*. In fact White males' stakes in senior management increased. In 2004 they held about 45%, as opposed to 25% in 2000, of senior management positions, whilst the one Coloured male that was represented in 2000, was no longer in this position. There was one more White woman in senior management and two more African and Coloured women at technical levels. Successes in increasing representation overall were undermined by the fact that women, African people and people with disabilities were still under-represented in positions of authority. Furthermore, the increase of White males in these positions did not contribute to a more equitable organisation. See Appendix 4.13.

6.3. Workforce movement

6.3.1. Recruitment

Recruitment figures will obviously reflect the distribution of the race and gender categories as explored above. As such the recruitment into different job seemed to exhibit racialised and gendered trends, which reflect those discussed in the description of the workforce.

Significantly the only recruitment into senior management was White, with men at six recruitments, dominating women at two. Also significant was that all the African men recruited were into the two lowest levels of the organisation, with 90% being in the lowest category. What is encouraging was the recruitment of Coloured and African women into professional positions. However, most of the appointments of African (65%) and Coloured (65%) women still fell in the two bottom occupational categories. This stands opposed to White appointments which mostly fell with in the top four categories (White men at 70% and White women at 75%).

Overall there did seem to have been an effort to recruit skilled Coloured and African people into senior positions. However, there was a definite trend for White people to be recruited into more senior positions and Coloured and African people still failed to feature at Senior Management level. See Appendix 4.14.

6.3.2. Promotions

The promotions figures echoed the dominance of White people in senior management, White men and women were the only demographic to feature at this level. See Appendix 4.15.

6.3.3. Terminations

There were 160 terminations at between 2000 and 2004 with a fair amount of fluctuation in the number per year. In 2003 there was a sharp rise in terminations (92 in total), due to a big number of contracts not being renewed. Other than the peak in 2003, the number of terminations did not rise or decrease significantly. See Appendices 4.16.

When we examine the terminations in terms of race and gender the picture becomes more complex. There was a trend across all four years, in that Coloured males dominated the terminations. All other demographics were fairly evenly represented. This trend is confirmed when we look at termination categories by race and gender across the years. Coloured men were in the majority in the resignation category (29 out of 51). They also dominated the "Dismissal through misconduct" terminations. See Appendix 4.17.

6.3.4. Disciplinary action

Disciplinary action increased over the four years which suggests a higher level of disruption and, perhaps even, unhappiness amongst the staff. There seems to be a racial trend in the number of disciplinary cases. Coloured males dominated, followed by Coloured females and African males. See Appendix 4.18.

6.4. Workforce profile conclusions

There was movement towards more equitable demographic representation at O between 2000 and 2004. Overall there were more women, black people and people with disabilities represented throughout the organisation and O was meeting, or almost meeting, all its EE targets. However, the distribution of power seemed to have remained the same, with White males still dominating in senior positions. Furthermore, disciplinary actions and terminations remained racially skewed.

7. O Policy

Policy at O was examined with two lenses. As this "diversity intervention" is legislative imperative, we examined the organisational policy in relation to legislative benchmarks i.e. the Employment Equity Act. This is the first lens. The second lens is that of the critical / diversity management literature.

7.1. Vision and mission

O's company vision is:

> To be the preferred supplier of innovative, specialised-ingredient solutions to major local and global food and beverage manufacturers.

The Mission reflects how the vision will be achieved:

> **Professional expertise** - we're distinguished by more than 4 decades of hard-earned experience in the competitive, dynamic landscape of the food and beverage industry.
>
> **An entrepreneurial approach** - we're well known for building and maintaining co-operative, hands-on and highly flexible business relationships with our customers, large and small.
>
> **Pioneering R&D solutions** - we're recognised for being able to provide prompt, practical, often ground breaking R&D solutions to match any customer or product challenge.
>
> **World-class standards** - we're acknowledged for our ability to answer stringent customer specifications and exacting international standards of food-safety, quality control and environmental awareness.
>
> **Integrity** - we're respected for our lasting alliances with those who, like ourselves, pride themselves
>
> **Sharing** - we're personally committed to advancing the skills and capabilities of all employees, inviting and rewarding individual contribution and embracing diversity.

The mission does reflect an engagement with diversity in the sub section on sharing. It is, however, unclear how "embracing diversity" translates back to "sharing" and to the vision of being a preferred supplier. In fact it seems as if diversity is an add-on, the last in a long list of priorities.

Vision and mission are operationalised through policy. The vision and mission of an organisation represents its overarching frame of reference and will therefore be the driving philosophy in policy formation. If they do not reflect the "value" of diversity for the business, the policy (and by extension practice) will not do so either (Roosevelt Thomas 1990) Given the timid engagement with diversity in the vision it is not surprising that O do not have a policy document around diversity.

At a minimum, organisations need a coherent policy around diversity in order to engage with it in a productive way (Hayes & Russell 1997). Furthermore, literature suggests that in order for this productive engagement to happen optimally it must be integrated into core business functioning and feature at every node of policy and strategy formulation (Hayes & Russell 1997, Gardenswartz & Rowe 1997, Smith 1999, Thomas 2004). Unless performance around diversity is integrated into business performance, the "value" of a diverse workforce will be lost. This integration is achieved through a clear articulation of the role of diversity in the vision and mission and through the formulation of policy to strategise leverage around it.

This integrated approach is largely underpinned by the idea that diversity is good for business; that firstly, a diverse workforce is more aligned with, and therefore more responsive to, changing market demographics, and that secondly, a work environment that is inclusive results in happier and more productive staff (Ferdman & Brody 1996). This approach to diversity is commonly called the "business case" for diversity and is the most commonly cited "reason" for why diversity should be considered within organisations. The value of such an approach is that it rearticulates the "problem" of diversity into an opportunity (ibid.). O has no policy around diversity and does not integrate the idea into its core business. In the absence of such a policy and strategy the management team do not understand the "value" of a diverse workforce and diversity comes to be seen as the aforementioned "problem". This was confirmed in interviews with senior management where the "value" of diversity in achieving business objectives was very unclear. In many cases the discussion only focussed on compliance.

The "business case "has, however, been criticised for obscuring power relations and as result, rather than working towards transformation, protecting the interests of dominant groups (Kersten 2000, Lorbiecki & Jack 2000). By directing all the attention towards "celebrating diversity" for the purposes of profit making it removes organisations from their social and political contexts, and as a result the socio-political struggle, that diversity work should be engaging (ibid.) Although the "business case" approach is problematic in that it depoliticises the issues that diversity raises, it can almost be seen as an evolutionary step towards critical and political engagement, in that if an organisation can see the "value" of a diverse workforce, it is more likely that it will develop a sense of socio-political awareness or responsibility. In this evolution O are further down the ladder than even the "business case".

7.2. Policy supporting diversity

Further to an actual policy around diversity, it has been suggested by various theorists that an organisation which is successfully managing diversity will reflect certain elements and make provision for certain initiatives and structures in their policies. According to The Society for Human Resource Management (2005) these include:

- inclusion of diversity objectives within performance agreements and appraisals with rewards and recognition for those who 'walk the talk' and integrate diversity into their business strategies
- establishment of employee networking groups
- policies and systems in place to address HIV/AIDS and people with disabilities
- commitment to diversity training
- diversity task group
- clear Sexual Harassment Policy and education about the issues
- measurement process
- policy around needs, values and lifestyle

- policy around cultural and religious considerations

None of the above initiatives are made provision for within the policy of O. However, they are making progress with regards to other criteria that an organisation working towards successful engagement with diversity might exhibit (ibid.):

- adoption of money-based strategies such as tuition reimbursement and college scholar-ships
- visible signs, symbols, statements of the company's support for diversity
- full support from CEO and exco

7.3. Legislative Requirements - The Employment Equity Act

As the intervention under examination is an imperative of the Employment Equity Act, this legislation was identified as a key benchmark for evaluation of O's policies and practices. The EE evaluation itself is limited by the fact that there is no standard definition on what constitutes substantive compliance as compared to procedural compliance[ii]. The latter seems to be the one relied upon the most by the Commission for Employment Equity to draw inferences on the state of compliance with the Employment Equity Act. However, the absence of clearly defined substantive measures affects the reliability of Employment Equity Reports that are submitted to the Director General as prescribed in section 21 of the Act. This absence limited the comprehensiveness of this analysis.

7.3.1. Procedural and substantive compliance: Chapter II of the Employment Equity Act

Section 5 compels every employer *"to take steps to promote equal opportunity in the workplace by eliminating unfair discrimination in any employment policy or practice"*. Section 6 of the Act further provides clarity on grounds that constitute unfair discrimination.

Evaluation of policies at O reveals a lack of explicit policy on prohibition of unfair discrimination. If any there seems to be ad-hoc considerations of the company's responsibility to prohibit unfair discrimination e.g. the company's intent is highlighted briefly in the grievance procedure which makes reference to sexual harassment grievance falling under the normal grievance procedure (O Grievance Procedure 2002). Another example is a company notice that informs employees of consequences for harassment and intimidation of ABET learners (O General Notice - Harassment and Intimidation 15/12/04). However, the effectiveness of these two examples is highlighted in the results of a staff survey, which reveals that 29 out of 52 respondents felt that if they raised their dissatisfaction on something, it will be held against them (O Staff Survey 2000). This is further corroborated by the results.

Issues such as unfair discrimination with regards to disciplinary action that is perceived to be skewed along racial lines are some of the indicators that demonstrate potential violations of Section 6 of the Act (Minutes EETC Meeting 09/07/2004).

7.3.2. Procedural and substantive compliance: Chapter III of the Employment Equity Act

Company O is defined as a designated employer in terms of Chapter I of the Employment Equity Act. Designated employers are required to implement affirmative action measures in line with the requirements of Chapter III of the Act.

Section 15 of the Act defines affirmative action as measures designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups (women, black people and people with disabilities) *"are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce of a designated employer"*.

Section 16 of the Act requires designated employers to consult with employees. Company O was able to provide some detail of consultations that took place with its EETC in the shape of agendas and minutes of EETC Meetings from 2000 to 2004. It was, however, not clear how the nomination of representatives in the Committee took place. This has contributed to poor information dissemination of the Committee's activities to employees on the shop floor, many of whom were unable to describe the purpose of the Committee. Perceptions on the effectiveness of the Committee are highlighted in the next chapter.

The EE Reports show that the company conducted an analysis of barriers as prescribed in Section 19 of the Act. The analysis of the report for 2004 reveals that little to no progress was achieved in removing the barriers that were identified in the report of 2000 (Employment Equity Annual Reports 2000 - 2004).

Company O conducted an analysis in line with the requirements of Section 19 of the Act to identify barriers that adversely affect people from designated groups. The analytical instrument was mainly in the form of a questionnaire that was sent to members of staff. The survey had its own limitations e.g. the questionnaire was in English whereas a number of people in the company were not conversant with the language (O Staff Survey Results 2000)

Company O developed an EE plan as prescribed in Section 20 of the Act. It covered a duration of 5 years, 2000 to 2004. A major component of the O EE plan was Skills Development (O EE Report 2000). Most of the most significant achievements that the company made in implementing this plan supported the Skills Development objectives and included things like Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) and learnerships. One of the limitations of the equity plan was in addressing the recruitment of people with disabilities.

The company appointed a senior manager to take responsibility of driving EE. Interviews with the manager revealed that she was provided with the necessary authority and means to fulfil her functions. This is in line with the requirements of section 24 of the Act.

Section 25 of the Act places a duty on employers to inform their employees. Information regarding EE reports, minutes of the Committee meeting and other relevant information is published on the company's network. All employees have an opportunity to access this information in the company's ABET café. However, people who don't know how to use these computers don't have other alternative sources to access this information.

The researchers were not able to conduct an analysis of the company's income differential statement that is required in terms of section 27 of the Act. No information was provided to the researchers on income differentials.

Though the company has EE plan in place, there is no formal policy around affirmative action. The targets that were set are not supported by explicit measures on how the company will achieve them. There is also no single code of good practice that the company refers to for assistance in its employment equity initiatives. What this suggests is that the EE foundation on which the valuing of diversity is first valued and then managed is unstable, at a policy level

7.4. Beyond legislation - Proactive engagement of diversity

Beyond the legislative framework of EE, there are no benchmarks or codes of good practice relating to diversity management in South Africa. There is, however, a vast body of literature on what "good" diversity management might entail. As discussed earlier, one of the most significant points made by many theorists is that in order for diversity to be successfully valued and managed, it must be leveraged through strategic engagement, through Vision and Mission, and it must be operationalised, through policy. Although O are meeting most of their requirements with regards to their EE, it is significant that they do not have such policy which means there is no engagement of diversity beyond the level of compliance.

The EETC is a body which is legally required as one of the mechanisms for the implementation of EE. It is important to note at this stage that it is potentially problematic that the EETC was identified as the diversity intervention. The EETC is a legal body required for compliance. When we consider the definitions of EE and valuing and managing diversity which were presented in the beginning of the report (Tucson Corporate LGBT Coalition 2005), we are reminded of the different depths of intervention that EE and diversity require. EE creates the foundation for the valuing and managing of diversity which goes beyond compliance and engages positively and proactively with a diverse workforce. Naming the EETC as an intervention at the level of diversity, conflates diversity with EE. This is not uncommon in the South African context where proactive engagement with diversity, rather than diversity as an issue of compliance, is largely underdeveloped.

8. The Employment Equity and Training Committee

This section looks at the functioning of the EETC both as a body for implementing EE as well as creating an enabling environment for diversity. The analysis therefore goes further in the interrogation of the role of the

EETC as defined in legislation where it largely has an EE function. The analysis examines how, through its EE function the EETC is contributing to the valuing and managing of diversity, if at all.

8.1. Legislative imperative

As we have a legislative benchmark for the functioning of this body we must first evaluate its performance in relation to this. In terms of its legislative function the EETC must be nominated by staff and be representative of people across all levels of the organisation and both designated and non designated groups. Its mandate is to conduct an analysis of barriers, develop an EE plan, prepare EE reports and consult with staff on the afore mentioned activities.

The EETC at O successfully met most of its legislative requirements (See Section 7.3 – Legislative requirements). In was, however, not nominated by staff which had a number of implications for its credibility. Furthermore, it did not display a robust and active consultation process, which contributed to poor information dissemination of committee activities and poor engagement with employee concerns. These issues will be examined in more depth in the section which explores stakeholder experiences.

8.2. EETC minutes 2000 – 2004

This section presents an overview of the contents of the O EETC Minutes from 2000 to 2004. The chart below illustrates the most prevalent issues dealt with in the last five years. The numbers represent the number of minutes which deal with the particular issue.

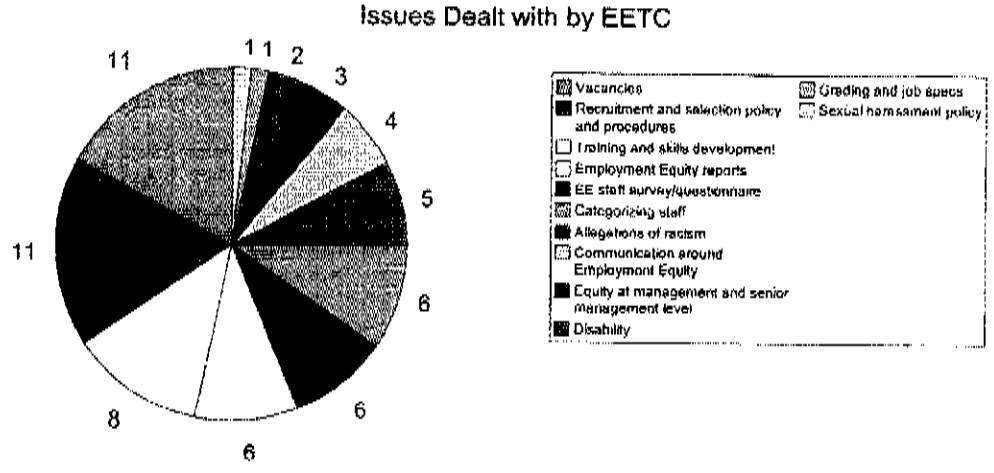

Illustration 1 - Issues Dealt with the EETC 2000 - 2004 (Source: O EETC Meeting Minutes 2000)-2004)

8.2.1. Recruitment and selection policy and procedures

The area which received the most attention was recruitment and selection policy and procedure. Discussions around this topic took place in 33% of all meetings. The minutes indicate that O has battled with finalising, not only the policy, but appropriate procedures for recruitment

8.2.2. Vacancies

The EETC has seen its role as one of overseeing recruitment in the company. Particular vacancies and how to proceed with filling them has been under discussion at 30% of all meetings.

8.2.3. Training and skills development

Although it is the third largest area of discussion, training and skills development received ad hoc and inconsistent attention. The minutes reveal that, the Committee, while attempting to address skills development as one of its priorities, did so without an overall strategy, goals and plan of action. There is also no account of training throughput in the minutes or any other documents provided to the research team. While the EETC prides itself on the fact that "the equity committee covers both employment equity and skills development as an integrated process, which is quite unique from other companies." (O EETC Meeting Minutes 30/09/04), the minutes indicate that the attention given to training and skills development, has not been strategic and integrated at all. See Appendix 5 for more detailed account of the EETC's engagement with this issue.

8.2.4. Employment equity reports

The company Employment Equity Reports or aspects thereof are briefly discussed in several meetings. See Appendix 5 for a summary of the EETC's engagement with the EE reports.

It is noted that the EETC, while raising many EE issues, fails to develop an integrated response or plan of action in relation to any of the annual Equity Reports. Although the numerical data is updated each year the Qualitative Information – Section F, reveals that little to no change has occurred in sub-sections[3] (O Employment Equity Reports 2000 – 2004). What this indicates is that despite satisfactory quantitative movement in, there has been little movement of a qualitative nature.

See Appendix 6 for other issues dealt with by the EETC.

8.3. Stakeholder experiences

[3] Sections include Awareness of Employment Equity, Consultation, Analysis and Employment Equity Plan.

The following section draws on focus groups and interviews with staff, management and EETC members about the EETC. The interviews were analysed for dominant themes and these are presented here with illustrative extracts.

8.3.1. Successes

According to stakeholders the EETC has achieved success in some areas and failed in others. In many cases the failures can be ascribed to problems in functioning. The following section will reflect on successes, failures and problems of functioning as expressed by stakeholders.

In evaluating its own effectiveness, the EETC gives the following account of its successes and achievements (O EETC Meeting Minutes 09/07/04):

- *All employees have a far greater **awareness** of matters regarding equity*
- *Employment of disabled person*
- *Formalised & revised **recruitment policy** that embraces equity principles*
- *Integration into one forum, of organized labour, management & shop floor on matters regarding equity and development.*
- *Establishment of a formal **platform to deal with staff complaints** regarding sexual harassment, hate-speech, discrimination, favouritism /nepotism, etc. The committee is empowered to recommend disciplinary steps if required.*
- *Buy-in and full support of our Directors*

Awareness, recruitment and functioning as a platform to raise staff issues are also reflected as successes in the interviews. The other issues are not mentioned. Furthermore, stakeholders also name successes that the EETC do not. All these comments must, however, be located in the fact that many people did not know about the EETC at all.

8.3.1.1. Awareness

There is a sense amongst management that the EETC has increased the awareness and profile of EE at O which has "taken the EE process forward" (EETC Member). Staff echo these sentiments but some also express the "intangibility" of this awareness:

> *"I think **everybody is much more aware** that there is this thing called Equity" (EETC member)*

> *"For me and **this is more intangible**, it's the awareness factor. I don't know what the spin off is going to be in the long term but **everybody is so much more aware** and informed about matters pertaining to equity." (EETC member)*

There is also a greater awareness of particular issues, in particular, disability. Two admin workers believe that because of the EETC, the company has become more cognisant of the needs of the disabled:

> *"**I think it's successful**, because even if I can just perhaps mention X, who has a disability **in no time, railings were put up in the in the toilet, to ensure that she's comfortable** and that was almost immediate, when she'd started, we didn't have anything like that before."* (Admin staff)

These accounts reflect the first point in the minutes that staff have greater awareness of equity issues. These accounts, however, are contradicted by accounts where staff were not aware of the existence of the EETC and/or its role:

> *"...**so I don't really know about the Committee**,...I see them having meetings, management shop stewards people in the factory that's all I that's all I see."* (Floorworker)

> *Claire: Have you heard of the Employment Equity Committee?*
> *Respondents: **No not really. Can you tell me about it?*** (Floorworker)

Although there is the perception amongst some that there is a greater awareness of equity issues in the organisation, this awareness seems to be uneven. This unevenness seems to occur along hierarchical lines, more senior and administrative staff being better informed about the EETC than the floorworkers.

8.3.1.2. Voice

According to the successes noted in the minutes the EETC provides "a formal platform to deal with staff complaints regarding sexual harassment, hate-speech, discrimination, favouritism /nepotism, etc". This sentiment is echoed by some of the interviews where the EETC is seen as a forum where management decisions can be questioned, staff issues raised and problematic practices addressed:

> *It is a forum **where somebody's decisions can be challenged**."* (EETC member – Senior management)

> *"They put them way back its like **I do believe that people have a voice by having a voice you can in actual fact say what's on your mind. To me that was the greatest achievement.** Its when you go to management or you go to the directors and you say this is the fault we've got a policy on this or we've got an agreement on this and it's not falling in line with equity."* (EETC member – Senior management)

It is significant, however, that both these respondents are both management.

8.3.1.3. Recruitment

The one achievement of the EETC which stands out, and is mentioned by almost every Committee member interviewed, is recruitment. This is understood in terms of setting out a policy and procedures and generally facilitating individuals applying and being fairly considered for positions.

> ***"The major issue is recruitment. ... Recruitment, yes!*** *Because we have this report that the Company the report that the Company submitted to the Department of Labour."* *(EETC member)*

There are still perceived problems with recruitment, however. The first thing to note is that the changes made seem to be understood in terms of legislative compliance - "because we have this report". This supports the earlier comments made around the lack of strategic engagement with diversity and the lack of clarity in the EETC's role in implementing it. It does, however, fit in the understanding of the EETC's role as body which drives transformation through EE and, more specifically, meeting racial quotas.

It may be because of this understanding of the EETC's role as meeting quotas that although it is named as a success of the EETC there is also resistance to the new recruitment policy. It seems as if some reactionary discourse appears in relation to this policy. In one case EE is seen as limiting the recruitment of "qualified" individuals and in another it is seen as downright threatening:

> ***"When I needed a specific person to fill a specific position in my department, I don't know if this is the right thing to say, but I don't think I could take the best person for the job****....You have to get a person because he's Black or Coloured. No matter whether it's the best person for the job."* *(Admin staff - White)*

> ***"There is absolutely no security because they need to look for a black person to fill that position –*** *so that has they have not dealt with me, really is not looking after me even though I have the experience, prepared to commit to them, prepared to work with that I have not been acknowledged as a result of that and in my frustration is with the company."* *(Admin staff - White)*

The above comments reflect typical white South African discourse around EE and affirmative action (Steyn 2001). Though O has an EE plan in place, it has no formal policy around AA. The EE targets are not supported by explicit measures on how the company will achieve them. Nonetheless these white employees communicate a sense of threat to their livelihoods and the quality of the organisation, because of AA. Johnson (1997:111) notes that for privileged classes, the slightest deviation from their privilege is experienced as a "profound loss". Gardenswartz & Rowe (1997: 37) go onto say that "as long as one person's gain is perceived as another person's loss, fears of reverse discrimination will provide resistance to diversity". The problem with transformation initiatives defined in as narrow and superficial terms as only meeting racial quotas creates an environment which allows reactionary discourse to flourish. Most commonly this discourse hooks into ideas that equate EE candidates with not being "the best person for the job", as is seen above (Steyn 2001). Grimes (2002) names this resistance, by specifically white people, as a major reason why many

diversity initiatives either fail or remain at a very superficial level. Conversely it can be also argued that this resistance is in fact facilitated by superficial diversity initiatives, like simple racial quotas. Having said that as Roosevelt Thomas (1990:117) puts it, before you can manage diversity "you must first have a work force that is diverse at every level". Affirmative action is an important and necessary step in the journey towards a truly inclusive and diverse organisation. It is in itself, however, not enough, and must be integrated into a more holistic and strategic approach to diversity, that in some way articulates the benefits thereof for everyone.

8.3.1.4. Training

Most people interviewed saw one of the EETC's greatest achievements as the increase in training that is available to staff. EETC members name it as such and it is evident that the EETC has helped some individuals with regard to training as a floorworker comments that:

> *"**I want to study further – to go study fitting. I went to the manager to tell her look here I want to study further...then she tell me she must go to the Equity Committee** ask them what they think about it and they decided for me to go study further I must come work in the workshop...and **I'm studying now fitting and turning.**" (Floorworker)*

There is however a sense that this achievement is not equally true for all. This floorworker speaks about training that "ander mense" go on, as if it is something removed from and not relevant to him/her:

> ***"... ons het gehoor van training wat aan gaan wat die EETC begin het daar's die ABET en die ander training wat mense kan gaan... "** (Floorworker)*

There is a perception amongst some EETC members that the training is not as successful as it should be because there is a lack of interest from the people it is supposed to benefit:

> ***"There's not enough passion [in them] and maybe its because of the lifestyle that we've had and invariably, this is all non white people okay, and I don't mean anything okay this is a fact, but because of the lifestyle and the culture and the way they grow up, its not important, as long as they have a job that's important, so long as they have money in their pocket that's the short term benefits, its more important than the longer term and I don't know how to bridge that gap to make, to make some of them see further."** (Management - White)*

It is significant that this lack of interest takes on a racial dimension as it is not all staff who are not interested, but "non-white people". What this comment suggests is that, as with the successes with recruitment, the successes in training are tempered by racial issues. Furthermore, it illustrates that management are responsible for perpetuating racist discourse. This is highly problematic in that it is management that should be driving transformation initiatives (Gardenswartz & Rowe 1997, Hayes & Russell 1997) and unexamined

racism, like that expressed here, will undermine even the most well intentioned plan (Grimes 2002, Kersten 2000). This issue is explored in more depth in the section on Organisational Culture.

8.3.2. Failures

According to the same minute that documents the successes (O EETC Meeting Minutes 09/07/04) the EETC failed in the following areas.

- *Equity distribution throughout the company- levels not yet representative.*
- *Committee not assertive enough to have major influence on management decisions.*
- *Promotion of different South African languages not happening*
- *Feedback to constituents/workers not regular*
- *Discipline records are skewed among the racial composition of employees.*

Other minutes reveal further "failures" and concerns with the functioning of the EETC. The minutes of the meetings of the EETC reflect that the committee itself is aware of some of the negative perceptions that stakeholders have of its efficacy. The committee noted that:

- *Staff are unhappy with recruitment procedures (O EETC Meeting Minutes 01/08/00)*
- *Unhappiness is expressed with the progress being made with recruitment (O EETC Meeting Minutes 12/03/2001)*
- *Staff are suspicious of the EETC and complain about the slow progress being made by the EETC and the slow process of change generally at O (O EETC Meeting Minutes 01/08/00; 17/08/00; 12/03/01)*
- ***Staff taking a vote of no-confidence in the EETC because it was seen to be ineffective** (O EETC Meeting Minutes 17/06/04; 09/07/04)*

The minutes indicate that the staff passed a vote of no confidence in the EETC in 2004. This is highly significant as it speaks to the depths of the difficulties the EETC is experiencing.

Interviews mirror the concerns raised in the minutes. The greatest concern with the EETC was that it is not interested in staff concerns. Focus group discussions revealed that some staff members felt that many issues that were tabled with the EETC were not taken-up by the committee or given the necessary attention, nor were they resolved with feedback being given to workers. The sense is that the EETC was not responsive to workers concerns and issues raised. The overwhelming sense one gets from the focus group discussions is that the EETC is seen as ineffective and that it has not served staff members in any meaningful way as far as issues that concern them. A floorworker comments:

*"**Niks. Hulle is dood nou vir 'n julle jaar.** Dis seker die tweede jaar wat dit nou begin het en ons het niks gehoor nie. Jy hoor nie eers hulle gaan meer in meetings nie. Wat is die meeting se naam? – EETC - as ons vir hulle vra wat se goed doen hulle ...dan sal ons nie weet nie – want niks het voor ons – niks nie – **hulle stel nie eers belang aan jou wat hier onder is nie.**"* (Floorworker)

The floorworkers seemed to express the greatest number of concerns. They report little progress and numerous problems in many areas related to equity and diversity. These are:

- Recruitment and selection practices inconsistent and unjust
- Experiences of racism and favouritism toward particularly Coloured staff
- Inconsistent practice with regard to making individuals permanent and 'bad treatment' of casuals
- Sense that people are not fairly promoted
- Gender insensitive practices
- Concerns about the implementation of Performance Management

Please see Appendix 7 for supporting extracts.

It is notable that the EETC are aware of many of the problems raised by staff especially the issues of not being responsive and unhappiness with the recruitment procedure. What these extracts indicate is how serious the noted problems are and that the EETC are unable to deal with them in any consistent and satisfactory manner. So much so that the staff have passed a vote of no confidence against them. The question that arises is: "Why is the EETC experiencing such difficulties?" especially when it has a mandate from the CEOs? The answer to this question can, in part, be found in a discussion around the functioning of the committee. Some of the issues around functioning are internal to the EETC. Some, however, are the result of the context within which the EETC operates. The following section explores the main difficulties reported around functioning and considers the contextual factors which contribute to them.

8.3.3. Problems with functioning

There are a number of problems in the functioning of the EETC which seriously undermine its ability to deliver on it's mandate and which are largely responsible for the failures staff mentioned above.

8.3.3.1. Frequency and attendance of EETC meetings

According to minutes of meetings of the EETC made available to us, the committee met as follows:

Year	Number of meetings held
2000	13
2001	6

2002	1
2003	3
2004	8

Illustration 2 - Frequency of EETC Meetings 2000 - 2004

Meetings were named as one of the problems facing the functioning of the EETC by interviewees. Concern is expressed about the frequency of and attendance at meetings.

8.3.3.2. Membership

Membership seems to be one of the most important issues arising around the EETC. At the time of the data collection there were 15 EETC members. This included:

- 2 senior management
- 2 middle management
- 2 shop stewards
- 7 administrative and technical staff
- 2 floor staff (not including the shop stewards) (O EETC Membership List 2004)

The members are not elected to the committee but nominated. Because of this the staff view the EETC as unrepresentative and this poses a major obstacle to its credibility. This is recognised by staff across all levels. One of the major obstacles this poses is that the EETC is seen as being dominated by management and therefore not operating in the interests of the staff. Comments such as the following support this:

> "*...**and one thing now in the Committee if we vote they outvote us because we are so little people from the shop floor. There are more managerial positions so we are outvoted there** - so that's the reason why we putting the vote of no confidence and we even went as far as to ask them to dissolve everything and start from scratch again for new Committee people to get elected by the people not like now where **management elect whoever comes and sit on the Committee** ...." (EETC Member - Floorworker)*

This perceived dominance of management on the committee has resulted in a deep distrust.

> ***"I don't know if the people trust the Equity Committee."** (EETC member - Senior management)*

> ***"There's such a lot of suspicion at this stage**, that this is why people question any moves that we make, because it shows me that they don't have any respect for the Committee at this stage" (EETC member - Senior management)*

It is important to note that although management do not make up a numerical majority, they are seen to be dominant. This perception contributes to the difficulty experienced in the functioning of the committee.

8.3.3.3. Problems with communication

Staff across all levels do not feel that the EETC members communicate for or with them adequately. EETC members confirm this to be a problem. This is in part a function of a lack of effective mechanisms for feedback. A floorworker comments on the intranet system where EETC minutes are posted:

> *"...click on dinges, open our files there you see because then the Committee talk about what happened whose absent and all that... it's in the minute what is on there...* ***so you know what's happening just the people don't want to use the computer.'*** *(Floorworker)*

Management realise that communication is a problem. It is largely perceived by management as being a problem with the EETC members. A senior manager on the EETC comments:

> *"...and that's the other problem is that even issues that need to go down to the staff which we ask for representation on the Equity Committee, 'Please will you now go and tell the people why this person is coming in on a contract for three months, or why this person is doing this' doesn't get down to the staff members either.* ***We have a communication issue with the information getting from the Equity Committee down to the staff, so we're looking at ways of, of getting things down to the staff"*** *(EETC member - Senior management)*

What is significant about the way in which this problem is perceived by this manager, relates to the way in which communication, in itself, is conceived i.e. as a top-down process. The problem is "getting the information down to the staff". In this instance the EETC seems to be operating as messenger for management rather than a body representing the staff. It is also clear from the above comment that the problem with communication is seen to lie with the members, rather than with the systems or leadership of the EETC. This is often experienced by staff and management as a lack of commitment in EETC members.

8.3.3.4. Lack of commitment from members

> *"There are one or two people in the Committee that's committed to wanting to drive this whole thing but the make up of the Committee* ***I don't think there's more people on the Committee that's committed enough to actually drive this thing much further."*** *(EETC Member - Senior management)*

> *"Die mense van die Committees, jy* ***kan na hulle toe gaan, hulle is besig. Nou wat is die use?*** *As iemand my nie kan help nie, dan waarvoor is hy daar? Hy might as well maar alles los."* *(Floorworker)*

*"...he was also involved in the Employment Equity, so if we discuss something then we present it to her and then she goes and presents it there – **either she doesn't come back with an answer and then we ask her why she said 'No the issue was rephrased or they didn't even talk about it'**."*
(Floorworker)

As illustrated by the above extracts, a perception of the lack of commitment by EETC members is reflected across all levels of staff. The perceived lack of commitment is, however, more complex than the first quote suggests. It seems to have numerous characteristics ranging from the EETC members being too busy to EETC members not reporting back. The third example, however, suggests to us why EETC members are not reporting back or acting on their mandate i.e. some EETC members are not able to raise the issues the staff require. This sentiment would support previous suggestions that management interests dominate the forum, marginalising some EETC member voices. The result is an increasing lack of engagement by EETC members which is interpreted as a lack of commitment by management and staff. The further result is a growing disillusionment with the EETC amongst the staff.

There is, however, another level to the issue of commitment. A major issue in the functioning of the EETC is the extent to which members are clear about the EETC's role as well as their role as EETC members.

8.3.3.5. Role and terms of reference of EETC

It is essential for any structure's functioning that it is clear what that functioning entails. This is not only true for members, but all stakeholders. The roles and terms of reference for the EETC are not clear. The minutes for EETC meetings from 2000 to 2004 reflect very little was spelt out in terms of roles, responsibilities, governance and terms of reference. In the minute of 24/07/00 brief reference is made to the role of the committee which is:

- "To represent staff views and aspirations
- To present management with proposals as to how to implement the transformation process".

This comes under discussion again only at a meeting of the EETC in 2004 when the membership status, a code of conduct and the constitution of the EETC is an item on the agenda. The following excerpt is extracted from the minutes (O EETC Meeting Minutes 22/04/2004):

3.3 <u>Constitution of EE & T forum.</u>

3.3.1 A quorum will consist of 50% +1 member.

3.3.2 The committee is tasked with:

the preparation, submission and monitoring of plans, e.g. WSP;

the identification & elimination of barriers regarding discrimination and

equity.

the maintenance of a fair recruitment procedure, as well as approving specifications for vacancies (identify barriers, discrimination, preferential treatment like HDI's, nepotism, etc).

Except for this brief paragraph above, it appears that during the years 2000- 2004, very little was spelt out in the EETC in relation to its roles, responsibilities, governance issues and terms of reference.

It is clear from the interviews that there is a general lack of understanding around the role of the EETC. When asked about what the role of the EETC was interviewees responded in the following broad categories:

- **Don't know** Many staff did not know what the EETC are supposed to do. Some staff had never even heard of the EETC.
- **Communication** The EETC is seen as a communication forum between management and staff. As was mentioned before this communication is seen as been largely top down.
- **Representing the people** The committee was also seen to represent the interests of the people on the factory floor. This sentiment was reflected by both floorworkers and management.
- **Recruitment and EE quotas** There was a strong sense that the EETC are responsible for recruitment, especially to meet race related EE targets. This focus on recruitment is understandable as the earlier review of the EETC's minutes showed that a large percentage of its time is spent on dealing with recruitment related issues.
- **No need** There were staff who expressed the opinion that there is really no need for the EETC as they feel sufficiently empowered to address issues with management if such issues should arise. This experience seems to be polarised across admin and floor staff, a polarity which is recognised by admin staff. It is important to note that the admin staff who said they felt no need for the EETC said so in relation to the fact that they felt that racial discrimination was not prevalent in the organisation. As with the recruitment theme the focus of understanding of EE is around race.

There is lack of clarity around the role of the EETC among all stakeholders. Furthermore, the understanding of the functioning that people do have is very narrow focused on race and meeting racial quotas.

8.3.3.6. Role and terms of reference of EETC members

Individual members of the EETC are not sure of their roles:

> *"**We don't actually have roles**. We don't have like departments or anything."* (EETC member)

> *"I am only a member. **I don't have a specific role**."* (EETC member)

"Actually the major thing is that the equity us as the Committee must be trained and must be educated on what is the aim of the Committee, what we do want to achieve and set objectives for ourselves. ***Currently we're floating about because we have to have a Committee on the books.***" *(EETC member)*

As the third quote illustrates the lack of clarity around the role of the committee has resulted in a lack of clarity around the role of the members. This may account for the fact that members are considered as ineffective by staff and management, as discussed earlier; it is reasonable to surmise that at least some of that "ineffectiveness" is a result of not knowing what to do. This quote also provides some evidence of why the committee's (and by extension its members) role is so poorly defined. The reason for the EETC's existence is understood as being something that "has to" be done i.e. compliance. The value of a body like this and the importance of the contribution it can make towards creating an inclusive workplace, achieving business objectives etc. is not understood and this is a function of the fact that it is not articulated in the business strategy and policy. The only reason for O having the EETC, is because the "*have to have* a Committee on the books".

8.3.3.7. Preferential treatment

There is also a sense of favouritism experienced, where members will only help those they like. According to one floorworker:

"Ons weet nie waar om te gaan nie, want gaan jy na mense toe, ***hulle help net sekere mense help hulle met probleme. As hulle nou van jou hou, dan help hulle met die problems. As hulle nie van jou hou nie, dan word dit nou doodgeloop.***" *(Floorworker)*

This is a serious flaw in the functioning of the committee. It is probably further exacerbated by the fact that EETC members have not been elected, which means they are not representative, and that they are not clear on their roles. The fact that staff do not feel that they can bring their issues to their EETC reps means that it is obviously not functioning effectively.

Some staff also feel marginalised from accessing the committee based on their status as permanent or casual employees. In response to whether she has raised her concerns with the EETC and whether it has been addressed a casual admin worker replies that "*...no it hasn't because* ***I'm a contract worker I'm not a permanent worker so I've had nothing given to me.***" *(Admin staff)*

This issue is larger than this single quote suggests. The following section on Organisational Culture reveals that there is a problematic divide between casual and permanent workers, with casuals feeling marked and marginalised.

8.3.3.8. Varying levels of member of involvement

*"**We were also very instrumental in putting together** that report. We had enough chances to give our input as well." (EETC member - Management)*

Although this quote suggests a fair level of engagement in the preparation of the EE Report, the next quote suggests a very a much less active engagement.

*"You see I tried at the end of this or last year to check the report of the Equity but they were they told me they send an e-mail to FAWU for us, that is the people who are under union, **but there was nothing which came to us.**" (EETC member –Shop steward/Floorworker)*

In fact this quote suggests that the speaker had very little into the compilation of the report and struggled to gain access to the final copy. Once again, the experience of the EETC seems to be differentiated along hierarchical lines, as the second speaker is a floor worker and union member whilst the first is a member of management. This speaks to the dominance of management in the EETC as is suggested elsewhere. It also speaks to the lack of clarity around members' roles

8.3.3.9. Lack of planning

The Employment Equity Reports show that the company conducted an analysis of barriers as prescribed in Section 19 of the EE Act. Although the analysis was conducted in 2000, EETC members responded to the question about the analysis with very little to no knowledge of the results. This is problematic in that the EETC should be conducting their activities as informed by this analysis and that if they are not, their activities may become ad hoc and reactionary. This analysis is supported by comments from the EETC:

*"...In the time I've been here its only eleven months now, that I have been on the Committee, **we haven't done specific analysis where statistically we could prove certain things. ...And homed in on the problem.** " (EETC member)*

*"**If there is a concern over a issue, they will address it with one of the shopstewards or people sitting on the Committee and we'll then send an E-mail to X to say that an issue has been brought to our attention and place it on the minutes for the next meeting or the agenda** and sometimes then we call an emergency meeting to sort out serious issues" (EETC member)*

8.3.3.10. Lack of monitoring and evaluation

There is little common understanding amongst committee members around what monitoring and evaluation is. In response to the question of whether there is monitoring and evaluation of EETC activities and outputs, members commented on the fact that they receive feedback on activities:

*"O yes! **We get regular feedbacks sessions.** What I normally do is after a decision making sessions, we come back and we get the groups together on different shifts and we feed back to them what has happened and what is going to happen."(EETC member)*

***"The fact that the Committee consists of all levels of people is already a guarantee that information and all get to the right people."** (EETC member)*

As the first speaker indicates there is no monitoring and evaluation tool for the EETC activities. Feedback is equated with monitoring and evaluation. This conflation further illustrates that the EETC members are not familiar with the role and functioning of an EEC. This is not surprising as, as illustrated earlier, the EETC and its members are not sure of its role, without which monitoring and evaluation cannot really happen. Furthermore, monitoring and evaluation is not seen as necessary as the "representivity" of the committee is taken for granted to guarantee that all people in the organisation receive feedback of EETC activities. This is problematic in light of other comments around the problems of representivity and communication on the EETC.

Senior management confirm this lack of monitoring and evaluation. It is largely viewed as the EETC's responsibility. There is inconsistency across management in terms of what the EETC is monitoring. The most consistent thing that, according to management, the EETC monitor, is recruitment quotas. This is done through the EE Reports.

8.3.3.11. The union and "troublemakers"

The unions play an important role in the EETC. A manager argues that the functioning of the EETC and the company is thwarted by the fact that the union and individuals are obstructionist and that very often issues are "politically" motivated.

*"There's some, we also have a Union here and **there's a lot of underlying, trouble-making, just for the sake of making trouble**." (EETC member - Senior management)*

The label "troublemaker" is often a flag for considering relationships within organisations (Kersten, 2000). In many cases those who labelled as such, pose a challenge to those who are in power and the label, "troublemaker", can serve to make their concerns seem less legitimate. The earlier examination of communication difficulties suggests that challenges to management are not as effectively facilitated as they could be. Because the consultation process is conceived as largely top-down, staff might feel that the opportunity to contribute and challenge is less accessible than management may intend it to be. Furthermore, when these challenges do arise they do so out of frustration and from within a system which may not be adequately facilitated, resulting in the perception that those who raise the challenges, are "causing trouble". This perception may lead to staff not wanting to raise concerns for fear of being labelled and further

frustration. Ultimately, it discourages healthy communication. The union members may seem to be "troublemakers" but they are clearly frustrated within the current systems.

The difficulty experienced by O with regards to the functioning of the EETC and the Unions must be located within a broader context. Organisations are not "private" spaces but rather sites where larger social phenomena play out (Deetz 1992) and as Kersten (2000: 245) points out organisations "are expressive of the conflicts existing at the social/political level of society". Organisations are therefore microcosms of the larger political context, and the dichotomy between management and the workers, and the difficulties of communication between them, in many ways reflects the difficulties between the "previously advantaged" and "disadvantaged". The following quote is a good example of this:

> *"That's the sort of stuff that one always has in these big factory environments, is that* ***you're going to have people who just, just want to stir trouble for the sake of stirring trouble. But as I say, there is a younger set coming in and a group which is not so jaded by the past of the country,... I don't want to get into the whole political thing. I want to look at things from who can do the job, who can't do the job and who wants to do the job. And not just for the sake of, you know, shame, they're previously disadvantaged. I'm going to have to make an exception."*** *(Senior management)*

In a subtle discursive turn the manager further identifies the troublemakers as "political" and those who are "jaded" by the "past of the country". It would seem that the troublemakers have a political agenda that the manager in question doesn't "want to get into". S/he wants to look at things from a position of who is right for the job now. Finding the right person for the job, however, is not exclusive of constructively engaging historical and political histories, which seems to be what this quote suggests. In fact engaging this historical and political past, is in the interests of any organisation "getting the job done". It is not an exercise in "ag shame", but if adequately managed, a both transformative and productive imperative. What is illustrated in the quote above is an unwillingness to engage the past and paint those who do as "trouble" and "political". The point is that the workplace is political (Deetz 1992, Kersten 2000), it is historically located, and management must be willing to grapple with it as such. It may be that the lack of a coherent vision around diversity and equity is because the management choose not to engage with that which is perceived as being "political". It is not clear exactly what this "political" agenda is that the quote refers to, but whatever the nature of it is, management will need to engage both the organisational and broader political history honestly, if they want the unions to be fully functional again.

This is not to say that the Unions are completely innocent in this breakdown of communication and the resulting tension. It is obvious that there is a problem with the functioning of the union, both head office and the local reps. According to one manager the functioning of the Union presents a major obstacle to the progress of the company and the EETC. It is also evident that the fact that the union is not strong and operating effectively impacts the functioning of the EETC as it then has to take on responsibilities of the union. This is further indication of the lack of clarity around the role of the EETC but it is also an indication of how

equity and diversity can only work if supported by basic labour functions. There is an argument that the value of a diverse workforce can only be harnessed when basic labour and systemic issues are addressed or they will derail any efforts towards equity or diversity (Gardenswartz & Rowe 1997, Hayes and Russell 1997). In O's case it seems that this derailment has happened in the way labour issues dominate the EETC, a structure meant to deal with equity, and also in the way these unresolved issues have caused resentment, hostility and a serious breakdown in communication.

8.3.3.12. Fear

The discussion thus far indicates that one of the greatest impediments to the successful functioning of the EETC is the failure of individuals to participate in EETC activities and processes. Whereas this has been attributed to lack of training, clarity around the roles of the EETC and members, poor communication and a lack of commitment from staff members, all these factors are located within a particular culture, which may or may not serve to facilitate the functioning of this body. As the following comments reveal the culture in question is of not speaking one's mind. An admin staff member and EETC member say, respectively:

> ***"If I speak my mind I'm going to get into trouble I'm going to become a marked person."*** *(Admin staff)*

> ***"Ag people are afraid man, people are afraid like**, I always tell them here at O it's not a democracy its like a how do you call it there where the general takes over the general takes over and you must just now obey like communism or something in that to that effect man where you must just obey everything that they say its not like you can have your say, **because if you have your say its like they're not physically killing you but mentally they do so the people are like afraid man...."*** *(EETC member)*

Although a culture of not speaking one's mind is problematic in itself the reason for it is disturbing: fear. The first quote reminds us of earlier comments about "troublemakers" by a senior manager. This admin worker understands that if s/he speaks out she will "become a marked person" and "get into trouble". S/he links this fear of getting into trouble with the research process, suggesting that some of the difficulties the researchers experienced with questionnaire might have been because of this overarching climate of fear. The extent of this fear is likened to the "mental killing" of people. In a climate where fear of this extent prevails, it is not surprising that the EETC is experiencing a breakdown in functioning. This issue is an important issue and further explored in more detail in the section on Organisational Culture.

9. Organisational Culture

This section serves as a commentary and analysis on the organisational culture at O in relation to the company's treatment of diversity issues.

Culture "is an integrated system of learned behaviour patterns that is characteristic of the members of a society, the underlying patterns of thinking, learned, not inherited." (O'Hara-Devereaux 1994: 38). While we are one thing at home (a son, a brother, a soccer player, a symbol of security) we become something entirely different in the workplace (black, Xhosa speaking, adult, male, machinist). Workplaces, like structures from schools to nation states, are governed by rules. Failure to abide by these rules, be they official policy or unspoken cultural dominance, results in penalties ranging from formal dismissal to social ostracism. This structure "differentiates individuals from one another [creating a norm] as an average to be respected or as an optimum towards which one must move. It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchises in terms of value the abilities, the level, the 'nature' of individuals..... In short, it normalises." (Foucault 1977:182).

Organisational culture refers to the broad values and beliefs which pervade an organisation (Hicks-Clarke & Iles 2000). These lead to assumptions about "clients, employees, mission, products, activities, and assumptions that have worked well in the past and which get translated into norms of behaviour, expectations about what is legitimate, desirable ways of thinking and acting" (Andre Laurent cited in O'Hare-Devereaux 1994:43). Some cultures may be rigidly set and expect newcomers to adopt dominant views while others might see adaptation and accommodation of new staff as a growth mechanism. Organisational cultures might be seen as increasingly complex when employee and client bodies aren't homogenous in terms of socio-political and cultural factors seemingly unrelated to the organisational environment.

Organisations are understood as being located within a broader socio-political context. They are "are never an isolated site of racial or class [or gender][4] conflict, but rather, they are expressive of the conflicts existing at the social/political level of society" (Kersten 2000: 45) and as Deetz (1992) argues not "private" spaces, but rather sites for the intersection of larger social phenomena. An organisation's culture is defined by those with power, both within the organisation and the broader socio-political context (Mills 2002). Thus, "organisations are never politically neutral" (Deetz 1992: 55) but managerial [and other][5] advantage is normalised through routines and discourse where "privilege is treated as natural and neutral" (ibid.). The workplace is therefore ideological and ideology is perpetuated through processes of normalisation, legitimation and socialisation, which often indicates to the inability of especially (but not only) privileged groups to see the implicit values carried in their practices, talk and experiences (ibid.: 56). It is these implicit values which inform an organisation's culture and it is in the interrogation of the practices, talk and experiences of people in the organisation that we can start to name it. It is this interrogation which this analysis of organisational culture at O undertakes. Its focus is therefore broader than just the EETC and includes an analysis of the organisation as a whole.

Three main themes emerged in the analysis of organisational culture at O.

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[4] My addition

[5] My addition

9.1. "The people" / management divide

There is evidence, both in O's public image, and in the words of employees throughout the organisation, that a hierarchical divide exists between management and "the people" (floor workers and shop stewards). As the workforce profile analysis shows this divide is also a racial and gendered one.

9.1.1. Structural divisions

Foucault (1977) explores how structural design is linked to the to surveillance, supervision and control, specifically of those within the workplace. Thus the structures within any organisation can give us insight into the "control" or management of it's employees.

The rhetoric of almost all O employees reflects a divided organisation. Terms such as "us" and "them", "the people", "the floor", "management", "down on the floor", "up there", "from top to bottom", highlight the conceptual divide between employees of different job levels. Social divisions at O are highlighted through physical and organisational structures. Different eating areas are allocated to management/administration and factory staff. By separating employees during the only time at which they are likely to integrate across employment level (teas and lunch breaks), the divisions become natural and entrenched, unquestioned. The same can be said of access to the O grounds where separate entrances are designated to factory and admin/management employees. (Foucault 1977)

Observations of employees during tea and lunch breaks revealed distinct race/language groupings among staff. A total silence on the part of all employees in addressing these clear social divides at O suggests a further common sense understanding of race and of the "normality" in grouping by race/culture. In that management doesn't seem to have noticed or taken any steps to educate or create awareness around these divisions, a space is left open in which "everyday", subtle racism is allowed to fester and accumulate (Essed 2000).

Workers at O are marked according to their role in the company, both through uniforms and through coloured hats. Most notable are the red hats of casual employees whom permanent employees referred to sympathetically as "those guys in the red". This system is reminiscent of Aldous Huxley's 1932 prediction of a "Brave New World" set millennia from now where genetically engineered human classes, from Alpha to Gamma, are marked through the assignation of different coloured uniforms, making sure they are never mistaken for someone above or below their social standing in society. Foucault (1977) suggests that "marking" people in this way serves to heirarchise qualities, skills and aptitudes. Those who are marked, with that which represents the bottom of the hierarchy (in this case red caps), are immediately rendered marginal. The fact that casual employees are already the most vulnerable in terms of job security, wages and access to organisational resources and structures, makes further mechanisms for marginalisation very problematic. Through the physical marking and formalising of these differences, it could be said that O is embracing division rather than diversity.

The experiences of employees working in the factory and in the admin/management block contrast sharply. Interviews with two administrative workers show an awareness that while the administration block appears non-discriminatory, they are aware, or suspect that things are different in the factories. Similarly, levels of satisfaction with the organisation contrast between the factories and admin/ management. Lack of communication appears central to this divide.

There are no shared spaces to facilitate the interaction between staff both across hierarchy and socio-political groupings like race and gender. In fact as the analysis above shows, O's structures serve to divide people across all these categories.

9.1.2. Democratic structures

"O is not a democracy, it's like...where the general takes over...where you must just obey everything that they say."

Of particular concern with regards to O's diversity strategy is the failure of the EETC in making constructive contributions to the development of a democratic organisation. As the unions are not functioning in their full capacity, the EETC is the only body for the exercise of democratic process in O. It's functioning therefore has implications for the nature of the overall democratic process in O.

The EETC is, however, not representative and as a result holds very little legitimacy with the majority of staff. The level of this illegitimacy has reached critical levels where the staff have passed a vote of no confidence. Furthermore, in the "people" / management divide the only structure which is meant to represent the people is seen as belonging to management. The dominance of management within this democratic structure is deeply problematic as it undermines it's functioning (See previous sections). As a result staff have withdrawn from this "democratic" process. This possible lack of initiative on the part of workers suggests the adoption of a passive-aggressive stance in which they are happy to criticise O's structures but possibly unwilling to contribute time or suggestions to any transformation.

9.1.3. Communication

"There is in many cases a total misunderstanding...a lot of poor communication...we are trying to do something about it but it's been slow...you can go ten steps forward and then you start back again."

EETC reports, job advertisements and other announcements are e-mailed to staff and theoretically accessible via the ABET labs. However, some employees remain illiterate or computer illiterate while it seems others, understandably, choose to spend their free time relaxing rather than looking up notices online. This mode of communication favours those employees with computer access and literacy i.e. administrative and above.

Language presents an obstacle to communication on a number of levels. It is clear from EETC minutes (O EETC Meeting Minutes 7/9/2000) that there is an awareness of language as an inhibitor in communication, yet an official policy of English-only posters has been adopted by the company. Notably, when issuing its own internal questionnaires, O translated them into three languages while for the purpose of our survey work at O we were assured by HR that English would suit all employees. The one language policy bares further testament to management's assimilatory approach to managing diversity. Difference is recognised but ignored through assumptions around linguistic equality (Hayes & Russell 1997, Kersten 2000).

9.1.4. Diversity as discourse

The dominant discourse around diversity at O (focusing on EE) is shaped by management. This is largely because democratic structures which are meant to facilitate staff contribution seem to be dominated by management. The focus is on numerically diversifying the workforce through employment and promotion strategies. There doesn't seem to be any notion at O of diversity as something positive, as something to capitalise on, as a strength to the organisation. "Embracing diversity" is included in the vision and mission of the organisation yet it is not clear how this will drive the strategic objectives of the organisation. In fact, stakeholder experiences suggest very strongly that it doesn't. Without proactive, strategic and integrated leveraging on diversity as core business, vision and mission statements like "embracing diversity" fall flat. Kersten (2000) notes how many American companies appeal to their "diversity projects" in order to project a face of social responsibility to the public while internally usurping democratic processes. The fact that "embracing diversity" is not anything which is operationalised around and integrated into key business imperatives makes it seem like little more than a public relations exercise.

As a result of this lack of integrated approach, diversity issues are not seen as something which should concern everyone. Many see diversity issues as part of the HR and EEC's mandate alone, something which doesn't affect them. It is notable that the predominantly white and coloured employees at an administration and management level believe everyone in the company gets on well, whilst black employees on the floor report racial discrimination and the EETC has on more than one occasion had to deal with racial incidents. This dynamic reflects Kersten's (2000) point that organisations which do not engage with diversity in an integrated and socio-politically conscious manner create workplaces which continue to serve the interests of socially dominant groups and remain blind to the existence of racism (and other forms of discrimination).

9.2. A Culture of Learning

Teaching, facilitation and the dissemination of new ways of doing and thinking are central to effective change management with regards to diversity (Adler 1997, Ferdman & Brody 1996, French & Delahaye 1996, Hayes & Russell 1997, O'Hara-Devereaux 1994, Thomas 2004). Additionally, while ensuring numerical representation at an early stage is important, it is perhaps more important to provide facilities and structures through which to groom individuals who may be earmarked for accelerated development (Roosevelt Thomas

1990). At the same time, it is important that the company's culture adapts to accommodate the new ways of doing and being that newcomers might bring to the company.

Perhaps the greatest site of celebration coming out of our interviews with staff at O, is that of the ABET computer labs and related training facilities. While O should be commended on this training and skills development initiatives, it bares little relation to any intervention around diversity. It doesn't appear that O sees these structures - which teach basic literacy and computer skills - as developing employees for any form of internal advancement in the company and as such do not necessarily contribute towards the promotion of designated employees. Furthermore, the failures in the ABET training reveal important issues in O's culture.

ABET course timetables do not take into account shift patterns of most workers. As a result, students are more than likely to miss classes which fall on their off days. Employees' reluctance to attend class on off days might be seen as evidence of a lack of commitment to education on their part. This often takes on a racial or cultural dimension and the learning landscape appears to have opened up a space for discrimination and stereotyping in the factory. One senior manager talks of learning as a "cultural thing", something which can't be forced upon people whose "discipline [in studying] is what let them down". Another manager says:

> *"**Invariably this is non-white people okay**, and I don't mean anything, okay, this is a fact, but because of the lifestyle and the culture and the way they grow up, it's not important. So long as they have money in their pocket, that's the short term benefits. It's more important than the longer term and I don't know how to bridge the gap to make, to make some of them see further."* (Senior Management)

This perspective reveals disturbing racial and cultural assumptions prevalent at O. In both cases the tone is disturbingly paternalistic and "non white" people or people from other cultures are essentially seen as not being able to study, manage their money and plan their lives properly. The speaker is aware that this is a racist comment, and that it is probably inappropriate, as he/she backtracks by stating clearly that they "don't mean anything" - but he/she clearly does. What he/she says is reflected in other dimensions of the organisational culture - the fact that management speak "down" to staff, for one, suggests that management do not believe that the floor (mostly non-white) staff can make any valuable contribution. It is important that this person made this statement as it is an honest reflection of what they believe. It is also not simply their belief but the function of an organisational and national culture steeped in racist history. The fact that this person said this, creates a platform for engaging with this belief, challenging and interrogating it. It is this process which O needs to engage in.

9.3. Gender, Race and Organisational Culture

Literature suggests that organisations are both raced and gendered (Essed 2002, Fischer & van Vianen 2004, Kersten 2000, Grimes 2001 2002, Macalpine and Marsh 2005, Nkomo and Stewart 2005 etc). The report thus

far confirms that race and racism are serious issues for O as they emerge in the context of a number of other discussions. Gender however, has remained under explored.

The genderedness of this organisation was first encountered in the EE Reports. According to the EE Report (2000:17), the broad objective of the Employment Equity and Workplace Skills plans was to "balance the racial and gender mix across the levels". This was in spite of a clause which stated that "the nature of the work organisation, with significant manual work and the lifting of heavy items, tends to limit the employment of females" (ibid.). These comments suggest that women are in someway inherently unsuited for the nature of the work and that any inclusion of women is a function of EE and legislation. O have, however, made a serious effort to hire black women into senior and technical positions as the recruitment figures revealed. What they also reveal, however, is that 6 out of 8 recruitments into senior management were male. All of these were white. Power in the organisation is still clearly organised along gender and racial lines.

These preliminary observations create the container for the discussion around organisational culture. A casual conversation with a coloured, female supervisor revealed that women must have "strong character", "prove" themselves and "show" what they can do at O. Put differently, women need to be masculine in order to succeed in a culture that does not value the feminine. This undervaluing has tangible consequences, the first being around temporary and permanent positions. Some women floor workers believe that men are favoured over women in the granting of permanent positions: "*Mansmense word meerder permanent gemaak as wat vroumense permanent gemaak word.*" *(Floor worker – Coloured woman)* Importantly this consequence does not only play out along gendered lines but along racial lines too: "*...they employed the other people after those people who are coming after me and they till now is not permanent its 8 years now – that is racist too much in this company too much racist.*" *(Floorworker – Black woman).*

Dealings with maternity reveal clear discrimination against female employees as is evident in the following report:

> *"In 1999 I went on Maternity leave. Then I came back, then I could only take a month leave, a straight shift, but they know it's not easy when you have a baby and the baby needs care and that. They don't see to give you any longer, maybe two months, or three, just back to the day shift. They force you, if you can't work the night shift, then you must take your things and leave... so in that regard they don't help women.* ***So here you have to be afraid to have a baby****, because when you come back, then there is no work for you, or they tell you: If you can't work night shift then you must stay where you are. Stay at home once and that's what they tell you and that's what happens" (Floorworker - Coloured woman)*

Another employee who was hospitalised during her pregnancy was told she had to report to work to hand in written notice before staying at the hospital. Clearly this wasn't possible in that her hospitalisation was unplanned and she only received this information once hospitalised. Both these examples provide evidence of an environment that is hostile to women, yet this hostility was not reported equally throughout the organisation.

Notably, the worst experiences were reported by black and coloured women floor workers, reinforcing, like the distribution of power.

The original mandate of the EETC was to "balance the racial and gender mix across the levels" EE Report (2000:17). The EETC was to be a vehicle to achieve this. It is clear that although O is making some progress with regards to this mandate, power remains very unevenly distributed with regards to race and gender. Furthermore, the role of the EETC as a forum to grapple with issues of race and gender is undermined by a environment skewed in its racial and gendered structure which as the previous excerpts have shown are the reality with which most staff live. The belief central to this structural imbalance is one that assumes these issues unworthy of address. Reference back to the topics covered by the EETC (see Section X) shows us that within a five year period, racism has been discussed only five times in EETC meetings while gender was discussed *once* under the umbrella of Sexual Harassment policy (which O still does not have).

9.4. O's Evolutionary Positioning with regards to Diversity

Hayes and Russell's (1997) cite Milton Bennet's Model of Developing Intercultural Sensitivity, a six stage process beginning with "Denial of Difference" and culminating in "Integration of Difference", as a useful tool for considering organisational culture. Within this model it would appear O is somewhere between the second and fourth stage, having largely moved beyond the ethnocentrism of Denial of Difference. See Appendix 8 for a detailed version of the model.

There is evidence for each of stages 3-5. These are listed below:

9.4.1. Evidence: Stage 2 – Defence against Difference

- **difference is recognised but negated**
- The recognition of the need to hire, especially black, women suggests an awareness of the value of gender diverse workforce. However, lack of structural and policy support for women's needs suggests that the organisational culture is still very unaccommodating to women, negating the "value" of these employees.
- The manner in which management members quoted above speak down to what they perceive as culturally and racially informed failures to appreciate learning opportunities.

9.4.2. Evidence: Stage 3 – Minimisation of Difference

- **differences like race, language and gender are recognised but sidelined within a discourse of equality and sameness**
- Employees of every race, gender, rank and ability speak to a discourse of equality and equal rights. Employees at O (and indeed most South Africans) seem unaware that this is a substantive rather than a

formal right. In other words our right to equality as South Africans remains sensitive to the entrenched structural and historical inequality of the country.

- There seems to be a conscious avoidance of racial labels among employees at all levels, except for some African employees as already mentioned. Kersten (2000) makes the point that by failing to draw attention to obvious race (and other) based differences, whites (and men) are allowed to function normally, theirs being the status quo, while others are expected to adapt.
- The company's language policy provides further evidence of assumptions around assumed equality.

9.4.3. Evidence: Stage 4 – Acceptance of Difference

- **recognition of difference and its potential value to individual, as well as organisational prosperity**
- Some minimal evidence for this stage exists. This evidence is found in the rhetoric in O's mission statement, their willingness to engage in processes like this research and the HR manager's commitment to developing his/her capacity in this area.

Overall, O is located fairly deeply in the ethnocentric stages. This is largely evident in the way diversity is dealt with at a compliance and EE level. Within the framework of this model it suggests a mode of engaging diversity which is more about self preservation and the protection of current patterns of interest in the context of legislation, evidenced in the negation and minimisation of difference. There is very little evidence of a recognition of and working with difference as something to be valued and leveraged on for organisational prosperity.

10. Closing Remarks

O's participation in this research suggests that they are committed to developing their capacity around the successful engagement of diversity in their organisation. This is particularly true for the HR manager who drove this process and who continues to show commitment to transformation. There can be no doubt that O's intentions around transformation are sound and that they are making progress in various areas, like the recruitment of black women into professional posts and the recruitment of a disabled person. These successes are, however, undermined by the failure to address more deep rooted problems, the origin of which are historical and social, and which O shares with most South African organisations.

The major problem with diversity at O is that it is equated with employment equity. The naming of the EETC as a body for the engagement of diversity is the first indication that "diversity" is seen as that which is required by the Employment Equity Act. As a result diversity is very narrowly conceptualised and engaged with in a very limited manner.

This is reflected in the lack of strategic interaction with diversity as a positive which can be leveraged for business advantage. There is no policy on how diversity will be used as a business strategy and as a result there is no policy to support such a strategy. Another result of this lack of strategic engagement is that transformation is not seen as core business and not integrated into operations but rather tends to be ghettoised in HR. The reason for this is circular: transformation is not seen as a competitive advantage, but as something which must be done to appease the Department of Labour, that is, it is seen as employment equity. The only way in which transformation can be driven in any organisation is if a diverse workforce is seen as a positive asset and capitalising on that asset is driven from the top through strategic imperative, which means it becomes core business rather than a pesky add on.

The EETC was always going to fall short as a body for the proactive engagement of diversity, because it is a body for implementing EE. The two are however not mutually exclusive and a functional EETC should contribute to an organisation working more constructively with its diverse workforce. It is, after all, a body designed to facilitate democratic process. The EETC at O has experienced numerous successes especially in the areas of recruitment and training. There are, however, major impediments to its functioning as a democratic structure and as such as a body for "embracing diversity".

The EETC's difficulty as a democratic structure extends well beyond the internal functioning of the committee itself. It extends to the fact that it is seen as responsible for something which is not core business and therefore peripheral. It also extends to the organisational culture in which it operates, one which is in part responsible for the peripheral status of the EETC. The organisational culture is clearly characterised by a divide between management and "the people" and racial and gender discrimination, both subtle and overt. It is also characterised by a lack of willingness or capacity to engage these issues.

This culture is unhelpful to an organisation trying to "embrace diversity" but it is not unique to O. The culture within the organisation is merely a reflection of a broader culture located in a particular social and historical context. O is an organisation operating within a country with a history of racism and sexism and like any other social space they are not immune. The problem in O is that this social and historical legacy is not being addressed proactively. It is being engaged reactively (in response to legislation) and in many cases avoided and denied.

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O News Letter, Issue 4, November 2004

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O Vision and Mission

O Staff List February 2004

O Staff Survey 2000

O Website [February 2004]

Interviews

5 Admin/sales/marketing/lab staff 16-17/02/05

CEO 18/02/05

12 EETC members 15-16/02/05

4 Focus groups 16/02/05

4 Floor workers 16/02/05

HR manager 14/02/05

2 Middle management 17/02/05

Operations manager 17/02/05

Master scheduler 18/02/05

Strategy manager 18/02/05

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[i] **Investors in People (IiP)** is a standard that sets out good management and people development practice. It serves as a tool for organisational and business development and is based on good practice amongst preferred employers (Solomon, 2003).

The standard was designed in the United Kingdom in 1990 by a National Training Task Force in partnership with leading national businesses, personnel, professional and employee organisations. It was designed to provide a national framework in the UK "for improving business performance and competitiveness, through a planned approach to setting and communicating business objectives and developing people to meet these objectives." (http:// www.iipuk.co.uk/IIP/Internet/InvestorsinPeople/WhatisInvestorsinPeople/Default.htm)

IiP has been introduced to South Africa as part of the National Skills and Development Strategy. At present IiP is being piloted in 40 organisations and government departments to assess the contribution that IiP can make to this strategy. The purpose of the IiP pilot project is to "establish a national standard, linked to the grant system, to promote people development within organisations" (Solomon, 2003, p.3). The development of this standard is one of the legs of the Labour Market Skills Development Programme of the National Skills and Development Strategy. To achieve the first objective of the National Skills and Development Strategy, "Developing a culture of life long learning" (Solomon, p.4), an average of 20 enterprises per sector (eg. government departments, SETAs, large corporations) will have achieved or be committed to IiP for business development.

IiP is based on 4 principles which must be demonstrated by organisations to receive accreditation. They are: Commitment, Planning, Action and Evaluation. These principles "are supported by 12 indicators, or criteria, against which organisations are 'measured' through independent, external assessment" (Solomon, 2003). Each indicator is realised or not according to specific evidence. The benefits of IiP for organisations include a better capacity to manage change, improved profitability, the creation of new work cultures, the attainment of goals and the recognition of employers who care about their employees (Solomon, 2003).

APPENDIX 1 - Summary of DEISA Project

DIVERSITY/EQUITY INTERVENTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN ORGANISATIONS RESEARCH PROJECT

This national research project is funded by SANPAD (South African –Netherlands Partnership for Alternatives in Development). SANPAD's interests lie in contributing to transformation, especially through inputs to policy-making. It supports the capacity-building of young researchers.

Introduction

For the last ten years we have seen a growing 'industry' in 'diversity' work, where agencies offering consultancy on diversity (and related issues) have mushroomed. There is no proper register of such agents, nor are there any standards by which such work can be categorized or assessed, especially regarding outcomes aimed at 'management of difference' vs. 'transformation'.

The intention of this project is to theorise diversity and transformation from a South African position as well to deepen the discussion around marginalisation, gender, culture and power etc.

Defining *diversity*

There are many types of interventions that would classify as dealing with *diversity*, e.g. race, gender, human rights, employment equity, disability, affirmative action, organisational change, organisational transformation, leadership etc.

There is a need to explore the distinction between diversity as 'difference management' and diversity which aims at transformation of the existing social relations in organisations and institutions. We see this as the difference between changing the masks, or changing the deep structure and values.

Research Aims

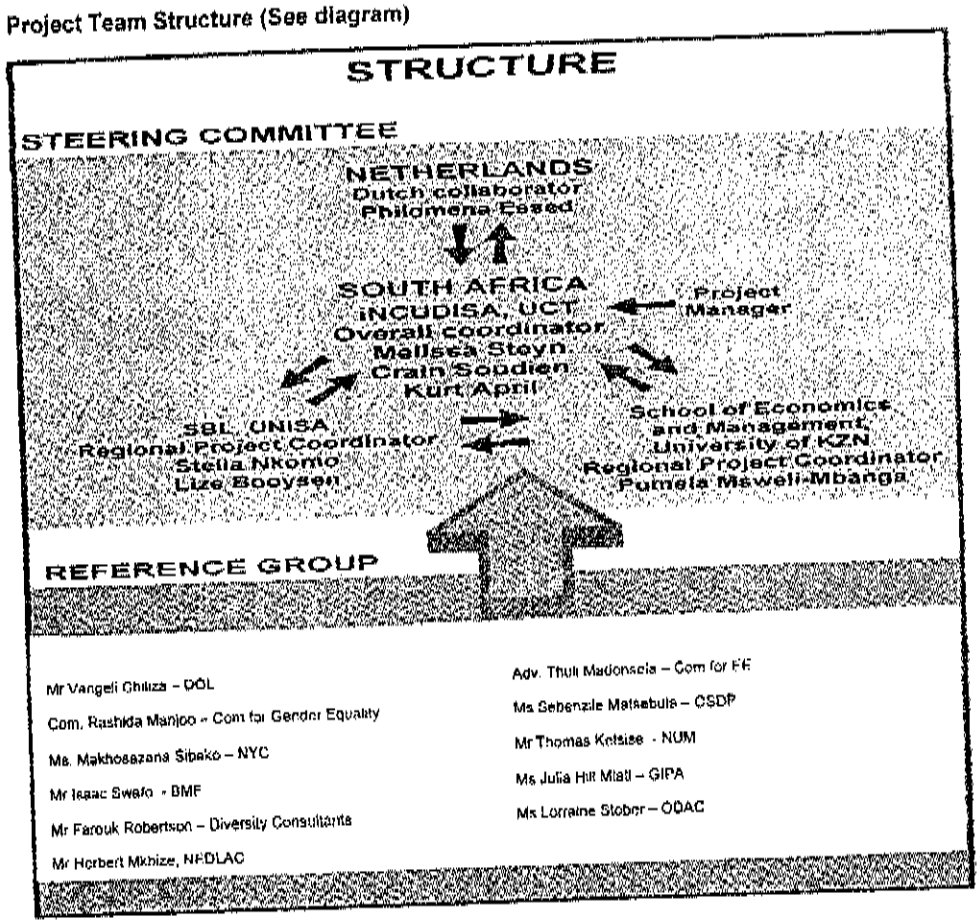
- To create a database of organizations and institutions working on diversity and equity in SA
- To assist towards developing best practice standards for working with diversity
- To feed into policies regarding diversity e.g. the possibility of developing SAQA standards.
- To publicize the findings of the research through articles, materials publications and workshops / seminars.

Participating Research Institutions

The two participating South African institutions are:

- The Institute for Intercultural and Diversity Studies (iNCUDISA) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) is responsible for national coordination and researching the Western Cape.
- The School of Business leadership (SBL) at the University of South Africa (UNISA) is responsible for Gauteng

Project Team Structure (See diagram)



*Please note that the UKZN is no longer participating.

Steering Committee The SANPAD, all project leaders and coordinators from the participating institutions are part of the Steering Committee. Their role is to oversee the implementation of the research project, to provide vision and cohere the methodology.

The Project Manager is Claire Kelly. She coordinates the project from iNCUDISA at UCT.

Reference Group The Reference Group (RG) is a voluntary advisory body consisting of stake-holders. It will consist of a broad spectrum of representatives from various institutions in government, NGOs and the private sector. The RG's main function is to act as a link between the academic endeavour and the practical experience of diversity in organisations. At strategic junctures the Steering Committee will meet with the RG. There are also instances where the RG will be asked to participate in Focus Groups. They will help identify potential respondents, and form part of the dialogue regarding the development of a best practice model and its applicability. They will also help with the dissemination of the research findings.

Research Process

The project consists of two phases:

Phase I: Database – Creating a national directory

This phase consists of an audit of consultants in the field who are doing diversity work. We will list:

Consultants (Who)

Products (What)

Phase II: Case studies

In the second phase (to start in 2005), we will select 15 organizations' case studies of clients based on the consultancy's self-rating of 'success'. There will be five from each geographical area, and spanning different time-frames. Detailed case studies will be developed. The case studies will be done by Masters students.

Outcomes

Together with the information gleaned from the database, the Case Studies will form the basis for developing criteria and standards for interventions. These will be formulated into guidelines to be presented to the various stakeholders and interest groups, in particular the relevant group for SAQA.

APPENDIX 2 - Interview Questions

Interview with EE Committee Members

1. How were you elected to serve on the committee?
2. What is the role of the committee?
3. What is the relevance of this role to the business' aims and objectives?
4. What is your role in the committee?
5. What analysis has been conducted? (of barriers)
6. What were the results of this analysis?
7. What plans have been put in place to address the results of this analysis?
8. How do you monitor and evaluate the implementation of these plans?
9. What mechanisms are in place to raise concerns?
10. What in your opinion have been the greatest achievements of the EE Com. to date?
11. What are the barriers/obstacles you experience in your work on the EE and Training committee

Interview for "Diversity Provider"

1. What activities have OF initiated around working with diversity?
2. What was/is the purpose of these activities?
3. Who initiated the activities?
4. Who was involved in the planning of these activities?
5. At whom were these activities directed?
6. What issues do/did these activities deal with?
7. What has been the most successful outcome of these activities? Why?
    a. *What has been the most successful activity? Why?*
    b. *What issues did this activity deal with?*
    c. *At whom was this activity directed?*
    d. *Who was involved in the planning of this activity?*
    e. *Who initiated this activity?*
    f. *What was/is the purpose of this activity?*
8. What has been the least successful outcome of these activities? Why?
    a. *What has been the least successful activity? Why?*
    b. *What issues did this activity deal with?*
    c. *At whom was this activity directed?*

d. *Who was involved in the planning of this activity?*

e. *Who initiated this activity?*

f. *What was/is the purpose of this activity?*

9. How are these activities linked to business objectives, if at all?
10. What is the role of HR in the context of these diversity activities?

Interview with Staff

1. How was the EE Com. started?
2. Why was the EE Com. started?
3. What is the purpose of the EE Committee?
4. What issues does it deal with?

   Probe:

language	alienation
culture	discrimination
class	religion
sexuality	nationality
disability	organisational hierarchy
marginalisation	marital status
identity	hiv
educational level	rights

5. What have you seen change because of the EE Com.?
6. Probe:

   individual growth

   interpersonal interactions

   group dynamics

   team spirit

   organisational restructuring

   organisational culture

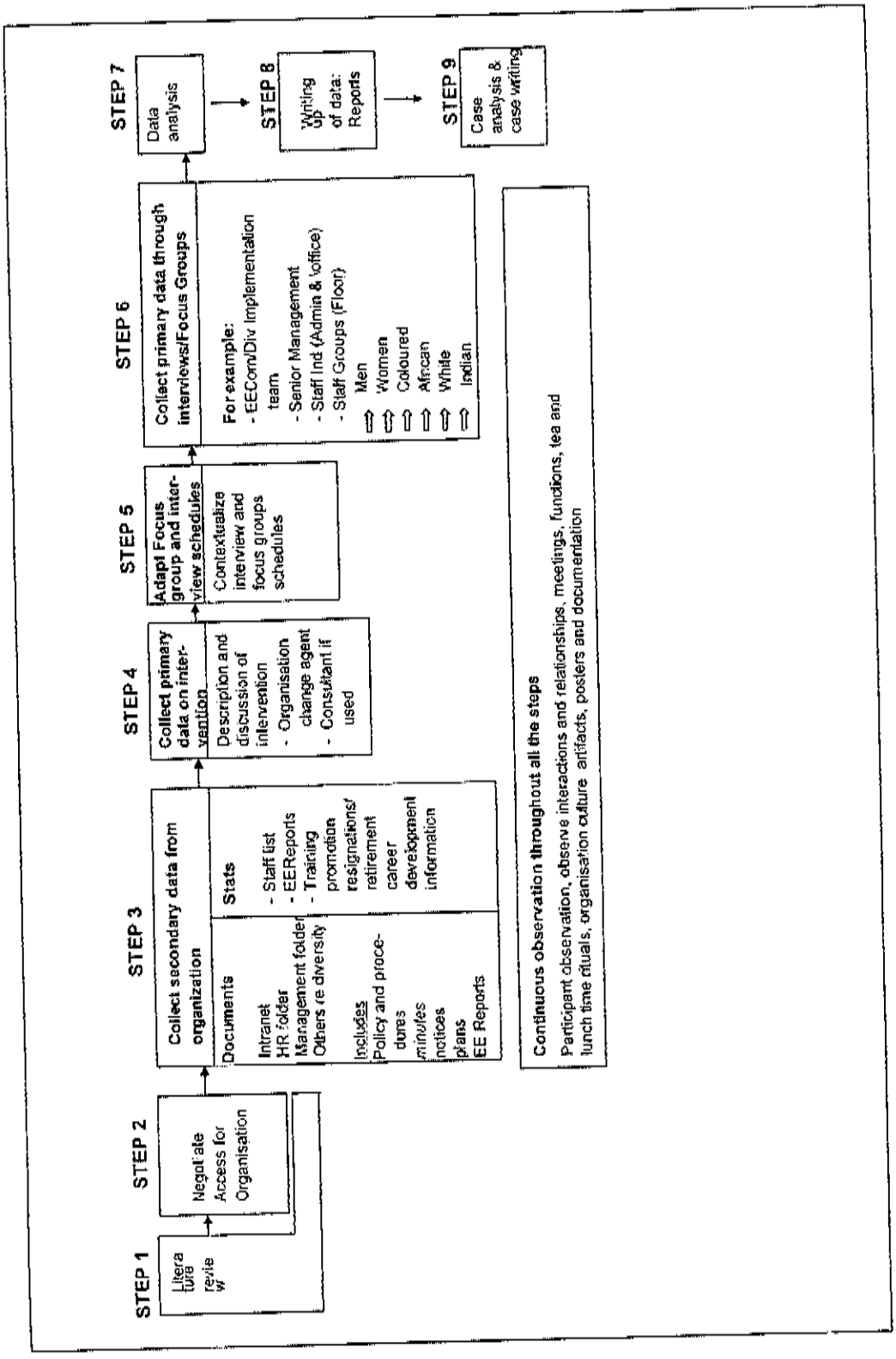
   community level change
7. Are other people behaving differently because of the EE Com.?
8. If yes, who changed and how would you describe that change?
9. If no, why not?
10. Are you behaving differently because of the EE Com.?
11. If yes, can you describe that change?

12. If no, why not?
13. Do you feel a change in the way you feel valued/seen/ heard in the company because of the EE Com.?
14. If yes, how would you describe this change?
15. If no, why not?
16. What mechanisms are in place to raise concerns?
17. What concerns have you raised with the EE Com.?
18. Has there been, to your knowledge any follow up?
19. If yes, what did it involve?
20. If no, why not?
21. What is the most successful part of the EE Committee?
22. Why?
23. What is the least successful part of the EE Committee?
24. Why?
25. What would you change about it?

Interview for Senior Management

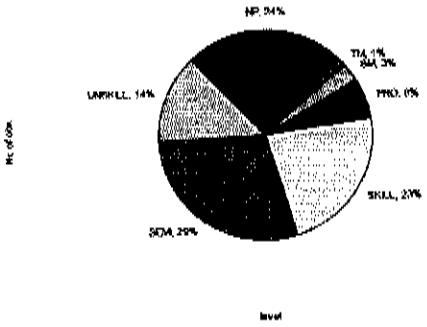
1. What strategies do you have in place to leverage on diversity, if any?
    a. *Are the strategies linked to EE? If so, how? If no, why not?*
    b. *How do they fit into business objectives, if at all?*
    c. *How do you define the success of your strategies?*
    d. *How do you measure this success of these strategies?*
    e. *What has the impact of the strategies on the business been?*
2. What is the company doing to measure the performance of managers and staff on issues of diversity, if anything?
3. What is the role of the Employment Equity and Training Committee in achieving the business' aims and objectives?
4. What in your opinion have been the greatest achievements of the EE Com. to date?
5. What are the limitations of the EE Com.?

APPENDIX 3 – DEISA Case Study Research Process

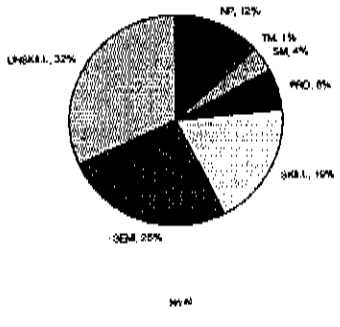


APPENDIX 4 – Workforce Profile

4.1 Workforce By Job Level Profile 2000



4.2 Workforce By Job Level Profile 2004



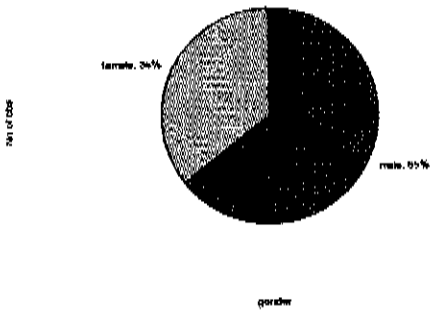
4.3 Workforce By Job Level Profile 2000

	Count	Cumulative	Percent	Cumulative
TM: top management	2	2	0.91743	0.9174
SM: senior management	6	8	2.75229	3.6697
PRO: professional	14	22	6.42207	10.0917
SKILL: skilled	50	72	22.93578	33.0275
SEMI: semi skilled	63	135	28.89908	61.9266
UNSKILL: unskilled	30	165	13.76147	75.6881
NP: non permanent	53	218	24.31193	100.0000

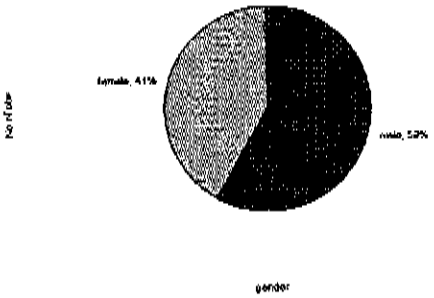
4.4 Workforce By Job Level Profile 2004

	Count	Cumulative	Percent	Cumulative
TM: top management	2	2	0.85470	0.8547
SM:senior management	9	11	3.84615	4.7009
PRO: professional	15	26	6.41026	11.1111
SKILL: skilled	45	71	19.23077	30.3419
SEMI: semi skilled	60	131	25.64103	55.9829
UNSKILL: unskilled	74	205	31.62393	87.6068
NP: non permanent	29	234	12.39316	100.0000

4.5 Workforce Profile by Gender 2000



4.6 Workforce Profile by Gender 2004



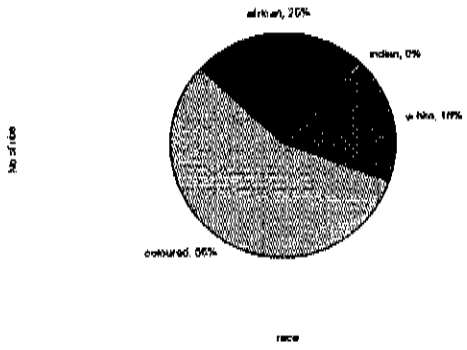
4.7 Workforce Profile by Gender 2000

	Count	Cumulative	Percent	Cumulative
male: male	141	141	64.67890	64.6789
female: female	77	218	35.32110	100.0000

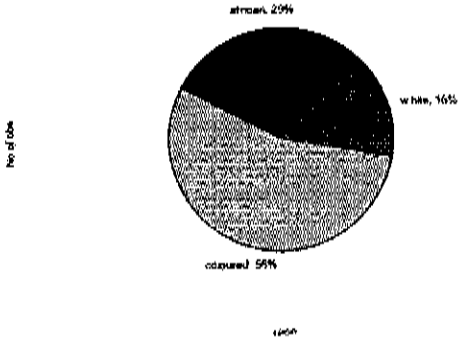
4.8 Workforce Profile by Gender 2004

	Count	Cumulative	Percent	Cumulative
male: male	144	144	61.53846	61.5385
female: female	90	234	38.46154	100.0000

4.9 Workforce Profile by Race 2000



4.10 Workforce Profile by Race 2000



4.11 Workforce Profile by Race 2000

	Count	Cumulative	Percent	Cumulative
white: white	40	40	18.3486	18.3486
coloured: coloured	123	163	56.4220	74.7706
african: african	54	217	24.7706	99.5413
indian: indian	1	218	0.4587	100.0000

4.12 Workforce Profile by Race 2004

	Count	Cumulative	Percent	Cumulative
white: white	36	36	15.3846	15.3846
coloured: coloured	129	165	55.1282	70.5128
african: african	69	234	29.4872	100.0000

Colour Codes for Graphs

6 - Unskilled and defined decision making

5 - Semi-skilled and discretionary decision making

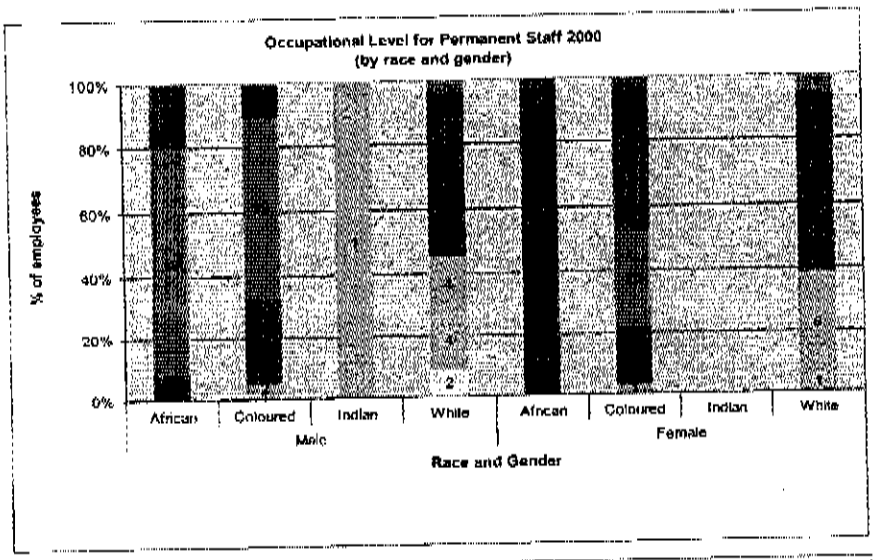
4 - Skilled technical and academically qualified workers, junior management, supervisors foremen, and superintendents

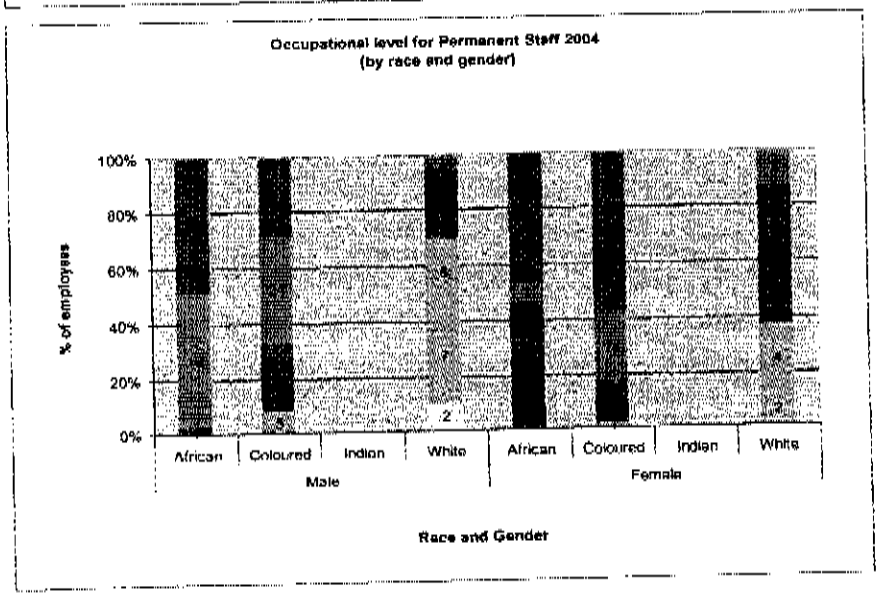
3 - Professionally qualified and experienced specialists and mid-management

2 - Senior management

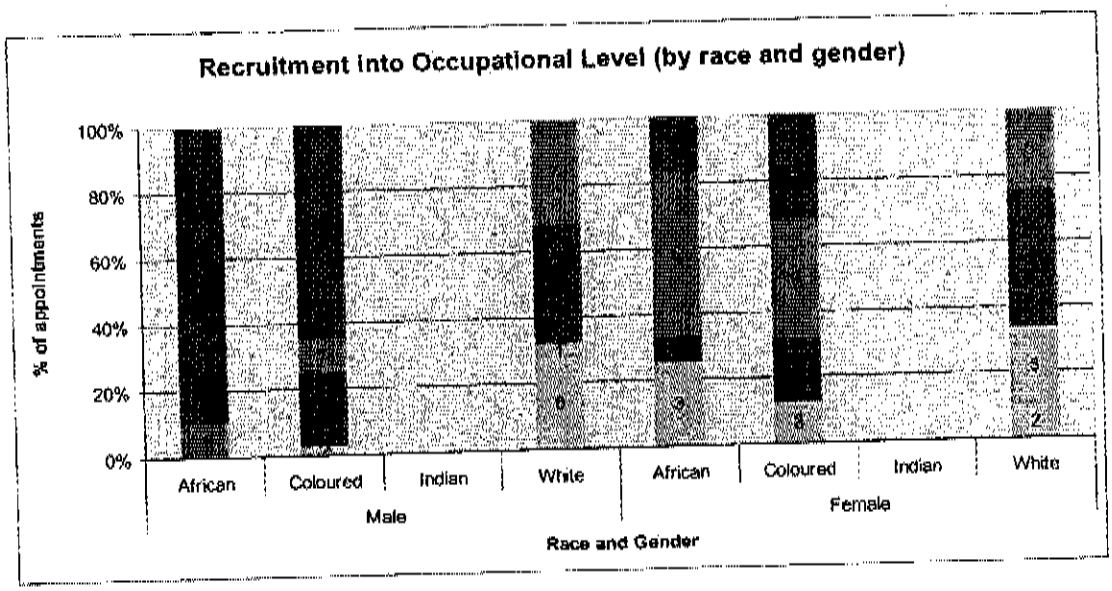
1 - Top management

4.13 Occupational levels for Permanent Staff 2000 and 2004 (by Race and Gender)

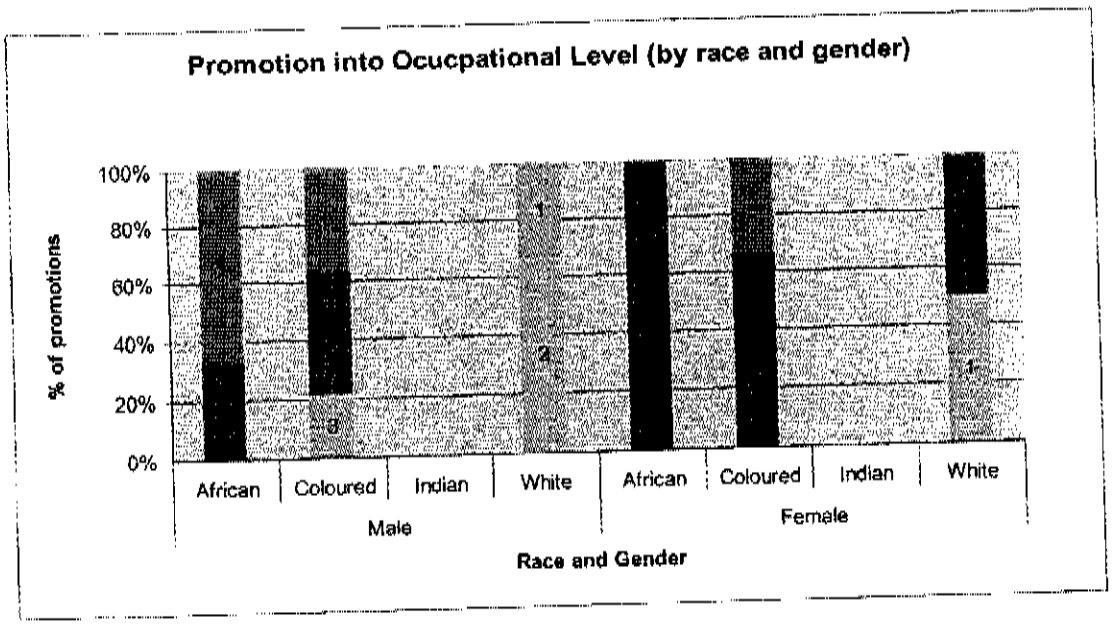




4.14 Recruitment into Occupational Level 2000 – 2004 (by Race and Gender)



4.15 Promotion into Occupational Level 2000 – 2004 (by Race and Gender)

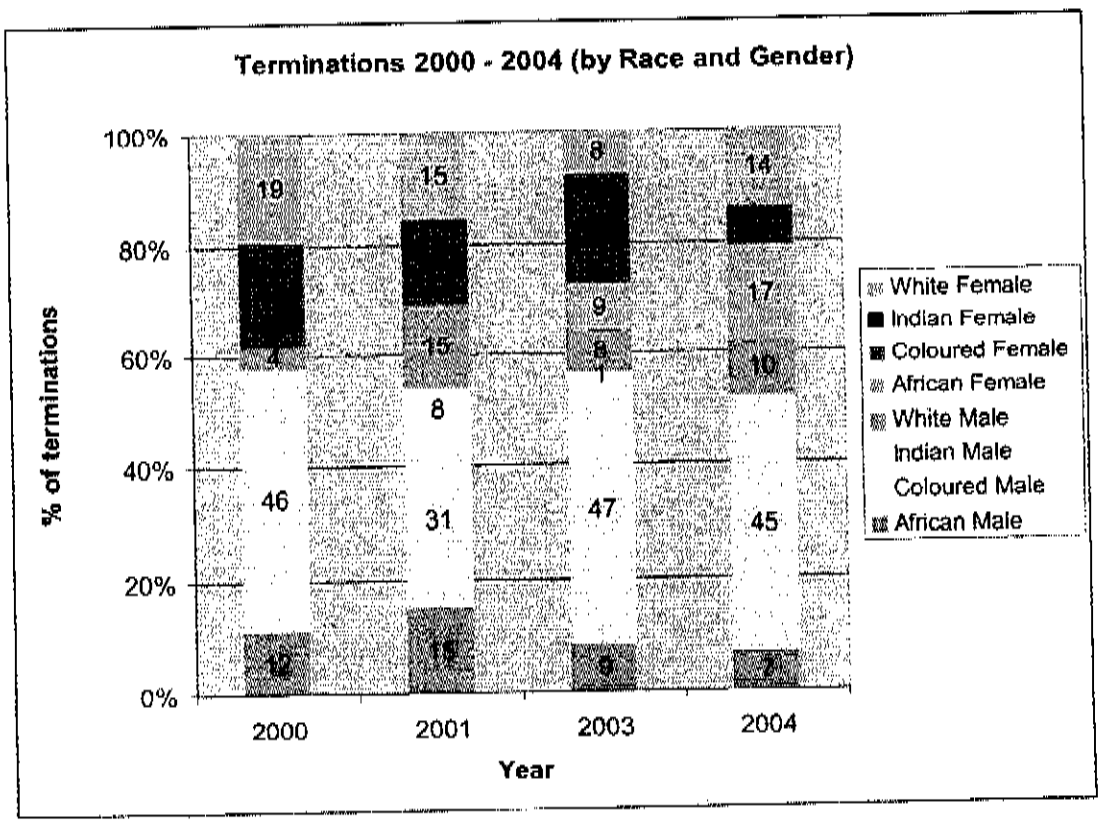


4.16 No. of Terminations by Type and Year

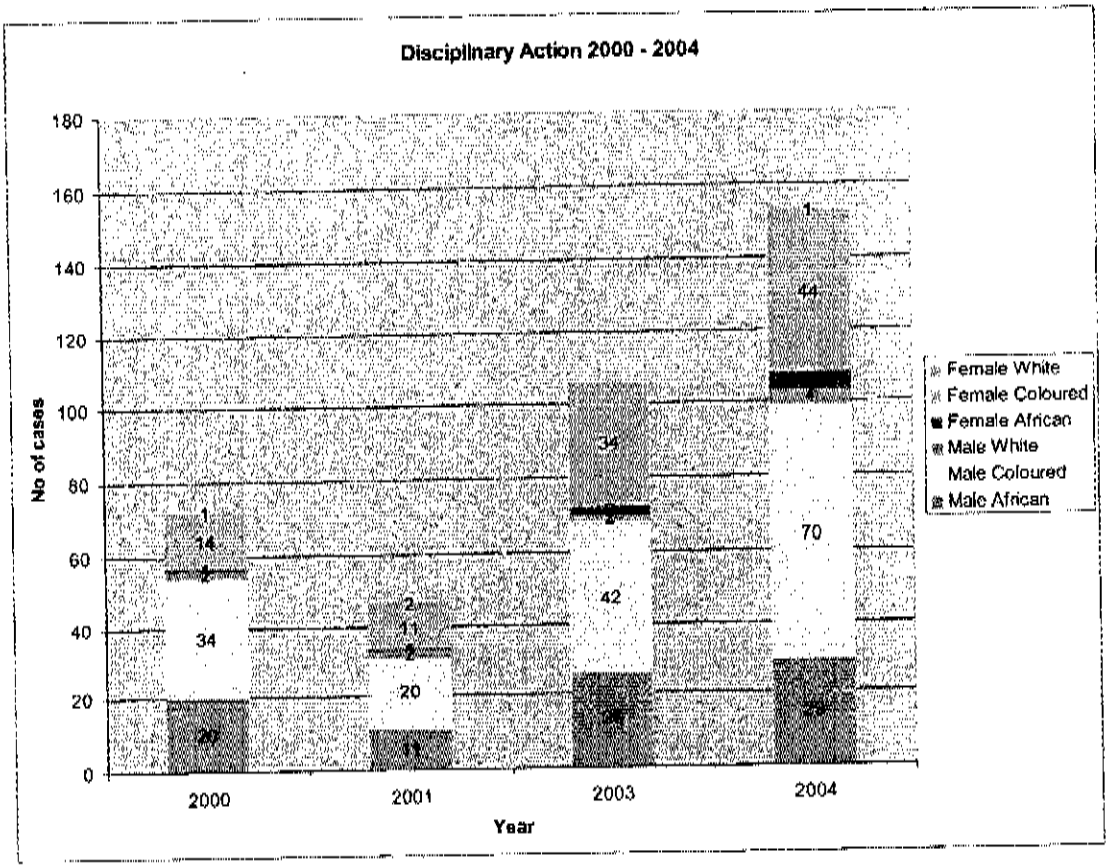
Number of terminations by Type and Year

	2000	2001	2003	2004	Type Totals
Resignation	18	6	18	9	51
Non-renewal of contract			62	8	70
Dismissal - Operational requirements (retrenchment)		2	4	1	7
Dismissal - misconduct	7	2	6	1	16
Dismissal - incapacity	1	3	2	1	7
Other				9	9
Year Totals	26	13	92	29	160

4.17 % of Terminations by Race and Gender



4.18 Disciplinary Action 2000-2004 (by Race and Gender)



APPENDIX 5 - Details of EETC Minutes

EETC Training and Skills Development

Minute: 01/08/00: The committee reviews the Training and Skills Development Act and undertakes an analysis of the training required in the Company.

Minute: 08/08/00: In this meeting the committee is meant to develop an action plan to ensure delivery of this training. The minute, however, does not convey to what extent this happened.

Minute: 12/03/01: There is no further discussion of training and skills development again until the a a committee member expresses the view that "the committee does not know who is going on training" The minute goes on to say, "He queried why 5 people went on a course. He believes that senior people are being trained 'set-up', but that previous disadvantaged were not being trained." It is then decided that a chairperson be appointed to oversee the training committee. This, however, does not ensure a consistent focus on training and skills development by the EETC.

Minute: 28/08/01: The committee engages in a discussion on the Workplace Skills Plan (WSP) and once again identifies training priorities

There is only one meeting of the EETC in 2002 and the minutes of meetings only reflect a discussion on training again in October 2003.

Minute: 07/10/03: At this meeting arrangements are made for ABET training to commence. The committee does not meet again until April of 2004.

Minute: 22/04/04: Attention is drawn to the fact that a report on all training done and the WSP is to be submitted by 15/06/04

Minute: 25/05/04: It is acknowledged that there is a discrepancy between training that was planned and training that actually occurred

Minute: 30/09/04: In reviewing the Equity Report, the committee notes that a positive was the introduction of ABET Training but that there has been a significant drop-out rate due to poor attendance and dismissals, with only two candidates writing the exam. The first line-management learnership is, however, said to be one of the most successful training programs.

Employment Equity Reports

Members being referred to the section on barriers to EE (Minute: 12/03/01; 14/06/01)

Concern being expressed about the poor equity levels at senior management level (Minute: 25/05/04)

And in the minute of 30/09/04 the following was raised in the review of the Equity Report:

Disciplinary action taken level of a serious concern

Qualitative assessment – policies, procedures to ve reviewed

Negative and positive outcomes of training implementation

Positive – implementation of ABET but high drop-out due to disciplinary and poor attendance. 2 students to write finals.

First line management learnership training all students are still on course Unique and positive in O that EE & Skills development and integrated process

Negative – top structure of management not diversely represented

Slow progress in promoting certain race groups into supervisory & management positions.

APPENDIX 6 - Other Issues Considered by the EETC

Summary of issue	Relevant minutes
At various stages, the EETC attempted to compile lists **categorizing staff** per employment category and to clarify the nature of staff contracts, for example, permanent, contract, non-permanent, etc. This task received much attention in 2000.	24/07/00; 01/08/00; 03/08/00; 17/08/00; 07/09/00; 25/05/04
Mention is made of the need to focus on individuals with **disability** but no reference is made as to how this needs to be taken up.	24/07/00; 22/04/04
The need for a sexual harassment policy is identified but not taken up.	06/08/04
Equity at management and senior management level is noted as an area that needs particular attention as O falls short here	19/08/03; 25/05/04; 30/09/04
EE staff survey/questionnaire: In 2000 the EETC undertakes an EE staff survey. Minutes of 5 consecutive meetings reflect planning undertaken for this but there is no record of discussions of how the outcome of this survey should inform the work of the EETC.	29/08/00; 19/08/00; 05/10/00; 12/10/00; 26/10/00
In 2003 it is agreed to once again conduct the same survey with staff	09/09/03

Communication around EE The EETC is aware of the fact that communicating around equity and diversity issues is vitally important in two meetings they talk about placing notices on notice boards and in two other meetings they acknowledge the need for making presentations to staff on progress made. It is unclear whether this in fact did happen.	07/09/00; 19/08/00 28/08/01; 22/04/04
Allegations of racism There are three instances in which the committee has to deal with allegations of racism. In the first instance a committee member is appointed to investigate the matter. He finds that the incident is in fact not about racism but is about confusion around decision making processes. The second allegation stems from the same department but it is not clear how this is resolved while the third allegation was to be investigated by the HR manager The third allegation by committee member who asked why white students did R&D and black students were relegated to the lab.	(1) 19/08/00; 05/10/00 (2) 28/08/01 (3)17/06/04 17/06/2004
Grading & Job Specs	14/12/00

APPENDIX 7 - Issues Raised by Floorworkers

Recruitment & Selection practices perceived as inconsistent and unjust	..."they only started doing the interviews for each and every person last year December... but before that they would just advertise in the position and the next thing you don't get an answer you don't get an interview you get somebody from outside travelled into the company and what happen then those people that coming from outside they don't last they stay for a few months then they leave again"[i] "...nou hoor ons net elke keer daar's nog klomp positions. Die posisies vir die mense en daai as it op die computer is it maar dit is nie board nie - nou môre as ons nou vir ons sien dan sien ons hier kom ene van buitekant wat nie eers ingeskryf het vir daai werk nie dan sit daai oen in position."[ii] "Almal, almal, hulle het mos gesê ons moet apply, apply, apply. Okay, jy apply, jy word geinterview...., maar jy weet vir 'n feit, hulle het klaar iemand, hulle het klaar iemand in mind om daar te werk. Dis maar net om vir die Equity daar te sit dat ons... en hulle weet wat hulle daar sit en aan die einde van die dag, dan's dit, dan is dit daai persoon. Dan is dit, dan is dit glad nie die wat ge-interview was..."[iii]
Perceived racism and favouritism of particularly coloured staff	..."and another thing about employer they employ a lot of coloured people here they didn't employ the Africans and the post is for the coloured people "[iv] "...especially the management level supervisors or they don't care whether you do have qualification or you are suitable for posts... I think that few coloured – coloured people into the positions they hand pick somewhere a coloured person or a white person outside there."[v] "I think better than the committee must check the people how do they employ – not to maybe to employ maybe coloured 5 and African 1 must be 50 50 must check that.."[vi] "Well the other thing is I don't think they doing anything because I don't think they 100% sure that there is racism they don't see it that way and the other thing is like you cant just go to them and tell them but I feel like really I'm treated this way or unless you see I'm fat and you need to have people supporting you.."[vii]

Inconsistent practice with regard to making individuals permanent and 'bad treatment' of casuals	*"...in 1997 after me and then after that he employed the other people after those people who are coming after me and then till now is not permanent its 8 years now – that is racist to much in this company to much racist."* [viii] *"I've got a problem here I don't understand how many months a person must be a casual... I know nothing about what's going on but I long for 8 years this is the 8th month but they employ people who came after me I'm sure its because of this and I cant finish you see. They are just using me . I'm a casual or sometimes maybe after 6 months they call me back you see I don't know – they just put me in that stage I don't know about ..."* [ix] *"Dit was al voor, soos ek sê, as daar 'n meeting moet gehou word, dan vra ons nou hoekom is sekere temps permanent en hoekom is sekere mense dan nie permanent en toe daai was die mense se excuse, dis omdat daai mense nie matriek gehad het nie, daarom is hulle nie perm nie .... Daai was die excuse gewees."* [x] *"....ek meen, die, die Temps doen dieselfde tipe werk wat ons doen [Ja], alright, maar hulle kom by Union Meetings dan het hulle nou nie sê nie, dan moet die Permanents alleen in die meeting wees, maar hulle het nie, hulle doen dieselfde tipe werk, hulle word dieselfde pressure geplaas, hulle het al die responsibilities wat ons het en plus, daar's, daar's Temps wat in positions is wat amper op 'n Senior level is,..."* [xi]
Sense that people are not fairly promoted	*"Nou werk jy 15 vandag werk ek 18 jaar hier by die O .. but hier is ek 'n niks. Jy word nie gesien nie. Al die posisies wat hier kom ek kan almal daai werk doen man ek werk dan lang genoeg want ek werk elke dag maar hulle sien nie vir jou nie. Is om jy is standerd 7 uit jy kan nie daai job kry nie maar jy werk elke dag met daai werk en jy sit elke dag op die computer en jy wiet jy kan dit doen gat jy voorentoe dan sien jy net iemand van buitekant het daai werk gekry jy word nie gesien hier nie."* [xii]

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

(Confidential)

Declaration by employee

PLEASE READ THIS FIRST

Purpose of this form

This form is used to obtain information from employees for the purpose of assisting employers with conducting an analysis on the workforce profile. Employers should use this form to ascertain which employees are from designated groups in terms of the Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998.

Who fills in this form

Employees should fill in this form.

Instructions

Employers must ensure that the contents of this form remain confidential, and that it is only used to comply with the Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998.

'People with disabilities' are defined in the Act as people who have long-term or recurring physical or mental impairment, which substantially limits their prospects of entering into, or advancement in employment.

1. Name of employee: _____

2. Employee workplace No: _____
(This is the number that an employer/company/organization uses to identify an employee in the workplace.)

3. Please indicate to which categories you belong:

Male ☐ Female ☐

African ☐ Coloured ☐ Indian ☐ White ☐

Foreign National: ☐

If you are not a citizen by birth, please indicate the date you acquired your citizenship: .....

Person with a disability: ☐

Specify nature of disability:

_____

4. I verify that the above information is true and correct.

Signed: _____
Employee

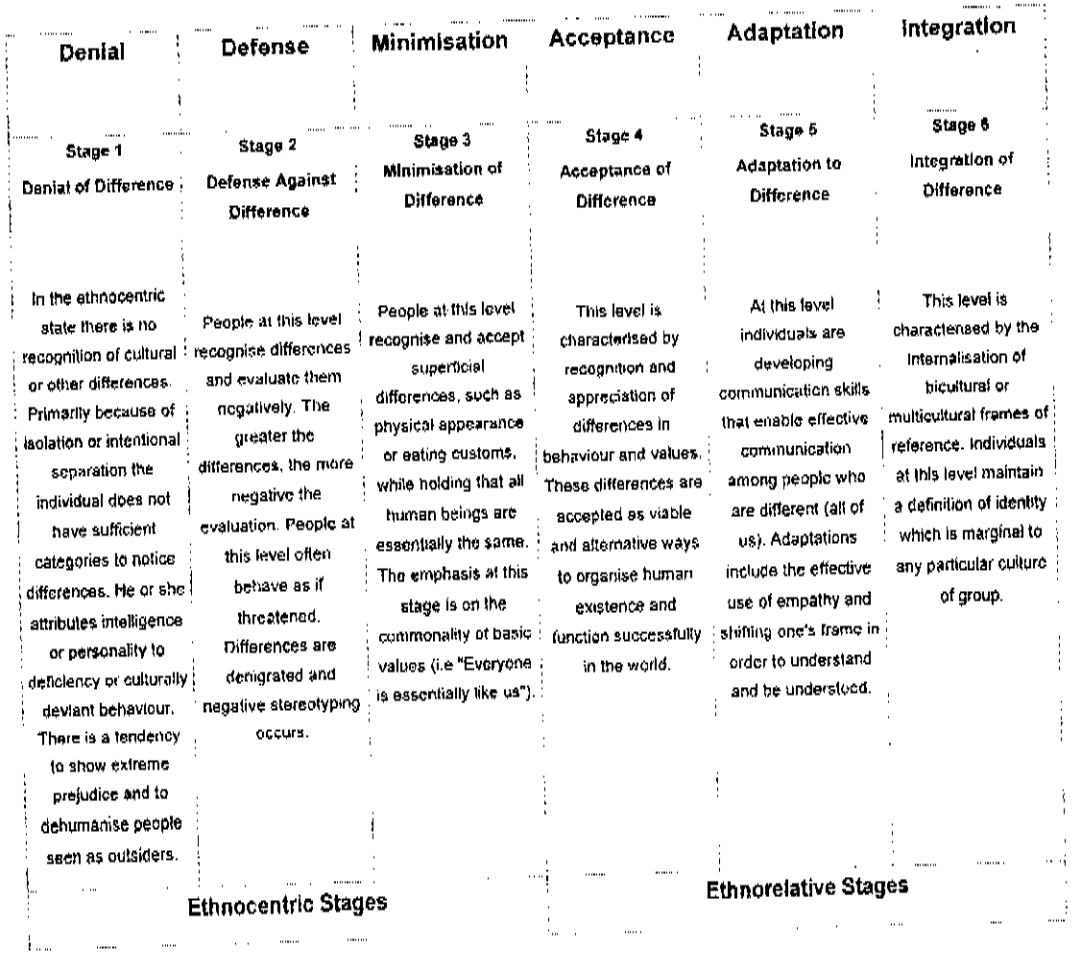
Date: _____

Gender Insensitive practices	*"What happened last week – they put me to work night shift for the 4th day without my family I'm not suppose to do that so I if you don't fight for yourself no one can fight for yourself. I go straight to the management I say I told him my problem, so he put me for day shift here I don't know whats happening"*[xiii]
	"1999 het ek op Maternity Leave gegaan. Toe ek terugkom, toe kan ek net vir 'n maand Leave, 'n straight skof, maar hulle weet dis nie maklik, as jy, as jy 'n baby kry, die baby makeer nog sorg en daai. Hulle sien nie vir jou aan om vir jou langer te gee nie. Miskien twee maande, of drie maande, net terug dagskof toe. Hulle force jou, as jy nie kan Night Shift werk nie, dan moet jy maar jou goed vat en loop… . So daar in daai opsig help hulle ook nie die vroumense nie. So hier moet jy te bang wees om 'n baby te kry, want as jy terugkom, dan is daar die werk vir jou nie, of hulle sê vir jou, As jy nie kan shifts werk nie, dan moet jy maar bly waar jy is. Bly by die huis eenkeer en daai's wat hulle vir jou sê en daai's wat gebeur."[xiv]
	" Die Supervisor verwag sommer die pies wat ons pak… vroumense moet dit doen en die boks is baie swaar om op te tel en as 'n mens [kla] dan sê hulle net twee vroumense moet dit lig,…"[xv]
	"Ja, jy ::: moet maar baie (Onhoorbaar). Sommige mense kom na jou werk, dan word hulle "Permanent" gemaak en meeste van die, wat hier by O, mansmense word meerdor "Permanent" gemaak as wat vroumense "Permanent" gemaak word… Meeste mans, soos byvoorbeeld, toe ek hier kom, nè, toe het hier nog sê vier, altwee daai wat saamgekom het, mansmense is al "Permanent "[xvi].

Concerns about the implementation of Performance Management	*"Yeah they doing that performance management but my problem is with the performance management it's not clear it doesn't clearly indicate what exactly are they imagining you see because like they started last yeah with the performance management and then they say as from this year they gonna make it a permanent thing you see but last year at the end of the year they have to call us your manager has to call you one by one and tell you how was your performance – and I was not happy with what I got because you know how you do your work and you expect I mean although they give us the same amount of bonus nothing change but the way they did the performance management is not right..."*[xxvi]

APPENDIX 8 - Milton J. Bennet's Model of Developing Intercultural Sensitivity

Source: Hayes & Russell 1997: 22-25



[i] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[ii] Cassette 3: Coloured (Afrikaans)

[iii] Cassette 4: Focus Group Women (Afrikaans)

[iv] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[v] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[vi] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[vii] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[viii] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[ix] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[x] Cassette 4: Focus Group Women (Afrikaans)

[xi] Cassette 4: Focus Group Men (Afrikaans)

[xii] Cassette 3: Coloured (Afrikaans)

[xiii] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)

[xiv] Cassette 4: Focus Group Women (Afrikaans)

[xv] Cassette 4: Focus Group Women (Afrikaans)

[xvi] Cassette 4: Focus Group Women (Afrikaans)

[xvii] Cassette 3: Focus Group Black (English)