UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal

Lungile Londiwe Ntombela

207511873

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Management, Information Technology and Governance

College of Law and Management Studies

Supervisor: Prof T.P Msibi

2020

*

Declaration

I, LUNGILE LONDIWE NTOMBELA declare that

(i) The research reported in this dissertation/thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

(ii) This dissertation/thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

(iii) This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

(iv) This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

a) Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced; b) where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks, and referenced.

(v) Where I have reproduced a publication of which I am an author, co-author or editor, I have indicated in detail which part of the publication was actually written by myself alone and have fully referenced such publications.

(vi) This dissertation/thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the dissertation/thesis and in the References sections.

Signature:

Date: November 2020

Abstract

This thesis explores the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in post-apartheid South Africa. Work is an important facet of one's life. Not only is it necessary for economic reasons, the workplace is also a critical social space where people with different backgrounds, traits and abilities interact with each other. Social norms and values are applied and often reproduced, and one of these is heteronormativity. Whilst there has been increasing focus on diversity as far as gender, race and disability are concerned in the fields of Human Resource Management, there has been silences around issues of sexuality and gender identity in corporate workplaces in South Africa. Drawing from three theoretical frameworks, i.e., Acker's (1990) gendered organisations, Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality and queer theory (Butler, 1990), this study aims to understand the complex ways in which employees construct, negotiate and manage their personal (sexual and gendered) and professional identities. Through grounded conversations, informed by narrative methodology, data was gathered from twenty-five (25) participants who self-identify as sexual and gender "non-normative" ('queer' according to Western gender and sexual subjectivity labelling). The participants reflected a wide range of occupations, ages and employment corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal. They also reflected wide-ranging sexual (gay, lesbian and bisexual) and gender (cisgender and transgender) identities. The findings suggest that, despite the South African's progressive anti-discriminatory legislative framework, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience discrimination in corporate workplaces. Such discrimination was found to be covert and included verbal intentional or unintentional microaggressions. This thus influenced how gender and gender "non-normative" employees managed their identities at work. The study also found that, fundamentally, workplace diversity management policies are sluggish in prioritizing aspects of sexuality and gender identities, which exacerbates microaggressions. The study suggests that workplace culture is influenced by regimes of inequality based on the intersectional relations between sexuality, race and gender. This was seen in workplace policies, processes and practices that privilege heterosexuality.

Theoretically, this study uncovered new perspectives in terms of the intersecting identities of participants within the context of the workplace. Here, the use of multiple theories has highlighted that the experiences of each sexual and gender "non-normative" employee are different. The theories also helped draw attention to the underlying major structures of power and the dynamics thereof within the organisation that render sexual and gender "non-normative" employees as invisible. Furthermore, such power relations reproduce heteronormativity in terms of leadership, workplace friendships and administration of policy and practice.

This work calls for more work to be conducted in the area of sexuality, with a deliberate inclusion of gender "non-normative" identities within the field of Human Resource Management, as a crucial component of workplace culture. It also appeals for the development of African-based theories that reflect the experiences of African realities, including African sexualities. An advantage of conceptualizing theory is the development of terminologies. Thus, we can move from using foreign words to describe South African experiences.

Dedication

… the products of our work are made truly valuable when the effort is dedicated to those who made it possible. With this in mind, I would like to dedicate this work, with a heart full of gratitude, to my dearest parents and brother. I found inspiration and strength to complete this journey with you by my side. I love you all dearly.

In loving memory of my aunt, Ntombizethu Mhlanga…

Acknowledgements

To the Almighty God, Jesus Christ for the wisdom and strength to pursue and complete this study. Thank you, Lord, for your amazing grace in my life.

Throughout this journey, I have received immense support. I owe my sincerest gratitude to the following people:

- Firstly, my heartiest appreciation goes out to my supervisor Prof T. P. Msibi. Where do I even begin! The wealth of knowledge you possess is unfathomable. The passion you have for academia, social justice and the liberation of the black child is inspiring. Thank you for being instrumental in my emancipation… indeed I will never be same again, ever! Although you were the most rigorous critic of my work, you saw potential in me and continued to be patient and supportive throughout this study.

- Secondly, I owe a special thanks to the participants who took part in the study. Thank you for trusting and sharing with me some of your most intimate aspects of your personal and professional lives. In the process, you have helped me find my long overdue, disposition in which I accept everyone for who they are and how they choose to live their lives, and for that I will forever be grateful.

- Finally, thank you to my friends and family, for the kind words of perseverance and never-ending emotional support. Thank you for understanding when I chose this study over you time and time again. Today, we are enjoying the fruits together!

Table of Contents

DECLARATION ..... **II**

ABSTRACT ..... **III**

DEDICATION ..... **V**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **VI**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **VII**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ..... **XI**

LIST OF FIGURES ..... **XII**

LIST OF TABLES ..... **XIII**

PROLOGUE ..... **XIV**

CHAPTER 1 ..... **1**

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY **1**

1.1 Introduction to the study 1
1.2 Research problem and purpose of the study 2
1.3 Background to the study 4
1.4 Suitability of terminology 7
1.5 Significance of the study 9
1.6 Outline of thesis 11
1.7 Conclusion 14

CHAPTER 2 ..... **15**

REVIEW OF LITERATURE **15**

2.1 Introduction 15
2.2 The new dispensation in South Africa post-apartheid: The Equality Clause 16
2.3 Anti-discriminatory legislation in South African workplaces 18
2.4 Defining diversity using differentiation 20
2.4.1 Diversity within the workplace: A strategic management goal 21
2.5 Framing organisational culture as it relates to discrimination within the workplace. 22
2.5.1 Key models of organisational culture 23
2.5.1.1 Smirchic's perspective of culture 24
2.5.1.2 Martin's three cultural perspectives 26
2.6 The "natural" order of things: heteronormativity at work 28
2.6.1 Heterosexism, homophobia and transphobia 29
2.6.2 Culture of silence in the workplace 32
2.7 Identity and identity work in corporate South African workplaces 34
2.7.1 Gender identity in the workplace 36

2.8 DISCRIMINATION AND STIGMA IN CORPORATE WORKPLACES **38**

2.9 Microaggressions in the workplace 42
2.10 Disclosure and/or non-disclosure of sexual identity in the workplace 44
2.10.1 Personal motives to disclosing one's sexual "non-normative" identity at work 46
2.10.2 Contextual motives to disclosing one's sexual "non-normative" identity at work 47
2.11 Conclusion 53

CHAPTER 3 ..... **55**

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 55

3.3 Intersectionality theory 56
3.3.1 Suitability of intersectionality for this study 57
3.4 Theory of gendered organisations 59
3.4.1 Suitability of the theory of gendered organisations to the study 62
3.5 Queer theory 63
3.5.1 Suitability of queer theory to the study 64
3.6 Conclusion 65

CHAPTER 4 66

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 66

4.1. Introduction 66
4.2. Philosophy: Ontology and epistemology 66
4.3 Why a qualitative research design? 68
4.3.1 Narrative inquiry as a methodology 70
4.3.2 Relevance of narrative inquiry to the study 70
4.3.2.1 Data saturation in qualitative research. 73
4.3.2.2 Shortfalls in using narrative inquiry 74
4.4 Location and context of the study 74
4.5 Participants' composition 77
4.6 Participant size 79
4.7 Criteria and selection of participants 80
4.8 Method of generating data: Grounded conversations 86
4.8.1 Interview location for grounded conversations 87
4.8.2 Grounded conversations structure 87
4.8 Reflexivity 91
4.9 Ethical consideration 93
4.9.1 Trustworthiness 94
4.9.1.2 Dependability 95
4.9.1.3 Confirmability 96
4.10 Data analysis 96
4.11 Conclusion 99

CHAPTER 5 100

NAVIGATING HETERONORMATIVITY IN THE WORKPLACE 100

5.1 Introduction to the findings 100
5.2 Introduction 106
5.3 Coping strategies at work 107
5.3.1 Self-regulating appearance: "Toning down" appearance to suppress association of stigmatized sexual identity 107
5.4 Policing and regulating of "normative" femininity and masculinity: Clothing and hairstyles. 111
5.5 Reinforcing heteronormativity: "Normalising" sexuality in "gay- friendly" workplaces 115
5.6 Conclusion 118

CHAPTER 6 120

CONSERVATIVE WORKPLACE CULTURE AND SUBTLE DISCRIMINATORY REGIMES IN CORPORATE WORKPLACES 120

6.1 Introduction 120
6.2 A brief overview of systematic influence of societal culture on the organisation 121
6. 3 Non-disclosure of sexual identities at work: Homophobic workplace culture 122
6.3.1 Reasons for non-disclosure: Fear of negative consequences from colleagues 123

6.3.2 Perceiving sexuality as a private concern: Incompatibility of the "professional" corporate workplace 126
6.3.3 Symbolic silences on issues of sexuality in the workplace: Issues relating to "non-normative" sexual and gender identities not prioritised 130
6.4 Experiences of subtle forms of discrimination 132
6.4.1 Sexual prejudice: Usage of inappropriate pronouns as jokes 133
6.4.2 Subtle discrimination: Heterosexist name-calling 137
6.4.3 Stereotypical ideas of sexual and gender "non-normative" identities: The influence of media 139
6.4.4 Social ostracism: Experiences of exclusion and rejection by colleagues 144
6.5 Conclusion 145

CHAPTER 7 148

THE INADEQUACY OF ANTI-DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION IN PROMOTING DIVERSITY INCLUSION IN CORPORATE WORKPLACES 148

7. 1 Introduction 148
7.2 Brief look at the equality under anti-discriminatory legislation in the context of South Africa 149
7.3 Silences in the form of backlash: Participants' reasons for not reporting incidents of heterosexist behaviour and discrimination in the workplace 150
7.4 Trade unions in the organisation: Irrelevant to the individual matters concerning sexual and gender "non-normative" employees 155
7.5 Corporate workplace approach to diversity: "Empty-shell" diversity management policies 159
7.6 The impact of anti-discrimination legislation on individuals: Inability to reduce heterosexist attitudes towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees 165
7.7 Conclusion 170

CHAPTER 8 173

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS 173

8.1 Introduction 173
8.2 Revisiting the research aims and research questions in the light of the findings 173
8.2.1 What are the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South African corporate workplaces? 174
8.2.2 Why do sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience the corporate workplace the way they do? 177
8.2.3 What is the role of national anti-discrimination legislation and policies in shaping the experiences of the selected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces? 182
8.3 Contributions this study makes: Research, practice and policy 184
8.3.2 Contribution to practice and policy 186
8.4 Implications for the study 190
8.4.1 Implications for practice 191
8.4.2 Implications for policy 193
8.5 Limitations and suggestions for further study 194
8.6 Conclusion 195

9. REFERENCES

..... 198

APPENDIX A 259

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL 259

APPENDIX B

..... 260

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH FORM 260
APPENDIX C 264
TURNIT-IN REPORT
..... 264
APPENDIX D
..... 265
LANGUAGE EDITOR'S CONFIRMATION 265
APPENDIX E
..... 266
GROUNDED CONVERSATIONS SCHEDULE 266

List of Abbreviations

BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75, 1997
EEA	Employment Equity Act 55, 1998
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LRA	Labour Relations Act 66, 1995
PEPUDA	Promotion of Equality and Prevention from Unfair Discrimination Act, 2000
WTO	World Trade Organisation

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Model of strategies to managing sexuality in the workplace……..52

Figure 4.4 Map of South Africa……77

Figure 4.5 Map of KwaZulu-Natal…….……...78

List of Tables

Table 4.7 Participants' information……85-86

Prologue

"If they don't give you a seat at the table, bring in a folding chair."

-Shirley Chisholm

I've often been asked what spurred the interest of conducting a study on "non-normative" sexual and gender identities as a cisgender heterosexual woman. My response has been that I have a genuine interest in social justice issues that affect people at work. Whilst I consider myself an advocate and supporter for human rights and equality, I am careful of not using labels like "ally" due to the power politics attached to them. Instead, I remain steadfast in acknowledging and embracing of diversity.

Workplaces remain spaces that reproduce heterosexuality as "normal", thereby rendering any other sexual identity as invisible, weird and irrelevant. The same can be said about conducting research on issues of sexuality amongst mundane "vanilla" research. I remember when I first started this study, I had to constantly validate my work as credible and an important academic research issue. Moreover, since scholarship on sexuality should not be generalized to other contexts, its validity and reliability was further questioned.

So, why this study? Like Shirley Chisholm, I hope that this research ruffles feathers of those who have "seats at the table". I hope that it inspires the inclusion of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in all aspects of the workplace so their voices are heard loud enough to lead to social change and acceptance of difference.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and background to the study

1.1 Introduction to the study

This study engages in an often-silenced matter in Organisational Studies in South Africa. The issue of sexuality and gender diversity is largely unrecognised as an important area for both scholarship, practice and policy within organisational work. This neglect is based on a heteronormative bias that goes unchallenged, reproducing a restrictive heterosexual/homosexual binary. Thus, sexuality and gender not conforming to the heteronorm are judged and presented as wanting. This study aims to disrupt heteronormativity by destabilising the binaries within structures of understanding that make heterosexuality not only appear coherent but also privilege it (Berlant & Warner, 1998; Warner, 2000). This work looks at corporate workplaces as contexts in which inequalities are grounded in organisational structures and practises that reproduce heterosexuality as privileged, 'natural' and, thus, established as "normative" (Hearn Burrell, 1989; Florian, 2009; Skidmore, 2004).

While there has been work done locally that explores the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" people in the public sector, little work has been done that focuses on corporate workplaces with the deliberate inclusion of gender diversity (trans-identifying employees) within the South African context. Given the backdrop of progressive legal developments that aim to achieve equality for all, as well as to eliminate unfair discrimination based on sexual orientation, this study aims to understand whether sexual and gender "non-normative" employees have work environments that enable them to take advantage of these changes. The thesis explores issues around the visibility of sexual and gender 'non-normative' employees, as well as the ways they manage and present their identities in the workplace. This research is also concerned with the dynamics of challenging and negotiating sexual identities beyond the concealment of identity. Additionally, this study explores how the advancements in the socio-legal realm have impacted on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in terms of visibility and discrimination in the workplace.

1.2 Research problem and purpose of the study

Until recently, traditional diversity management research within Human Resource Management has paid limited attention to sexual orientation as a type of diversity (Ozeren, 2014). Existing research in the field has focused on other forms of diversity like race, gender, ethnicity, disability and age. This is in part because of the strong legacy of systematic racial ordering and discrimination in South Africa, which is still deeply racialized and sexist (Nattrass & Seekings, 2005). Traditionally, diversity within the workplace is based on "visible" attributes that are loaded with meanings created and reinforced in social interactions (Cox, 2019). However, until recently, few researchers have undertaken the exploration of "invisible" differences like that of disability, illness, religion, beliefs, as well as sexuality and the dynamics of possessing a difference not easily recognisable socially. Thus, not much is known about sexual and gender "non-normative[1]" people specifically in the context of South African corporate workplaces. This study focuses on addressing the clear relevance of sexuality in the context of corporate workplaces, as well as to illuminate the voices of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, who would be otherwise overlooked and never heard in the context of corporate workplaces.

A prominent and prevalent discourse in the South African literature as far as sexuality is concerned is the heteronormative and often homophobic nature of the African context (Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy & Moletsane, 2010; Nel, 2005; Oswin 2007). This is due to the assumption that sexual and gender "non-normativity" deviates from indigenous African values and is a western colonial import (Amory, 1997; Epprecht, 1998, 2000; Pincheon, 2000). Often, homophobia shapes the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the public sector as well as in the country generally. International literature suggests that sexual "non-normative" employees have to manage their sexuality with constant fear of discrimination. However, not much is known about sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and how they experience workplaces in South Africa.

[1] This study uses the term sexual and gender "non-normative" to refer to people who do not align to "normative" constructions of sexuality and gender identities. I explore this in detail further in the chapter.

Although South Africa has one of the world's most progressive anti-discriminatory legislative framework, there is a sharp contrast when it comes to the day-to-day experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in public workplaces and in the community in general (Butler & Smith 2014; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Nel & Judge, 2008; Tati, 2009). Vimba (2003) suggests that, while the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 deals primarily with the elimination of unfair discrimination in the workplace, the workplace is a common area for discrimination based on sexual identity. For example, in the case *of JL Langemat vs the Minister of Safety and Security*[2], Langemat sued the South African Police Services in order to gain equality-based domestic partnership benefits for herself and her partner. In a landmark decision, the judge of the South African High Court ruled favourably. In the same vein, sexual "non-normative" judge Kathleen Satchwell[3] sued her employer and in turn won the right for her partner to enjoy the same workplace benefits as spouses of heterosexual employees (Butler & Astbury, 2005). This study argues that the pervasive nature of discrimination involving sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces does not contradict what occurs in society. It will seek to present the day-to-day experiences of employees whose gender and sexual identities are often rendered in the space invisible.

It is important to undertake scholarly research of this nature that focuses on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the private sector because there has been some neglect in terms of monitoring compliance with certain legislative regulations that have been regarded as immaterial to the primary aims of the sector/organisation (Kock & Smith, 2005; Scott, 2002). This research intends to explore how the failure to impose government regulation and legislation may influence the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. Also, the private sector is less unionised than the public sector, which may limit political agency for the enforcement of government legislation, as well as agency for social justice based on gender and sexuality.

[2] 1998 (3) SA 312 (T)

[3] Satchwell v President of the Republic of South Africa & another 2002 (6) SA 1 (CC)

1.3 Background to the study

Little is known about the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South African workplaces, as well as the ways in which they construct and negotiate their sexual identities. While there have been international studies conducted in both the public and private sector, limited literature has focused on both issues of gender and sexual diversities (Hall, 1989; Griffin, 1992; Croteau, 1996; Croteau & von Destinon, 1994; Levine & Leonard, 1984; Schneider, 1986; Woods, 1992; Woods & Harbeck, 1991). Equally, silence prevails in South Africa, particularly for work focused on the private sector. Where there has been work conducted in South Africa, it has tended to focus on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and identity construction in the general South African society (Elder, 2005; Gear, 2007; Gevisser & Cameron, 1995; Lane, Shade, McIntyre & Morin, 2008; Ochse, 2011; Oswin, 2005; Potgieter, 1997; Smuts, 2011; Soeker, Bonn, de Vos, Gobhozi, Pape & Ribaudo, 2015; Steyn & Van Zyl, 2009) as well as in the public sector, particularly in the fields of education, correctional services, nursing and public health (Butler, Alpaslan, Strümpher & Astbury, 2003; Bhana & Pattman, 2009; Cele, Sibiya & Sokhela, 2015; Cloete, Kalichman & Simbayi, 2013; Epprecht, 2008, 2012; Ferfolja, 2013; Lane, Mogale Struthers & McIntyre, 2008, Maritz & Prinsloo 2015; Matebeni, Reddy, Sandfort & Southey-Swartz, 2012; Msibi, 2009; Nyeck & Epprecht, 2013; Reid, 2007; Rispel, Metcalf, Cloete, Moorman & Reddy, 2011; Roberts, 2011; Rumens & Broomfield, 2012; Theunick 2000). Yet Collins and Callahan (2012, p. 456) clearly point out that, "even though many may perceive organisations today to be more progressive than those in the past, the assumption that being gay is no longer an issue at work is faulty". Equally, gender diversity is increasingly becoming a serious issue for workplaces. For example, there is an increasing visibility of transgender individuals in social spaces, prompting questions about how gender diversity is treated in workplaces, places that often assume a uniformity of conduct and discipline amongst employees.

Internationally, scholars have written on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in public sector as well as in the corporate workplace (Badgett, 1995; Colgan,

McKearney, & Gregory, 2011; Day & Schoenrade 1997; Driscoll Kelley & Fassinger, 1996; Ferfolia & Hopkins 2013; Humphrey, 1999; Irwin, 2002; Israel, Ketz, Detrie, Burke & Shulman, 2003: Rumens & Kerfoot; 2009; Rostosky & Riggle, 2002; Fassinger,1995; Ward & Winstanley 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; Welle & Button, 2004; Woods, 1993). One of the most authoritative studies that has been conducted internationally is by Hearn and Parkin (1987), who first introduced the idea of sexuality in corporate workplaces. They found that sexuality is generally a value-laden terrain. Due to the nature of corporate workplaces, employees are expected to be professional and to adequately perform their tasks, indicating that the workplace is an asexual space. What also emerges from international literature is that heterosexuality is normalized through cultural norms that prevent open discussions of sexual and gender "non-normative" relationships. Therefore, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are limited in their sexual expressions at work (Acker, 1990, in Simpson and Lewis 2005; Butler, 1990) leading them to construct separate "sexual" and "work" identities.

This study hopes to understand the role of organisational culture in influencing the reasons behind the ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces. Organisational culture in this study is seen as encompassing both positive as well as negative characteristics: positive in the sense that culture creates and maintains a supportive and encouraging workplace environment while, negatively, it marginalises and exploits employees. It is important to explore the corporate workplace because, as already noted, this sector is less unionised than the public sector (Blanchflower & Bryson, 2010), with potential consequences that are set out above. According to Gates and Mitchell (2013), a factor that likely contributes to the stigma-related experiences of many sexual and gender "non-normative" employees is the lack of protection from discrimination at a national level. However, interestingly, the work conducted in South Africa that looks at the experiences of sexual and gender 'non-normative" individuals suggests that, despite South Africa's post-apartheid shift to receive jurisprudential and legislative support for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, various forms of indirect and direct discrimination still exist (Jacques, 2014; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015). Literature also suggests that many sexual and gender 'non-normative' people are targets for violence and crime, as they are stigmatised because of their assumed sexual and/or gender "deviance" (Nel & Judge, 2008).

This study seeks to highlight how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces, given the widespread discrimination that these individuals face daily, especially as it relates to discrimination relates to the corporate workplace. This research responds to the need for addressing the seldom noted, critiqued or analysed questions of corporate workplaces in organisational literature, particularly in the field of Human Resource Management, regarding issues of sexuality and gender identity.

This study aims to understand the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. In order to achieve this, this study focuses on addressing the following objectives:

1. To understand the workplace experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South African corporate workplaces.
2. To understand the reasons why sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience corporate workplace the way they do.
3. To understand the role of national anti-discrimination legislation and policies in shaping the experiences of the selected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces.

The findings of this study need to address the following research questions:

1. What are the workplace experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South African corporate workplaces?
2. Why do sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience the corporate workplace the way they do?
3. What is the role of national anti-discrimination legislation and policies in shaping the experiences of the selected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces?

The objectives and research questions are not in any way meant to be a finger pointing exercise at sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Rather, the questions are intended to focus

on understanding the institutional cultures, practices, systems and structures that are in place and the role that these play in shaping the experiences of employees. In other words, this study is concerned with understanding the structural and systematic practises that exist and that give rise to the daily experiences of a group of South African sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

It is well noted that the inclusion of gender is intentional, as previously stated. The usage of the umbrella term "sexual and gender non-normative" is one that engages with the dynamics of identifying, which I will elaborate on below.

1.4 Suitability of terminology

Before engaging in the arguments of the study, it is important to clarify the use of the umbrella term "sexual and gender non-normative". Firstly, I use this term to refer to people who do not align to "normative" constructions of sexuality and gender identities. These "non-normative" constructs include individuals who engage in same-sex relations, whilst gender "non-normative" refers to individual whose gender identity may be different to the normative binary construction of gender. Guided by queer theory, which is one of the theoretical frameworks guiding this study, I reject binary constructs and "western" forms of sexual categorisation – particularly terms like "lesbian", "gay", "bisexual", "transgender/ transsexual" and "queer". Whilst queer theory sees identification as fluid and shifting, I am aware of the power dynamics of labelling and I refrain from these westernised labels, due to their over-simplistic and fixed approach. Instead, I use a term that goes beyond the loaded westernised forms of the LGBTI (Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex) acronym (Nyanzi, 2014). Furthermore, using these "western" forms of categorisation also gives homophobic African leaders an entry point or ammunition to regard "non-normative" sexualities as unAfrican (Matebeni & Msibi, 2015). While participants within the study did use sexual categories to describe their own sexual and gender identities, as several scholars have demonstrated (Sigamoney, 2013; Epprecht, 2008), the use of these labels by the participants does not always signify an alignment or consistency of use with the Western categories. The use of the labels thus may mean something different to different people, thus signifying difference in terms of the purpose of use.

There has been much debate and discomfort on the vocabulary used to label sexual and gender "non-normative" people. To be precise, critiques in the fields of public health have interrogated terms like MSM (Men who have sex with men) and WSW (Women who have sex with women) (Young & Meyer, 2005). Although neutral terms, they are problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, they neglect the social aspects of sexual and gender "non-normative" people, in that they focus solely on sexual behaviour. Secondly, they fail to give sexual and gender "non-normative" people the opportunity to self-identify. Lastly, the terms are insufficient to describe variations in sexual behaviour. The use of queer simply acknowledges that the participants as sexual beings, whose sexuality is fluid and multiple depending on space, time and context. Based on queer theory, sexuality is seen as shifting and fluid. Moreover, identities are unstable, intersect as individuals inhibit multiple identities. According to Seidman (1996), identities intersect with other social identities like race, gender, class, age and nationality. He further states that "denying the intersection of these identity components serves to silence and exclude some experiences or forms of life" (Seidman, 1996, p. 11). Therefore, the use of terminology needs to acknowledge the complexity of identification. This broad category of "sexual and gender "non-normative" is inclusive, while also highlighting the complexities of sexual identification within the South African context and other contexts where such expression may be denied. By using the term "non-normativity" I do not make heterosexuality appear to be "normal", but I argue that there are identities that are normalized in the workplace. These identities are those that represent an aversion to anything that goes against the conventions of sex and gender (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). This study however focuses on individuals that do not subscribe to those identities that are normalised. Furthermore, "non-normative" in this study refers to those who do not adhere to the cultural standards and expectations of sexuality and gender norms in the workplace.

I, therefore, intentionally refrain from using essentialist terms as there is no one way of fitting into these labels. In essence, this study is not concerned with defining sexual categories, as such identification itself is a social construction.

1.5 Significance of the study

In this study, I seek to address the limited scholarly research on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces in the context of South Africa, as well as the ways in which they construct and negotiate their identities. As previously stated, I unpack an issue that has received little attention in South African organisational studies, particularly in the field of Human Resource Management. The current pervasive heterosexual climate that exists has made many people who identify as sexual and gender "non-normative" subject to attack by society. This is because, as several scholars argue, sexuality is a highly value-laden terrain which is severely regulated by most societies (Goodwatch, 2009; Msibi 2009; Nel, 2009). This is largely due to the way in which sexual "non-normativity" is seen as a transgression (Gedro, Cervero & Johnson-Bailey, 2004). The presence of "non-normativity" can tend to emphasise what Brewis and Lindstead (2000) refer to as the inherent and hidden "erotic" in organisations that, ultimately, plays a role in the silencing of the importance of sexuality in the workplace.

This study is motivated by three primary reasons, i.e., scholarly, personal, and legislative. In terms of scholarly interest, this study is motivated by the silences in organisational literature on issues of "non-normativity" in terms of sex and gender. What has been done, in terms of diversity in corporate workplaces, is work that has focused on race, age and gender in the public sector; limited work has been done on sexual and gender "non-normativity". Therefore, this work fills an important gap. On a personal level, this study is motivated by the experiences of a "gay" (as he identifies himself) friend in an intensely homophobic working environment and how he constantly had to negotiate and renegotiate his sexuality throughout his professional life in the various work environments he worked in as an attorney. His experience is not unique, thus the urgency of this work. Finally, from a legislative point of view, the study seeks to understand the effectiveness of national anti-discriminatory legislation that protects sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace. Literature suggests that the introduction of anti-discriminatory legislation came with hope that diversity would be celebrated, particularly given the divisive nature of Apartheid. Yet, studies have underscored

that the anti-discriminatory legislation in South Africa has shortcomings as a regulatory apparatus (Cock 2003; Beatty & Kirby, 2006; Skidmore, 2004). This is not to say that the legal framework that protects sexual and gender "non-normative" employees from discrimination has not played a role in shaping of organisational policy, rather, that it has been insufficient to alter the intolerant social and cultural atmosphere that opposes the existence of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace. Also, the disjuncture occurs in practice as sexual and gender "non-normative" employees still face discrimination across organisations (Colgan & Wright 2011; Wang & Schwarz, 2010). This study aims to understand how corporate workplaces have responded to legislation and whether the findings in the public spaces are consistent with those in the private spaces.

My personal experiences leading to this study have been challenging. I struggled to acquire a supervisor within my discipline who was comfortable enough to undergo this study with me. As a result, I was constantly encouraged to change the focus of my study. I also underwent difficulty when I had to defend my work in front of the doctoral defence committee. I remember vividly that a member of faculty who was part of the committee was disengaged throughout my entire presentation. It was easy for me and others to notice him as the committee comprised of only seven faculty members. His physical appearance indicated very distinctively that he did not approve of or support my study. He sat with his arms crossed and gazed out the window and up at the ceiling in annoyance and boredom. I was also discouraged to pursue a study like this as it was not seen as "credible" work or work that neatly fitted into the narrow confines of the field of Human Resource Management. While it hasn't been an easy academic journey for me, I have met incredible people who have supported and inspired me to remain steadfast. My experiences have become a great source of encouragement to persevere and rise beyond adversity.

This study is significant not only through its scholarly contributions by focusing on a long-ignored area; it hopes to potentially contribute to policy development both at an organisational and national level as it will allow employers, human resource practitioners as well as diversity managers an opportunity to understand the complexities of diversity that exist in South African corporate workplaces. This is not to say that practitioners beyond the corporate spaces will not

benefit from this study. This work also hopes to significantly contribute to a growing body of knowledge internationally by providing a more contextualised account of South African issues pertaining to sexuality in corporate workplaces.

1.6 Outline of thesis

In ***Chapter One,*** I have attempted to conceptualise the study by setting the scene insofar as giving a broader picture of the context of the problem. I have explained how and why I wanted to undertake a study of this nature in the field of Human Resource Management. This chapter also presents arguments from preliminary literature and how this particular study hopes to address scholarly gaps. The reasons for the choice of terminology and various other key concepts were introduced, followed by the background, significance of the study as well as the three research questions that underpin this study.

Chapter Two: This chapter will review existing literature locally as well as internationally on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace. In order to provide an appropriate foundation, the chapter begins by providing an exploration into the new dispensation and how these political advancements into human rights and the promotion of equality for all has impacted on how the country deals with issues of sexuality. I also review anti-discriminatory legislation that aims to prevent the discrimination of people based on sexual orientation and how that may have influenced how organisations treat and deal with diversity management, through diversity management policies and various initiatives. I also review existing literature on how identity and identity work is perceived, as well as how discrimination is dealt with within the context of the workplace. Furthermore, the chapter looks at how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees respond to discrimination. Previous research has outlined various strategies on how to manage one's sexuality in negative workspaces. There are reasons behind disclosure, as well as motivations for choosing not to disclose one's sexual identity in the workplace. The chapter thus reviews the scholarly arguments on the role of silence in the workplace. Here, focusing on the heteronormative discourse, literature on silence is explored, both its use as a defensive strategy and its use as an

avoidance tactic within the context of the workplace. Organisational culture is also explored in this chapter, with a specific focus on the interpretivist philosophical motivation.

Chapter Three: This chapter presents the theoretical frameworks that informed the study. In order to locate the study as well as assist in providing a deep understanding of the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces, three theoretical frameworks were used. These are intersectionality, queer theory and the theory of gendered organisations. Each theory was discussed in terms of how it would be used to strengthen the study. All theories worked well to continue the agenda of the philosophical standpoint, which calls for depth and complexity in terms of people's unique truths and sexual identification.

Chapter Four. This chapter elucidates the research methodology of this work. A pervasive theme running throughout this chapter is the role of reflexivity in evaluating my impact as a researcher on the study and the various practical and theoretical matters that were confronted. The issue of power relations in interviews and the epistemological standpoint, is followed by a discussion on the influence of the researcher in the study. The chapter starts off by discussing the philosophical framework and its appropriateness to this study. I also outline the motivation of using a qualitative research design as well as the strengths and weaknesses of using narrative inquiry as a methodological underpinning. Narrative inquiry was employed as the appropriate and relevant methodology for this study. The method that was followed to gather data were grounded conversations. The study comprised of twenty-five (25) participants who were employed in various corporate workplaces dispersed within the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The final section discusses the interview structure and how the data was analysed. The data was analysed using Braun & Clarke's (2006) six-step framework, as the method of analysis in this study was thematic.

The following chapters present the research findings and an analysis of the data.

Chapter Five covers heteronormativity in the workplace and how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees have to navigate discourses that continue to stigmatise and disadvantage

them. I argue that corporate workplaces are heteronormative spaces that shape the ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees manage and experience workplaces. The chapter explores how appearance and clothing are monitored against masculine and feminine norms, which are prescribed by the dominant heteronormative culture, and, moreover, how heteronormativity is reinforced at work. Here, I look at organisations termed as "gay-friendly" and how these workplaces fortify the normalising of sexuality.

Chapter Six. This chapter explores how the conservative workplace culture reinforces subtle discrimination at work. The chapter unpacks how homophobic workplaces prevent sexual and gender "non-normative" employees from being able to express and embrace their sexuality at work. Furthermore, the chapter also explores prejudiced behaviour exerted towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the form of microaggressions. I argue that, although the organisations and colleagues may regard themselves as people who believe in fairness and equality in the workplace, many possess deeply hidden negative beliefs about sexuality and about people who identify as sexual and gender "non-normative".

Chapter Seven. This chapter looks at the ways in which corporate workplace have responded to anti-discriminatory legislation. This chapter engages with findings of the study to highlight the shortcomings of legislation as well as workplace diversity management policies, insofar as promoting inclusion of sexuality and "non-normative" gender expression at work is concerned. Here, I focus on how the presence of legislation has not adequately afforded sexual and gender "non-normative" employees protection or acceptance at work but has, instead, left them marginalised, continuing to experience heterosexist attitudes from heterosexual colleagues and leaders.

Chapter Eight. This chapter concludes the thesis. In this chapter I revisited the research questions and provided answers based on the study's findings. Next, I provide contributions and implications to theory, practice and policy. Recommendations for future research and

limitations were also outlined in this chapter. The chapter is finally concluded by outlining the suggestions for future research.

1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided the general aims, focus and questions of this study. I have argued that such a project is important, given the lack of available scholarship on sexuality in the field of Human Resource Management, given the impact the global shift has on organisations. I then moved on to explain why this project is significant both to illuminate the voices of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees but also to contribute to the dearth in scholarship in the field. Lastly, I gave a general overview of the thesis, giving an idea of what each chapter represents for the study.

In the next section I provide a review of literature in which I pull arguments from various authors to demonstrate the extreme shortage of work addressing issues relating to sexuality and "non-normative" gender identities in corporate workplaces in south Africa.

CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a review of existing international and South African literature that primarily addresses the research questions of this study. I discuss how the dearth of scholarship that explores the corporate workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South Africa has increased the "spiral of silences" regarding issues of sexuality in the workplace. I argue that, in the work conducted, there has been a lack of studies that illuminate the lives and experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" people in the workplace, with a specific view of addressing discrimination by achieving inclusion.

From the work conducted on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" people in South Africa, a significant number of academic studies have tended to focus on identity construction in the broad South African society (Crous, 2006; Elder, 2005; Gear, 2007; Gevisser& Cameron, 1995; Ochse, 2011; Reid, 2013; Smuts, 2011; Steyn &Van Zyl, 2009). The work conducted in the public sector that has shown to be popular with regards to issues of sexuality has focused exclusively on sectors like education, correctional services, nursing and public health (Bhana & Pattman, 2009; Epprecht, 2008; 2012; Graziano, 2004; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Mavhandu-Mudzusi, 2017; Msibi 2009; Nzimande, 2017; Prado-Castro & Graham, 2014; Roberts & Reddy, 2008; Theunick, 2000). However, from the work conducted in corporate workplaces, research has primarily focused on diversity management, with specific reference to the accommodation of gender and disability (Booysen & Summerton, 2002; Booysen, 2007; Cilliers & May, 2002; Leibbrandt, Bhorat & Woolard, 2001; Mor Barak, 2015; Proudford & Nkomo, 2006; Richters *et al*., Simpson, 2006; Ocholla, 2002; von Holdt, 2005). This limited focus may to some extend derive from an assumption that issues of sexuality are taboo and have no place in corporate workplaces (Collins & Callahan, 2012).

As a means to provide context to the study, I will deliberate on sexuality in organisations post-apartheid with a deliberate focus on the Equality Clause. I do this to illuminate how legislation has influenced the world of work as we know it. Subsequently, in order to unpack the various ways organisational culture impacts the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, I will highlight the lens this study will take in order to view culture in organisations. Heteronormativity as a dominant discourse will be discussed, alongside silence in the workplace. The chapter also focuses on identity and identity work and how a "non-normative" sexual identity is regarded and treated in South African workplaces. The chapter concludes by a discussion on discrimination and stigma in workplaces, followed by a review of literature on coping mechanisms that are typically used by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

2.2 The new dispensation in South Africa post-apartheid: The Equality Clause

The process of building a new South Africa in the post-apartheid era has been a complex and ongoing one. The past 25 years has seen enormous political, economic and social transformation. After taking over the realms of leadership in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) ensured transformation, providing all minority groups rights enshrined in the subsequent legislative provisions. The ANC endorsed recognition of same-sex marriages and later, in the interim Constitution, opposed discrimination, inter alia, on the basis of sexual orientation. On the 8 May 1996, the interim legislation was revised to become the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. The then Chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, Cyril Ramaphosa mentioned that it was "the birthday of the South African rainbow nation" (South Africa, 1996a, p 416). Among the many South Africans for whom the Constitution marked a historic new beginning were those people who self-identify as sexual and gender "non-normative", as its ratification marked the first time in South Africa's history, and in fact in world history, that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation was constitutionally prohibited (Oswin, 2007, p. 96). This may be seen in the Bill of Rights, section 9 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, where it is stipulated that all South Africans are equal before the law and have the right to get protection and benefit from the law. It further stipulates the following:

> The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, and birth. (South Africa, 1996b, p. 7).

There have been debates amongst scholars and opinion columns by public organisations [4] as to why "sexual orientation" was included in the Equality Clause. It is argued that, whilst the South African climate was ready and tolerance was the order of the day, there were key players who denounced its legitimacy basing their position on moral, religious and Christian values. Below are three excerpts from the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), who were part of the constitutional project:

1) "As an African, I wouldn't like to see European liberals imposing their lifestyles on the African masses" (Pastor Kenneth Meshoe, leader of the ACDP, Constitutional Assembly, 1995).

2) "Nation-building cannot be possible while we try to legally destroy family values and the moral fibre of our society with clauses in the Constitution that promote a lifestyle that is an embarrassment even to our ancestors" (Pastor Kenneth Meshoe, South Africa, 1995).

3) "I hope the leaders will seriously consider all aspects in drafting the new constitution and remind themselves that we are not here to please the rest of the world". (Excerpt from a letter written to Constitutional Assembly in support of the ACDP's position on issues of sexuality).

From the above, it is clear that South Africa still remains a largely religious country, with notions of morality rooted in fundamentalist notions of Christianity, often mixed with some form of traditional African beliefs, particularly among black South Africans. Due to the above, discussions on morality are centred on heterosexual discourses, which can be seen in workplaces today. Consequently, I argue that the new Constitution promulgated during the post-apartheid era provoked confusion and inconsistency. This is because whilst the country

[4] http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/why-protect-rights-gays-and-lesbians (sourced on the 20 July 2017)

was moving towards a liberal nation with equal rights awarded to all who live in it, "non-normativity" regarding sex and gender was not widely accepted as the public and dominant figures maintained strong contradicting views.

2.3 Anti-discriminatory legislation in South African workplaces

Internationally, the main bodies responsible for labour market reforms have been the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The ILO is committed to eliminating discrimination in the world of work, promoting workplace diversity and achieving decent work for all women and men, including people of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities. Of the member states, 185, South Africa being one of them, signed convention 111, which prohibits any form of discrimination that has the effects of "nulling or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment". Promoting equality makes good business sense, as liberating employment practices from bias allows companies to improve their talent pool and increase their access to markets. Signatories of this convention are required to implement appropriate anti-discrimination legislation, ensuring protection for all minority groups, including sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace. In order to deliver effectively upon its mandate to end discrimination in the world of work in all its forms, the ILO has been undertaking country-specific studies to identify the extent and forms of discrimination faced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The ILO launched the Promoting Rights Diversity and Equality in the Workplace Project, otherwise known as PRIDE, which seeks to address discrimination against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and jobseekers.

Adhering to the requirements of the ILO, South Africa has implemented a series of progressive anti-discrimination legislative measures, such as the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 (EEA), which seeks to achieve equity in the workplace through the elimination of unfair discrimination in employment practice. Chapter 2 of the EEA prohibits unfair discrimination. The Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 (LRA) was also implemented, which gives effect to section 27 of the Constitution, with the purpose of promoting economic development, social justice, labour peace, and the democratization of the workplace. The LRA (section 187(1) (f)) classifies dismissal based on "sexual orientation" as automatically unfair, as in the case of

Atkins v Datacentrix (Pty) Ltd[5] , *Ehlers v. Bohler-Uddeholm Africa (Pty) Ltd*[6] *and Strydom v. Nederduitse Gereformeede Gemeente Moreleta Park*[7]. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997 (BCEA) was also implemented, which outlines basic rights and responsibilities available to all workers regardless of "sexual orientation" as in the cases of *Langemaat v. Minister of Safety* and *Security, Satchwell v. the President of the Republic of South Africa and another, as well as the National coalition for Gay and lesbian Equality and others v. Minister of Home Affairs and others*[8] The Promotion of Equity and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000 (PEPUDA) gives effect to Section 9 (4) of the Constitution to prohibit unfair discrimination and promote equality. Section 6 of PEPUDA prohibits general grounds of discrimination while section 8 provides that a person may not be unfairly discriminated against, on the grounds of gender, including gender-based violence, female genital mutilation as well as preventing females from inheriting family property. Section 11 of the same Act reinforces the prohibition of sexual harassment, which in terms of LRA is a form of discrimination. Furthermore, according to De Vos (2010) the Act also emphasises that speech that can be interpreted as having a clear intention to harm another whose sexual and gender identity is "non-normative" can be construed to constitute hate speech. Studies (Butler & Astbury, 2005; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Nel, 2008; Tallis, 2009) have shown that, although South Africa has one of the world's most progressive anti-discriminatory legislative framework, that contrasts sharply with the day-to-day experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, which this study wishes to investigate further, particularly in corporate workplaces.

[5] (2010) 4 BLLR 351 (LC)

[6] (2010) JOL 26216 (LC)

[7] (2009) 30 ILJ 868 (EqC)

[8](*2000) (2) SA 1(CC)*

2.4 Defining diversity using differentiation

When looking at defining diversity within the workplace, scholars have identified several categories of difference. Diversity within the context of the workplace can be understood based on two schools of thought, namely from a moral, ethical stance and an economic, organisational perspective. Within the moral-ethical perspective, diversity can be identified as primary and secondary variability and invariability, as well as visible and invisible characteristics (Janssens & Steyaert, 2005). Firstly, primary categorisation includes gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, race and physical condition, while secondary dimensions include education, religion, geographical origin, income, marital status and profession. Diversity can also be distinguished based on invariability and variability. Characteristics like race, gender, sexual orientation, nationality and socio-economic background can be considered invariable, while age, educational level, marital status and physical condition are categorised as those that can be grouped together as variable types of diversity. Finally, invisible and visible characteristics are based on norms and values that are common to a group of people. Dimensions such as race, ethnicity, gender and age are considered visible sources of diversity, and education, function, experience in the organisation and socio-economic class are categorised as invisible characteristics. While the categories may be understood to be similar, they are different and can overlap. For instance, primary characteristics like race, age, gender and sexual orientation can also be considered visible characteristics of diversity. However, the extent to how these categories are not mutually exclusive also leads to the danger of possibly misinterpreting the effects of diversity.

The second perspective is an economic organisational perspective. In contrast to diversity research from a moral-ethical perspective, the category of functional differences is added and explicitly refers to differences that relate directly to the organisational context. This perspective is based on three categories, namely the cultural, functioning and historical dimensions. Examples of cultural differences include religion, age, ethnicity and language ability, while functional differences refer to the differences in the way we learn, think, process information and deal with authority (see Harrison & Klein, 2007). This can include differences in terms of knowledge of the task at hand, skills and competencies, values, views and attitudes, personality, and cognitive and attitudinal styles. Historical differences refer to family make-

up, political opinions and inter-group relationships. The emphasis on functional differences is worked out in greater detail in the academic literature. Organisations that adopt this perspective are mainly stimulated from a juridical standpoint, such as laws promoting positive discrimination. This juridical argumentation produces a balanced representation of diverse groups among an organisation's workers but, from an organisational perspective, this type of diversity is less effective for achieving the organisation's objective.

Below, I explore scholarship that describes the ways diversity can be used as a strategic tool in workplaces.

2.4.1 Diversity within the workplace: A strategic management goal

While diversity in the workplace is not a new phenomenon, organisations are becoming more aware of its value as a potential asset (Cavaleros, Van Vuuren & Visser, 2002). Numerous scholars have engaged with literature on how a diverse workforce has effects on both the functional and human aspects of organisations. According to Friday and Friday (2003, p. 863), diversity is "any attribute that happens to be salient to an individual that makes him/her perceive that he/she is different from another individual". The former type of diversity is social category, which include race, gender, sexuality, language, religion, disability and culture to mention a few. In South African organisations, the trend for diversity awareness has been around "managing" diversity through training. The term 'diversity management' refers to the systematic and planned commitment on the part of organisations to recruit and retain employees with diverse backgrounds and abilities. Whilst some corporate organisations have welcomed and prioritised diversity management initiatives, some have been doubtful and resistant to change. On the one hand, organisations that value diversity have recognised that diversity is a strong resource that can be used to create a competitive edge. This is a general understanding of many leaders within corporate organisations. For example, Dr Liziwe Masoga, who is the human resource executive in Old Mutual, states that managing diversity in the workplace makes business sense. She adds that transformation through diversity makes businesses stay relevant and sustainable (Mtongana, 2017). Additionally, Dr Jonathan Broomberg, CEO of Discovery Health, also shared how important is it to initiate conversations

around diversity to break the silence and stereotypes at work. On the other hand, some corporate organisations resist diversity initiatives, fearing that they are expensive, have a negative effect on productivity and are disruptive to the workforce (Cavaleros *et al.,* 2002; Sliter, Boyd and Sinclair, 2014). This is because there is a growing understanding that managing diversity is a complex and dynamic task that needs constant monitoring and advancing. According to Friday and Friday (2003), managing diversity is not an event but requires constant review and strategic intervention. Moreover, "managing diversity is more than simply acknowledging differences in people, it involves recognizing the value of differences, combating discrimination and promoting inclusiveness" (Green, López, Wysocki & Kepner, 2002, p. 2).

In this study, I argue that creating inclusive corporate workplaces is significant and should be a role that needs to be taken up by leaders within organisations. With that, the commitment of leaders to diversity initiatives is imperative in driving the diversity agenda well beyond compliance. This study also wishes to advance literature in the field by redirecting the focus onto sexuality as a social diversity category, by making sure that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are visible, protected and incorporated in the daily workplace activities.

In order to understand how diversity management fits into the organisation, it becomes important to discuss culture in the workplace. Below I explore the concept of organisational culture[9] as well as highlight the particular standpoint that this study will adopt. This will be followed by a discussion on the key models developed by leading organisational scholars who have shared light on the conceptualisation of culture at work. Here, I will deliberate on each culture's strengths and weaknesses as well as focus on the perspectives that have been formed to further the work on culture. Thereafter, I will discuss the relationship between culture and power at work, in order to understand how power relations are embedded in cultural values and beliefs that have a potential to influence the attitudes colleagues have towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, as well as the overall experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work.

2.5 Framing organisational culture as it relates to discrimination within the workplace.

[9] The term organizational culture and workplace culture will be used interchangeably to mean the same thing.

Organisational culture is a popular way that organisational behaviour scholars use to understand social phenomena in the context of the organisation. According to Martins and Martins (2002, p. 380), organisational culture encompasses "a set of shared beliefs system that influences the way employees behave". However, there has been a growing need to focus on a managerial agenda that captures the effectiveness, performance and professional identities of employees at work (Calciolari, Prenestini, & Lega, 2018; Mannion & Davies, 2018; Van den Berg & Wilderom, 2004). While this approach comes with merit, it is limited in terms of taking into account the meanings attached to symbols, values and beliefs that are directly related to organisational goals (Leonard, 2001). There are important aspects of culture within the organisation that are not easily managed, are subjective in nature and are not seen to be directly related to how the organisation can gain a competitive advantage as well as meet its aims, such as the unequal distribution of privileges and rewards, hierarchy, power relations as well as discrimination based on sexuality.

As a way of understanding the reasons why sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces the way that they do, it is only fitting to explore the culture at work. Below, I explore key models that organisational scholars use to understand culture in the workplace. These models are theory-based, which assists in the conceptualisation of culture in the context of the workplace.

2.5.1 Key models of organisational culture

In this section I will review literature on models of organisational culture. Here, I outline how perspectives of culture have developed and have been used to understand organisational culture. I argue that there is not enough scholarship locally that focuses on the culture in its subjective and symbolic nature and that is founded on an interpretivist philosophy. I also highlight how this particular study is unique from the rest and how it may positively impact scholarship in the field of organisational studies.

Although a lot has been written on the concept of organisational culture, a lot of confusion remains in the definition and boundaries thereof. However, there are two main trends in the definition of organisational culture, leading to two primary categories of definition. The first group of scholars defines culture in terms of the variables within the organisation that assist employees to make sense of the organisational life to adopt and cope to change (Hardy, Palmer & Phillips, 2000) and the second group describe organisational culture as a tool of social research (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Martins & Martins, 2002). Such categories of definition have also focused on different philosophical frameworks, namely: functionalist, interpretivist and radical/poststructuralist frameworks. In order to capture these perspectives, I will review two key models, which include the early landmark work of Smircich (1983) as well as Martin (1992; 2002) on culture.

2.5.1.1 Smirchic's perspective of culture

a. The functionalist paradigm

In this paradigm, culture is seen as a variable that is strongly linked to performance and the increasing of organisational effectiveness (Gajendran, Brewer, Dainty & Runeson,2012). This is because culture is understood to be manageable. Scholars who rely on a traditional functionalist framing of social reality, approach culture as one variable among many others in an organisation. The functionalist paradigm views culture as having certain organisational operations that include cultural symbols like rituals, values and norms. Functionalists also claim that the only way into change at an organisational level is through the modification of the behaviour of employees. Hence the rise of corporate culture, which emphasizes economic growth through values that relate to the organisation's effectiveness and state of success (Alvesson, 2002). Therefore, the connection between culture and organisational performance within functionalists is strong. Furthermore, the attitudes and behaviours held by employees in the workplace are regarded as useful tools that can be manipulated for the purpose of corporate performance and for ultimately achieving the corporate goals.

b. The interpretivist paradigm

Culture in this paradigm is described as a root metaphor. The culture as a root metaphor represents a shift from viewing culture as something that an organisation can possess and command. This paradigm argues that culture goes beyond the instrumental view of organisations in that "culture as a root metaphor promotes a view of organisations as expressive forms, manifestations of human consciousness" (Smircich, 1983, p. 348). Therefore, culture *is* the organisation, where culture is a context in which social events and behaviours occur. Advocates of the root metaphor analyse and understand culture not only in terms of its connection to performance and other economic gains but in terms of expressive, ideational, and symbolic aspects. In fact, scholars in this paradigm oppose the view that culture can be manipulated to attain organisational effectiveness because this view fails to account for negative behaviours, like those expressed by employees when faced with issues of organisational change. Thus, they see the social world as constructed by people and reproduced by the networks of symbols and meanings that people share (Fuhse, 2009). However, the root metaphor's conceptualisation of culture emphasizes a more general understanding of culture in the workplace.

Other than the functionalist and interpretivist paradigms of culture, a range of other cultural perspectives have emerged. These perspectives can be grouped into three paradigms, as proposed by Martin (1992, 2002). These cultural perspectives are used to explain how culture is described at work. Here she focuses on integration, differentiation and fragmentation. The main aspects that separate these paradigms from each other is how they relate to culture and how it is shared, how boundaries are conceived and how ambiguity is an inevitable feature of work organisations. The main difference between Smircich's (1983) paradigms and Martin's concept of cultural perspectives is in the outcomes and the analysis of culture at work. Below, I describe Martin's three cultural paradigms.

2.5.1.2 Martin's three cultural perspectives

a. The integration perspective

The integration perspective looks at understanding the many components of culture within the workplace and how these work together harmoniously. This perspective is used widely by researchers who want to explore the consensus of culture as ambiguity is ignored. Scholars who support an integrative perspective see culture as associated with people's behaviour and their habitual ways of seeing the world (Hogan & Coote, 2004). Like the functionalist perspective, the integrative perspective views top management as creators and interpreters of culture; in that way, controlling culture is a way to improve performance at work.

b. The differentiation perspective

In contrast, the differentiation perspective welcomes adversity, ambiguity and conflict at work. Scholars that use this perspective focus on representing the workplace as a place that needs to be addressed within the culture of the organisation. This is because of the lack of consensus. The differentiation perspective offers a pragmatic position in enabling researchers to position their study between the extreme ideological views of integration and fragmentation. However, while this perspective recognizes the inevitability of conflict, it fails to account sufficiently for the ambiguities of the existence of organisations (Ogbonna & Harris, 2006).

c. The fragmentation perspective

In this perspective, culture is seen as being in a constant flux that contributes to the dysfunctional elements of the organisation. The fragmentation perspective is concerned with understanding the processes for constructing and re-constructing organisational reality. Furthermore, these studies go beyond the quest for cultural consensus and seek to understand the complexity and interaction between sometimes conflicting subcultures. The perspective also accepts ambiguity, as does the differentiation perspective. Advocates of this perspective argue that understanding ambiguities should be the central component of any study of culture

as it looks at multiple issues that are viewed as constructing the reality of organisational life (Martin, 2002), such as sexuality, which is generally ignored in organisational studies.

Based on the above discussion, it can be understood that culture is a set of deeply held beliefs that are influenced by employees and that provides a means to understanding the values, behaviours and artefacts exhibited within the workplace. This study has taken up a subjective nature of organisational culture, which is an avenue less considered by organisational scholars. Such an approach is used to divorce the prescriptive and objective nature many scholars in the field have taken, in order to gain a deeper understanding of culture within the organisation. Researchers like Hatch and Yanow (2003) look at how symbols express meaning in the level of both emotional and aesthetic. These authors and many alike have paved the way into looking at culture within the organisation interpretively. This study follows suit, by highlighting certain cultural patterns as less stable and obvious and how they may influence the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Viewing organisational culture interpretively also emphasizes the context as possessing and exerting certain meanings, such as the values, beliefs and feelings held by employees. Contrary to the view that culture is unitary and used as a tool for management to use (Hofstede, 2011), this perspective views culture as possessing various components, unique to the context and rooted in the organisational settings (Rosen, Huntington & Gillam, 2000). Power dynamics and the role of silence in the workplace discourse are important issues considered in this perspective, making this a good fit for this study.

As stipulated above, the organisational context is very significant in shaping how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces. Below, I explore how the heteronormative culture influences the behaviour of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Also, I discuss heteronormativity as a dominant discourse that produces and recognises heterosexuality as "normal" and "right" way to express one's sexuality. Thereafter, I look at silence at work and how it influences the identity constructions and negotiations of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work.

2.6 The "natural" order of things: heteronormativity at work

Part of understanding how sexual identities are constructed, negotiated and maintained in organisations requires referring to the wider organisational culture. The assumption made by researchers in the field is that sexuality in the workplace is embedded and shaped by heteronormativity performances (Gedro, 2007; Valocchi 2005). According to Cohen (2006, p. 24), heteronormativity consists of practises and institutions that legitimise and privilege heterosexuality and heterosexual relationships as fundamental and "natural" within society. Heteronormativity is the social setting that normalizes heterosexuality. The association between "sex" and "work" as connected concepts was first uncovered by Hearn & Parkin (1987), where the authors highlight how heterosexuality is associated with social identity. Furthermore, Hearn and Parkin's reflective work on sexuality in organisations was one of the first to be explored through a feminist lens, while highlighting the multiple ways sexuality is made visible within the organisation. This they achieved by incorporating discussions and experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. In the book *The sexuality of organization* (Burell & Hearn, 1989) the pioneering work of Hearn and Parkin unwrapped heteronormativity.

Furthering the work of Hearn and Parkin, scholars began to explore "compulsory heterosexuality" as well as 'heterosexual complementarity' in the context of the workplace and the impact thereof, focusing on issues of power at work (Cockburn, 1988, cited in Pringle, 1989). Later, more work focused on the religious bearing of sexuality at work, marking a heavy moral weighting on self-identifying as a requirement for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees (Burrell & Hearn, 1989). Such organisational studies highlight how organisations are becoming sites where sexuality is not only repressed, but also exploited. A robust idea throughout this scholarship is how heterosexuality is marked as "problematic'. While the field was growing in recognition, there were many critiques. Many radical feminists critiqued the social structuring of heterosexuality. Feminists began to expose the existence of reproductive politics, gender politics and pleasure politics, all of which support male and heterosexual supremacy (Katz, 1995). Queer theory, which is also used in this study as a theoretical framework, criticises the discrete and relatively fixed sexual categories, ultimately uncovering

the heterosexual matrix. (Du Plessis, 2004; Fenaughty, 2004). Together with Acker's (2006) inequality regimes, these two frameworks expose often invisible heteronormative mechanisms and queer and inequality discourses within the workplace.

Literature also refers to organisations normalising heterosexuality in the workplace in various ways and it does this as follows: Firstly, it is seen by behavioural circumstances, such as the placement of a picture of a spouse or traditional nuclear family on a desk. Secondly, there is the ritualised celebration of heterosexual norms like dating, engagements, and marriages. Thirdly, there is informal joking and gossiping about "non-normative" sexualities. Lastly, there are flirtatious acts from customers and colleagues that assume heterosexuality and mock alternative sexual expression (Bowen & Blackmon, 2003; Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Gedro, 2007; Reingardė, 2010; Ward & Winstanley, 2006). Additionally, heterosexual performances are also seen procedurally through language used in policies that recognise and privilege nuclear family arrangements with clearly demarcated gender roles, and division of labour that reinforce stereotypes about gender and sexuality which fail to take into account alternative sexual expressions (Herek, 2004; Gedro, 2007; Skidmore, 2004; Sliter *et al.,* 2013; Williams & Giuffre, 2011).

2.6.1 Heterosexism, homophobia and transphobia

Heterosexism as defined by Herek (1992) is "an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-hetero-sexual form of behaviour, identity, relationship or community" (p.89). Equally, Sears and Williams (1997) suggest that heterosexism "is a belief in the superiority of heterosexuals or heterosexuality evidenced by the exclusion, by omission or design, of "non-heterosexual" persons in policies, procedures, events, or activities" (p. 16). Heterosexism is the belief that heterosexuality is "normal" and the "norm". This bias toward heterosexuality translates into privilege for individuals who fall within the heterosexual norm and a lack of privilege for individuals who are outside the norm. Sexual and gender "non-normative" people experience discrimination and hostile heterosexist behaviours due to the boundaries of gender roles being violated.

Although there are a number of different terms that are used to characterize prejudicial attitudes and discrimination, two of the most commonly used are heterosexism and homophobia. The term homophobia was first coined and used by Weinberg (1972) to signify negative attitudes towards sexual and gender "non-normative" people. Lorde defines homophobia (1984) as the fear of having feelings of affection and love for individuals who self-identify as "gay, "lesbian", "bisexual", "transgender". Hyde & Delamater, (2006) defines homophobia as a strong irrational fear and/or intolerance of sexual and gender "non-normative" people. This belief is derived by the inherent superiority of heteronormativity and thereby, its right to dominance (Lorde, 1984). Whilst there are commonalities in the definitions provided for homophobia, there is no uniform way of defining homophobia (Bhana, 2012). Therefore, in order to better understand the workplaces experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, I have opted not used the term homophobia to describe the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees (unless addressing internalised homophobia or extracting direct arguments by authors who engage with the term), instead, I use heterosexism. This is because heterosexism establishes a better understanding of what constitutes homophobia (Herek, 2004). Here, homophobia reduces discrimination to an individual actor, whereas heterosexism understands issues of power, structure, agency and discourse. Furthermore, heterosexism captures the role of heterosexual privilege in acts of prejudice and discrimination, while also giving a perspective on how sexual and gender "non-normative" people internalise heterosexist thoughts and actions (Francis & Msibi, 2011, p. 159). Although there are merits in using these definitions, the term homophobia continues to be an invaluable tool in addressing sexual inequalities (Bhana, 2012).

People who self-identify as "transgender" experience stigma not only from the general public but also from employees within the workplace (Bariola, Lyons, Leonard, Pitts, Badcock &Couch, 2015; Leppel, 2016). This type of stigma is called transphobia. Transphobia can be defined as the "disgust towards individuals not conforming to society's gender expectations" (Bandini &Maggi, 2014, p. 49). It can also refer to discrimination, prejudice, harassment and violence directed towards people who self-identify as "transgender" and those whose gender expression may not conform to the sex assigned to them at birth (Bandini & Maggi, 2014;

Worthen, 2016). As mentioned above, the workplace is a common setting in which transphobia takes place.

One international study found that as many as 90% of people who self-identify as "transgender" reported experiencing discrimination that manifested both overtly and covertly in the workplace (Grant, Mottet, Tanis, Harrison, Herman & Keisling, 2011). According to Miller & Grollman (2015), overt discrimination can result in a lack of public restroom accommodation, harassment and even murder. Covert, or microaggressions can manifest interpersonally and systemically within the workplace. This can include experiences such as mistreatment, usage of problematic language, stereotyped assumptions, exoticizing, pathologizing, disapproving, denying, threatening and invading the privacy of people who self-identify as "transgender". This can be achieved through workplace procedures such as personnel identification information that can reveal their gender assigned at birth, which may inadvertently disclose their gender identities and risk discrimination (Nadal, Skolnik, & Wong, 2012; Schilt & Connell, 2007). Reasons for mistreatment, amongst many is because people who self-identify as "transgender "are perceived to challenge binary constructions of gender (e.g., Carrera, DePalma, & Lameiras, 2012; Norton & Herek, 2013) and many people respond negatively to those who deviate from "normative" gender role expectations (e.g., Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Employees who self-identify as "transgender" face adverse job outcomes related to their gender – such as not being hired (ILO, 2016), being denied for promotions or experiencing employment terminated. This is because their abilities or competencies are overlooked due to their gender identities (Grant *et al*., 2011; Levitt & Ippolito, 2014). Furthermore, literature suggests that employees who self-identify as "transgender" who begin the gender affirmation process while remaining at their current place of employment might confront heightened transphobia and discrimination based on cisnormativity[10] within the workplace (Sangganjanavanich, 2009; Schilt & Connell, 2007). As a result, some employees may decide to pursue new jobs that are traditionally associated with their post transition gender identities in order to avoid transitioning at work (Sangganjanavanich, 2009). Others may seek

[10] Cisnormativity is based on the assumption that all individuals are cisgender. This discourse identifies that it cisgender as the norm , thus gains privilege over other forms of gender identity.

new employment because their former work is gender stereotypic and incongruent with their post transition gender identity. Thus, the high employee turnover, in which, based on the report by the Level Playing Field Institute, costs companies approximately $64 billion annually (Human Rights Campaign, 2008).

2.6.2 *Culture of silence in the workplace*

Silences in the workplace are due to the existence of the emerging prevalence of more subtle forms of discrimination. More overt, formal displays of discrimination are becoming less frequent, whereas more subtle forms of discrimination still exist. In a study conducted by Hebl, Foster, Mannix and Davidio (2002), researchers found that there was no difference in the recruitment rates of sexual and gender "non-normative" people but that employers tended to speak fewer words in selection interviews with sexual and gender "non-normative" applicants and engaged in more nonverbal discrimination against them, as compared to how they acted with heterosexual applicants. Silence within the workplace is also seen in how minority voices are suppressed and how certain issues are excluded from being raised in conversations at work.

Sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work feel unable to express their opinions or declare their sexual identity, as they perceive an existing negative prevailing opinion towards "non-normative" identities (Bowmen & Blackmon, 2003). The silencing of "non-normative" sexual identities is a major factor in the lives of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Foucault suggests, however, that those with silenced sexual identities at work are agents of power in their own right (Foucault, 1999). Furthermore, silenced sexualities at work are associated with non-disclosure at work. This was found in a study by Reingardė (2010) who highlighted that there was a prevailing pattern of suppressing sexuality at work. The study also revealed that suppressing or non-disclosure of the nature of one's sexuality was one of the most prevalent coping strategies used by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Due to heteronormativity, "non-normative" sexualities and genders are put under pressure to be silenced as they are discredited and affording limited legitimacy and protection (Bell, Özbilgin, Beauregard & Sürgevil, 2011; Reingardė, 2010). Due to the culture of silence, Clarke and Smith (2015) suggest that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are only allowed to express their sexualities at work so long as they don't "flaunt" it. A common theme

in all these studies is how silence as a form of suppression comes predominately from the organisation's culture. This may provoke the fabricated belief by many heterosexuals that the workplace is a sexually neutral workplace, therefore, increasing the invisibility of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace.

Another facet of silence uncovered in Ward and Winstanley's (2003) study is reactive silence and the absence of response from heterosexual colleagues. In this study, participants' disclosure of their sexual identities was often received with silence from colleagues in the organisation. Similarly, Willis (2011) in his study found that colleagues reacted to a co-worker 'coming out' with silence. Willis interprets the absence of response as a form of resistance to the visible presence of sexually "non-normative" identities in the workplace. Arguably, silence is a form of hostility. This is seen in how a sexual and gender "non-normative" employee may notice a contrast in how others react to his/her sexual "non-normative" identity after disclosure. However, previously, work colleagues would have showed interest in his/her private life. The absence of any acknowledgement or response to his/her sexual "non-normative" identity would make him feel different, abnormal and excluded, with no acknowledgement of how the information had been perceived. The powerful effect silence can have on sexual and gender "non-normative" employees may render them invisible.

Silence may also not come from colleagues but from sexual and gender "non-normative" employees themselves. Several international scholars found that in many respects, silence is a double-edged sword (Gacilo, Steinheider, Stone, Hoffmeister, Jawahar & Garrett, 2018; Larcker, Miles, Tayan & Wright-Violich, 2018). As Ward and Winstanley (2003) point out, it is up to sexual and gender "non-normative" individuals how they utilize the silence. He goes on to mention that employees have a degree of agency in how they use silence within organisations. On the one hand, it can be used as a form of empowerment and on the other, as a form of oppression. As previous researchers have found, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees may choose to adopt a strategy of silence in what Bell *et al. (*2011) refer to as taking a *defensive voice*. Here sexual and gender "non-normative" employees decide to use silence around their sexuality to protect themselves from potential discrimination and harassment at work.

Similarly, scholars found that some of the professional sexual and gender "non-normative" men in their study would use silence in what they term an *avoidance tactic*. Here, silence is used in order to hide a sexual identity in the workplace or even to 'pass' as heterosexual. The result of this strategy, as Bowen and Blackmon (2003) later observe, is that it only intensifies a spiral of silence. Another reason why sexual and gender "non-normative" employees decide to remain silent around their sexuality in the workplace or choose not to speak up against heterosexist discourses is because they feel a sense of resignation. Bell *et al.* (2011) call this form of silence as *acquiescent voice*. This is when sexual and gender "non-normative" employees adopt a passive approach, accepting that discrimination and harassment is inevitable and that there is little chance of any improvement in changing discriminatory behaviour. Arguably, as Ward and Winstanley (2003) mention, the decision to remain silent about their sexual identity may not necessarily be due to a sense of conformist resignation but as a form of passive resistance. By refusing to collaborate with heteronormative discourses, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are able to have some control over how they shape their sexual identities at work.

2.7 Identity and identity work in corporate South African workplaces

At present, much of the dialogue within corporate organisations in South Africa and globally has been around diversity. Particularly, corporate organisations have focused on the employment of diverse groups, thereby globalising the economy (Dike, 2013). Changes to social identity and power in South Africa have impacted heavily on the broader society, spilling over into the workplace (Booysen, 2007; Cilliers & Smit, 2006). A selection of scholars in organisational behaviour (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Booysen, 2007, Booysen & Booysen, 2018; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Roberts, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002) have had a specific interest in the prominence of identities, how they are formed, and in particular the agency that actors exercise in their conduct of identity at work. Watson (2008, p. 129) has defined identity work thus:

> *Identity work involves the mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-*

> *identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social identities which pertain to them in the various milieu in which they live their lives.*

From the work conducted on identities in the workplace context, it is gathered that identities and identity work may have profound individual, and collective (group, organisation) implications. This is with regards to individuals, the kinds of identities that people work on have consequences for their everyday decision-making in organisations (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) and their careers (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). In the same light, the ways in which sexual identities are constructed and performed in a particular organisation may render it inclusive or exclusive (Brown & Toyoki, 2013).

In this study I argue that people have multiple layers of self–categorisation due to the different groups to which they belong. This is because of the multiple membership they have in different social collectives. Such membership of these social collectives vary in degrees of salience (Booysen, 2007, p.2). Thus, people resonate and are evaluated against one dominant categorisation, making other categories subordinate. Research shows that race in South African workplaces is the salient categorisation (Booysen 2007; Booysen & Nkomo, 2010; Mama, 2011; Nadar, 2014), implying that identities like gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and professional identity are embedded within this dominant category. Booysen and Nkomo (2010) in their research make an example of a black female manager. They claim that she will resonate with her black identity and regard all blacks as the in-group. Her being a woman and a manager would describe what kind of a black woman she is. Furthermore, this study looks at both sexuality and gender as identity categorisation. Here, through intersectionality as a theoretical framework, I focus on the intersection of multiple social identities and how these identities may influence the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. A study by Gedro, Cervero and Johnson-Bailey (2004) on women who self-identify as "lesbian" in corporate workplaces found that women resort to non-disclosure higher up in the ladder they climb. This is because their pioneering ground not just as sexual "non-normative" but also as women, and so they have to be vigilant about how they manage their sexual identity as they go about their daily lives. This represents the multifaceted nature of identity and identity politics in terms of construction of identity as well as positionality. Furthermore, the more

people affiliate with multiple social identities, the more susceptible to oppression they become, possibly experiencing double or even triple oppression (Youval-Davis, 2012).

2.7.1 Gender identity in the workplace

Gender identity is not only important at a personal or internal level but also at a social level. Gender identity comes with a set of "normative" role prescriptions that are rooted in the social and cultural practises and beliefs that we use to interact with one another. These social roles are organized and structured along the idea that gender is a binary status comprised of only two genders, male and female. Moreover, it is assumed that these gender roles are static; one is either male or female and one does not change roles. Butler (1990), in her book *Gender Trouble,* argues that gender is constructed through a "heterosexual matrix", where gender and sexuality is linked. According to Butler, "sex" is not simply what one is or has but "one of the norms by which the "one" becomes viable at all" (p. 2). Gender is routinely constituted through repetitive practices that operate through heteronormativity and are perpetuated as a timeless and inalterable ideal (Butler, 2004; p. 48). Butler identifies identities as performative and problematic, therefore arguing that gender is something that is not singularly possessed, rather, it is continuously developed through the social and cultural practises of everyday life. The expressions of masculinity and femininity are embedded in hegemonic heterosexuality. The male and female gender roles carry with them unique privileges and liabilities. At work, this is reflected in gendered disparities in opportunities for advancement in pay and promotions that advantage men and disadvantage women (Catalyst 2013; Elliott & Smith 2004; Haveman & Beresford 2011).

People who self-identify as "transgender" do not confirm to the gender binary. As they engage in the affirmation process of their gender identity, their social roles change as well, bringing with that change different experiences of privilege and liabilities. Hence their gender roles are not static. According to Schilt (2006), employees who transition to male receive more workplace privileges then those who transition to female. Those that transitioned to male received higher performance appraisal ratings post-transition, while those that transitioned to

female suffered a decrease in pay after transitioning (Schilt & Wiswall, 2008). While there is literature that confirms that there are certain workplace privileges that may be experienced based on gender, there are prevalent experiences of discrimination among employees who self-identify as “transgender”. In a study on the workplace experiences and identity issues of employees who self-identify as “transgender” in the workplace, Sawyer, Thoroughgood and Webster (2016) found that employees who transitioned to female also experience gender stereotyping. Their study indicates that employees experienced double discrimination based on their status as “transgender” as well as being female. Participants of the study mentioned that, while employees had transitioned, they were still treated based on the identity prior to the affirmation process.

People who self-identify as “transgender” constantly negotiate their lives relative to two “normative “gender categories. As a result, they are faced with various dilemmas in daily life relating to the way they express their gender identity. More specifically, workplace discrimination is a major issue as people who self-identify as “transgender” often challenge the binary construction of gender. Since gender is constructed in relation to gender binary arrangements, people who self-identify as “transgender” negotiate their identities within these parameters. When people who self-identify as “transgender “express their gender outside of binary conceptions, they may be punished for transgressing gender norms (Dietert & Dentice, 2009). Cisnormativity within the workplace often manifests itself in the form of misgendering. Misgendering occurs when a person is addressed or described using language that does not match their gender identity (Ansara & Hegarty, 2012). It is generally unwelcomed by the individuals being misgendered (Ansara & Hegarty 2014). Words inherently carry meaning that inevitably depends on the underlying frames of reference. In this sense, language has a powerful performative power and impact. Even when word choices are not used to intent harm, they may be deemed harmful by the listener as they bring their own frame of reference. Using appropriate pronouns when referring to people who self-identify as “transgender “is crucial to their gender affirming process. Furthermore, it is a way of demonstrating respect and acceptance of the person’s chosen gender identity. However, using inappropriate language can often be perceived as an act of verbal aggression, discrimination and marginalization of people

who self-identify as “transgender” (Bouman, Schwend, J Motmans, Smiley, Safer, Deutsch, Adams & Winter, 2017).

Since I have contextually discussed workplaces as well as highlight the prevailing discourses within workplaces, I now proceed to explore discrimination and stigma in workplaces.

2.8 Discrimination and stigma in corporate workplaces

The past two decades of work conducted, both internationally and locally on sexuality in the workplace, indicate that sexual and gender “non-normative” employees have experienced discrimination, one way or another. Chung (2001) proposes an important three-dimensional model to better understand workplace discrimination. In his analysis, he explores how the concept of discrimination may be experienced differently from one employee to the next. Employees do not experience discrimination in a linear, clear-cut fashion; instead, intent, perception and action all matter when measuring discrimination (Cavalier, 2011). Additionally, Chung distinguishes between formal and informal discrimination, potential and encountered discrimination, perceived and actual discrimination, or a combination of the above. Formal discrimination is explained as the discrimination based on institutional policy and informal as the interpersonal dynamics within the workplace. Potential and encountered discrimination may be explained as reactions and actual experiences that may have occurred.

Perceived discrimination may be seen as an employee’s perception of their employer’s action, in this case, based on their sexual identity, whilst actual discrimination is discriminatory practices directed to sexual and gender “non-normative” employees. Employees may only react to workplace discrimination based on their interpretation of that discriminatory practise. It is however evident that literature that explores actual workplace discrimination on sexual and gender “non-normative” employees is difficult to locate. However, what research does provide us is perceived workplace discrimination which may arise from sexual and gender “non-normative” employees feeling that they are treated differently to their heterosexual colleagues.

What I found from some of the work done in the field is the significance of anticipated fear of discrimination of a "non-normative" sexual identity, once it has been revealed in the workplace. This is because of the societal stigma attached to being sexual and gender "non-normative". In the early work conducted by Goffman (1963), he repeatedly refers to sexual and gender "non-normative" employees as a "stigmatised group" in the United States of America around the 1960s. Being sexual and gender "non-normative" was criminal and considered a psychiatric disorder (Kaplan, 2014). Similarly, in South Africa, from the 1940s, during the reign of the National Party, being sexual and gender "non-normative" was criminal and punishable for up to seven years. Other scholars have found that sexual and gender "non-normative" acts may be perceived to be imperfections in character and therefore stigmatise the individual.

Employment discrimination and other labour market discriminations are the most common type of discrimination experienced by many sexual and gender "non-normative" job seekers (Weichselbaumer, 2003). Such discrimination may be both overt (Sartore & Cunningham, 2009) and subtle (Cunninghman, Sartore & McCullough, 2010; Hebl, Foster Mannix & Davidio, 2002) when seeking for employment, promotions, in firing and with regard to salary ranges, as compared to their heterosexual counterparts. In her study of forty-five (45) men who self-identified as "gay", women who self-identified as "lesbian" as well as those who self-identify as "bisexual" people in Brighton, in the United Kingdom, Ryan-Flood (2004) found that this affected their career choices due to the fear of discrimination. In particular, those in higher level jobs in the labour market deliberately made an active choice to work in organisations that appeared to have a more tolerant attitude towards "non-normative" sexual identities, whereas those in casual employment would change their employer when confronted with difficulties at work. People who self-identify as "transgender" are also affected by discrimination as far as career choice and development is concerned (Pepper & Lorah, 2008). The discrimination experienced by people who self-identify as "transgender" at work is sex-based and affects both job seekers and those already employed. According to the Williams Institute on Sexual Orientation Law and Public Policy, which provides a summary on experiences faced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work, 15%–57% of "transgender" persons experience some form of employment discrimination. Job seekers who

identify as “transgender” find it challenging to find employment, especially in corporate workplaces, while others are subject to underemployment where the job does not pay enough (Kirk & Beovic (2008). In a most recent study by Kaplan (2014), on career anchors and paths for men who self-identified as “gay”, women who self-identified as “lesbian” as well as those who self-identify as “bisexual” workers, found that boundary-less and protean career theories reflected changes in the employment relations and how individuals perceive and manage their careers. Careers in which sexual and gender “non-normative” employees chose were dependent on the threat of discrimination and harassment. Instead, occupations that are perceived as more tolerant or “gay-friendly” were considered (Kaplan, 2014). Career choice and aspirations are unique for people who self-identify as “transgender”. This is because the process of affirming one’s gender identity may include visible changes that may contribute to stigma and the experiences of discrimination, which may change the trajectory of one’s career or the prospects of promotions.

Visibility is a key dimension of stigma. International scholars have found that employees that have concealable differences are relatively “better off” (Clair, Beatty & Maclean, 2005). This traditional perspective implies that “invisibility” helps the stigmatised employee to avoid problematic social interactions that may occur because of the stigma. Unlike sex, gender is considered a “visible” identity because it is defined by societal gender markers. Gender is one of the salient identity categories that people use to define their interactions with others as well as to automatically and unconsciously categorise others. This is why the visibility of gender identity for employees who self-identify as “transgender” brings unique challenging circumstances, especially during the affirming stage of the gender identity. According to Clair, Beatty and Maclean (2005), individuals with “invisible” differences experience psychological issues, even before social interaction, as they negotiate how to manage their stigma in public spaces. Additionally, scholars also found that stigma can negatively impact on one’s career and personal development opportunities at work, as sexual and gender “non-normative” employees can find it difficult to form relationships at work, which is crucial for networking, job performance and engagement are also impacted as a result of the latter. Thus, the decision to declare their sexual identity at work is a strategic one, as issues of when and how to reveal are considered, given the possible costs associated with being stigmatised (Ragins, Singh &

Cornwell, 2007). Organisational sector and size may also influence the differential level of visibility. The anonymity and disconnectedness of large organisations are seen to be reassuring to others who therefore concealed their sexual identity to avoid discrimination (Ozturk, 2011).

What we gather from the abovementioned is that a great deal of work has been done on discrimination and stigma. From the work, we can understand that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience many types of discrimination that stem from the negative organisational and cultural factors. As a result, some sexual and gender "non-normative" employees may find it necessity have to remain "closeted" (Cavalier, 2011; Irwin, 2002; Shore, Chung-Herrera, Dean, Ehrhart, Jung, Randel & Singh, 2009; Snyder, 2003). The overall discursive formation was a critical response to an employment context lacking in clear and concrete equality standards capable of protecting sexual and gender "non-normative" individuals. However, we see in more recent literature, especially in the western countries, the emergence of anti-discriminatory legislation and employers translating such legislation into organisational diversity policies. While literature indicates that organisations are engaging more effectively with the needs of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace (Colgan, Creegan, McKearney & Wright, 2007, 2008; Guiffre, Dellinger & Williams, 2008; Raeburn, 2004), there is evidence that the homophobic behaviours are still encountered (Bagett & Frank, 2007; Bell *et al.,* 2011; Berg & Lien, 2002; Buddel, 2011; Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Meulders, Plasman & Rycx, 2004; Rumens & Kerfoot, 2009; Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik & Magley, 2008).

This study seeks to highlight how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces, given the widespread discrimination that they experience daily at work. It also seeks to explore how this discrimination relates to the corporate workplace as a seldom noted, critiqued or analysed sector in organisational literature, particularly in the fields of Human Resource Management.

Below, more specifically I explore microaggressions as a form of subtle discrimination. Here I highlight the complexities and dynamics of microaggressions in how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces.

2.9 Microaggressions in the workplace

Despite legal advancements extended to protect sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, while overt and blatant expressions of heterosexim in the workplace are declining, however, researchers are noting that discrimination is not disappearing but is instead becoming more subtle and ambiguous (Basford, Offermann & Behrend, 2014; Dipboye & Colella, 2005; Herek & McLemore, 2013; Torres-Harding, Andrade, Diaz & Crist, 2012). Since corporate workplaces are not immune to inheriting the biases of the country, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are becoming victims of subtle prejudices and biases, based on their sexuality, that negatively impact their professional experiences at work (McCabe, Rubinson, Dragowski & Elizalde-Utnick, 2013). Below, I unpack the concept of microaggressions, so as to understand the persistent challenges experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. Furthermore, in order to effectively identify and address discrimination based on sexuality, it is important to understand the manifestations of microaggressions. I also address the dearth in research on sexual microaggressions in the context of South Africa.

The term "microaggressions" was first coined by Pierce in 1970 where he defined microaggressions as "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal ex-changes which are 'put downs'" (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978, p. 66). Later, the term was developed and used by Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, and Torino (2007) to describe acts of subtle racism. Racial microaggressions were defined as ''brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults" (Sue *et al.,* 2007, p. 271). Microaggressions, unlike microinequities, a term developed by Rowe (1990), which focus only on a single level of explicitness, present discrimination on the basis of multiple constructs as well as covers a range from overt to covert acts. Microaggressions can exist in the form of three constructs, namely: microassaults, microinsults and microinvalidations. Microassaults are also known as purposefully discriminatory behaviour that can be verbal or non-verbal and that are intended against another. Such overt and explicit acts of racial derogation can be in the form of name-calling, avoidant behaviour and intentional

discriminatory actions (Sue *et al.*, 2007). Although closely related, microassaults are different from "traditional" forms of racial discrimination as perpetrators communicate their assaults in private to gain a sense of anonymity. However, in some cases, perpetrators can voice out their assaults in public spaces when they feel safe to engage in such behaviour. Regardless of the specific setting, microassaults are always intentional, conscious and deliberate.

The second form of microaggression is microinsult. Microinsults are "characterized by communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity" (Sue *et al*., 2007, p. 274). They are "subtle snubs" based on racial identity that can occur nonverbally. Furthermore, most of the time, microinsults are unknown to the perpetrator but have a hidden insulting message directed to the recipient. An example of a microinsult would be a White person saying, "I believe the most qualified person should get the job" (Sue *et al*., 2007). This statement sends an underlying message that persons of colour are not qualified for the position and that the person of colour obtained the job through means such as affirmative action (Sue *et al*., 2007). The third and final type of microaggression is microinvalidation, which is "characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of persons of color" (Sue *et al.,* 2007, p. 274). For instance, a person of colour who talks about an experience of racism with a white friend may be told "Don't be so sensitive," which has the effect of nullifying that person's reality. Microinvalidations also lead to increased levels of racial anger, mistrust and lose of self-esteem by persons of colour (Swann, Minshew, Newcomb & Mustanski, 2016).

Literature on microaggressions has focused on race, with a specific focus on black African American as well as Asian American groups (Constantine, 2007; Knox Burkard, Johnson, Suzuki, & Ponterotto, 2003; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; Sue *et al.*, 2007). From this work, nine themes of racial microaggression were experienced by people of colour, namely: a) being an alien in one's own land, b) ascription of intelligence, c) colour blindness, d) criminality/assumption of criminal status, e) denial of individual racism, f) myth of meritocracy, g) pathologising cultural values/communication styles, h) being a second-class citizen, and i) environmental microaggressions. The work on microaggressions highlights that verbal and nonverbal acts of racial microaggressions send powerful messages to the perpetrator

that one's "minority" or "non-normative" identity is less valuable and does not deserve citizenship. Therefore, this process is one of assimilating western cultures (Sue *et al*., 2007).

While the literature on microaggression originated in critical race theory (Nadal, 2013; Sue, 2010a; 2010b; Sue, Capodilupo & Holder, 2008: Sue *et al*., 2007), this has not been the case for this study. Constantine and Sue (2007) suggest that the work on microaggressions needs to be replicated and extended to determine the generalisability of the themes. The extension of microaggression research has included using diverse dyads rather than cross-racial pairings (Constantine, 2007). As a direct response to the above, this work will extend the work on microaggressions to include sexual microaggressions. Using the suggested themes by Sue and Sue (2007) and others that may arise, this empirical study will explore the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. Additionally, I will focus on discrimination, transphobia and heterosexism that are unintentional and unconscious; therefore, the forms of microaggressions that will be explored are microinsults and microinvalidation. This study hopes to fill this gap in research literature, by exploring the phenomenon of sexual microaggressions within corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal.

2.10 Disclosure and/or non-disclosure of sexual identity in the workplace

Much of the international and local literature on "non-normative" sexuality in the workplace has focused on the issue of disclosure and non-disclosure of sexual identities at work. Many scholars have argued that such research can be classified as the first wave of studies into the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work (Creed & Cooper, 2008). This study also looks at gender identity, which has not been explored much in international as well as local literature. Central to the issues around whether or not to declare one's sexual "non-normative" identity is how to manage what may be considered as a predominately invisible sexual "non-normative" identity. However, before considering strategies to manage sexual "non-normative" identity, it is important to explore contextual as well as personal factors that may be relevant before deciding on whether or not to declare one's sexual "non-normative" identity. Furthermore, in subsequent paragraphs, I will explore the

antecedents, motives and consequences of disclosing or not one's sexual "non-normative" identity at work.

One of the main criticisms of the literature surrounding disclosure/non-disclosure of sexual "non-normative" identity is the over-simplification of the 'coming out' process. It assumes that one is either completely out or not. Day and Schoenrade (1997, 2000) were among the first researchers to discuss disclosure as a continuum. Similarly, Ward (2008) argues that 'coming out' is a process and a repeated act rather than a once-off event. It also develops in parallel with one's career advancement. The reason for this is that a lot of time is invested at work and therefore the workplace becomes the centre for sexual identity development and a place where one can strategize on how to express one's sexual "non-normative" identity (Boatwright, Gilbert, Forrest & Ketzenberg, 1996; Driscoll *et al*., 1996). As mentioned previously, the decision on whether and how to reveal one's sexual "non-normative" identity at work is a complex process (Gedro, 2007). It involves evaluating the motives, risks and benefits of disclosing in that particular context (Ozeren, 2014). King, Reilly and Hebl (2008) propose situational factors such as timing and methods of disclosure as additional features that would aid successful disclosure of one's sexual "non-normative" identity at work. Similarly, Ozturk (2011), in his study of men who self-identify as "gay", found that situational and contextual factors were both imperative to consider when deciding on disclosing at work.

Several scholars have stated that choosing to reveal or to pass one's sexual "non-normative" identity is linked to how one views his or her "non-normative" sexual identity socially. Weeks (1995), known for his preliminary work in this area, adds that sexual identities are not the essential property of the individual concerned; instead, they are socially constructed and are understood by constructs whose meanings are situated, provisional and contested. From a theoretical standpoint, many studies (Chrobot-Mason, Button & DiClementi, 2001; King Semlyen, Tai, Killaspy, Osborn, Popelyuk & Nazareth, 2008; Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007; Ragins, 2008; Ward, 2008; Woods, 1993) on disclosure and non-disclosure have been heavily influenced by the earlier work of Goffman (1963) on stigmas. Goffman highlights how individuals who possess invisible stigmas or discreditable identities are the ones who manage their stigmatised identities in the workplace. Individuals who possess visible stigmas or

discredited identities may find it challenging to manage their stigmatised identity. Modern scholars have furthered the work of Goffman to explore how individuals with multiple stigmas react and deal with their stigmatised sexual identities (Van Laars & Levin, 2006). From their work, the authors found that individuals with multiple stigmatized identities may view more spaces as potentially threatening due to holding more than one stigmatized identity (Nettles & Balter, 2012).

Additionally, scholars have also found that individuals that have concealable stigmas may spend less time trying to incorporate their stigmatised identity into the workplace or social spaces than those individuals with visible stigmas (Van Laars & Levin, 2006). Furthermore, individuals with concealable stigmas may experience less social discrimination and prejudice than those individuals with visible stigmas. However, individuals who have concealable stigmas may spend extra time in efforts of managing their concealable identities at work, which may lead to psychological stress and low performance (Colgan, Creegan, McKearney & Wright, 2007).

2.10.1 Personal motives to disclosing one's sexual "non-normative" identity at work

Motives for disclosing one's sexual "non-normative" identity can be grouped into three categories. Rumens and Broomfield (2012), in their study of men who self-identify as "gay" in the police in the United Kingdom, found that personal integrity, developing and improving workplace relationships, and inspiring other "gay" officers to declare were their motives. Consistent with previous studies conducted by Clair *et al.* (2005), the disclosure decision was often motivated by a desire to maintain personal integrity. This was apparent in how participants in their study placed emphasis on the importance of being "honest" with themselves and others in the workplace. It encouraged individuals to be able to create their own life narratives and to control goals for self-presentation in the workplace (Schlossberg, 2001). Being "honest" with oneself was also seen as a coping and therapeutic strategy that reduces negative feelings that accompany secrecy , thus ensuring both emotional and physical benefits. Therefore, a person may also decide to declare their sexual identity to gain social closeness in developing workplace friendships at work (Colgan *et al.,* 2007; Martinez & Hebl, 2010).

Information sharing is typically reciprocal, thus encouraging people to declare to minimize social awkwardness. Similarly, analysis conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) demonstrated that interactions between heterosexual as well as sexual "non-normative" individuals at work were one of the factors that assisted in lowering prejudice and discrimination. According to Creed and Scully (2000), reasons to declare may be motivated by a request for domestic partner benefits or legislated workplace accommodation in countries that have such. This presents a dilemma for people whose difference would otherwise be unknown to others. Lastly, disclosing may also be motivated by a desire to educate others and to change the current social conditions at work. Individuals may be motived by the desire to create a culture of visibility with regards to sexual "non-normative" identity, therefore encouraging others to declare in the workplace.

Influenced by studies conducted by Woods (1993), Humphrey (1999), Ragins (2004) and Clair *et al.* (2005), in their studies on managing invisible social identities in the workplace, the authors found that the organisational context was an essential factor to consider in shaping the decision whether or not to declare in the workplace. Prior research has not always been sensitive to the variation of workplace contexts in terms of organisational norms, workplace practices and environments, and their influence on how sexual and gender "non-normative" identities are stigmatized, disclosed and managed. However, in this study, the above will be carefully considered in the context of corporate workplaces.

2.10.2 Contextual motives to disclosing one's sexual "non-normative" identity at work

An organisational climate that is supportive, associated with openness and sees difference as an asset in the workplace may likely influence sexual "non-normative" individuals to disclose their sexuality at work (Chrobot-Mason, Button & DiClementi, 2001; Hofhuis, van der Zee & Otten, 2012; Ozeren, 2014). Supportive co-workers, managers, transparent policies and procedures with regards to sexuality, diversity and sustainable inclusion suggest a *diversity climate*, a term used by Ely and Thomas (2001) in the organisation. Scholars have found that

organisational anti-discriminatory policies within the workplace may be mandated by national legislation or adopted voluntarily by an organisation to establish accountability so that a person has some measure of protection or safeguard against discrimination and feels safer to declare their sexual "non-normative" identity (McKay, Avery & Morris, 2008; Rostosky & Riggle, 2010; Trau & Hartel, 2007; Ozturk, 2011).

Organisations that go over and above mandated legal frameworks to include other benefits to accommodate sexual "non-normative" employees are seen as environments that are welcoming and encourage sexual "non-normative" employees to disclose their identity (Ozturk, 2011). Colgan *et al.* (2007) indicate that legal protection focuses on eradicating full-blown homophobic encounters at work, day-to-day benign jokes or generalised, mildly disparaging statements about sexual orientation that may have pernicious underlying intent (Ozturk, 2011). This particular study focuses on the day-to-day experiences of sexual and gender non-normative employees at work. It seeks to unpack full-blown or latent encounters experienced in the workplace.

Studies have found that, whilst organisational policies are perceived as symbolic in nature and are not taken seriously or practised in the workplace (Bowen & Ostroff, 2004; Colgan *et al.,* 2007; MacLean, 2003), organisations that do not enforce policies designed to ensure a discrimination-free environment will be interpreted as making empty promises. Therefore, employees with stigmatized identities will be discouraged from declaring their sexual "non-normative" identity. Studies have also found that transparency and the appearance of meritocracy in the decisions in hiring and promotion process is an important indicator of equality and may influence individuals to declare their sexual "non-normative" identity in the workplace (MacLean, 2003). Also, the presence of other individuals in the workplace who are publicly "out" and suffered no discrimination as a result of their revelation may also influence the decision to declare (Ragins & Cornwall, 2001). Conversely, colleagues who are hiding their identities may also influence the decision not to declare one's sexual "non-normative" identity.

Scholars have also found that industry and professional norms may also put pressure on individuals to tailor their behaviours to "fit in". Friskopp and Silverstein (1995) found that people who work for companies associated with the defence industry, that serve children or that are connected with conservative or fundamentalist religious groups face special challenges in the workplace. Furthermore, in the United States of America, the military service also encourages passing as a way to manage one's sexual and gender non-normative identity in the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy that was established in the 1990s. Individuals are more likely stigmatized in organisations where passing as "normal" is encouraged to avoid discrimination and to secure equal cultural social, economic and recreational advantages.

Internationally, there is evidence of research that focuses on the managing of sexual identity by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work (Burrell & Hearn, 1989; Burke, 1993; Hall, 1989; Humphrey, 1999; Brewis & Linstead, 2000; Caudron 1995; Digh, 1999; Driscoll *et al*. 1996; Fassinger, 1995; Ferfolja & Hopkins, 2013; Friskopp & Silverstein, 1995; Gedro, Cervero & Johnson-Bailey, 2004; Guillaume, Dawson, Priola, Sacramento, Woods, Higson, Pawan, Budhwar & West, 2014;; Morgan & Brown 1991; Rumens & Kerfoot, 2009; Shallenberger, 1994; Woods, 1993; Ward & Winstanley, 2003, 2005; Woods, 1993). Previous research shows how sexual and gender non-normative employees have had to struggle between their professional identity and their sexual identity. Both Rumens and Kerfoot (2009) and Humphrey (1999) in their studies have respectively found that gay and lesbian respondents had to compromise the way they managed their sexual identity. They argue that sexual and gender "non-normative" identities are affected by the dominant expected professional norms and discourses of "heteronormativity". They also found that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees have to separate their sexuality from their professional lives, as if the two are incompatible or perceived as polar opposites (Kumen & Kerfoot, 2009) so as to construct separate "sexual" and "work" identities (Acker 1990 in Simpson & Lewis, 2005).

International literature suggests that one of the ways in which sexual "non-normative" employees experience workplaces is by managing their sexual identities in negative workplaces (Ferfolia & Hopkins, 2013; Priola, Lasio, De Simone & Serri, 2013; Ward & Winstanley, 2003). Negative workplaces are highly discriminatory, where heterosexual

employees control and prescribe what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' in terms of sexual expression. However, what we gather from literature is that negative workplaces are not the only work climates in which sexual "non-normative" employees need to manage their sexual identity. There is a growing body of international literature that looks at a new type of workplace that is "gay-friendly". These organisations embrace sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and prevent homophobic attitudes and treatment. Interestingly, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees within these organisations still encounter differential treatment (Guiffre *et al.*, 2008; Colgan *et al.*, 2008).

Sexual "non-normative" employees have to scrutinise their "non-normative" employees who are already "out" at work have to continuously declare their sexual identity across many social interactions, making disclosing a never ending process (Friskopp & Silverstein 1995; Kerfoot, 2009; Irwin, 2002). Literature also suggests that there is great variability in openness of employees about their sexual identity. This variation can be described along a continuum of concealment verses openness, where sexual and gender "non-normative" employees may adopt strategies at different points of the continuum (Hall, 1992; Griffin, 1992; Woods & Harbeck, 1991). Ozeren (2014) argues that employers, trade unions, human resource development practitioners and government authorities can interpret this as a serious challenge that requires resolution (Badgett, Durso, Kastanis & Mallory, 2013). Therefore, there is a need to treat sexual orientation with the same respect as compared to other forms of diversity in a business environment that is widely heterosexist. Hence the academic motivation of this study.

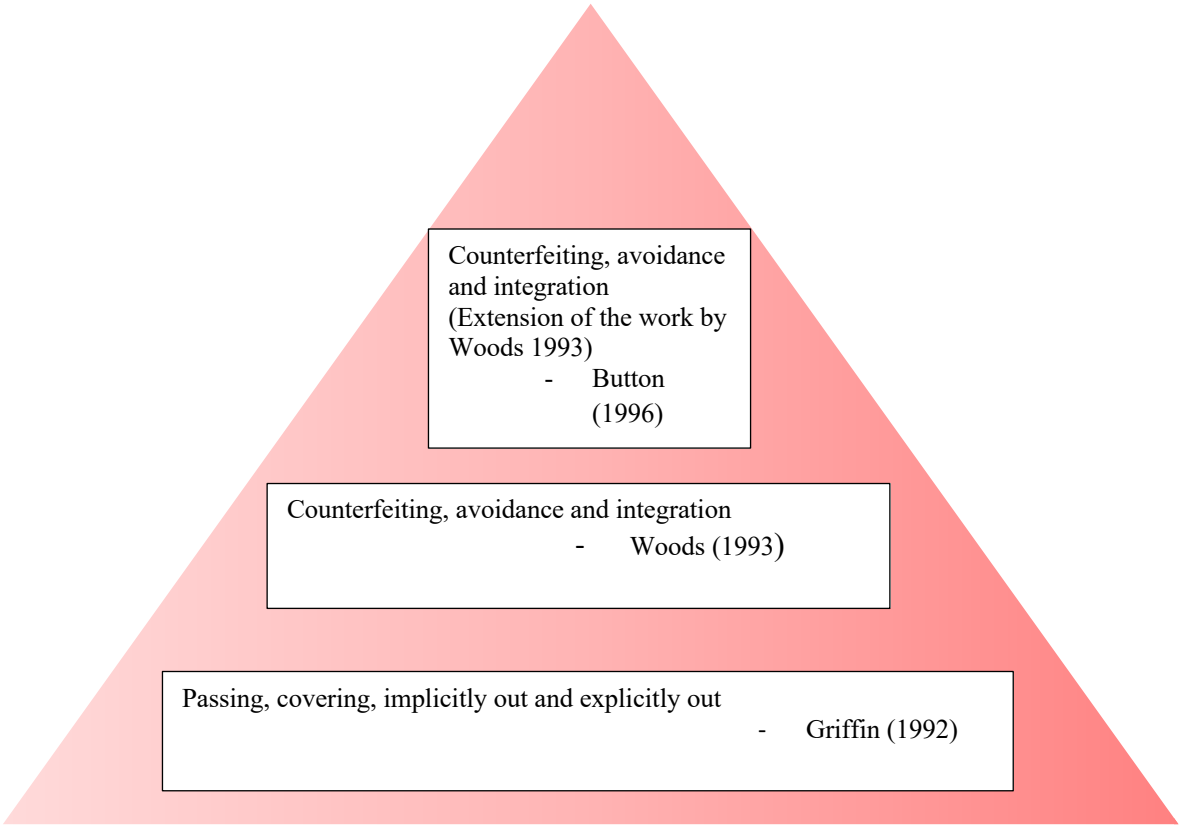
The predominant studies conducted that focus on managing sexuality in the workplace were conducted by Griffin (1992), who found in her study that looked at women who self-identify as "lesbian" and men who self-identify as "gay" in education, that one's sexuality may be managed by revealing, safety-making or risk-taking orientated strategies (like *passing, covering, being implicity out or explicitly out*). *Passing*, as described by Griffin (1992) involves acting to give an impression of being heterosexual while not correcting assumptions made on the façade created. *Covering* involves concealing information, omitting any reference to one's same-sex relationship. *Implicitly out*, on the other hand, is honestly coming out about one's personal life including information about one's sexual orientation. Lastly, *explicitly out*

entails embracing one's sexual identity in ways that make it clear to others. A second scheme of understating identity management strategies was developed by Woods (1993). In his quantitative study on male sexual "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces, he created a tripartite categorization of identity management strategies. These strategies include *counterfeiting* which is actively fashioning a false heterosexual identity (Croteau, Anderson & VanderWal, 2008). *Avoidance* is the second strategy which includes maintain strong boundaries between personal and business lives. Lastly, *integration* involves revealing one's sexual identity. Button (1999, 2001, 2004) further extended this work to confirm that, quantitatively, the three-factor model represented below was more effective in explaining the ways in which participants managed their sexualities at work. These theories, of the strategies of management of sexual identity, have advanced theoretical understanding of what employees do about their sexual identities at work. The daily choices that sexual "non-normative" employees have to make concerning their sexuality capture the internal experiences of daily monitoring, vigilance and decision making.

Restricting the conceptualisation of sexual identity management to that of the degree of disclosure is inadequate. Rather, the complex decisions involving a range of identity management strategies are made under different kinds of social and emotional pressures. From the work by Griffin (1992) it can be deduced that employees may employ multiple identity management strategies in one context. For example, an employee who frequently fabricates stories about dates with person of the same-sex (Passing) may also avoid non-traditional behaviours, mannerisms, or dress style that may be associated by others with being sexual "non-normative" (Covering). This particular employee may use more passing strategies than covering strategies. In order to give a holistic account of management strategies used by sexual "non-normative" employees in the workplace, the workplace sexual identity management measure (WSIMM) was developed by Anderson, Croteau, Chung and DiStefano (2001) using Griffin's four identity management strategies. The measure was subjected to psychometric evaluation before it was used on participants. Since the measure was in its initial stage when it was used, many parts of the assessment had to be revised. However, from the data collected in the study, the explicitly out and covering strategies were seen to be clustered together. This

means that many participants used both these strategies in one context in order to manage their sexual identity at work.

Figure 2.1 is a model that represents the development of the work conducted internationally on strategies to managing sexuality in the workplace. The model includes the qualitative work developed by Griffin (1992) and quantitative work by Woods (1993) and by Button (1996).



The homophobic nature of the continent of Africa as well as South Africa shapes the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the public sector, as well as in the country generally. As is found also in the international literature, sexually "non-normative" employees have to manage their sexuality in fear of discrimination. Local literature suggests that the managing of sexual identity in South African public workplaces rests heavily

on cultural and religious norms that are based on heterosexual control (Butler & Astbury, 2005; Msibi, 2012) therefore acting as a form of panoptical surveillance (Foucault, 1977).

Likewise, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees have to adopt strategies to manage their sexualities. South African literature, particularly in education, suggests that *passing* is the key strategy used, with the overarching concern of maintaining respect from the community (Msibi, 2012). *Hiding* as well as *shielding* were other strategies found to be employed as a form of defence and protection in the educational context. Other sexual "non-normative" individuals in the workplace conceal their sexual identities, justifying their choice on career-orientation, fear of job loss or career sabotage (Evans, 2002; Francis & Msibi 2011). Maritz and Prinsloo (2015), in their study on being sexual non-normative in postgraduate education, suggest that "being an academic in an open distance and eLearning environment produced its own anxieties as coming out was a continuous and often messy process" (Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015). The study found that the nature of the educational context of meeting and journeying with new students annually meant that the process is never complete. The process of coming out is not a once off event but a continual process shaped by changing contexts (Donahue, 2007).

2.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed in great detail the existing literature on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace. I deliberated on sexuality in organisations both internationally and locally, specifically focusing on organisational culture as accommodating ambiguity and on symbolic aspects that continue to prejudice sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Furthermore, the chapter looked at silence at work and how it maintains the heteronormative order by keeping heteronormativity in check. The chapter also included work on gender identity in the workplace where I discussed issues and challenges experienced by employees who self-identify as "transgender". Additionally, I looked at defining and elaborating on the concepts of heterosexism, homophobia and transphobia and their usage and appropriateness for this study. I also explored identity and identity work in workplaces and how this has unfolded in South African workplaces. Thereafter, I explored discrimination and stigma; here I also included a review of

microaggressions as a form of subtle discrimination experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Lastly, I covered the development of coping strategies available for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to use in negative workplaces. I argue that the coping mechanisms are not linearly used by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees but highlight the complexities of the usage of strategies in the context of South Africa.

The next chapter will examine the theoretical underpinning of this study.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical underpinnings of this study. In order to show how my study is located in the field of Human Resource Management and to facilitate the understanding of the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work, I will use three frameworks, I have chosen to use intersectionality, the theory of gendered organisations and queer theory. While still keeping to the philosophical position of this study, which calls for a more comprehensive outlook of people's individual truths, using these three theories has provided the best framework for the demands of the study.

The chapter begins by unpacking the importance of a theoretical framework to a study. Then, I will then discuss each theory and its appropriateness for this particular study. Finally, I will explain how the frameworks work collaboratively in advancing and strengthening the study.

3.2 What is a theoretical framework?

Employing a theory in which to ground the knowledge base of the phenomenon is critical in any study. A theoretical framework can be likened to a map in which to guide the researcher in an unfamiliar terrain. Grant and Osanloo (2014) demonstrate how a theoretical framework is like a "blueprint" for a study, in that, without it, "the structure and vision for the study is unclear" (p. 13). Furthermore, it supports the study by providing a structure to outline how the study will be approached philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically, and analytically. A theoretical framework relies on a theory or theories to give a better understanding of the phenomenon.

This study focuses on understanding the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. From the literature review chapter, we gathered that the corporate workplace context, by way of its organisational culture, is paramount in influencing how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees view

workplaces. Thus, the theories will assist in exploring the organisation and how it may perpetuate ideas of inequality insofar as gender, sexuality and race is concerned.

3.3 Intersectionality theory

Intersectionality theory first emerged during the 1960s and 1970s, when scholar Kimberle Williams Crenshaw sought to find a way to adequately distinguish between the experiences of African American black women, African American black males and American white women (McCall, 2005). From her study, she found that black women face both racial and gender discrimination. Over the years, intersectionality has been a theory adopted by feminist scholars and activists internationally and locally. Its usage has cut through the fields of psychology, education and social science to expand to include identities beyond gender and race. Studies have shown that people have "multiple layered identities" that are derived from social relations and structures of power (Symington, 2004). Therefore, intersectionality is "revealing multiple identities, exposing the different types of discrimination and disadvantage that occurs as a consequence of combined identities" (Symington, 2004, p. 2). Intersectionality recognises that gender cannot be analysed without considering issues of race, social class, sexuality, nationality, (dis)ability, age, etc. to fully understand one's experience (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). Thus, the aim of the theory is not to show that one group of people is more victimized or privileged then another group, but to highlight how identities interlock or weave into one another to shape subjective experiences (Shields, cited in Parent, DeBlaere & Moradi, 2013; Talwar, 2010). Another goal of intersectionality research is to uncover how dynamic people are and how identities may create conflict in and out of particular groups. This adds to a deeper, rich understanding of the world (Battle & Ashley, 2008). Intersectionality theory does not only take into account multiple identities, but also considers different contexts, including historical, social and political contexts, thus assisting in providing explanations of how particular grounds of discrimination can contribute to being privileged or oppressed.

Although the contributions of intersectionality in academia as well as in the social realm have been widespread, in its attempt to reveal a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of people seen as a minority, it has also been viewed as problematic. Salem (2018)

argues that intersectionality is a "watered down concept for claiming to attend to diversity, whilst subtly disguising the racist and classist inequalities which continue to exist between women". Firstly, Marxist scholars have found that intersectionality has been likened as a "catch–all" feminist approach used to justify hostility. It has been seen to dehumanise people, seeing them as a hybrid of disadvantaged groups to further divide and victimise people. Secondly, scholars have argued how intersectionality overly relies on black women as a point of departure, therefore silencing other identity oppressions (Nash, 2008). This then leads to the third and final critique, which is how intersectionality is seen as dividing groups of people into victim and villain. Based on social identity, privilege is awarded to people who belong to multiple "disadvantaged" identity groups. In other words, credibility is given to people who associate with more identity oppressions, creating what is called an *Oppression Olympics*. An Oppression Olympics delays the fight towards social justice and creates non-existent hierarchies of suffering and oppression and ultimately turns marginalised people against one another (Lorde, 1983; Martinez, 1993).

While I am aware of the politics of using intersectionality, I adopt the theory with caution. I do not wish to objectify people participating in the study, but instead hope to be able to use intersectionality as a lens to understand intersectional dynamics and how it shapes the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

3.3.1 Suitability of intersectionality for this study

Intersectionality can be used in multiple ways to strengthen a study. As with many feminist studies, intersectionality can be used as either a theoretical perspective, a mode of inquiry, a methodological tool or an approach to social justice. Due to the nature of this particular study and the kinds of questions this study hopes to answer, intersectionality is used as a theoretical framework to understand multiple intersecting identities (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Syed, 2010). Intersectionality in this study will also be used in the analysis phase of the study as a lens in which data will be viewed.

This study focuses on understanding the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. Thus, this study is interested in illuminating the voices of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees as they are considered a social minority in the workplace, by unpacking their distinctive and diverse workplace experiences. From the onset, the two main identity descriptors are gender and sexuality. However, considering only a linear approach to identity would not effectively portray a holistic and realistic view of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and their workplace experiences. Therefore, in order to appreciate sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, one may need to understand that identities are composed of multiple, intrinsically intertwining social identities that are further influenced by societal culture, power, oppression, privilege, and many other macro-level biases and influences that reinforce one another and as such cannot be disentangled form one another (Veenstra, 2011). Therefore, to adequately uncover and explicate the personal and unique experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, I needed to use a theory that recognises that people who identify as sexual and gender "non-normative" do not experience workplaces alike, between a given time and place to avoid generalising (Weber, 2001). According to Veenstra (2011), sometimes, certain social identities may not be equally visible and/or important in people's self-definitions (see Chapter 5). This recognition that one category may have salience over another in corporate workplaces does not minimize its theoretical relevance. Intersectionality theory afforded me this opportunity to consider the intersection of gender, race and sexuality in the organisational context. It is also useful in understanding difference and inequality in terms of sexuality and how that may influence the daily experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The theory was also used to develop ways of understanding how sexuality, gender and race inequalities are produced through inequality regimes (see Chapter 6).

In order to gather rich data that captures the multiple layers of identities, intersectionality theory in this study will assist in taking into account three identities, namely race, gender and sexuality. Race in this study represents ethnic groups such as African, White, Coloured and Indian people. Race was important for me to consider as South African as a history of colonialism and apartheid, which was mainly based on racial segregation, resulting in unequal distribution of resources amongst races (Black & Stone, 2005). Today, such distribution

unequally represents power and privilege according to race. The same system contributed to gender inequality, making women the disadvantaged group. Similarly, Crenshaw uses intersectionality to centre a group of people who are seen as having marginalized identities to challenge prevailing understandings of both race and gender-based oppression. She reveals how the experience of black women is not just a double jeopardy of gender and racial oppression but how the experience of gender depends on the experience of race and vice versa. The same ethos is carried through in this study, with the inclusion of other oppressions that have been named above.

There have been many studies conducted both internationally and locally that have focused on these social identities in isolation to describe their influence and implications for people's experiences (Bowleg, 2008). However, this specific study will focus on providing empirical information on how all three social identities combined may shape and inform the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces.

The next theory that will be discussed is the theory of gendered organisations.

3.4 Theory of gendered organisations

Gendered organisations as a theory was foregrounded by Rosabeth Kanter (1977), Kathy Ferguson (1984), Cynthia Cockburn (1983, 1988) and Joan Acker (1990). Since then, the popularity of the theory in social sciences and gender/feminist scholars has increased in the documentation of women's experiences and voices, and the lives of men were studied rather than silenced (see Chen, Collinson & Hearn, 1998). Of these pioneers, Acker (1990) was the most influential in developing the theory when she wrote *Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: a theory of gendered organisations*. Her work "marked a fundamental paradigm shift in the study of gender, work, and organisations" (Britton & Logan, 2008, p. 107). In her review, she explains how gender is embedded in traditional organisations. Traditional organisations are identified by features like job evaluations controlled by managers, hierarchies, standardized job descriptions and rewards for employee loyalty (Williams, Muller & Kilanski, 2012). As a result of the gender discourses, gender inequality is continually prevalent in workplaces. Acker

(1990) suggests that gender inequality is built in the very structures of organisations. This is seen by the word "job" which makes reference to male workers, as women are likely to be known as primary family care givers (Acker 1990). The "ideal" worker in the workplace is someone who will be able to be fully devoted to the organisational responsibilities with minimal distractions.

The theory suggests that gender is reproduced in five organisational processes, namely the division of labour that includes "gender patterning of jobs, wages and hierarchies, power and subordination" (Acker, 1992, p. 252), cultural symbols that justify, and, often oppose gender divisions, workplace interactions between employees that enact dominance and subordination and create alliances and exclusions, individual identities, and organisational logic (Acker, 1990; Williams, Muller & Kilanski, 2012). The theory explains how gender inequality is embedded in the basic elements of workplaces that are known to be "natural" and often taken for granted. This includes elements such as work rules, job descriptions, pay scales and job evaluations govern bureaucratic organisations and are observed by employees (Williams, Muller & Kilanski, 2012). Power in the workplace is characterised by authority and control over others. Furthermore, Acker (1990) coined the concept of gendered organisations to highlight the advantages that men have in terms of the distribution of power in workplaces. It is exercised through organisational logic and perpetrates gender inequalities in workplace power due to the positions that employees hold in the organisational structure (Elliott & Smith, 2004).

The theory has been critiqued by a number of international scholars (Britton & Logan, 2008; Ward, 2004; Williams, Muller & Kilanski, 2012). From their work, three significant areas of concern and further inquiry arose. The first was viewing organisations as gendered without the adoption of an intersectional lens that includes sexuality. Viewing the organisation from one dimension represents an incomplete picture (Britton & Logan, 2008). Organisations can also be seen as spaces that perpetuate class, gender, sexuality & race. While the "ideal" worker is male, he is often white, middle class, & heterosexual. However, from the latter work of Acker (2006), the acknowledgement & emergence of an intersectional lens is presented through the development of "inequality regimes". Inequality regimes are defined as 'loosely interrelated

practices, processes, actions, & meanings that result in & maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities within particular organisations' (Acker, 2006, p. 443).

Secondly, it is the use of the word "organisations" as if to imply simple, physical structures, something that is visible. Scholars have argued that organisations nowadays vary in sizes, design and use of time and space. Since organisations are socially embedded, they are influenced by societal shifts like that of globalisation. Therefore, organisations are evolutionary and are more virtual and paper based, operating through information technologies connecting people around the world. The use of "organisations" also does not differentiate between the sizes and types of organisations. Organisations can include conglomerations of organisations that may have merged together, or smaller sub-units and any other processes that include multi-organisations, inter-organisational relations, networks, network organisations, and net-organisations (Hesselbein & Goldsmith, 2009)

Lastly, gender in the theory refers to gender as being either male or female and people having to fit into one or the other. The theory reaffirms gender binaries in that women are all feminine and men are masculine and therefore enforces conformity to socially acceptable forms of gender expression. Furthermore, gender relations are not only between men and women as stated in the theory but also relations between men and other men and women and other women (Hearn & Parkin, 2003). The exclusion of sexuality means that people who identify as being sexual and gender "non-normative" cannot be adequately understood using this theory, which may constitute an inaccurate representation of the organisation. Moreover, the theory has also been criticized for excluding other forms of inequality, such as race and class (see Britton & Logan, 2008; Holvino, 2010). Although this study mainly focuses on gender and sexuality, other forms of inequality will be explored to understand the multiple ways in which employees experience inequality in the workplace.

In order to strengthen the study and combat the shortcomings of the gendered organisation theory, intersectionality and queer theory were used in this study.

3.4.1 *Suitability of the theory of gendered organisations to the study*

Gendered organisations as a theory has a feminist underpinning that is ideal for this study. It seeks to unearth the misinterpretation of organisations as being gender-neutral spaces, a place for the universal worker. The theory exposes how organisations are gendered and revolve around the male worker, more specifically, his sexuality, relationships and procreation (Acker 1990). With this in mind, other sexualities and genders are seen as unimportant, irrelevant and invisible.

Organisations have changed from the time that the theory was developed. From the 1970s, organisations began experiencing downsizing, restructuring, introduction of technology and globalisation (DiMaggio, 2001; Kalleberg, 2000). Since corporate workplaces are concerned with maximizing profits while attaining and maintaining a competitive edge, the changes to the nature of work have been prioritized. The organisational logic has also changed. This can be seen by the collapse of multiple layers of management in the hierarchy and their replacement by teams. Teams may be permanent or temporary, depending on the task and on the type of service or good the organisation produces (Williams, Muller, & Kilanski, 2012). Also, standardized career ladders that are clearly demarcated to lead to more responsibility and a higher salary have been replaced with career maps or "I'-deals", which are individual programmes that are made up of personal development goals and the needs of the organisation. Another change in the world of work is the emphasis on professional networking as a means of advancing inside and outside of the workplace (Babcock, Laschever, Gelfand & Small, 2003; DiMaggio, 2001; Osnowitz, 2010; Villas, 2011).

In terms of this study, gendered organisation as a theory will be used to explore the role of organisational culture in the production and maintenance of gender, race and sexuality inequality within corporate workplaces. Mostly, "gender is seen or defined as something that people possess or the way they behave or should behave; masculinity and femininity are characteristics of individuals" (Britton & Logan, 2008, p. 108). However, Acker's (1990) work on gendered organisations suggests that the structures of organisations themselves are gendered. She argues that organisations are built on and reproduce gendered inequalities. She also explores how inequality results from general, informal and material practices

systematically associated with high status and top management positions with male identities, and, consequently, constructing male as being suitable for senior positions and high status jobs (Janseens & Zanoni, 2005). Thus, organisations and social identities are seen as being composed of prescriptive masculine features.

In order to investigate the corporate workplace context as reinforcing inequality, I will review Acker's model of inequality regimes to draw attention to the everyday social processes in which advantage and disadvantage, exploitation, control, action and emotions, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of gender.

The next section will look at the last theory that this study will use queer theory. I will start by defining the theory, its limitations and outline the motivations of its use for this particular study.

3.5 *Queer theory*

Queer theory was first introduced by Teressa de Lauretis and later developed by Judith Butler and Eve Sedgwick and much later by David Halperin. Jacques Lacanwere, Jacques Derrida, Michael Warner and Michel Foucault were also very influential in the development of the theory, specifically in the understanding of identity and the exploration of binary constructions. Queer theory challenges anything that divides social phenomena between normative and deviant categories, particularly sexual activities and identities (Harris, 2016). It rejects the essentialist nature of categorisation such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning and intersex. Instead, queer theory is based on the idea of fluidity (Nawyn, 2010). It also denounces the binary way of thinking about sexuality as heterosexuality or homosexuality and instead focuses on capturing the enormous diversity of sexualities and genders. Furthermore, it destabilizes the assumptions and privileges of heteronormative models of everyday life and acknowledges the instability of identities. Queer theorists acknowledge its negative history but are committed to alter the ways in which sexuality is stigmatized, reworking the term into something that could change the way people understand sexualities.

Queer theory also focuses on gender and its nature and origin. Judith Butler (1999), in her book *Gender trouble,* questions the belief that gender behaviour is normal. She argues that the structuralistic idea of gender being stable is "absurd by Masquerade", thus problematizing fixed standards of morality and "truth." Instead she maintains that gender is learnt through repetitive acts that are historically accumulated to produce masculinity and femininity identity. Here she introduces "gender performance", when she argues that "gender is *real* only until to the extent to which it is performed" (Butler, 1999, p. 278-279).

I found critiquing queer theory very difficult as the term in itself is concerned with disturbing and disrupting the ways of thinking and doing things. This is why I have decided to highlight several ways in which queer theorists have found themselves holding conflicting views due to their philosophical position. Some theorists see queer theory as a sense of attitude, a group of people, identity, politics or a theory. All of which is understood to be queer theory but when applied may have the potential to evoke frustration as the true definition is unknown.

3.5.1 *Suitability of queer theory to the study*

Queer theory over the years has taken several meanings from when it first emerged. Similarly, its application can be traced to disciplines and sectors in which one may not expect to find it. Owing to its nature of refusing to be categorized, queer theory will be used in multiple ways in this study. First and foremost, queer theory is used as a way of referring to a group of people and of thinking of identity. I used the term "sexual and gender "non-normative" as to resist categorization and to highlight the complexity and fluidity of identity. Secondly, queer theory was used because I focus on a group of employees who identify as sexual and gender "non-normative". Thirdly, I used queer theory due to its "deconstructive impulse to destabilise heteronormativity as a structure of power relations" and its ability to denounce the normalising effect it has on organisations (Stein & Plummer, 1994). Thus, in the findings of this study, heteronormativity within the workplace was seen as a major theme (see Chapters 5 and 7). Furthermore, queer theory was used to understand how heteronormativity is a structure of power in stabilising "normative" relations in so far as sex and gender binaries (for example masculine/ feminine) are concerned. Therefore, queer theory in this study has been used to dispute the notion of "normal" or "natural" behaviour within corporate workplaces, while

underscoring the instability of binaries in daily activities at work (Warner, 1993). Lastly, queer theory is used to demonstrate and account for the content of discourses of heteronormativity in organisational literature. This applies specifically in relation to workplace phenomenon such as, and not limited to, leadership, workplace friendships, administration as activities that are a direct reproduction of heteronormativity in organisations (Harding Lee, Ford & Learmonth, 2011; Lee, Learmonth & Harding, 2008; Parker, 2002; Rumens, 2012; Tyler & Cohen, 2008). Queer theory in this study assisted in drawing attention to the effects and reproduction of heteronormativity in the corporate workplaces (Halperin, 1995, 2012).

3.6 *Conclusion*

The chapter has highlighted the different components making the theoretical framework of this study. The decision to use three theories was deliberate in strengthening the study to better understand the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. In this chapter, I have comprehensively outlined the theories and how they are best suited for the study. I have also shown how well they work collaboratively in bringing a more specific and diversified understanding of workplace experiences of employees employed in across multiple corporate workplaces. This therefore allows for a more tailored approach to fit the context.

The following chapter will focus on the findings of this study, in which I highlight the robust themes that emanated from the conversations I had with participants of this study**.**

CHAPTER 4

Research Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapters I have explored the existing literature internationally as well as locally. Prior to this particular chapter, I explored the theoretical framework informing this study. However, this particular chapter will outline and justify the philosophical, methodological and design features of this study. In particular, I will highlight the main methodological issues and challenges that I encountered throughout the research process. A prevalent theme running throughout this chapter is the role of reflection and critical self-awareness of my impact as a researcher on the study and the various practical and theoretical matters I had to confront when generating the data.

I will begin by critically discussing the philosophical framework for my methodology and its appropriateness to this study. The justification of the use of qualitative research design as well as the use of narrative enquiry as a methodological underpinning is presented. Narrative enquiry will also be looked at in relation to interpretivism.

4.2. Philosophy: Ontology and epistemology

4.2.1 Ontology

This study sought to understand the individual experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces located in KwaZulu-Natal. Situated within the interpretivist approach, this study focused on understanding the subject and related meanings attached to it. As the basic tenets of this paradigm, this study assumed that reality is socially constructed on the basis of power (Lather, 2006, p.38; Mertens, 2007). Therefore, no objective reality is known but what is known are the multiple realities or interpretations of the situation being studied. Such an ontological position is important in this study as it aims to understand and reconstruct a wide range of personal truths (Mertens, 2007; Robson, 2002).

4.2.2 Epistemology

This study assumed an interpretivist epistemological position which focused on gaining an understanding of human behaviour. More specifically, to guide the epistemology of this study, a subjective position was used. Subjective epistemology recognizes knowledge as value laden. It is used to views reality based on a person's reflections and interpretations. A subjective epistemology is used to develop understanding, increase sensitization to ethical and moral issues, and achieve personal and political emancipation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This position embraces the differences between people and thus requires the researcher to explore the subjective meanings of social action (Bryman & Bell, 2011). This thesis aimed at exploring a wide range of workplace experiences in relation to work contexts and settings. Particularly, a key focus of this study was exploring the importance of workplace culture and how it may influence the ways in which employees construct, negotiate and shape the sexual identities of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

Such an epistemological position was well suited for this study, as it allowed me to opt for personal and interactive modes of collecting data. These modes served to help in understanding and capturing the complexity and subtlety of daily workplace experiences. Qualitatively, this study adopted a narrative inquiry methodological approach. During the grounded conversations, the values and ethical considerations of the interview and those that influenced me as the researcher were made known to the participant, emphasising the personal engagement this study has. This epistemological position also allowed for reflection and transformation on the part of myself and the participant. Magolda (2001, p 31) notes that "current interpretation of experiences depends on current assumptions about oneself and the world, and conflicting assumptions they encounter and the context in which the experience occurs". Old understandings are transformed in the light of new ones, in order to see the world from a more complex perspective. Therefore, in this study, the relationship between myself and the participant was very interdependent, influencing the way in which experiences narrated shaped my understanding of the participant's truths.

The above paragraphs have briefly mapped the ontological and epistemological positions informing this study. In this next section, I provide a detailed discussion of why I considered using a qualitative research design as well as narrative inquiry as my chosen and most appropriate methodological approach for responding to the questions the study intended to address.

4.3 Why a qualitative research design?

For the purpose of this study, a qualitative research design was utilized to generate data. As such, a qualitative research is characterised by its aims, which are to understand an aspect of social life (Green, 2007; Malterud, 2001). It is used to gain an indepth understanding of experiences and attitudes of people concerning a particular phenomenon. One of the ways in which an in-depth understanding can occur is through listening, interpreting and retelling participants' stories (Denzin &Lincoln, 2000; Glesne, 2011) which can only be done through qualitative design. In situations where little is known, qualitative research has also been popular (Green, 2007, p. 2). As stipulated in the above section on paradigms, this study was foregrounded in an interpretivist approach. This approach focuses on making sense of multiple truths through the narration of personal experiences. Lewis (2002) agrees that, in order to produce evidence of people's meanings and understandings, one should employ a qualitative approach. Qualitative research design allows for multiple ways of constructing truths without ascribing to labels of right and wrong. Therefore, such work cannot be generalised. This is unlike quantitative designs, where scientific rigour through validity and reliability is essential to generalise the truth to a larger population.

Internationally, many scholars in the field have commonly used a qualitative research design to collect data on sexuality at work (Baker, 2014; Bowring & Brewis 2009; Getro *et al*., 2004; Guiffre, Dellinger & Williams, 2008; Losert, 2008; Mizzi, 2013; Priola, Lasio, De Simone & Serri, 2013; Williams, Guiffre & Dellinger ,2009). However, in South Africa, the use of qualitative research is still not as widely accepted as in international studies. I have deliberately selected not to use a quantitative research design in this study given the study's intentions. A study that seeks to obtain subjective life experiences requires an approach that values narration and depth. Whilst there have been studies that have employed a quantitative research design to

explore issues of sexual identification at work, many of these studies have used a mixed methods approach and have often sought to generalise the findings of the study (Barrientos & Bozon, 2014; Larmarange, Loû, Enel, & Wade, 2009; Tangmunkongvorakul, Banwell, Carmichael, Utomo, & Sleigh, 2010). This current study did not seek to generalise findings, but rather sought to offer a platform for a group of marginalised individuals to share their experiences. An approach that required representativity through a greater number of participants would have proved disastrous for a context that is still steeped in patriarchal cultural norms that are policed through violence, often leading to people living very private and falsified lives.

Qualitative research design was appropriate for this study as it allowed me to understand individual 'truths' attached to the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Reinforced by the study's paradigm, qualitative researchers aim to uncover meanings that people attach to their lives through their experiences (Creswell, 2009). The qualitative research design was also suitable for this study as it assisted me to gather richer data by exploring the use of grounded conversations. This assisted me to capture comprehensive experiences from the perspective of the participants, rather than to conform to the words and categories chosen for them by others, as in quantitative research (O'Day & Killeen, 2002). My aim was to draw out and understand the behavioural conditions through the participant's perspective, through stories from participants that uncover any critical incidents and moments when individuals have challenged and modified their behaviour at work due to organisational culture. The qualitative design was very useful in this regard.

Below, I explore the methodological influences of the study. Also, in order to ground the study, I will discuss the location and context of the study, the participant size and the criteria and selection of participants that took part in the study.

4.3.1 Narrative inquiry as a methodology

This study adopted a feminist approach to research, with the specific objective to oppose traditional ways of conducting research in order to construct new knowledge. With this in mind, this study was qualitative in nature and drew on narrative inquiry where I used multiple participants (25). Below, I discuss narrative inquiry. In both instances, I will justify the methodological position this study adopted.

4.3.2 Relevance of narrative inquiry to the study

Narrative inquiry first emerged as a discipline from within the broader field of qualitative research in the early 20th century. It was first used by Connelly and Clandinin (1990) as a methodology to describe the personal stories of teachers in the public sector. As a growing form of research methodology in the fields of nursing, medicine, law, social work, counselling, teaching and organisational studies, narrative inquiry is gaining much acceptance and practice, even in fields that traditionally would not be aligned to this approach, such as human resource development (Clandinin, 2007). Its appropriateness to many social science fields is due to the manner in which narratives characterize the phenomena of human experience. The researcher employing the methodology, systematically gathers, analyses and represents people's stories as told by them. The methodology also illuminates the viewpoints of real people in real settings through the telling of their personal stories (Wang & Geale, 2015).

Since this study is concerned with identity and identity construction, this type of methodology is suitable, as identities develop through narratives (Wortham, 2001). Knowledge that is uncovered during the narration of stories brings about layers of understanding of a person, their culture and how they have changed over the years. Therefore, stories provide descriptions of identity construction and reconstruction that are influenced by social discourses. Narrative inquiry is not just the telling of stories in a rhetorical structure, but it looks at how stories are constructed, for whom and why, as well as the cultural discourses that it draws upon (Andrews, Squire & Tambokou, 2008). It is based firmly on how people come to understand and give

meaning to their lives through stories (Creswell, 2009). Bell (2003) stipulates that narrative inquiry regards the analytical examination of the underlying insights and assumptions inherent in the shaping of those stories. Moreover, the storytellers construct their stories to convey a perspective of an event, not necessarily to confirm what is already known (Wang & Geale, 2015). Thus, stories are constantly being restructured in the light of new events, because stories do not exist a vacuum but are shaped by personal and common narratives. Therefore, the purpose of narrative inquiry is to reveal the meanings of individuals' experiences, as opposed to objective, decontextualized truths.

Scholarly work that has relied on narrative inquire as a methodology investigates the lives of the participants by asking questions that will give the researcher a deeper understanding of particular aspects of their life experiences. It was also ideal for this type of study as it addressed complex and human centeredness issues, due to its capacity to record and retell those events that have been of the greatest influence on participants' lives (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Narrative inquiry also focuses on controversial, "real life" issues where little is known. Additionally, narratives play an important role when analysing identity making processes. For example, this study sought to highlight silences in narratives, with regards to sexuality in corporate workplaces and how sexuality is performed in corporate workplaces. Tahar (2013) argues that stories amplify voices that may have otherwise remained silent by communicating their realities to a larger audience. For many of the participants, this was the first time they had had an opportunity to tell corporate stories about their sexualities, in their own words.

Narrative approaches within narrative inquiry vary (Creswell, 2013). There are two types of narratives that can be utilised in research, exploratory and descriptive narrative inquiry. The exploratory method is used to explore a particular phenomenon. It is when narratives account for the reasons why certain things occur. Descriptive narratives are used to describe a phenomenon. As defined by Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 16), descriptive narratives are an "accurate description of the interpretive narrative accounts of either groups or individuals in order to establish sequence of events in their lives organisations". An exploratory narrative approach was used in this study due to the relatively under-researched area of sexuality in workplaces, specifically in the private sector and especially in the context of KwaZulu-Natal,

South Africa. This type of approach was appropriate to use, as it would best explore the experiences of sexual and gender non-normative employees. This type of approach was also carried throughout this study by using a data generation tool that would best suit the type of study, i.e., grounded conversations. I will elaborate on this method later on in the chapter.

Narratives are generally known as stories that include a temporal ordering of events and an effort to make something out of those events to render or to signify the experiences of people (Sandelowski, 1991). Bell (2003), in her study on environmental education in relation to a narrative method approach, explained further that narratives also refer to a wide variety of discursive practices, (for example, childhood recollections, societal and work fables, scientific explanations, television documentaries) and dimensions of understanding (for example, theories, ideologies, paradigms and normative frameworks). For the purposes of this particular study, narratives were limited to the spoken utterances of the participants. I did not distinguish, as Riessman (1993, p. 13) does, between "talk organized around consequential events" and other forms of discourse such as the question-and-answer exchanges typical of interviews. Rather, I treated all meaning-making efforts of each participant as part of her/his story.

Narrative inquiry also requires the researcher and the participant to construct stories together. Part of the co-constructing involves a participant and researcher research relationship. While this is explored in detail later in the chapter, I was interested in developing such a relationship to allow participants to open up about their stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990 p. 4). In order to achieve reciprocity, trust and rapport in the research relationship, I had to try to eliminate the "distance between self and the other" that Heshusius (1994) explores in his research. He mentions how such a relationship should not be based on distance between self and the other, but rather on knowing through active participation (Heshusius 1994, p.16-18). In so doing, I wanted to be actively involved in activities that participants got up to during their spare time. I wanted to attend social festivals and workshops where issues of sexuality, discrimination and work were openly discussed in an informal setting. In many ways, the narrative approach that I adopted in this study utilised ethnographic tools, in order to understand the participants better and also to be able to make meaning of the stories told

4.3.2.1 Data saturation in qualitative research.

Another important factor to consider in qualitative research, particularly using narrative inquiry as a methodology, is the issue of data saturation. Data saturation is the point where little new ground is covered or obtained from additional interviews in terms of new themes, new coding and ability to replicate the study (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006). Data saturation is important to reach when conducting research as not reaching saturation may have an effect on the quality of the study (Bowen, 2008; Kerr, Nixon & Wild, 2010). Therefore, data generation must be considered in terms of richness and thickness or quality and quantity, as stated by Dibley (2011), rather than the size of the sample (Burmeister & Aitken, 2012). Moreover, one can have a lot of thick data that is not rich; conversely, one can have rich data but not a lot of it. It is important as the researcher to strike a balance, which I have attempted to do in this particular study.

One of the ways in which saturation was reached in this study was through the large number of participants who gave diverse points based on their identification with "non-normative" genders and sexualities. Furthermore, the use of grounded conversations as a method that focuses on deep meaningful conversations also enhanced saturation of this study. Triangulation was not used as this study is qualitative in nature.

One of the challenges in reaching data saturation is the personal lens. Fields and Kafai (2009) stipulate that the personal lens is the biasness that the researcher has that they use in the study intentionally or unintentionally. It is for this reason that, as a researcher, one needs to discern the presence and nature of one's personal lens and to be able to gather and represent the experiences of participants (Dibley, 2011). Part of the personal lens I had to mitigate was my cultural background. Having been brought up to believe that heterosexuality was the only sexual identity one can identify with, could have potentially limited the study by affecting the saturation of the study. However, being aware of this enabled me to set this aside, so as to better hear and understand the experiences of others.

4.3.2.2 Shortfalls in using narrative inquiry

As with any research methodology, there are limitations and shortfalls to narrative inquiry research. The first limitations and one of the most cited are the issues of generalisability, reliability, and validity. However, for this particular study and with many who employ narrative inquiry as a methodology, being able to generalise the findings to a wider population is not an important goal to achieve. Rather, their focus is on dependability, confirmability and credibility. The second limitation is the authenticity of stories. This critique refers to how far the stories shared are a true reflection of the experiences of the participants. Fictional stories that are unfounded may limit the authenticity of the data gathered. What I was interested in in this study was the personal meanings attached to the stories, not if the stories were true or not.

While narrative inquiry may not be ideal for generalising to a wider population, it was fitting for this particular study, as the focus is to understand personal experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and 'finding meaning in the stories people use, tell and even live' (Ospina & Dodge, 2005, p.143).

Next, I will discuss the location, participant size, participant composition, criteria and selection of participants. The methods used to generate data will also be unpacked, namely grounded conversations. Following on, I will outline the strengths and weaknesses of using snowball as a recruitment strategy, making reference to previous studies exploring the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The section will conclude by exploring the ethical considerations observed in the collection of data in this particular study.

4.4 Location and context of the study

This study was located in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa, also known as KZN. The province is located in the east coast of the country, densely populated with an estimated

population size of 10.9 million in 2015.[11] Its capital city is Pietermaritzburg and its largest city is Durban. It is also the birthplace of many notable figures in South Africa's history, such as Albert Luthuli, who was the first black person outside Europe and America to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in the 1960s; Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the founder of the African National Congress (ANC) and South Africa's first black African lawyer; John Langalibalele Dube; Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the founder of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP); Anton Lembede, the founding president of the ANC Youth League; Bhambatha, a 19th-century Zulu chief who became an anti-apartheid icon and Jacob Zuma, the President of the Republic of South Africa at the time of the collection of data (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano, 2015).

Contextually, the reality of KZN drove the study to be focused within the province as opposed to the entire country. With a sizeable portion of the province regarded as rural and Zulu speaking, KwaZulu-Natal is known to be very conservative with deeply rooted beliefs in tradition. The context includes strong ideas of patriarchy, masculinity and heterosexuality, which are promoted by religion and social systems practised in many cultural ceremonies like *iLobolo*[12], *ukuthwala*,[13] virginity testing and polygamy (Ansell, 2001; Kheswa & Hoho, 2014). The imprints of the apartheid institutionalization have also shaped how we see workplaces today. White privilege has placed white men at the top of organisations, in particular those in the private sector. According to the 2015/2016 report by the Employment Equity Commission for South Africa, "whites are massively over-represented in the private sector, accounting for 72.4% of all top management positions[14]". The report continued to mention how white males are afforded higher levels of recruitment, promotion and training opportunities, thus contributing to the marginalisation of designated groups.

According to the latest Quarterly Labour Force Survey for the second quarter of 2017, released by Statistics South Africa, 9 617 000 jobs were reported in the formal non-agricultural sector.

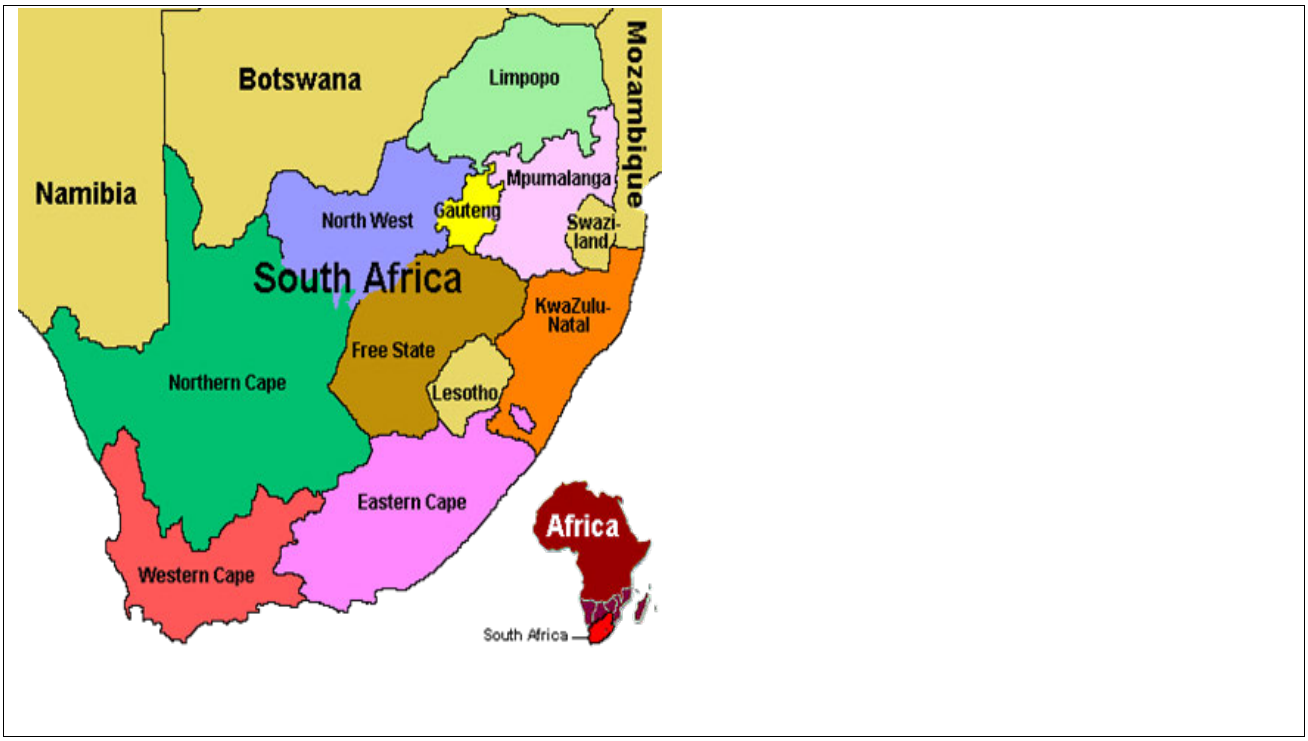
[11] https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022014.pdf Retrieved 11 July 2017
[12] iLobola is a practice associated with the provision of gifts, usually in the form of money or livestock, to the parents of a bride to be. The groom's family is in charge of providing these gifts after negotiation between the two families.
[13] Ukuthwala is considered the culturally legitimate abduction of a female with the intention of marrying her.
[14] https://businesstech.co.za/news/business/121632/these-4-graphs-will-change-your-thinking-on-employment-in-sa/ retrieved 20 July 2017

This shows a decline in 34 000 jobs reported in June 2016. The report also went on to indicate how tertiary industry employs the biggest share of women irrespective of the population group[15]. African and coloured women account for 18% and 20,2% of skilled occupations, whilst Asian/Indian and white women occupy 55,4% and 58,5% respectively[16]. However, since women make up just over half of the population, they remain relatively unrepresented in positions of authority and power. This is recognised by the Republic of South Africa's Constitution, which sets out gender equality as a founding principle.

Although the predominant goal of anti-discrimination legislation in the country is to provide workplace profiles that are representative of the demographics of the country, as well as to prevent discrimination, the pace of transformation is rather slow. I approach this study from a position that states that workplaces are shaped through discourses of heteronormativity that favour white middle-class men, patriarchy and male bodies, while making sexuality in the workplace invisible. I argue that corporate workplaces often lack the inclusivity required to make diversity part of the normative condition in workplaces.

[15] http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02113rdQuarter2017.pdf retrieved on 25 January 2018
[16] http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-04/Report-03-10-042014.pdf retrieved 27 January 2018

Figure 4.4 Map of South Africa



4.5 Participants' composition

Although a detailed table depicting the composition of participants will be presented later in the chapter, participants of the study comprised self-identified sexual and gender "non-normative" people. The total sample comprised 25 participants who claimed that they were 'out' in varying degrees at work. Fifteen participants reported that they had not disclosed their "non-normative" identity to anyone at work. The sample included 16 Africans, three Indians, four Whites and two Coloured employees. The age range was from 20 to 45 with a mean average of 31. By gender, the distribution was 68% male (17 individuals) and 32% female (eight individuals). Participants' occupations were a blend of white and pink-collar workers, all employed full time in private sector workplaces. White collar workers can be defined as professionals who generally work as office workers or occupy managerial positions. Whilst the definition of pink-collar has focused on work that has been dominated by women historically, research has shown that this definition has evolved over the years to encompass all positions that involve servicing other people (Tennery, 2012). For example, people who work as pink-collar workers are employed as secretaries, administrators, teachers, social workers, call centre agents, advertising and marketing personnel, accountants, psychologists,

health practitioners etc. I use these groupings with a clear understanding of the contested debates succeeding them. Nonetheless, I use these terms loosely to explain the types of occupations that participants held in order to give a full account of the participant distribution.

Participants came from a range of localities within the KwaZulu-Natal and covered the major cities (Pietermaritzburg and Durban), big towns (Richards Bay, Newcastle and Port Shepstone) and other smaller neighbouring areas like Mkhuze that are located in the north of the province. This allowed the study to compare contexts in relation to workplace experiences, thus allowing for deeper understanding of issues raised during sessions.

Figure 4.5 Map of KwaZulu-Natal

4.6 Participant size

This study was focused on sexual and gender "non-normative" employees employed in corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal. Holloway and Wheeler (2002) assert that participant size and methodology in qualitative research does not influence the importance or quality of the study. What is important are the stories told and not the number of participants taking part in the study. Several studies that focus on sexual and gender "non-normative" people and those that employ a narrative inquiry methodology generally include a small sample size (Cooper, 2006; Maple & Edwards, 2008; Rumens, 2008a; Scotland, 2012; Smith Osborn, 2007). These scholars concentrate on gathering very rich data from participants. However, it is important to ensure that the sample size is not too small, as one may miss key constituencies within the population, or the sample may contain too little diversity to explore the varying influences of different factors. A large sample size can also be challenging as it might be difficult to manage the quantity of the data generation and the depth of analysis that can be achieved (Richie *et al.,* 2008). According to Warren (2002, p, 99), for a qualitative interview study, the minimum number of interviewees required seems to be between twenty and thirty. From previous qualitative research studies on issues of "non-normative" sexualities, the consensus amongst researchers seems to lie between 20 and 50 participants for this type of study. Humphrey (1999) for example, interviewed 23 gay men and lesbian women in her study of openly gay men in the public sector, Shallenberger (1994) interviewed 12 gay professional men, Woods (1993) interviewed 70.

When considering the methodological influences of narrative inquiry, interviewing 25 participants is improbable. As mentioned above in the section on methodology, I outlined how I have not used a pure type of narrative inquiry. I approached this study fully aware that I was going into a relatively unknown terrain. From prior research, it is known that records of work experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are scarce in corporate workplaces in KZN. Therefore, in the hopes of pioneering this work and making an important contribution to the growing body of knowledge, I was interested in hearing as many voices as I could that would positively add to the study. This I believed would be accomplished by focusing on allowing many individuals who subscribed to sexual and gender "non-normative"

identities to be part of the study, so as to compile a comprehensive account of the experiences. I found that having a participant size of 25 assisted me in understanding a wide range of experiences across occupations within the private sector in KwaZulu-Natal.

4.7 Criteria and selection of participants

Like many studies conducted internationally and locally that explore issues of sexuality (Baker, 2014; Conley, Colgan *et al.*, 2007; Gates & Viggiani 2014; Msibi, 2012; Rumens, 2013), this study employed the purposive and the snowball sampling techniques to recruit potential participants. Purposive sampling is a non-probability technique when the researcher uses the ability to find participants who are willing to provide information on the study by virtue of knowledge and experience (Bernard, 2002). These participants will add valuable input that will assist in leading to a stronger understanding of the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees (Thorne, 2008, p. 90). This particular sampling technique was used, as proportionality is not the main focus of this study. A homogenous type of purposive technique was used because all participants share the same characteristics, which are outlined below:

1. Self-identifying as a sexual or gender "non-normative" individual.
2. Permanently employed in the private sector.
3. Must reside and work in KwaZulu-Natal.

The second strategy used to recruit potential participants was the snowball sampling technique. Arguably, snowball sampling is the most commonly used method in sampling qualitative research, when dealing with sensitive topics in various disciplines in the social sciences (Noy, 2008). This technique is useful for exploratory and sensitive studies where participants may be seen as "hidden" or "invisible" and hard to find (Rumens and Kerfoot, 2009). In South Africa, specifically, sexual and gender "non-normative" people are often unwilling to reveal their sexualities due to being stigmatized daily. This then required a recruitment strategy that would not put potential participants at risk of being violated. Snowball sampling technique entails identifying an initial volunteer from the desired group who refers the researcher to other volunteers and those referred participants also refer the researcher to other potential participants. The process continues until the desired participant size is met. Participants

sensitize volunteers about the study and are given the researcher's contact details to ensure that only interested individuals are approached.

My experience with regards to the sampling of appropriate participants was twofold. Firstly, I encountered some difficulty in distinctively demarcating the boundary between public and private sector. When asked, some participants stated that their organisations were privately owned however, after thorough investigation, were truly public-private partnerships. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) working paper (2009), the boundary can be determined by the basis of ownership of institutional units. Organisations that are owned and controlled by the government belong to the public sector. Furthermore, the working paper also stipulates that economic ownership is more important than majority ownership, hence the exclusive appropriateness. For the purpose of this study, organisations that are not public, i.e, government organisations, were considered private sector. This is in line with the definition supplied by Lazare (2009) that civil society or otherwise known as the third sector - the category in which NPOs and NGOs fall into – includes private sector organisations (Lazare, 2009). Therefore, civil society organisations like NGOs, NPOs and PPPs were considered private sector. When the contract of employment was concerned to determine permanent employment, I had to consider what the employment contract stated

Permanent employment was one of the criteria for potential participants to fulfil as I was interested in gathering a true reflection of the daily experiences of sexual and gender non-normative employees over time. Employees employed on a temporal basis may not have been employed long enough to be able to have experienced anything. Potential participants who had been employed for 2 years on a renewable contract were considered. Another reason why permanent employment was a criterion for participation was because the study focused on giving an understanding of diversity policies and human resource benefits (e.g., leave) that would have not been available for participants who are on contract basis, therefore limiting the information that a potential participant would be able to share.

Some participants were oblivious to the degree to which their organisations were government affiliated. For instance, I asked one of the potential participants about their understanding of the private sector and if their organisation fitted into this category. His response was:

"*I think its private, not too sure, I don't talk much to management*".

From this particular case I concluded that, other than his disinterest, he did not know the difference between private and public sector. Secondly, I had to confront issues of employment statuses with care, specifically with non-profit organisations (NPOs) and non-government organisations (NGOs). The nature of many NPOs and NGOs is contract based, due to available grants. Whilst employees may permanently serve the organisation, the contract of employment states otherwise. Since I had interviewed some participants who were employed in NGOs, I had to be vigilant in this regard. The private sector was the main focus in this study as many studies locally have been conducted in the public sector. This study is interested in understanding the complex daily experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative:" employees in corporate workplaces, which may be different than the findings in the public sector.

Engaging the snowball technique in this study was beneficial as it protected the identities of participants, as research has shown that sexual and gender "non-normative" people hesitate to come forward to participate in such studies due to fear and heterosexism (Noy, 2008). Moreover, using the snowball technique allowed participants who had already been interviewed to share their experiences with other potential participants. This I found very useful, as participants who had already been interviewed reassured others about how I deal with issues of confidentiality and anonymity, trust, interview style and other basic information about the study. It made participants eager and comfortable to invite others to the study. This I found was particularly important given my identity as a cisgender woman. As in the case of the first five participants that were interviewed, many were friends/acquaintances of the first participant who agreed to take part in the study, someone I knew personally**.** Furthermore, it also made the initial meeting with participants easier as they already had a good idea of what the study was all about. I was also aware that sharing of experiences had other implications –

that the participants were from the same corporate chain and therefore could contribute experiences that were not sufficiently diverse (see Goodson & Sikes, 2001). In order to circumvent this, I draw participants from other networks.

A key issue that emerged during the process of recruiting participants pertained to difficulties in securing adequate numbers of participants to take part in the study. Certain potential participants from those that met the criteria turned down my invitation to take part in the study, as they were afraid that someone from work would find out and expose them. When I investigated further, they mentioned how work colleagues had regularly made anti-gay jokes that centred on how local celebrities were stereotypically depicted being sexual and gender "non-normative". These potential participants expressed how they did not want to attract attention or be attached to this skewed idea. In a response to an article by Fred Khumalo, a local newspaper columnist, Pierre de Vos (2007) criticized the vacuity of celebrities in South Africa. He associated them with tired stereotypes about sexual and gender "non-normative" people. The piece states how "gayness" is associated with negative characteristics that confirm and perpetuate the existing prejudice in society against men who do not conform to the traditional gender stereotypes.

As a recruitment strategy, the snowball sampling technique has limitations, like all participant recruitment strategies. As in many non-probability techniques used in gathering data, the main concern is the issue of generalisation, in that the size of participants may not be representative of the larger population. This is due to the underrepresentation of certain sub-groups, such as cultural minorities and disabled people and over representation of another group. This concern has also been highlighted by Greene (2000a, cited in Fish, 2008), who states that research conducted on sexual and gender "non-normative" people is still conducted with overwhelmingly white, middle class, young able-bodied participants, most often urban, college students or well-educated people. This has not been the case in this particular study. Although a large portion of South Africa's population is African (86,81%[17]), this study comprised of a more diverse sample of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees that reflects the general characteristics of population in the province. This includes participants from different racial

[17] https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/5 retrieved 27 January 2018

and class backgrounds, different cities and towns in KwaZulu-Natal as well as different occupations in the private sector. Likewise, due to the focus being on understanding individual truths, generalisation of the findings to larger populations is not a central concern of this study.

In order to eliminate issues of biasness in the sampling of participants, I had to consider using different types of snowballing techniques. Snowball sampling includes three types of techniques, namely: linear, exponential non-discriminative as well as exponential discriminative. Linear sampling technique is a type of snowball sampling group that starts with only one participant and where the participant provides only one referral. The referral is recruited into the sample group and he/she also provides only one new referral. This pattern is continued until the sample group is fully formed. Exponential non-discriminative samples entail the first participant recruiting multiple referrals. Each new referral is explored until primary data from the full sample is sufficiently collected. An exponential discriminative sample includes the first participant providing multiple referrals, however, only one new participant is recruited among them. This study employed the linear snowball sample and exponential discriminative snowball sample. A linear snowball sample was used in the initial phase of the data generation stage to source the first group of participants. This pattern involved one participant providing only one referral that fulfilled the description. The new referral was recruited into the participant group and that potential participant also provided only one new referral. As the size of the participants started to approach saturation, the exponential discriminative snowball sample was used. In this pattern, participants gave multiple referrals, however, only one new subject was recruited from among them. This pattern intentionally avoided biasness. Once I had reached 25 participants, I was no longer receiving new data and no new themes. This is when data saturation was reached and that is how the participant size of 25 was determined.

Table 4.7 below presents the characteristics of all participants interviewed in the study. The names used in this table are pseudonyms. Pseudonyms chosen were randomly selected names that align with the race and gender of participants. Pseudonyms also adhere to the confidentiality process of protecting the identities of the participants.

Names	**Self-identified sexual identity**	**Race**	**Age**	**Gender**	**Location**	**Years of experience**	**Occupation**
Lwazi	Lesbian	African	23	Female	Durban	3	Administrator
Anele	Lesbian	African	44	Female	Port Shepstone	20	Human resource manager
Muzi	Gay	African	20	Male	Durban	2	Marketing intern
Sakhile	Gay	African	30	Male	Durban	5	Quantity surveyor
Thubelihle	Gay	African	38	Male	Durban	7	Software development Manager
Steven	Gay	Coloured	32	Male	Port Shepstone	10	Attorney
Mervynn	Gay	Indian	45	Male	Pietermaritzburg	23	Senior researcher
Siyabonga	Gay	African	23	Male	Durban	2	Intern property agent
Lungelo	Gay	African	30	Male	Newcastle	8	Human resource administrator
Melusi	Gay	African	29	Male	Newcastle	7	Advertising
Menzi	Bisexual	African	37	Male	Port Shepstone	9	Logistics consultant
Saziso	Gay	African	22	Male	Vryheid	3	Receptionist
Bert	Gay	White	30	Male	Durban	5	Insurance consultant
Azande	Lesbian	African	35	Female	Mkhuze	7	Finance
Londi	Bisexual	African	29	Female	Pietermaritzburg	5	Junior editor
Swelihle	Gay	African	25	Male	Durban	3	Marketing graduate
Leonard	Bisexual	Coloured	38	Male	Richards Bay	8	Pharmacist
Samantha	Lesbian	White	35	Female	Durban	5	Researcher
Tracy	Lesbian	White	32	Female	Durban	5	Public relations consultant

Abdool	Pansexual	Indian	40	Male	Ladysmith	17	Medical technician
Sbani	Gay	African	33	Male	Vryheid	7	Marketing manager
Zanele	Transexual	African	35	Female	Durban	6	Advertising
Eric	Bisexual	Indian	38	Male	Pietermaritzburg	3	Professional accountant
Mandisa	Lesbian	African	22	Female	Jozini	1	Finance officer
Jefferson	Bisexual	White	41	Male	Newcastle	15	Auditor

In the section below, I give a full account of the use of grounded conversations as a means of data generation. The section includes sharing my experience and positioning the complexities of my role and stance as the researcher.

4.8 Method of generating data: Grounded conversations

Due to the sensitive nature of this study, upholding ethical considerations whilst making participants feel comfortable enough to talk about their workplace experiences was imperative. Therefore, an appropriate data generation tool employed in this study had to be one that allowed for participants to open up and talk about their experiences without feeling intimidated by others. This tool had to be personal to allow for one-on-one contact, in order for the participant to feel safe enough to divulge sensitive information and incidents as well as to allow for rapport building. The most commonly used approach in narrative inquiry research is interviews. Narrative inquiry interviews differ from conventional interviews as they focus on a "conversation" between the researcher and participant in eliciting data. According to Goodson and Sikes (2001) these interviews are "grounded conversations" in that they are largely concerned with establishing and maintaining trust in the process of conversing. Grounded conversations form a central data gathering feature of this study. These conversations are semi-structured and informal in nature, which enables constant modifying in the light of the participants' responses, whilst probing interesting and important areas which may arise (Smith & Osborn, 2007), thus allowing the conversation to be steered by the participant and levelling the power inequalities between the participant and researcher

(Clandinin, 2006). Grounded conversations are flexible in style, which allows the participant to choose where they would like to conduct the interview, a place they feel comfortable enough to talk about their experiences. Participants were interviewed once and it was found that this was sufficient to achieve adequate depth.

4.8.1 Interview location for grounded conversations

Due to the sensitivity of the study, the location in which the grounded conversations took place was important. I was aware that conducting the interviews at the respective workplaces was not an option, because some had not disclosed their sexuality at work. According to Legard, Keegam and Ward (2002, p. 166), "the choice of venue for in-depth interviews should be left to the participant". The same applied in this study. Participants were given an opportunity to choose a location in which they were comfortable enough to talk about their experiences at work. Most of the venues in which participants chose to be interviewed were public places, like restaurants and coffee shops. One participant chose to be interviewed late in the afternoon in her office. She said she preferred to be interviewed there because she knew that none of her colleagues stay late to work. She also mentioned how she had disclosed her sexual identity to her manager, who too was a lesbian woman. Therefore, she felt safe and comfortable to be interviewed at work.

With interviewing in public places, I tried to avoid places that had high noise levels, as this would interfere with the recording process. Even if the participant chose a popular restaurant, I always insisted to sit in the quietest spot available.

4.8.2 Grounded conversations structure

Twenty-five grounded conversations were informally conducted. Guided by the study's objectives, I had three sections to each interview. These sections assisted me to guide the conversation but to still allow for other topics of conversations to emerge. Interviews started off with an introductory session. I introduced myself, the aims of the study and the general structure of the interview. I followed by asking the participants to sign the consent form giving

me consent to use the information shared in the interview for the study (Please refer to Appendix B for informed consent form). I also explained how information shared in the session was strictly confidential. Participants were reminded that they were allowed to withdraw from the study at any given time. Interviews were recorded, an issue that I explained during the introductory stage of the interview, at which time I also reassured participants that their identities were anonymous. Many participants did not have a problem with recording of the interviews; I also had assured confidentiality. What participants were concerned about was the possibility of their respective organisations being identified in my research. This I guaranteed was not going to happen.

Participants also shared biographical information. This was important to create contextual data as well as to create rapport. I also found this to assist in breaking the ice and minimising anxieties from both myself and the participants. This stage took the longest, as I was interested in making participants feel comfortable and in establishing trust. The second stage of the interview involved organisational life. I asked questions pertaining to experiences at work. Some of the questions included number of years of experience, organisational relationships, how one views their organisation, managing of sexual identity at work, organisational culture and agency. This stage also included questions on personal, more subjective experiences at work. The last section of the interviews was around policies and legislation. These questions were important to help me understand how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces and what participants knew about non-discriminatory legislation in the country, how that translates into organisational policies on diversity and what these documents meant for them as employees, in terms of providing protection from discrimination (please refer to Appendix E for the grounded conversation schedule that was used in this study).

Grounded conversations generally lasted between two to three hours long, with most lasting well over three hours. I found that the introductory stage of the interview took longer than anticipated. As much as it was acceptable due to the method employed in the study, I found that this stage was the one that participants enjoyed the most. It was less emotional and direct. The second and third stage of the interviews were a lot more serious, as we tackled very sensitive information based on the experiences that participants had had at work. One of the

challenges that I faced in these stages of the interview was participants' assumptions of what I wanted to hear as the researcher. Participants who did not suffer from direct forms of discrimination believed that their stories and experienced would add little value to my research. This I addressed by reassuring participants that I was interested in all stories. I also noticed that participants who were English second language speakers were very comfortable to speak both the vernacular (isiZulu, specifically) and English. In many cases, they used isiZulu to express themselves better, especially when describing workplace stories.

The use of grounded conversations allowed for intimate, yet flexible and causal engagement with participants regarding issues of sexuality and their experiences at work. Many participants felt that the interview did not feel like a "real" interview as we spoke extensively about many other things peripheral to the subject matter. As much as it may have not been the main intent of the interview, it allowed for rapport building, as well as provided me a better understanding of individual participants and why they experience workplaces the way they do. As mentioned prior in the chapter, a purely narrative inquiry methodology was not used in this study, which would have required me to have conducted multiple interview sessions per participant. Due to the professional demands on participants, which were restricting, one session was practical. However, more stories could have been shared by the participants.

The intimate work engagement mentioned in the above paragraph also led to blurred relationship lines between myself and the participants. Participants also required me to avail myself to be a counsellor and an advisor. Since I spent about two to three hours per participant interviewing, friendships beyond the study developed. There was one participant, Azande [18], who had a dispute with her employer. She would contact me regularly seeking advice on how to deal with the matter, seeing that I had a human resource background and dealt with dispute resolutions procedures regularly. The blurred relationship lines were also challenging in that one participant, in particular, expressed her romantic interest towards me. This made interviewing her very difficult as I knew her intentions of participating in the study were illegitimate. I unfortunately had to cut ties with her as continuing the interview would jeopardize the integrity of the study (Msibi, 2012). This was extremely disappointing as a

[18] The name used is a pseudonym

crucial voice of this participant, who was an openly lesbian woman, was not represented in the end.

As a "cisgender" woman, building rapport with participants was very important so as to not come in and make certain assumptions of what it is like to live in a sexual and gender "non-normative" world. For the purpose of this particular study, the term "cisgender" refers to individuals whose gender identity is the same as the sex they were assigned to at birth (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009)**.** I had to open myself up to opportunities to understand participants' lives in their totality – outside the workplace; thus the use of ethnographic tools. I attended professional forums and conferences as well as social events like same-sex Saturdays and enjoyed the exciting night life. I got to attend various exclusive clubs in which entry and welcome, at most times, was gained due to my assumed sexual "non-normative" identity. I made many friends with whom I still remain in contact.

Grounded conversations employed in this study allowed me to engage with deeply personal, private and possibly painful matters that involved a great deal of intimacy between the participant and myself. I had to be mindful about not interrupting my participants whilst we conversed, so as not to disrupt the opportunity for narratives to emerge naturally from conversations (Elliot & Smith, 2004). Building reciprocity was also an important aspect in the conversations as I would frequently be confronted by questions concerning my motivations in pursuing this type of study, hinting questions around my own sexuality. Justifying my interest in the study was seen by some participants as incomplete unless issues of my own sexual identification were addressed. The interest in gender and sexuality can make participants wonder why someone who isn't sexual or gender "non-normative" can be interested in this disciplinary area. This expectation is supported by an email discussion hosted by the *Lesbian and Gay Psychology Review* where Stuart Bell mentioned how "most people who study lesbian and gay psychology are lesbian, gay or bisexual" (Peel & Coyle, 2004, p. 54). Thus, answering questions around my sexual identification had to be strategically approached so as not to "establish a binary in which homosexuals become the "othered" object of investigation of heterosexuals" (Allen, 2015, p. 89). This does not mean however, that I do not believe in revealing my sexuality at any given time, but I am very conscious of the politics of naming

and the discriminatory practises attached to it. Instead, I shared about the development of my own sexuality as well my personal experiences as a professional human resource development practitioner and the type of things I have been exposed to when dealing with issues of diversity in the workplace. I also drew upon other commonalities with my participants during interviews, for example, being born in the same town, hobbies, favourite hangout spots, sharing of birthdays as well as educational background. This I found made the participants see me as friend and not so much as a researcher. It also made participants trust me more, as many declared how they had never narrated their stories to someone else. There were times where participants told very painful stories which I empathised with and sometimes very humorous ones where we shared a laugh. All of this made the research exercise more enjoyable and easier.

In the next paragraph, I intend to discuss the reflexivity that is essential, due to the use of narrative inquiry as a methodology. The next section will also briefly set out how I analysed the data gathered. This is explained further in the next chapter.

4.8 Reflexivity

Reflexivity involves being aware of the role that the researcher may have in the study. It is a complex act involving thinking of one's own experiences and questioning ways of doing things (Hibbert, Couplad & McIntosh, 2010). Macbeth (2001, p. 35) states that reflexivity is a "deconstructive exercise for locating the intersections of author, other, text and world, and for penetrating the representational exercise itself". Reflexivity has become a frequent focus in studies of a qualitative nature, especially in the fields of social sciences. It involves two key elements, interpretation and reflection (Alvesson & Skoldburg, 2000). Interpretation is influenced by the researcher's assumptions based on values, social, culture and political position. In contrast, *reflection* suggests looking inwardly as the researcher and observing one's own practices and how these may inform the study.

Objectivity in this study is not the main concern. Confirmed by the use of narrative inquiry as the methodology, the issue of being neutral in qualitative research is questionable. It is therefore important to declare biases and how it may influence the study (Yip, 2008, p.4). I

identify as a black, cisgender woman. Given my positionality, I do not claim to be objective, as my life experiences shape my own stories. While I may have experienced prejudice based on gender, age and race, my sexuality in the workplace has not been a target of discrimination. My experiences at work regarding my sexuality are different to that of the participants in the study. My sexuality is openly known at work as I can openly declare my sexuality and I can visibly display my sexuality as it is recognized at work. Although my particular narrative on sexuality emphasises a position of "privilege", I am sensitive to this difference and the stories shared by participants. In light of this, I am cautious in writing about the stories of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees by shying away from the ethical dilemma of translating these stories from the power of my identification. I provide unabridged, uncut and unromanticised stories as told by participants to illuminate daily experiences in corporate workplaces (Fine, 2003). In the quest to be as neutral as possible, I have had to challenge my own understandings of sexuality by engaging in spaces I would not have ordinarily entered. Submerging myself in the field unexpectedly left me emotionally overwhelmed and relatively vulnerable. I found myself often over-attached to the participants and the often, heart-breaking stories being told (Perry, Thurston, & Green, 2004). The use of narrative inquiry in the study was correct, in my view, in that the formulating of stories has a dual effect – such feelings did not disturb the process of data generation, but instead they enhanced it in that my position as a researcher was seen by participants to be that of trustworthiness and legitimate. I seek to express my effort in conducting myself in solidarity to the participants and their experiences. It is for this reason I wish to illuminate the voices and experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work to reform the corporate workplace in a way that accommodates all that.

The use of a reflexive approach was also used to address the imbalanced power relations within the researcher and participant relationship. Due to the sensitivity of the study, the use of reflexivity has allowed me to explore how the study has affected me personally, owing to the emotional element it has.

4.9 Ethical consideration

As for ethical considerations, I will draw from Trevino and Nelson's (2014) articulation of ethics as a moral commitment to human beings carried out in a compassionate, considerate and heartfelt way. Moreover, ethics in narrative research is a set of responsibilities for the dignity, privacy and well-being of the participants. Ethics were upheld within the study based on several steps. Firstly, I applied for ethical clearance from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics committee (HSSREC) in the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Applying for ethical clearance is outlined as essential when research involves human subjects. Full ethical clearance for this study was granted and can be located in Appendix A of this document. Secondly, the participants were selected (refer to section 4.7 on criteria and selection of participants) and invited to take part in the study. Participants were at liberty to choose the location and time in which they would like for the grounded conversations to take place. This was important so as to ensure that participants felt comfortable enough to share their stories. Coercing participants into meeting me in places I had chosen for the grounded conversations to take place would be a breach of ethics, which I avoided. Thirdly, before commencing with the grounded conversations, participants were provided with an informed consent form to acknowledge and endorse. According to Tinker and Coomber (2004), the key to informed consent is to provide participants with information about the study so that they can consider themselves informed enough to make a decision of whether or not to take part.

Participants were fully informed about the research study, including the details of the grounded conversations (the duration and the structure of the questions that will be asked; see Appendix E). Questions and points of clarity were welcomed and answered accordingly. I also advised participants that their participation in the study is voluntary and that they may withdraw from the interview at any given stage without any explanation or adverse consequences. Part of the informed consent form is the acknowledgement of the conversations to be audio-recorded for transcription at the end of the session. In this particular study, all invited participants provided full consent to form part of the study and allowed me to audio record all the data. Lastly, I made every effort to ensure confidentiality of the audio recordings. I found that transcribing the data myself helped put participants at ease as some were concerned about who else would have access to recordings. This is because in some cases participants mistakenly mentioned

the names of their workplaces, theirs and their counterparts' names. Anonymity of participants was also ensured through the usage of pseudonyms. It was important that I attached fictional names to participants, so as to maintain the human element behind the stories, which is key in qualitative research.

4.9.1 Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, validity and reliability are not understood or addressed the same way as in quantitative research. It is for this particular reason that this study will instead explore trustworthiness. Trustworthiness includes issues of credibility, dependability and conformability. These are discussed below in relation to the research methodology of the study.

4.9.1.1 Credibility

Shenton (2004) describes credibility as how congruent the findings are with realities of the participants. This is one of the most important issues to be addressed, so as to ensure trustworthiness in any study. This study undertook three ways to ensure credibility. Firstly, according to Shenton (2004), credibility can be maintained by using accepted methods that are well established in qualitative research in order to generate data that can answer the research questions of the study. For this study, I used grounded conversations as a data generation tool, which is often used in feminist work. The choice of using grounded conversations adhered to the sensitive nature of the study, which required me to be considerate and focus on rapport building to ensure trust and reciprocity, so as to allow participants to be relaxed and comfortable to share their stories. Credibility was also maintained in this study by using appropriate methods of recruiting participants that were unbiased; hence the reason why I opted to use different types of snowballing techniques. Secondly, this study ensured credibility through data saturation. In order to make sure that the quality of the study was not affected, data saturation was reached through the methodology and data generation tool that was employed. To reach saturation, a large number of participants participated in the study in order to provide multiple views on the questions asked so as to give rich and meaningful data. Another way in which detailed and multi-layered data was generated was through the longevity

of the grounded conversations (1-2 hours). Fourthly, this study also maintained credibility by upholding ethics by allowing participants to withdraw from the study if they so wish to ensure that the data generation sessions involved only those who were genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer data freely. Lastly, credibility was ensured through member checking. According to Anney (2014), member checks is a strategy that involves establishing structural corroboration or coherence that includes identifying any conflict or inconsistencies. This was done by probing during grounded conversation, as well as after transcription, to verify if the interpreted data was a true reflection of the answers provided. Member checking also includes participants outlining inconsistencies in the transcripts (Schwandt et al., 2007), however, for this particular study, none was identified.

4.9.1.2 Dependability

Dependability involves participants' evaluation of the findings, interpretation and recommendations of the study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Korstjens & Moser, 2017). This is to make sure that the data that is captured is supported by participants. For this study, there were three ways in which dependability was ensured. Firstly, dependability was established by providing a full description of the methodological plan employed, so as to help the reader have a clear understanding of the motivation and rational of my choices. The usage of narrative inquiry as a methodology informed the data generation tool (including the recruitment of participants) as well as the choice to analyse and interpret data thematically. Using methods that work together enhances the process of inquiry, which, for this study, is to illuminate the voices of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and their realities in corporate workplaces. Secondly, I also found that talking through my methodological plans for the study with other researchers in the field, as well as those who were experienced narrative inquirers, assisted me tremendously. It encouraged me to be more reflexive as well as identify areas I had omitted in order to strengthen the study (see Bitsch, 2005). Finally, submerging myself in spaces where participants spent their leisure time helped me better understand them and their experiences in the workplace. It also enhanced the analysis process of my study in that I was able to interpret and attach appropriate meanings to their workplace experiences, since organisations operate in the wider societal contexts that perpetuate heterosexism. It also

enhanced trust between me and participants, which was crucial for the sensitive nature of this study (Schwandt, Lincoln & Guba, 2007)

4.9.1.3 Confirmability

Confirmability is the demonstrated by the researcher in their ability to ensure that the data represented is the participants' responses and not the researcher's biases or viewpoints (Polit & Beck, 2012). Here, steps must be taken to help ensure as far as possible that the findings of the study are the result of the experiences and ideas of the participants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher. Complete objectivity within qualitative research cannot be confirmed. Furthermore, in narrative inquiry, subjectivity is acknowledged as the narratives of the participants are co-constructed with the researcher (Clandinin, 2000). However, to decrease subjectivity within the study, I conducted a member check as well as transcribed the data in the way it was expressed by the participants. Thus, responses from the participants were raw and uncut. I also listened to the audio recordings several times before transcribing. Once I had completed the transcription, I listened to the audio recordings again and checked it against what I had captured in the transcripts. Although this exercise elongated the process, it was beneficial to maintain trustworthiness.

4.10 Data analysis

De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2011) describe data analysis in qualitative research as a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of data. It involves a process of reducing the volume of raw information by identifying significant patterns (De Vos *et al.,* 2011). In other words, analysis in qualitative research is intended to provide an explanation or interpretation of the data collected. Data in this study was generated using grounded conversations. To analyse the data, I employed thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting data (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). There are many different ways to approach thematic analysis (e.g., Alhojailan, 2012; Javadi & Zarea, 2016). Ordinarily, when using narrative inquiry, it is expected that, to analyse the stories, a

narrative analysis is used. I chose not to use a narrative analysis because this study is not purely drawn from narrative inquiry. I also chose not to use this type of analysis because of the large number of participants, which would have required me to state in detail the participants' stories, which would have been a great amount of work.

For this study, I used Braun & Clarke's (2006) 6-step framework. This framework is well known and widely used in the field of social sciences as it offers a clear and usable framework for doing thematic analysis. The 6-step framework was appropriate for this study because of its flexible properties. Since the framework is a universal tool that is not limited to methodology, it can be altered accordingly. This type of analysis was also appropriate for this study because it made reducing data into major analytical themes easier. Another motivation for using the 6-step framework is how Braun and Clarke distinguish between top-down and bottom-up, in terms of having a theoretical or deductive influence to analysing. This study referred to the research questions and theoretical as key features of the analysis. Therefore, a more top-down rather than bottom-up approach was adopted.

Braun & Clarke's (2006) framework includes the following 6-steps:
Step 1: Become familiar with the data
Step 2: Generate initial codes
Step 3: Search for themes
Step 4: Review themes
Step 5: Define themes
Step 6: Write-up.

The first step in the framework involves repeatedly reading the transcripts until they become familiar. At this stage, reading while making notes can also be helpful in capturing initial thoughts that can be useful in creating themes. In this step of the analysis, I familiarised myself with the data collected by listening to the audio recordings after each interview that took place. Once recordings were transcribed verbatim, I made notes on each transcript of some merging themes and ideas from the data. All audio recordings were personally transcribed to safeguard the participant's identities, due to the sensitive information discussed during the interviews. I

also chose to transcribe to familiarize myself with the data and to refine the interview guide to improve the interview process as I go along with the interviews. Although it was a very time-consuming process, it was important to give me an opportunity to think about the interviews and the meanings attached to the stories.

Generating of initial codes is the second step in the framework. This step includes organising the data in a way that will be meaningful. This involves a process like "scaffolding" (Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2008), where data is reduction by coding. Coding is a process of reducing data into semantic of meaning so that relationships can be formed with various data sources (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). It is reducing data by assigning a short word or phrase to capture or symbolise a portion of data (Saldana, 2009). As mentioned in the above paragraph, I used a top-down approach to analysing, therefore, codes were based on the research questions and theoretical frameworks. I began to code the data by first highlighting possible answers to the research questions from the transcripts, while thinking about how the theories can be used to create more codes. Once that was done, data was reduced further by establishing themes. This is step 3 in the framework. These themes were coded with the use of NVivo8 analytical software. As I read the data further, more codes were added and some amalgamated to become more refined themes. Themes can be defined as patterns that are significant or interesting about the data and/or research question. As Braun and Clarke (2006) explain, a theme is characterised by its significance. At the end of this step, codes derived in step 2 had been joined, separated and organised into broader themes that loosely responded to the research questions. After data was coded by the software and key themes and common patterns from the data were identified, semantic relationships were drawn from the data and interpreted. Data was displayed through graphs, tables and narrative profiles. Displaying the data in various ways assisted in giving an in-depth understanding of the data. The data represented in graphs and tables included further explanations of the data interpretation, which was advantageous as it attached more meaning to the data (Patton, 2002).

The 4th step involved reviewing the themes. It is necessary in this step to "review, modify and develop the preliminary themes that were identified in Step 3" (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). The researcher checks if the themes are relevant to answering the questions that the study

poses. I checked if all the themes were coherent but distinct from each other. I also checked if all the data under each theme supported the theme in which it was meant.

Defining the themes is step 5. At this point, themes are refined for the last time. This stage involves the researcher to "identify the 'essence' of what each theme is about" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). Step 6 of the framework is the write up. This step involves reporting the findings. The findings were based on themes and concepts derived from the theoretical framework, the narratives and other relevant studies discussed in the literature review chapter.

4.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodological considerations of the study. This was achieved by looking at the philosophical framework of interpretivism, its appropriateness to this study and how it relates to the methodology. Furthermore, I have highlighted the rationale of employing narrative inquiry as a methodology in this study. The chapter also explored the data generation methods, which included grounded conversation as well as documents that were used to gain deeper as understanding of the experiences of participants in corporate workplaces. I discussed in detail the ethical considerations and reflexivity and other personal contributions I brought to the study. I ended the chapter by giving a full account of how the data gathered would be analysed and presented.

The next chapter focuses on the findings derived from the data gathered. This chapter will be further divided into subsections that will focus on each theme.

CHAPTER 5

Navigating heteronormativity in the workplace

5.1 Introduction to the findings

In Chapter 3, I explored the methodological underpinnings of this study, whilst Chapter 4 focused on the theoretical framework. In this chapter, I capture the findings that provide an understanding on how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal. The findings explored in this chapter were drawn from grounded conversations involving twenty-five (25) sexual and gender "non-normative" employees employed in multiple corporate organisations in KwaZulu-Natal. Since the methodology employed in this study was influenced by narrative inquiry which included one interview session per participant. Grounded conversations lasted between 2-3 hours each and took place in each participant's place of choosing. In many instances, participants chose to be interviewed in locations away from their workplaces.

Braun & Clarke's (2006) 6-step thematic analysis framework was used to analyse the data derived from the interviews. This thematic framework is best known in the field of social sciences for its flexible properties which allows for the framework to be used in such a way that fits the demands of the study. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the 6-step thematic analysis includes the following steps:
Step 1: Become familiar with the data
Step 2: Generate initial codes
Step 3: Search for themes
Step 4: Review themes
Step 5: Define themes
Step 6: Write-up.

Once the data was read and understood, I personally transcribed the audio recordings. Step 2 of the process involved scaffolding, which I achieved by highlighting possible answers to the

research questions from the transcripts. The research questions that this study aims to answer are the following:

1. What are the workplace experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South African corporate workplaces?
2. Why do sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience the corporate workplace the way they do?
3. What is the role of national anti-discrimination legislation and policies in shaping the experiences of the selected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces?

In answering the research questions above, I searched for themes within the data, which was done by using NVivo8 analytical software. The following themes and subthemes were gathered from the data in order to answer the research questions of the study:

Themes	Sub-themes
Navigating heteronormativity in the workplace	• ***Self-regulating appearance: "Toning down" appearance to suppress association of stigmatized sexual identity*** • ***Policing and regulating of "normative" femininity and masculinity: Clothing and hairstyles.*** • ***Reinforcing heteronormativity: "Normalising" sexuality in gay friendly workplaces***
Conservative workplace culture and subtle discriminatory regimes in corporate workplaces	• ***A brief overview of systematic influence of societal culture on the organisation***

	• ***Non-disclosure of sexual identities at work: homophobic workplace culture*** • ***Experiences of subtle forms of discrimination***
The inadequacy of anti-discriminatory legislation in promoting diversity inclusion in corporate workplaces	• ***Brief look at equality under anti-discriminatory legislation in the context of South Africa*** • ***Silences in the form of backlash: Participants' reasons for not reporting incidents of heterosexist behaviour and discrimination in the workplace*** • ***Corporate workplace approach to diversity: "Empty-shell" diversity management policies*** • ***The impact of anti-discrimination legislation on individuals: inability to reduce heterosexist attitudes towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees***

I found that using Nvivo8 was beneficial to managing large amounts of data as well as facilitating accurate and reliable findings. For instance, when I wanted to find out descriptive information concerning my participants, I could retrieve that information with ease. I also found Nvivo8 helpful when I wanted to view multiple participants' expressions at once for the purpose of making comparisons.

The findings will be addressed in three separate but connected chapters. Each chapter will focus on one theme and sub-themes. This chapter (**Chapter 5**) explores heteronormativity in

the workplace. I outline the ways in which participants negotiate the dominate discourse of heteronormativity, whereby heterosexuality is normalized and enforced through processes and daily interactions among employees. The chapter also looks at the common identity negotiation strategies that are employed by participants in order to self-regulate their behaviour and to be deemed to be "appropriate", respectable and professional employees. The chapter also focuses on other regulating mechanisms imposed on sexual and gender "non-normative" employees through the policing of masculinity and femininity in the workplace, particularly the way that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees express themselves. Whilst organisational policies govern behaviour in terms of appearance, such policies appeared to be biased and based on heterosexually stereotypical behaviour. Therefore, appearances and hairstyles outside the heteronormative gaze are considered deviant by colleagues and were policed in order to secure heterosexuality. The chapter ends by unpacking the manifestations of heteronormativity in workplaces that participants considered inclusive. Here, I found that that informal workplace interactions and social events privilege heterosexuality. Therefore, to gain acceptance and to potentially reduce stigma, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees "normalize" their sexual identity by releasing information about their private life that is aligned to the dominant heterosexual discourse. Sharing information on family, marriage and parenting using traditional and expected gender roles enable participants to be embraced by their heterosexual counterparts. It also influences social change by allowing colleagues to ask questions that they may have ordinarily been afraid to ask. Participants shared that "normalizing" their sexual identity at work allows them to achieve credibility as a professional and therefore gain a sense of "normalcy" within the workplace context.

Chapter 6, which is a continuation of this chapter (Chapter 5) examines workplace culture. Guided by the running theme suggested in Chapter 5, that workplaces are heavily heteronormative, I also maintain that the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are centred around workplace culture. In this chapter, I argue that workplace culture is conservative and promotes the silencing of issues of sexuality and "non-normative" gender identities at work. The conservative culture also prevents certain identity issues from being openly discussed at work. Issues pertaining to race, gender and religion are

prioritized and protected in terms of discrimination in many corporate workplaces. However, issues of sexuality and "non-normative" gender identities are sidelined and unwelcomed in the workplace. The focus on other aspects of diversity suggests that those aspects are seen as more relevant, valued and importance in the context of the workplace, therefore, issues of sexuality and "non-normative" gender identities are not accepted in the workplace, thus adding to the invisibility of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. The chapter also explores how corporate workplaces are perceived as sexuality-free zones. It was suggested that participants perceived their sexual and "non-normative" gender identities as a private concern that should not enter the workplace. Here, issues of power in the relation to the dominant heterocentric culture are explored and how they impact on the daily experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in terms of open sexual expression at work. I also look at how viewing sexuality as a private concern prevents change in the workplace, therefore reinforcing heteronormativity and adding to the spiral of silence.

The chapter will also look at the sources of discrimination in South Africa. Here, I highlight that discrimination does not only occur through individual psychological processes but also through political, societal and more structural process outside of the workplace. Since workplaces do not operate in silos, such processes influence the workplace culture and reinforce the systematic heterosexism within the workplace. The findings of the study suggested that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience subtle discrimination in the form of microaggressions. This is experienced through the usage of inappropriate pronouns as jokes, heterosexist name-calling, the media's influence on the stereotypical ideas of sexual and gender "non-normative" identities, as well as social isolation and rejection.

Chapter 7, which builds from the previous two chapters, explores how corporate workplaces have responded to anti-discriminatory legislation to prevent discrimination. Here, the chapter explores the extent to which the anti-discriminatory legislation and diversity management policies have impacted on the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. The findings of the study suggested that the experiences of microaggressions at work continue despite the policing of anti-discrimination legislation and diversity management polices at work. Although the Constitution of South Africa and other anti-discriminatory

legislation in the country are clear in their position of providing protection from discrimination on the basis of their "sexual orientation", it has been demonstrated in this study that sexual and gender non-normative employees are not protected from microaggressions that occur at work.

The chapter also delves into issues of reporting incidents of prejudice and heterosexist behaviour. Participants indicated that they refrain from reporting incentives of discrimination to their managers because it is generally met with resistance. It was suggested that this was due to the negative attitudes that managers have towards their sexuality, which they openly declared at work. Resistance is in the form of neutralising, avoiding and deferring to attend to reported cases, which suggests that managers do not attach importance to issues of discrimination based on sexuality and diversity overall in the workplace. Avoiding the tedious and daunting process of filing a formal claim is another reason for the reluctance in reporting acts of discrimination by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Therefore, microaggression towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees is maintained. The chapter explores the approach organisations take insofar as diversity is concerned. Here, the findings suggest that diversity is confronted purely administratively, which impacts on the development of diversity management policies. Moreover, participants indicated that diversity management policies are "empty shells" in that the information captured in the policies is insignificant in dealing with the daily challenges with regards to microaggressions experienced at work. It was suggested that policies cannot change the attitudes heterosexual colleagues have towards sexual and gender "non-normative" people. This is due to the ways in which people have been socialised, with the help of institutions like religion and culture that reinforce stigma and maintain heteronormativity.

Below, I move further into the chapter by discussing in detail the first presentation of the analysis.

5.2 Introduction

I launch this chapter by profiling corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal. I argue that workplaces reproduce the "heterosexual/homosexual" binary that positions heterosexuality as a normative standard by which sexual and gender "non-normative" sexualities are judged and pejoratively labelled. For some time now, queer theorists have demonstrated that Western culture privileges certain ways of doing sexuality and gender over others. According to Shugart, (2008), heterosexuality is seen as the only proper way of doing sexuality in contemporary western culture. The findings of the chapter suggest the same in the South African context. This casts a veil over the presence of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, who are also an important constituency of the labour market. It is for this reason that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees have to negotiate heteronormativity in their everyday working lives. Queer theory (1990/2006) and Acker's (2006a) "inequality regimes" were used to interrogate daily notions of heteronormativity and how minimal dimensions of inequality are embedded in interactions between employees at work. In order to do this, I will specifically engage with Acker's "points of entry as a way into the ongoing flow of actions and interactions" (2006b, p. 196) to illuminate the presence of hetero-normativity within private employment spaces. Acker uses various points of entry, which include the general requirements of work, recruitment and hiring, wage setting and supervisory practices and informal interactions while 'doing the work' (Acker, 2006a, 2006b). This section below will focus on the informal interaction while "doing work" point of entry, to highlight the processes and practices that produced sexual and gender inequalities in the workplace.

In the section below, I will unpack heteronormativity in the workplace. I start by highlighting the ways in which participants cope in hostile organisations. This I do by outlining the participants' main navigational strategy, as drawn from the interviews, to respond to the dominant culture in the workplace. These strategies largely centre on self-regulation. The section also unpacks how self-regulation is also imposed by the policing of "normative" femininity and masculinity through clothing and hairstyles. I conclude the chapter by highlighting the manifestations of heteronormativity in workplaces that are considered inclusive or "gay-friendly". Here I outline how participants who adopted an *implicitly out* and *explicitly out* identity management strategy shared information about themselves within the

dominate heteronormative discourse to gain acceptance as well as potentially reduce heterosexism in the workplace.

5.3 Coping strategies at work

The findings of the study suggest that the daily experiences of participants are shaped by a dominant heteronormative culture at work. We also gather from this section that organisations are gendered and sexual spaces. This then leads us to understand that organisations are spaces where both sexuality and gender are produced and mediated. With this in mind, I outline that role of clothing in determining the production of genders and sexualities in the workplace. Below, I unpack this further.

5.3.1 *Self-regulating appearance: "Toning down" appearance to suppress association of stigmatized sexual identity*

In this study, six (6) out of the twenty-five (25) participants use *covering* as an identity management tool. From these participants, three (3) were vocal about the fact that they "tone down" stereotypical norms for clothing choice and make-up for those who subscribe to sexual and gender "non-normative" identities. Participants used the word "toning down" as a way in which to suppress, monitor and limit fluid expression of sexuality, so as to limit the association with their stigmatized identity and, in that way, fit into the stringent confines of corporate workplace culture. Engaging in different self-regulating acts like that of "toning down" was likened to *covering* behaviours, which involve the downplaying of markers that are typically associated with a "non-normative" sexual identity (Yoshino, 2006). In this study, such markers were linked to dress and appearance as key signifiers of sexuality and gender (Skidmore, 1999), which were used to hide their stigmatised sexual identities.

Eric suggested that he "tones down" on his choice of clothing, so that he does not draw attention to himself. In this statement, Eric is vigilant even in the way he articulates himself.

> **Eric**: Yes, I do have to tone down, but also for me that's a personal thing. I'm the kind of gay person who is kind of in between so I'm not a queen or very flamboyant and out there but at the same time I am not… I don't look straight so I'm very in between and I'm very comfortable being in between. So, at work I love wearing my normal work clothes, my formal clothes that kind of thing. I love being well-groomed but yes sometimes you do have to tone it down, I mean I don't tone it down a lot I'm very comfortable at work but not to that point where I can speak about anything. But I am comfortable at work but within limits. Like I don't what to draw attention either, so I avoid that type of thing.
>
> [White man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Thubelihle stated that he understands the consequences of his sexuality. Therefore, he "tones down" on how he does his manicure so that he appears respectable at work. Thubelihle highlights that corporate attire is not "colourful" or "flamboyant".

> **Thubelihle**: High school changed me a bit because that's when I knew what it means to be *istabane* and from there I knew that you must try to make sure that I tone myself down but don't lose yourself. In corporate I don't have that thing that I'm going to go to work flamboyant because I'm not a flamboyant person; I don't go out in all the colours of the rainbow and dresses like, oh my gosh, when you walk into a building people stare. I can't. That's just me. I don't like colours so I will just go in dressed corporate because I'd like for you to respect me and I'd like to show respect in terms of, when I come into your space, I represent a respectable person. But I must be honest and say I do sometimes tone it down on doing my nails. I like bright and long nails, I know that it will be too much and might not be professional of me to have them done at work so I refrain from having that type of manicure done. I rather keep it for the weekend and the holidays.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Although Menzi was not referring to himself at first, he also shared a story about his friend. He indicated that the way in which his friend would normally dress would not be seen as "appropriate" for the workplace, hence the effort she had to go through to modify herself.

According to Butler (2004), heteronormativity appears in presentation of self through appropriate dress for work. The segment also shows how an outward expression of sexuality limits sexual and gender "non-normative" people from obtaining and securing employment. Later, Menzi draws from his personal experience, where he indicates that clothing is a form of expression and aligned to sexuality. This is why Menzi monitors his appearance by constantly reminding himself not to wear his shirt with the top buttons undone to avoid "talk and suspicions" and assuming his "non-normative" sexual identity.

> **Menzi**: A friend of mine just got a job recently, she went for an interview in Jo'burg and she was dressed like as herself. Didn't get the job. A few months down the line, she applied here in Durban and when she went for the interview she had to borrow her girlfriend's clothes – she is a lady, she was a woman – make-up and all. Her girlfriend did her make-up and whatever. And when she went for an interview and was successful. She is still working there.
> **Lungile:** Does she have to keep up with this impression of herself?
> **Menzi**: She has to, which I'm sure is not comfortable for her at all. I don't know how I would do that.
> **Lungile**: Do what?
> **Menzi**: Change myself, although we all do it, everyone, I do too. but not to this extent.
> **Lungile**: To what extent do you do it?
> **Menzi**: I don't know how bisexual people are stereotyped to be but I like wearing my shirt with the two to three top buttons out, like not to button them up. Some people will not see that as a problem, but others might see that and it may raise eyebrows. I try to avoid talk and suspicions so when I remember I don't do it at work.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "bisexual"]

What can be gathered from the above statements is that participants perceive corporate workplaces as heteronormative spaces. Part of navigating oneself in the workplace also means being unnoticed as sexual and gender "non-normative". While participants felt that they had the right to exist at work, they did not want to "flaunt" their sexuality at work (Reingardė, 2010). Dress and appearance are argued to be one of the ways in which a "non-normative" sexual or gender identity is constituted (Holiday, 2001). However, participants in this study stated that they could not fully be themselves at work, thus employing self-regulating measures

so that they do not appear readably sexual and gender "non-normative". According to Foucault (1977), the panopticon is a conscious-building concept of a prison where power is exercised through surveillance and monitoring of behaviour to discipline a person into subjugation. The statements above also suggest that, in order for participants to survive in dominant heteronormative workplace cultures, visibility management strategies should be used. These findings are consistent with a study conducted by Dewaele, Van Houtte, Cox and Vincke (2013) on visibility management by youth. The authors found that youth engaged in various regulation acts that required constant effort in adapting to the environment, which was very tiring and energy-consuming. The same was found in Menzi and Eric's statement where they had to make conscious efforts of refraining from any symbolic reference that could be associated with their stigmatised sexual identities.

Participants also understood that disassociating themselves from their sexual identity was important; they assumed sexuality had an impact on competence and credibility which participants could not run the risk of losing. Engaging in constant self-regulation is also perceived as constructing a "respectable" sexual identity (Rudoe, 2010). Here, censoring information and the visible attributes of self that may be stigmatised is seen as a step towards self-integrity (Meyer, 2003). The professional norms and workplace socialisation that demonstrate heteronormative assumptions put pressure on sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to downplay their sexual and gender identities. Issues of professionalism were introduced in Thubelihle's statement, where he mentioned that, to be a respected professional, one has to eliminate any form of "symbols" associated with a sexual and gender "non-normative" identity (Brown & Diale, 2017). Sexuality is aligned to dress as a form of expression. This was seen in Menzi's statement, when he describes how he likes to wear his shirt. It also suggests that self-identifying as "bisexual" was more connected to style and dress then to his sexual identity. He perceives that wearing his shirt the way he described in the statement above communicates a message about his sexual identity (see Magwaza, 2001). The same was found in a study conducted by Msibi (2012) on young African men in KwaZulu-Natal, where he found that the "idea of gayness was more relevant to style than identity" (p. 256). Thus, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees undergo self-policing and scrutiny of expression (Goodwatch, 2005). Due to sexuality and professionality being linked,

participants described reserving their creativity for the weekends, outside of the workplace, where they have more freedom to express their sexuality easily (Francis & Brown, 2017; Rumens & Kerfoot, 2009; Skidmore, 1999; McGinley, 2007; Wood & Lucas, 1993). This suggests that respectfulness is associated with heterosexuality. His statement also touches on the issue of the culture in corporate workplaces. Thembelihle makes reference to culture at work not being a place that has room for creativity, flamboyance or colourfulness. Here, we see that he assigns the very constructs of culture as reserved, dull and uniform, implying that there is only one way of "doing" gender and sexuality, which is fixed and prescriptive, while other orientation reflects merely a poor imitation (Butler, 2004). In turn, binaries between heterosexuality and all other forms of sexuality are created, along with a false sense of naturalness for heterosexuality and an assumption of abnormality for any other form of sexuality. Therefore, this is a context that maintains heteronormativity.

5.4 Policing and regulating of "normative" femininity and masculinity: Clothing and hairstyles.

Another way to ensure that heteronormativity is maintained in the workplace is through the policing of femininity and masculinity. Participants shared how managers and supervisors police masculine and feminine behaviour at work. Appropriateness in appearance is aligned to traditional gender norms, which are closely monitored. From the statements below, it can be seen that, while public scrutiny is unwelcome, at times these marching orders have to be obeyed so that they do not lose their jobs (see Clark & Turner, 2007). The section below also highlights the beginning of issues of power exerted by senior members of staff. The theory of gendered organisations used in this study reminds us that inequality is also found in the very constructs of organisations. Organisations are organised around hierarchical principles, meaning that most workers have a manager or line manager who can control and discipline them but who is not in law their employer (see Chapter 7) and thus do not have the power to terminate their employment. The complex network of power produces patterns of gender and sexuality to maintain heteronormativity. Hairstyles as well as dress in many ways can be a marker of identity. Therefore, falling short of traditional gender roles and expectations function as implied "non-normative" sexual and gender identity. Moreover, acting feminine as a boy,

or masculine as a girl, is often culturally disassociated and, therefore can be assumed to signify a sexual and gender "non-normative" identity. Therefore, masculinity and femininity are sexualised and demand heterosexual desires and behaviours.

Lwazi shared that uniform day is very difficult for her because she is not allowed to wear pants as she desired. She stated that her manager will threaten to fire her if she doesn't comply. To avoid this, she has to resort to unethical practices.

> **Lwazi**: It was in Overport and the problems I used to have with that lady, well she used to be on my case all the time because she'd ask me why am I wearing a man's clothes even when ordering – because they had uniforms there – when I had to place my order she said I have to wear a dress if I don't wear that dress I will lose the job so I'm not adhering to policy now. We had a problem and, on those days, every time. I remember, if it's uniform day I'd go to my doctor and say I am sick. He'd write a sick note, every time.
> **Lungile:** what would the letter say?
> **Lwazi**: Just sick. Make a sick note whatever. He'd come up with a plan.
> **Lungile**: Ok, just so that you avoid coming to work and wear something you are not comfortable in?
> **Lwazi:** Yes. So that doctor has been there for me even to date. Even now, if I have problem, I'm like, write it down for me. He's an old man now. But yeah, he helped me with that. So I used to have that problem… uniforms and things like that …
>
> **[**African woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

Through the policing of appearance and maintaining social control, participants shared how hairstyles are also closely monitored. The findings of the study suggested that certain hairstyles are considered feminine and others masculine. Women and men who choose to wear their hair in ways that contradict traditional gender roles are labelled inappropriate and reprimanded as it assumes a "non-normative" sexual identity that is stigmatised and fails to keep heteronormativity in check.

Londi shared how she experiences "problems" at work, due to how she chooses to wear her hair. She shared how she was told that her bald head made her look like a man, which is discouraged. This is because being bald does not demonstrate a feminine identity.

> **Londi**: I love my work, I love what I do but there are so, you see there is a lot changing in the workplace, you have to look a certain way to be taken seriously. As much as I don't want people to see me differently, I am a lesbian and I can't change that, but I have to always be careful that I don't lose myself but changing, so that I can conform to the rules and the demands of the job. Take for instance, the issues with my hair, for example. I have short hair. At one stage I had no hair, bald I tell you. I loved it. But I had a problem at work about it, that I look like a boy. Also, apparently in the olden days, if you were bald as a woman, it meant that you were a prostitute or something like that, so they made me grow it, at least to this height where it is now.
> **Lungile**: And how do you feel about your hair now? Do you like your new look?
> **Londi**: Its ok, its only hair really, I'm just making an example. I wouldn't grow it longer than this though
> **Lungile**: Why not?
> **Londi**: Because it's not me, even my friends would look at me differently. It would be weird
> **Lungile**: Which friends are you referring to, work friends?
> **Londi**: no, my other butch lesbian friends.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "bisexual"]

Like Londi, Saziso also shared how he is constrained due to being under surveillance at work. He mentioned that his supervisor finds that some of his hairstyles were inappropriate for work because they were "too out there". This is because dyeing of hair is associated with femininity, which is perceived as "inappropriate" behaviour for men in the corporate world.

> **Saziso**… sometimes you have to explain and teach people about sexuality without making it personal. They haven't asked but I think they know that I'm gay.
> **Lungile**: How do you think they know?

> **Saziso**: I don't know, the way I dress my hair and things that, when you look at me, you can see I'm gay
> **Lungile**: How is your hair? how is the way that you dress?
> **Saziso**: It's about the styles I choose to go with. I don't do the typical fade (type of hairstyle) or whatever guys do, I can be very experimental, dye it blond or cut it a specific way. Like here or leave it here or whatever, it's just that I am an employee, which sometimes limits me because my supervisor always says that sometimes my hairstyles are not appropriate for work, she says they're too out there.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

The findings of the study suggest that participants' appearance is seen as instruments that demonstrate femininity and masculinity. Where participants expressed themselves contrary to traditional gender roles, social control and labelling are used to maintain heteronormativity. At the core of experiences of discrimination by participants is managers' and supervisors' insistence on traditional gender conformity. According to Levi (2008), gendered appearance signs pervade everyday life. As appearance is not constructed in a vacuum, appearance reflects society's accepted and stereotypical expectation of how men and women should look like (ILO, 2016). Skidmore (1999 p. 512) indicates that "Pictograms on toilet doors depict men and women wearing pants and dresses, respectively, relying on the cultural knowledge of dress". This also includes assumptions about gender and sexuality and majoritarian norms. As such, outlier by reason of gender or sexuality is punishable (Brower & Jones, 2013). Furthermore, society's understanding of sexual and gender "non-normative" people is that they contravene traditional hegemonic gender norms by cross-gender identity performances. This is displayed by exhibiting atypical behaviour that is traditionally associated with the "opposite" sex (Brewer, 2011). The statements above highlight that there was a constant conflation of gender and sexuality, to the extent that it is often presumed that participants who self-identify as "lesbians" and "gay" desire to be the opposite sex. Terms within sexual and gender "non-normative" subcultures have been seen to be organising principles in sexual relating. For instance, ascribed masculine ("Butch") and feminine ("Femme") expressions to those who

self-identify as “lesbian”, come with specific traits and behaviours, including that of appearance. In South Africa, those who identify this way play up to these stereotypes, bringing together performances of staged masculine and feminine behaviour and subversion of gender roles (see Kheswa, 2005). Whilst such notions are flawed, employers continue to police “normative” femininity and masculinity deviance in order to secure heterosexuality at work (see Segal, 2006). Moreover, the monitoring of appearance by managers and supervisors serves to display a certain protected image that encourages and maintains heterosexist norms (Trautner & Kwan, 2010). Such an image is associated with heteronormativity. Although appearance rules based on organisational policies appear to be neutral, they may have a detrimental effect on sexual and gender “non-normative” employees. This is because they are based on heterosexual stereotypes and norms for what femininity and masculinity are meant to look like, compelling men and women to display traditional “appropriate” gendered behavioural norms that restrict the freedom of sexual expression by sexual and gender “non-normative” employees (Wilkinson and Pearson, 2009).

5.5 Reinforcing heteronormativity: “Normalising” sexuality in “gay- friendly” workplaces

What was also found in the study is that a small group of participants regarded their workplaces as relatively inclusive, in relation to sexuality. Predominantly, these participants shared that they felt their workplaces were inclusive because they could be “open” about their sexuality at work and felt that they were “normal” to some extent. Three participants who were forthright in labelling their organisations as “gay-friendly” shared that they didn’t have to hide their sexuality at work. Instead, they indicated that they had to consciously position their sexual identity within the heteronormative disposition. This was achieved by participants sharing information about their private life in order to find commonality with their heterosexual counterparts. Participants attached gender “normative” issues in an attempt to ‘normalise’ their sexual and gender “non-normative” identity at work.

Lwazi discussed that she actively talks about the struggles she has endures of being a single, professional mother. She mentioned that talking about these issues that she knows other women at work can relate to, has helped to “normalise” her sexuality at work.

Lwazi: At the end of the day, you can never be very sure that people are on your side. One minute they are understanding and open towards me and other time it's back to office gossip. But I try and talk about issues that I know I share with other women and that's to talk about my child. Motherhood is one topic I have seen makes me them see that I am not as different to them as they think. I talk about issues about being a single parent and struggles of having to juggle the professional life and the home, which I know most of us as women share. I also answer their questions about lesbianism because I want them to know that being a lesbian is not the only thing that defines me but there are other elements of me as a person that matter too.

[African woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

Samantha also commented on how she shared pictures of her wedding day to her female colleagues at work, which, she said, "helped a lot to strengthen the working relationship".

Samantha: So I recently got married...
Lungile: Congratulations
Samantha: Thank you, so we had a small wedding, not many of my colleagues were invited but when I got back to work, I made it a point to show pictures of the wedding to those who I work with who couldn't come. I think people wanted to see how we handled the traditional parts of a wedding ceremony. Like who wore the suit and who got to wear the white dress. In our instance there were certain traditional things that we kept in our wedding because they were close to our heart and we wanted them. Also, I'm the more feminine one in our marriage, I know you wouldn't be able to tell [laugh] I do wear dresses and make up. My wife has never worn a dress; she is very masculine in looks. In terms of personality, we are both quite matched. It's so silly to say someone has to wear the dress and someone has to wear the pants because we don't want to. But she always pictured herself in a suit and I always pictured myself in a wedding dress, so we did that. I must say, coming back to work was very interesting, I was faced with a lot of questions from some and others were really happy for me, especially the women at work. They complimented on my dress, the décor, the cake and all the "girly" things about weddings which was nice. It helped a lot to strengthen the working relationship.

[White woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

While inclusive work events like “bring-your-family-to-work day” are built on heterosexual family arrangements. Siyabonga indicated that he attends those events nonetheless, so as to normalize his sexual identity amongst his colleagues.

> **Lungile:** Would you consider your workplace very acceptive and inclusive in terms of sexuality and gender non-normative identities?
> **Siyabonga**: mmh, yes and no. The organisation tries a lot to shame, it’s not always that gloomy. They try to have events that unite us as colleagues so that we can see each other in a different light, that way to somehow change the way we think about each other. You can’t be understood by everyone, but it doesn’t mean you have to stop trying. I also don’t want to be a “party-pooper” if you know what I mean. I remember we had this “bring your family to work” thing. It’s a good initiative for people to get loose and bring their families to work. So, people bring their husbands, wives and kids which is the ideal family situation. it was daunting for me, but it was important for me to attend because already they know that I’m gay, so I wanted them to see my life and that we are fun people. So, I bought my boyfriend at the time and my sister’s two kids. Yoh! We had so much fun. We played all the games and my nephew even won one of the races. It was also wasn’t as awkward for us to interact with some of my colleagues, not all because I still have those who will never change, but there were those that came to greet us and have a chat. So yeah, it was a good thing that the organisation did.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as “gay”]

Some corporate workplaces have mirrored the dramatic political and social changes within the country insofar as issues of sexuality and diversity are concerned. Although hostile and “safe” work environments still remain, there is a new type of workplace culture that has emerged that is referred to as “gay-friendly’’. According to Seidman (2002, p. 10) “gay-friendly work settings attempt to eradicate homophobia and heterosexism”. While “gay-friendly” organisations are considered to be progressive in nature, sexual and gender “non-normative” employees reported challenges in so far as inclusivity is concerned, especially if aspects of social identities that are stigmatised are visible within the workplace. Participants who openly share their stigmatised social identities are accepted at work if they position it in a heteronormative discourse. This was achieved by “normalising” their sexual identities, which

in turn reinforces the superiority of heterosexuality in the workplace (Atkinson & DePalma, 2008; Ferfolja & Hopkins, 2013; Jackson, 2006). The study found that participants who employ the *implicitly out* or the *explicitly out* identity management strategies have to exhibit alikeness to conventional gender roles, conservative politics and middle class values to normalise their sexual identities and to encourage social change at work to reduce stigma (Williams, Giuffre & Dellinger, 2009). Participants felt that emphasizing familiarities and likeness to heterosexual colleagues makes them to be seen not only as sexualised beings, but as "normal" people. Normalisation was achieved through dominant traditional heterosexual discourses of commitment through marriage, family and parenting using conventional gender roles. Not only did this help to potentially change the perception of what others thought of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, it also helped to strengthen their working relationships and potentially attached credibility to their identities as professionals (see Creed & Scully, 2000; Peel, 2002). The above paragraphs also suggest that participants "normalise" their sexualities to educate colleagues on sexuality. Lwazi and Samantha do this by sharing personal stories and by using common ground themes to effectively reduce fear, erasing stigma and enhance empathy. Talking about being a mother and the challenges and joys thereof places Lwazi in a traditionally "appropriate" gender identity for a woman, which enables others to embrace her. Heteronormalizing also affords participants with greater confidence, as suggested by Siyabonga's statement. His statement also indicates that heterosexuality is privileged, even in workplaces that are considered inclusive. Whilst South Africa has made important and necessary developments in its equality legislation to recognise diverse families through legalising same-sex marriages, the heterosexual nuclear family arrangement continues to be privileged and protected in the workplace (see Peterson, 2013). However, by Siyabonga bringing his partner, niece and nephew to a work event, he forefronted a commonly held positionality that is socially esteemed and celebrated. The recognisable and "safe" discourse of family enables others to see him as "normal", which endorses heteronormativity.

5.6 Conclusion

The commencement of this chapter discussed and introduced the analysis section of the study. I outlined the steps used to analyse data as well as a short synopsis of each analysis chapter,

focusing on the interconnection between each chapter. The chapter highlighted that corporate workplaces are heterosexualised spaces and homophobic. Despite the greater visibility of sexual and gender non-normative people in popular culture, as well as in the workplace, there is still the mainstreaming of the traditional and the "other". I found that participants use monitoring strategies like "toning down" certain stigmatised aspects of their sexual identity at work in order to navigate heteronormativity, therefore maintaining the public/private divide. To reinforce this, participants use self-regulating strategies, specifically with regards to appearance. Participants shared that the ways in which they dress and choose to wear their hair is different to how they would do so outside of the workplace. Others indicated that the ways in which they present themselves at work is so to preserve their level of professionalism, which was something that participants hold at a high regard. Through the help of queer theory, it becomes clear how heteronormativity routinely insists that sexuality is categorized and controlled (Butler, 1990; Halperin, 1995; Warner, 1993). Participants shared how femininity and masculinity were brought under surveillance in order to keep heteronormativity in check. Lastly, I looked at how participants used "normalising" as a way to gain acceptance and credibility as professionals who have a sexual and gender "non-normative" identity. This was seen through the daily interactions with colleagues as well as informal practices within the workplace that also perpetuate heteronormativity, even in workplaces that are deemed inclusive or "gay-friendly". The findings indicate that participants selectively release private information about themselves that is aligned to the dominant heterosexual discourse. Arguably, while this may reap positive social benefits for participants, it suggests that heterosexuality is the only form of sexuality that can be regarded as credible and acceptable within the workplace. In this chapter, I argue that the dominant discourse within the workplace enables and maintains heterosexist norms. Furthermore, the recourse to 'normality', which is judged against a norm of heterosexual behaviour, highlights how the aspects of sameness and difference are inter-dependent. Not only does this render the invisibility of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, it reifies and perpetuates heteronormativity in the workplace.

The next chapter focuses on discriminatory regimes in the workplace. I present findings on experiences of subtle discrimination through heterosexism and silences at work, both at an individual and an institutional level.

CHAPTER 6

Conservative workplace culture and subtle discriminatory regimes in corporate workplaces

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explored how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees navigate heteronormative workplaces. In that chapter, I argued that heteronormativity within corporate workplaces influences the ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience work. I extend the work presented in the previous chapter by focusing on the workplace culture. This is because workplace culture came out strongly during the analysis process as a central issue impacting on workplace experiences. This chapter explores how the conservative culture within corporate workplaces silences issues of sexuality through prejudicing and subtly discriminating against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. This is due to the absence of the explicit inclusion of sexuality in diversity management policies and practices, rendering sexual and gender "non-normative" employees invisible and therefore, maintaining the culture of silence (Morrison & Milliken, 2000; Bell *et al*, 2011).

Before I delve into the details of the findings of the study, it is important that I unpack culture and how it influences the day-to-day activities in the workplace. Throughout the study, I found that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are stigmatized societally, which also influences how they are perceived at work. According to Hofstede (1980), culture at a societal level greatly affects the culture at work. Issues of oppression in South Africa have proven to be operational, not only at a macro, social, intergroup level, but also at the individual, psychological and intrapsychic levels (Francis & Reygan, 2016). Therefore, organisations do not exist in vacuums but rather operate in specific societal contexts that reinforce the systematic heterosexism that is pervasive in the culture of organisations (Francis 2012; 2017). Below, I briefly explore how the attitudes and behaviours exerted by colleagues towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees is an extension of a hostile and homophobic South African society, thus perpetuating sexual prejudice and heterosexist behaviour through the silencing of "non-normative" sexual and gender identities.

6.2 *A brief overview of systematic influence of societal culture on the organisation*

People are influenced by the norms, values and beliefs of their cultures and society. Here social structures dictate the roles performed based on whether one is born male or female. Both sex and gender are known to adhere to a male/female binary that identifies people as either male or female, presenting the construction of the "normative" sexual and gender binary arrangement (Dietert & Dentice, 2009). This binary thinking about sexuality and gender becomes entrenched in social institutions that start in the home with the family, extending to schools and even into the workplace (see West & Zimmerman, 1987). Scholars have argued that the stigmatization and marginalization of "non-normative" sexuality and gender identities are based on the misconception that "non-normative" sexual and gender identity is unAfrican (see Epprecht, 2013; Gunkel, 2010). Such false assumptions also contribute to view that "non-normative" sexuality and gender identities are alien and foreign to South Africa's society (Reddy, 2002). This, therefore, exacerbates homophobic and violent behaviours towards sexual and gender "non-normative" people (Reddy, 2002; Msibi, 2011; Tati, 2009). Despite a progressive South African Constitution and other affirming anti-discriminatory legislation, sexual and gender "non-normative" people experience discrimination in South Africa. Corporate workplaces are no different. According to Hofstede and Minkov (2010), one may think of organisations as systems that function within the larger context in which they exist. Therefore, culture at a societal level is reinforced at an organisational level.

Below I present the findings of the study. I argue that, due to the conservative workplace culture that perpetuates heteronormativity, subtle discrimination against sexual and gender "non-normative employees" is maintained. I also present in this chapter that the subtle discrimination experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees is in the form of sexual prejudices and heterosexist behaviour by colleagues that is expressed verbally as well as symbolically through organisational practices. These practices are largely deeply hidden messages that stigmatize and marginalize sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work.

The chapter starts off by focusing on the reasons for non-disclosure of sexual identities at work. I focus on the homophobic work culture, which silences sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Next, I outline how symbolic silences within the workplace maintain and normalise subtle discrimination because issues of sexuality are not prioritised at work. The chapter also looks at how participants are afraid to openly disclose their "non-normative" sexual identities at work due to the negative consequences they would experience if they did. As a result, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees create separate private and public identities, because of the view that a "non-normative" sexual identity is not compatible with being a "professional" in the workplace. The next section of the chapter focuses on subtle discrimination. I outline the various ways in which participants experience subtle discrimination in the workplace.

6. 3 Non-disclosure of sexual identities at work: Homophobic workplace culture

From the data derived in this study, I noted that participants used silence as a form of protection at a professional level. Institutionally, symbolic silences were seen through the exclusion of issues of sexuality in workplace diversity management policies and training sessions. The fostering of diversity within the various workplaces in which participants work also impacted on the ways in which a sexual "non-normative" identity is managed. As previously stated, the study revealed that, within the twenty-five (25) participants, four (4) participants employed a *passing* strategy while six (6) participants used *Covering* as identity management strategies, another eight (8) were *implicitly out* and seven (7) participants were *explicitly out*. Here, it can be understood that a majority of the participants use safety-making and concealment-oriented strategies as opposed to risk-taking and revealing-oriented strategies. Moreover, from the participants who choose more safety-making and concealment strategies, *covering* was the strategy used the most to shield "non-normative" sexual identities. This reflects the homophobic corporate workplace culture, where sexual and gender "non-normative" employees need to protect themselves from the negative consequences of their stigmatized identities. I am aware that there may be other personal reasons for non-disclosure, however, considering how important presentation of self is at work, sexual and gender "non-normative" employee need to face decisions on how best to present themselves in a way that will minimize

negative reactions from colleagues. Furthermore, the chapter will present evidence on how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees perceive their workplaces as spaces that accept discrimination and therefore, as a way of coping, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees decide to conceal their concealable identity traits (see stigma theory by Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). While there are arguments that support the criticality of disclosure at work (Badgett, 2001; Dankmeijier, 1993; Day & Schoeman, 2000; Ferfolja, 2007; Griffin, 1992; Neary, 2012; Rasmussen, 2004; Rostosky & Riggle, 2002; Russell, Seif & Tuong, 2001; Watson, Whelson & Russell, 2015), there are also those that do not support the necessity of disclosure (Cain, 1991). However, it is important to explore reasons for non-disclosure, so as to understand the complex daily realities of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces (Croteau & Hedstrom, 1993; Croteau & von Destinon, 1994).

6.3.1 Reasons for non-disclosure: Fear of negative consequences from colleagues

I found that the participants who have not disclosed their sexual identities at work (used covering and passing strategies) shared how they actively negotiate their sexual identities so that their private and professional lives are not congruent. Scholars have found various reasons why sexual and gender "non-normative" people do not disclose their sexual identities to others. One overarching reason sexual and gender "non-normative" employees do not disclose their sexual identities is to avoid stigmatizing reactions and rejections (Benoit & Koken, 2012; Dodge, Daly, Huyton & Sanders, 2012; Malebranche, Arriola, Jenkins, Dauria, & Patel, 2010). Therefore, individuals who recognize that they may run the threat of being stigmatized for revealing their "non-normative" sexual identities might engage in defensive strategies such as information control, *covering* and *passing* to avoid stigmatization. For participants in this study, reasons were varied. Steven shared that the reason he had not disclosed his "non-normative" sexual identity at work was because he was afraid of the negative reactions from his colleagues. He also suggested repeatedly that people are individuals with their own thoughts and feelings towards issues of "non-normative" sexual and gender identities. This indicates that individuals may hold contrary ideas on issues of sexual and gender "non-normative" identities, even within inclusive workplaces. Furthermore, strong personal

convictions based on culture and religious beliefs can also influence how individuals may react to disclosure.

> **Steven**: Okay, so one of the biggest fears is always how are people going to take it. I work at a law firm that specialises in human rights and constitutional law so I know –
> **Lungile**: What do you know?
> **Steven:** Well that they are clued up on people's rights, LGBTI rights, women's rights, gender rights. They clued up. They are fighting these matters in court every day.
> **Lungile:** So why are you worried about how they take it?
> **Steven**: The reason I'm worried is because I know I'm not going to get fired or anything like that; the reason is because, at the end of the day, people are people. People are individuals. Yes, we are part of an organisation, but people are individuals. They go home they have their different lives… religious, some are very cultural, some are very traditional, so we might all meet in the office and we might be happy and hunky dory, but people still have their own preferences we just come together for the sake of work. So, if I say, 'hi I'm gay, I met a guy on the weekend', I don't know how people are going to take that. I can't assume that because we are all at this beautiful office that accepts everybody or is supposed to accept everybody, I can't assume that those individuals will also be the same. So, I think, for me, I think everybody is different.
>
> [White man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Bert also mentioned that he is afraid that his colleagues may gossip and say bad comments about him if he discloses his sexuality at work. Therefore, he chooses not to.

> **Bert**: I don't see a need because I'm not close friends with any of the guys I am working with. For me it's just going to work and come back home. I don't visit them on weekends, nothing.
> **Lungile**: Why is that? Have you experienced any incidents of homophobic attacks and name-calling anything at work?
> **Bert**: I think my attitude at work also changes a bit. Everything changes when I'm there.
> **Lungile**: How so?
> **Bert**: The way I do things. The way I speak – I sound like a black guy. I try to be more straight.

> **Lungile**: That's very interesting, that you try to be more straight. Why do you think you have to try to be straight at work?
> **Bert**: I don't want them to know, because, once they know, they will gossip and say all these bad things and stories.
>
> [White man who self-identifies as "gay"]

From the above-mentioned comments, Bert and Steven have based their reasons for non-disclosure on their fear of the negative reactions they would experience should they decide to disclose their "non-normative" sexual identities at work. The same was found in the work by Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, (2007), who indicate that fear of negative repercussions influences the disclosure of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Moreover, Croteau (1996), Friskopp and Silverstein (1995) and Woods (1993) also found that sexual and gender "non-normative" people do not disclose their sexual identities at work due to the fear of negative consequences of disclosure. During his interview, Bert mentioned that he adopts a *passing* identity management strategy in order to hide his stigmatised identity, however it is noted that passing as "normal" creates more anxiety (Goffman, 1974; Loftin, 2007). Furthermore, according to Kimmel (1994, p. 127), subscribing to a sexual and gender "non-normative" identity disrupts the concept of hegemonic masculinity and brings into question the term, a 'real' man. Hence, Bert distances himself from his heterosexual colleagues so that he is not questioned about his "non-normative" sexuality (see Segal, 2007, p. 115). The findings also suggest that fear of negative reactions affects disclosure and how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces. Accordingly, fear may be due to work-related attitudes that may lead to psychological distress and decreased job performance, even in the absence of actual discrimination (Bowen & Blackmon, 2003; Clair, Beatty & MacLean, 2005; Rumens, 2012)

In Steven's passage, he indicated that people have different views of a "non-normative" sexual identity based on culture, religion and tradition. In South Africa, there is a prevailing, false understanding that being sexual and gender "non-normative" is unAfrican, inhuman and devastating for African countries (Reddy, 2001). It has also become a tradition in some African countries that very opinionated people as well as presidents are publicly homophobic. Religion

also plays a vital role in influencing people's perception of a "non-normative" sexual identity. Many religious organisations maintain that being sexual and gender "non-normative" is morally wrong (see Robinson, 1999) and dirty and infectious (Platt & Lenzen, 2013). Religion is a predominant heteronormative institution within the workplace that influences the work culture and attitudes of colleagues, therefore, further influencing the decision of non-disclosure.

6.3.2 Perceiving sexuality as a private concern: Incompatibility of the "professional" corporate workplace

Another reason why participants did not disclosure their "non-normative" sexual identities at work was due to sexuality seen as a private concern. The findings of the study suggested that participants felt that their sexuality was a private issue that should not enter the workplace. Many felt that corporate workplaces should be sexually free zones, where their sexuality is left at home. However, I argue that organisations are highly sexualized spaces and displayed through dress, humour and flirtation (Woods, 1993). Additionally, I also highlight that this goes beyond issues of sexuality exclusively but also include gender issues as well. The same findings were suggested in a study conducted by Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger (2009) and Shallenberger (1994), who found that men who self-identified as "gay" tried to make clear distinctions between their private and working life. The same was found in this particular study.

Sakhile discussed how he perceives issues of sexuality must be engaged outside of working hours. Implying that sexuality is a private issue.

> **Sakhile**: … You know, as much as they have noticed that I don't talk much about my private life, they suspect something. I see it all the time, I'm just waiting for someone to ask me. [laughs]
> **Lungile**: If someone were to ask would you share?
> **Sakhile**: They won't.
> **Lungile**: Why not? Why are you so certain?
> **Sakhile**: There needs to be the right time and place to ask. You can't just ask out of the blue. It would have to be after hours where I can talk about my personal life.

[African man who self-identifies as “gay”]

Reasons for separating the private and the working life were also based on personal reasons which were based on conservative ideas of what should be discussed at work. Menzi indicated that he only entertains questions about his sexuality outside of work because he is “old school”.

> **Lungile**: Have you disclosed to anyone your sexuality at work?
> **Menzi**: No, not actually. no
> **Lungile**: What does that mean?
> **Menzi**: [laughs] no I haven’t
> **Lungile**: Why haven’t you? Do you think it’s important that you disclose?
> **Menzi**: I’m from the old school and talking about partners and stuff at work has never been something that I was taught or that I do. It may be because of the demand at work we are always busy and there is no time. I don’t ask people about their partners at work, I don’t expect anyone to ask me too.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as “gay”]

Samantha also shared how she is open and comfortable talking about her sexuality in a social setting away from the workplace due to the nature of her work which she explained required her to be a “professional”.

> **Samantha**: With my colleagues yes. Amy does come to visit and she has met everyone here. They know her. The nature of our offices is that we have industry experts as consultants so that makes it more difficult because there are so many people that you don’t know. So twice a year we go to Cape Town for a conference and then we end up getting a flight that only comes back at 9 at night so we all sit at the airport and drink together. I don’t have a problem talking about it because I know I’m very much a professional at work but I don’t really want to know everything about your personal life. But if we are in a social setting we will talk about our lives and it’s not a bad thing.
>
> [White woman who self-identifies as “lesbian”]

Keeping one's sexuality private highlights the power of the dominant heterocentric culture within corporate workplaces which limits the possibility of alternative discourses (Foucault, 1977; Gray, 2013; Reingardė, 2010), such as the important fact that one carries with them all their identities into the workplace. As Butler (1990: 17) asserts, "the heterosexualization of desire requires and institutes the production of discrete and asymmetrical oppositions between "feminine" and "masculine", where these are understood as expressive attributes of "male" and "female"". This then limits sexual and gender "non-normative" employees as they do not fit into the rigid "normative" heterosexual model as well as the binary gender divisions and often feel therefore that they cannot bring themselves into the workplace (Butler, 1997). The challenge with keeping sexuality private is that it does not encourage change but it maintains and reinforces heteronormativity as the regime of "normality" (Priola *et al*., 2018; Wallis and VanEvery, 2000). Moreover, restricting open and honest discussions that are essential to organisational improvement due to the perceived isolation and fear, causing what Noelle-Neumann (1991) calls the "spiral of silence" (Bowen & Blackmon, 2003), appears to be the prevailing culture in private South African employment spaces. Sakhile's sexual identity being discussed "after hours" confirms that he perceives the workplace as an asexual realm (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Hall, 1989; Priola *et al*., 2018) where issues of sexuality are irrelevant to work processes and the organisational discourse (see Woods, 1993).

The comments also suggest that there is a link between professionalism and masculinity. This then demonstrates that, in order for employees to be seen as professional, participants need to adopt masculine traits (Bruni& Gherardi, 2001; Whitehead, 2002). Here, professional identity is seen as a form of "work orientation" that desexualises Samantha and subscribes to the dominant heteronormative culture (Deverall, 2001). This also appeared in the comments above in the traditional and conservative ideas based on Zulu culture. Issues considered controversial, like that in the area of sexuality, go against the implicit standards about appropriate roles that men must enact to be seen as masculine. This is because Zulu masculinity means being heterosexual and resonating strongly with patriarchy (Ratele, 2006; Rudwick, 2011; Ngubane-Mokiwa & Chisale, 2019). This also intersects with race. According to hooks (2004a), black manhood is shaped by multiple social systems, including race, gender, culture, sexuality and social class among others. Therefore, all must correlate. This is not to suggest that black people

are more homophobic. Rather, it entails that cultural and institutional traits, across race, intersect to produce normative ideals on masculinity, thus promoting heteronormativity. Furthermore, conservative societal attitudes also have the potential to both enable and constrain sexual identities (Carlse, 2018). Menzi considers himself as someone "from the old school", where he was taught at a young age not to talk about personal issues at work. This is because "old school" ideas are traditional and primitive and hold heteronormativity in place by retaining negative attitudes towards issues relating to sexuality (Lemelle & Battle, 2004). Talking about family and spouses at work is seen as feminine, which is feared by men, due to stigma (Nuriddin *et al.* 2018).

Another reason why participants maintained their "non-normative" sexual identity private was due to the emphasis of keeping the workplace professional. Here professionalism was seen as contextual. Below I share Steven's story. He mentioned that his private life must be kept secret due to the nature of his workplace, which, he says, is a "professional place".

> **Lungile**: So why do you think you haven't disclosed your sexual identity to anyone?
> **Steven:** There are a variety of reasons. One of them is, for me, for a very long time that I didn't want to talk about it, like I would never disclose that to somebody and I feel like work is such a professional environment, there's no space for my personal feelings, like if I was an artist or if I was a violin player or whatever, I wouldn't be talking about those side line things, I just feel like work is a very professional place and also there hasn't been a need to talk about sexual preferences, orientation… all of that. In fact, honestly, okay, so one of the biggest fears is always how are people going to take it. I work at a law firm and professionalism is upheld at the highest level.
>
> [Coloured man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Steven frames his identity management strategy within the 'professional' expectation, where he uses "professionalism" as a shield to protect himself from others. What also comes through from his statement is that Steven refers to his place of work as professional. Here, the emphasis is not so much on the behavioural component of maintaining 'professional conduct', as in the abovementioned comments by Menzi, Samantha and Sakhile. Rather, it is more institutional, through the traditional idea of certain forms of work gaining professional status. Work done

on conceptualising professionalism as an institutional matter in white collar work has mainly centred around medicine, education and law (Cruess & Cruess, 2006: Goldstein, Maestas, Fryer-Edwards, Wenrich, Oelschlager, Baernstein & Kimball, 2006; MacKenzie, 2007; Timmermans, 2005), where certain professions hold dominant prestige associated with rewards and autonomy, decision-making and accountability, while strictly governing professional conduct. The overarching idea concerning such workplaces from the literature is that they are "largely hostile and exclusionary" (Eliason, Dibble & Robertson, 2011, p. 1356). Appearing as a professional in a professional space is important for Steven, therefore any mention of sexuality would be deemed scandalous within the rigid confines of a professional workplace (Deverall, 2001; Fournier, 1999). Together with the fear he previously identified, he is also afraid of being deemed as unprofessional in a professional space.

6.3.3 Symbolic silences on issues of sexuality in the workplace: Issues relating to "non-normative" sexual and gender identities not prioritised

Findings of the study suggest that participants are not unaware of having an operational diversity management policy in the workplace. Of the twenty-five (25) participants who formed part of this study, only five (5) stated that they were aware of having a diversity management policy within their workplaces. However, within these policies, not much was mentioned that focused on sexuality. What was focused on were matters deemed less controversial and more urgent, like race, gender and religion. This may be due to deeply rooted racial and gender categories, imaginaries and history of the country. Despite the political transformation of 1994 that aimed to eradicate the racial and gender building blocks of apartheid rule, race and gender discrimination continue to play a profound role in the composition and operation of corporate workplaces (Cilliers, 2007; Diphoorn, 2017; Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi, 2015). If these key areas of transformation are still short, one can only imagine the extent of sexual and gender identity discrimination that still exists in workplaces. Furthermore, another reason why these identity indicators have received more attention is because, traditionally, corporate workplaces are characterised by white, middle aged men (Breetzke & Hedding, 2016; Cox and Nkomo, 1990; Tsui & Gutek, 1999). Below, I share the

comments by Jefferson, Anele and Saziso on the reasons why other identity indicators were prioritised in their workplaces.

Jefferson also stated that due to the underrepresentation of black people in management, the organisation had focused on addressing this concern.

> **Jefferson**: In terms of gender and race, I'm sure we have something. I think we have slipped under the radar for quite a long time because, up until very recently, this company was completely white in Durban, not so much in Joburg and Pretoria, but in terms of management all white people. I don't know why that is, but I think now we just went through accreditation and they are saying, we need to be more diverse, because the higher management was all white and the support staff mostly black. Here in Durban, we are still lagging behind though. But with sexuality we definitely have nothing, I would know.
>
> [White man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Anele commented on how issues of race and gender diversity had been focused on in her organisation because it was a priority to redress the shortage of representation of black females in management.

> **Lungile**: Since you mentioned that there is a policy that is directed to diversity, what exactly does it entail?
> **Anele**: A lot really, it covers matters like race, gender, disability. Ours is a working document for now and is based on the need at this moment in the workplace. For now, we are focused on working around addressing issues of racism and sexism at work, so the policy looks at more those types of issues. I mean it isn't cut in stone, but it's where we are.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as lesbian]

Saziso mentioned that issues of sexuality were ignored and preference was given to religion, among other diversity indicators, due to the diversity of religious people at his place of work. He also mentioned that issues of sexuality were side-lined because of invisibility.

> **Lungile:** Why do you think that the policy focuses of religion so much?

Saziso: There could be many reasons, but I think it's because religion is a big thing at work. My fellow colleagues and managers explicitly show their religious beliefs at the office. The Hindu people come and stick pictures of their gods, they also stick animals and other idols on their desks and on their computers. I recall another one, which we are all scared of, who burns actual incense and stuff like that. So, I think the policy is just to warn us and to also make us more accommodating to people due to different cultural beliefs.
Lungile: What about accommodating people who self-identify as "gay" or "lesbian"; do you not think they need to be protected by the policy?
Saziso: Yes, but I think that one is more sensitive and seen as something that is not affecting everyone because no one has ever said openly that they are gay. A few people know.

[African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Due to the conservative nature of workplaces, identities such as religion, race and gender are foregrounded as valued and accepted in the context of the workplace. Thus, issues of sexuality and "non-normative" gender identities are unwelcomed and silenced; one has to 'come out' before this is seen as a priority. The exclusion of issues of "non-normative" sexual and gender identities illustrates how corporate workplaces perceive the importance and relevance of these issues in the context of the workplace. Scholars in the field of education who explore the extent of the exclusion of sexuality and "non-normative" gender issues in policies (Hillier, Turner & Mitchell, 2005; Ullman & McGraw, 2014; Mikulsky, 2007), found that the omission highlighted the lack of acknowledgment organisations had for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, therefore, reinforcing invisibility, as explained in Saziso's comment. Furthermore, due to the conservative nature of corporate workplaces, issues around sexual and gender "non-normative" identities are not easily discussed or dealt with at work (Jones, Gray & Harris, 2014).

6.4 Experiences of subtle forms of discrimination

Another key finding in the study was that participants experienced more subtle forms of discrimination rather than blatant forms. This is because blatant discrimination against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, among other protected identity forms, is illegal, based

on anti-discriminatory legislation in South Africa. While some participants denied having experienced discrimination in the workplace, I was able to uncover daily, less visible incidents of subtle discrimination as they narrated their experiences during the interviews. This proves that microaggressions are based on minor acts that are ambiguous and not easily recognisable for those that are experiencing it (Cortina, 2008; King & Cortina, 2010; Laer & Janssens, 2011). Furthermore, acts are less recognisable, due to the absence of any reference to sexual or gender identity, thus making it more difficult to act against it at an organisational level (Di Marco, Hoel, Arenas & Munduate, 2018). Other participants were able to explicitly categorize their experiences of discrimination as subtle.

Discrimination in the workplace is not a new phenomenon or field of research. In organisational studies, discrimination has been regarded an important research topic for several decades (Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief & Bradley, 2003; Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, 2010). Although blatant discrimination was raised by a few participants (four) in the study, the majority of participants (15) in the study indicated experiences of subtle forms of discrimination in the form of microaggressions. It was also noted that, in some cases, participants experienced more than one type of subtle discrimination, which suggests that subtle discrimination in the workplace is complex and cyclical.

Below I explore three ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experienced sexual prejudice at work. I start by the unpacking the jokes based on inappropriate pronouns, name-calling, stereotypical ideas attached to sexual and gender "non-normative" identities as well as social ostracism.

6.4.1 Sexual prejudice: Usage of inappropriate pronouns as jokes

Participants indicated experiencing prejudice in the form of colleagues using jokes and humour to verbally express insults based on gender and sexual "non-normative" identities. Jokes were expressed based on inappropriate gender pronouns as well as based on masculinity and gender roles. Although some participants shared that, initially, comments were not intended to be harmful, jokes were repetitive and used sarcastically to put across negative personal attitudes

towards issues of sexuality and same-sex relations, causing participants to interpret acts as intentional. For instance, Mandisa indicated that her colleague referred to her as 'sir" even though she had made it clear that she prefers to be called "miss". Although Mandisa noted that it was initially a joke, it quickly became confrontational.

> **Mandisa:** … she came in there and she said 'excuse me, sir' so I kept quiet. 'Sorry, sir' and that's the first thing I always say when I get to a new place, do not call me sir or mister. It's miss. So she was like 'excuse me, sir.' I knew that there was a sarcastic tone, she was just fooling around. 'Excuse me, sir' and I kept quiet. Kept on calling me sir. And she was like, 'you know what, you homosexual people are confused' and all that, in front of everyone. It not the first time, she always says it, this time she took it so far with the comment about that lesbian women are confused and all of that.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

Zanele noted that her colleague uses inappropriate pronouns when referring to her at work. Although the comment was not to her face, it was intended for her.

> **Zanele:** For me it's tricky because I have not come out to people that I'm transgender, people just know that I'm not straight that's for sure. But even then you will hear those comments that are below the belt. Like the one time my colleague was asking if I was in the office, was asking this other girl we work with 'is Zanele there' and she said "he, she, he, she is here". Seriously? She doesn't stutter; she was kept on saying "he, she, he, she" just to make a joke and a mockery of me.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "transwoman"]

Jokes were also passed to make inappropriate comments about gender roles. Saziso also shared that he was once told jokingly that it was a "waste" that he was "gay" because he would have made a good husband one day.

> **Saziso:** Growing up in a household full of women, I have learnt to be very domesticated and helpful, you know, so one time, I was helping one of the maids at work move some furniture around the office. She thanked me and said in vernacular that it was a waste that I was gay, I would have made a good son-

> in law. I laughed it out but to actually think of it, that was rather rude and insensitive. But you can't tell that to someone older than you. She probably didn't know that you don't say things like that. [laughs].
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Siyabonga also indicated that his colleagues make comments on his Facebook profile about how him and his friends are "wastes of good looks".

> **Siyabonga**: No, I haven't been discriminated against, no.
> **Lungile**: Do you have a good relationship with your colleagues?
> **Siyabonga:** I do, shame, they are nice people, the agency I work with has many women than men and the ladies are sweet. I'm the youngest so I people are nice and patient with me because I'm still learning the work. The only thing that bothers me is that they like to go on my Facebook profile and make comments. They are nosy.
> **Lungile**: What kind of comments do they make?
> **Siyabonga:** They are just them being silly. But they will say something about how… ok so my friends and I love to dress up and look good. We love to groom ourselves and we know we look good. So, this other lady who we know is single and lonely says something like that we were waste of good looks because we are all gay.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Sexual prejudice is understood as "a negative attitude toward an individual based on her or his membership in a group defined by sexual attractions, behaviors, or orientation" (Herek & McLemore, 2013, p. 312). Sexual and gender "non-normative" people are still victims of discriminatory acts. Participants in the study considered exchanges from their colleagues as mere jokes and as a part of office banter. While they viewed them as meaningless and acceptable in the workplace, they found them to be annoying and irritating, but not harmful or offensive. It can be suggested that sexual prejudice against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees can lead to the development of internalised homophobia. Internalised homophobia represents "the gay person's direction of negative social attitudes toward the self" (Meyer &

Dean, 1998, p. 161). It can also be experienced in different ways and can manifest consciously and unconsciously. Conscious internalised homophobia may include feelings of inferiority or worthlessness due to one's "non-normative" sexual or gender identity. As a result, an individual may actively avoid social spaces with other sexual and gender "non-normative" people. Unconscious internalised homophobia is considered more common. It involves individuals appearing self-accepting but possibly engaging in subtle self-sabotage (Cornish, Carinci & Noel, 2012). Examples of this may be tolerating mistreatments from others, as we see in the above statements. Thurlow (2001) notes that heterosexual people are deprived of seeing how harmful their comments are but are not inclined to carefully monitor their speech. Although humour may be understood as "fun" and "innocent", it masks the discriminatory behaviour of heterosexual people at work. From this we gather that intent is not based on how one expresses their words but it is rather what is being said (DiMarco *et al.,* 2018). What also determines intent is repetition. Participants mentioned that comments were said over and over again to frustrate and to relay an intention to harm (Barling, Dupré, & Kelloway, 2009). The comments above also suggest that prejudicial remarks do not have to be made in the presence of the sexual and gender "non-normative" employees for it to be intended on them (see Woodford, Howell, Kulick, & Silverschanz, 2013). This was seen in the case of Zanele, where her colleague was talking to someone else but indirectly directing the negative joke against her.

We also gather from the statements above the issue of power in the context of subtle discrimination. According to Williams, Neighbors and Jackson (2003), discrimination paradigms are typically framed within a power imbalance, in which dominant group members direct differential treatment toward subordinate group members. Heterosexual colleagues exercise power over sexual and gender "non-normative" employees while constantly making them feel that they occupy a lower social status than their heterosexual counterparts. This is because jokes are directed to sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to enforce the adherence of gender roles, since they are viewed as being violated (Walls, 2008). While blatant forms of discrimination are argued to be the only form of discrimination that is an open expression of power, studies have moved beyond traditional jokes and other subtle acts of sexual prejudice are often enacted unconsciously or unintentionally on sexual and gender "non-

normative" employees (Cortina, 2008; Deitch, Barsky, Butz., Chan, Brief & Bradley, 2003; Dipboye & Halverson, 2004). In the abovementioned statements, power was used in such a manner that comments were intentional, ensuring that a visible and open conflict is determined in a particular way, favouring the interests of heterosexual colleagues (Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Hardy & Leiba-O'Sullivan, 1998; Lukes, 2005). In the case of Saziso and Siyabonga, colleagues de-legitimize and marginalize them based on their identification. In order to be accepted into the dominant culture, one needs to be heterosexual, therefore considered "normal". "Morally good" and handsome men must be heterosexual and married to "morally good" and beautiful women. This implies that men who self-identify as "gay" do not deserve access to what is considered good and positive. It also suggests that same-sex relationships are invisible, irrelevant and in need of correction (Foucault, 1977).

6.4.2 Subtle discrimination: Heterosexist name-calling

Another type of subtle discrimination that was mentioned by participants was name-calling. Name-calling demonstrates oppression exercised by heterosexual colleagues on sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The usage of derogatory language and labels reinforce myths and stereotypes about sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Thurlow (2001) found that heterosexist language is among the most frequently used pejorative terms, accompanying other categories such as racism, sexism, and phallocentrism that continue to marginalise sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Like jokes, name-calling is harmful and negatively impacts sexual and gender" non-normative" people (see Rey & Gibson, 1997). Below, Menzi indicated that he had heard customers use derogatory labels to describe people who identify as "bisexual".

> **Menzi:** For me, it's not so much my colleagues, but it's some of the customers that we regularly work with, but I guess they influence each other – many of which do not agree with issues concerning LGBTI and publicly will say it. A colleague of mine who knows my story asked what they think of this whole thing. They then said it was the worst because it was unclean, because you are into both woman and men. Others even used the word "double adapter".

> **Lungile:** What does that mean to you?
> **Menzi:** Like that you are sexually promiscuous, that you want to explore with everyone at any given point. Which isn't true.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "bisexual"]

Azande shared that her manager once referred to her as one of the "stronger females" by her manager at work.

> **Lungile**: So you mentioned that there were instances or experiences where you felt that you were discriminated against at work based on your sexuality…
> **Azande:** They try to be very subtle about it but you can see that that's where they are going with it but they know – especially the managers – they'll say that 'when we look at you we saw that you are one of the stronger females', what does that imply? They'll say that I am more like a man; they actually say that. It's so mean. She likes to pick on me. Always.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as a "lesbian"]

Participants' comments suggest that name-calling was not only used by heterosexual colleagues but by managers engaged in heterosexist language too. Insensitive language is used freely without remorse within the working environment because it is modelled and accepted by managers. The usage of derogatory comments by people in management reflects the culture of the workplaces, which is homophobic and not supportive of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Thus, it can be argued that corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal are homophobic spaces. What was also found in the excerpts above is that heterosexist names that referred to participants are derived from stereotypes. Azande mentioned in her statement that she is called "one of the stronger women" at work, which implies that her manager sees her as "mannish" in appearance (Taylor, 1983), unattractive or less attractive than heterosexual women. This is based on the premise that women who self-identify as "lesbian" want to be men because they are more masculine than heterosexual women (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a, 2009b). Another stereotype experienced by participants targeted men who self-identify as "bisexual". Menzi shared above that he was called a "double-adaptor" and sexually

promiscuous. These assumptions are based on the perception that men who self-identify as "bisexual" are indecisive in terms of sexual preferences because of their attraction to both men and women (Beaber, 2008; Rust, 2000). Being sexually promiscuous was also reported by Callis, (2013), Israel & Mohr (2004) and Pirlott and Neuberg (2014), who found that men who self-identify as "bisexual" are perceived as excessively driven by sexual impulses because they are less interested in monogamous relationships (Zivony & Lobel, 2014). This may reflect negatively on sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, causing psychological and emotional stress. Another issue that may contribute to the hostility and heightened frustrations by participants is that they may experience not only heterosexism, but also sexism and racism. Diversity scholars have mentioned how woman of colour face "double jeopardy" in the workplaces, due to their ethnicity and gender (Beale, 1970). As previously stated, corporate workplaces are homophobic spaces, which may heighten other levels of oppressions due to the multiple socially low status levels a person may identify with. Some scholars have also stated how people can suffer oppression on multiple levels causing a "triple jeopardy" (Greene, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998; 2000b). Based on the theoretical underpinnings of this study, Azande may experience, "various dimension of oppression (sexism, ethnicity and heterosexism) that intersect with each other within a matrix of social organization" (Collins, 1999). Furthermore, the more identities she identifies with, the more incidents she may confront, with regards to the multiple heterosexist attitudes and stereotypes associated with their identity groups.

6.4.3 Stereotypical ideas of sexual and gender "non-normative" identities: The influence of media

Participants felt that their heterosexual colleagues were misguided and ill-informed regarding issues of sexuality. Findings suggested that a lot of the assumptions held by colleagues were founded on negative personal stereotypes about behavioural and physical attributes of sexual "non-normative" employees that are based on false representation of sexuality in the media. Thus, they experience workplace bullying and subtle discrimination. While female participants commented on behavioural attributes being associated with exaggerated masculinity, men who self-identify as "gay" were vocal about assumptions associated with exaggerated femininity. There have been clear and consistent patterns of research that have suggested that men who self-identify as "gay" are perceived as effeminate and respond to gender atypical behaviour

(Fingerhut & Peplau, 2006; Chesebro, 2001; Eguchi, 2009; Clarkson, 2006; Jackson 2002; Potoczniak, Aldea & DeBlaere, 2007). Furthermore, studies on gender non-traditional attributes were found to elicit negative reactions, especially when men violate gender roles rather than when females do so (David, Grace, & Ryan, 2004; Powlishta, 2004).

Siyabonga shared that many of his female colleagues at work refer to him as female because of the way in which he identifies.

> **Siyabonga:** …It's like when you tell them you're gay, Yoh, the mixed signals. The guys will do their thing but the girls[laughs] the girls are my favourite, they will tell you that they want you as a gay best friend. Of course, that means you're now a girl. They even start saying "Weh oh, Weh oh" [laughs]…I sometimes don't mind but sometimes it gets a bit annoying.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Swelihle also noted that the way in which his colleagues refer to him at work is influenced by the socialites on TV who exaggerate their sexual identity.

> **Lungile**: What do you mean there are "ideas that we give straight people about homosexuality"?
> **Swelihle**: When you look at it, we can joke and call each other 'girl' but at the end of the day it all comes down to me being a man, I'm just a man, that's what it is. I don't want people confusing me with wanting to be somebody I'm not. I don't want to be a girl. I've never wanted to be a girl. In most cases they only know that about being homosexual. They are fixated by the stuff they see on TV about Somizi (South African socialite) and other celebrities and actors who exaggerate the role of a gay person. The issue around homosexuality needs to be discussed like in depth especially now that we are becoming more visible even at work, we are occupying leadership roles.
> **Lungile**: Who are "they" that you keep referring to?
> **Swelihle**: "They" are the people around me, depends on where I am. It can be family, friends or colleagues.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Stereotypes also came through in conversation by participants noting the failure of colleagues considering her as autonomous and having personal preferences, especially relating to romantic partners. Below I share Azande's comment.

> **Lungile**: Do you think your sexuality is part of your everyday life at work?
> **Azande**: For me, it does come into play when you come into an organisation because believe me you, it's only that I've worked in one place since I started working, but you find that, every time you meet people, you experience different challenges. Also, it's how they approach you. People at work still don't know what exactly it means to be a lesbian. If you say you're lesbian, then they already know everything about your life, even things you haven't told them
> **Lungile**: Where do you think they may get this information from if you haven't shared it with them?
> **Azande**: It's because they watch and a lot of TV and social media. They expect that a lesbian is supposed to be someone who wants to be a man and like wearing men's' clothes and wants to date all girls. But that isn't true. Some people don't even ask you how you want to… you know, we have our own things – some people want to be addressed differently, some people are not even lesbian for that matter, some people are transgender, so nobody takes into consideration that you might be transgender, because they don't know, and at times difficult for them to ask as well because you may not be ready to address it as well. So, coming back to your question, sexuality is part of my life and so is my career so the two cannot be isolated.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

Saziso also discussed how his colleagues think that he is sexually interested in all men at work and as a result, some colleagues insinuate that he should be coupled up with his manager who is also "explicitly out" at work.

> **Saziso**: …And even my friends are like 'why don't you take him because he wants you'. No. he is my manager, I have to respect that and they will say 'but you can see he wants you'. No, he doesn't... I'm trying to get away from that. It's such a sexual thing.
> **Lungile**: But also, more importantly, you are engaged. How do people even propose such things to someone that is in a committed relationship?
> **Saziso**: They know I'm engaged but straight people always play this card of gay people being inferior and needing assistance to get by. It's also an assumption that gay people sleep with every gay person out there. It's portrayed everywhere it's like public knowledge that gay people sleep around and are in

> open relationships. So, if there is a gay person at work then there must be something that will happen between me and them
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

As I pointed out earlier in the chapter, the society has a systematic influence on the culture in workplaces. From the statements above, we see a heightened connection with the influence of false representation of sexuality (which is fixed) in the mass media to the ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are treated at work. Mass media provide a way in which stereotypes around sexuality are perpetuated. As stipulated by Siyabonga and Swelihle, popular media is considered a powerful medium of relaying information globally which affects the way in which people think and behave, not only about themselves but also about others, including sexual and gender "non-normative" people. Generally, media images are value-laden and constantly perpetuate overgeneralised representations of sexual and gender "non-normative" people through stereotypes. While media are the primary source of relaying insight into groups considered "minority", for those who may have limited first-hand knowledge, the presence of sexual and gender "non-normative" celebrities and socialites creates more confusion, as they do not display the fluid nature of sexuality (Morgan, Signorielli, & Shanahan, 2002). Stereotypical portrayals of sexual and gender non-normative people are likely to develop false assumptions and prejudice, which can lead to subtle discriminatory behaviour towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

Moreover, according to Moritz (2003), the media reflect and create cultural expressions as well as political, economic and social realities. This means that the information, images and programmes in the media may not only market products, ideas, values and worldviews, but also provide socially acceptable behaviours for people. This leads to the development of categories, concepts and generalisations of groups of people that reflect the culture's beliefs and values about them. Therefore, the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, in so far as identity formation is concerned, are learned from the heterosexist and homophobic sources of misinformation available on television and other media platforms (Raley & Lucas, 2006), thus creating hostile work environments. From the statements, it can

be judged that visibility was also an issue for participants. The more participants were open about their sexualities at work (like the four participants above), the more they had experienced stereotypical behaviour and subtle discrimination from colleagues. Additionally, due to the oversimplified and fixed representation of what sexuality is, the unique individual and diversity of people who self-identify as sexual and gender "non-normative" is silenced and nullified (Cover, 2004). This is because generally, discourses on sexual identity are constructed as binary between heterosexuality and those who subscribe to sexual and gender "non-normative" identities. According to this binary, there is no mutually exclusive category. Therefore, sexuality is seen as either one or the other. The challenge with viewing sexuality as a dichotomy is that it hinders the understanding of the diversity of sexuality. The binary also works to silence the fluidity of sexuality, making the voices of those that identify as bisexual, pansexual, transgender and transsexual unheard and further reifying the already powerful binary between heterosexual identities and sexual and gender "non-normative" identities.

The initiators of classification of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees perceive themselves as superior to others (Tajfel, 2010). Men who self-identify as "gay" are stereotyped not only as sexually deviant, but also as sexually promiscuous (Bowleg, 2013; Hequembourg & Brallier, 2009). An inherent feature of promiscuity is the likelihood of diseases, which is already associated with black heterosexual men (Bowleg, 2013: Cox & Devine, 2015; McCune, 2014). As shown in Saziso's narrative, the assumption that any two people who self-identify as sexual and gender "non-normative" must be matched together, because they would be romantically interested in each other, is a phenomenon that is known in social psychological theory as out-group homogeneity. The assumption is that all people who are sexual and gender "non-normative" are alike and thus would be compatible relationship partners with one another. Thus, due to the stereotypes typically contain negative connotations or attitudes, the perceivers often subordinate other cultural groups with whom they share little in common either physically or in terms of values. Furthermore, heterosexual people use stereotypes to dehumanise other groups that differ in values, beliefs or physical characteristics to maintain their own social and political power, thus keeping heteronormativity in check.

6.4.4 Social ostracism: Experiences of exclusion and rejection by colleagues

Findings also suggest that subtle discrimination is experienced through social exclusion and ostracism where fellow heterosexual colleagues have ignored, avoided or rejected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Participants shared that their colleagues began to notice that their behaviours towards them changed once information about their "non-normative" sexual and gender identities surfaced. This is because of the stigma attached to their sexuality, which makes colleagues disassociate themselves from them.

Below, we explore Lungelo's statement. He mentioned that he lost a good friend due to a rumour at work concerning a love affair he had been perceived of having with him.

> **Lungile**: What about friends, do you consider any of your colleagues' friends?
> **Lungelo**: Yes I do, mixture of girls and guys, in fact I have two now because the other one and I are no longer friends.
> **Lungile:** What happened?
> **Lungelo**: He just became distant. I think it had to do with the fact that people started speculating because we were always together during lunch break and we used to go home together, not together-together but I would catch a ride with him home because we stayed in the same area. So, people start suspecting that he was also gay or that we were dating. I think it hit him, I also felt it because I feel like I lost a genuine friendship.
> **Lungile**: Have you opened up to him about your sexuality?
> **Lungelo**: It's one of those things that the elephant in the room but I think he knows. I hadn't told him. Unless someone else at work told him and confirmed everything. I don't know.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Lwazi also shared how being sexual and gender "non-normative" is received negatively at work. She shared that some colleagues would distance themselves from her because of how she sexually identifies.

> **Lwazi:** Some people, because of their religion, they make sure that just because you are a Muslim, I'm making an example because the people I've always had problems with are Muslim, so they don't want to be associated with you, even sometimes we praying together at work, we holding hands. If the person had to

> hold my hand they go on the other side. I've had that a lot. They don't hold my hand at all. But they don't know that this is who I am and I can't and won't change. They saw me and the way that I am when they hired me, what has changed now?
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

Both Lungelo and Lwazi shared how being sexual and gender "non-normative" was received at work. It was suggested that the two participants experienced social exclusion by acts of avoidance and distancing. The abovementioned comments also indicated how ostracised participants remain visible but ignored while still in the physical presence of the others. While participants may be visible to other colleagues at work, they may also feel invisible and marginalised, which may further cause internalised homophobia. Considering Lungelo's statement, it is suggested that the stigma attached to "non-normative" sexual identity causes strain on friendships at work. It is not new, according to the work done by Floyd, Stein, Harter, Allison and Nye, (1999), that relationships with heterosexual colleagues become strained and distant due to "non-normative" sexual identities. This is because heterosexual men fear being labelled sexually "non-normative", due to the consequences of being marginalised by other colleagues or perceived to be engaging in intimate relationships with men who self-identify as "gay". According to Herek (1986), the attitudes heterosexual men have towards men who self-identify as "gay" are based on fears about their own masculinity. Therefore, in an attempt to shore up their maleness, men distance themselves from men who self-identify as "gay" and express more discrimination and prejudiced attitudes (Tucker, 1996). This also reflects the hostile working climate for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

6.5 Conclusion

The findings of this study provide insight in relation to understanding subtle discrimination in corporate workplaces. They also highlight how the conservative nature of corporate workplaces negatively affects sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. This was seen through the high number of participants who had not disclosed their sexual identities at work, as well as the exclusion of issues relating to sexual and gender "non-normative" identities in diversity management policies and other anti-discriminatory policies. Participants mentioned

subtle discrimination where, symbolically, the workplace prioritised and placed importance on identity categories like race, gender and religion, within diversity management policies, over "non-normative" sexual and gender identities. This therefore maintains the invisibility of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. The chapter also has suggested that discrimination in the workplace is subtle, in the form of microaggressions experienced through heterosexism and sexual prejudice. This chapter contributes to our thinking about subtle discrimination in the workplace by exposing the power relations underlying subtle discrimination. Here, I show that subtle discrimination is ambiguous because it combines disempowerment with apparent empowerment and that experiences of subtle discrimination are influenced by the broader context, reproducing societal power inequalities. The usage of inappropriate pronouns as unwanted jokes and name-calling as well as distancing and exclusion were the ways in which subtle discrimination were endured by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The chapter also outlined how heterosexual colleagues use stereotypes, which are influenced by socialites who self-identify as 'gay" in the media to create fixed representations of the outwardly appearance of a sexual and gender "non-normative" person. This false and exaggerated representation is used as a measure to discriminate against participants and, as a result, avoid accusations of discrimination. Hence the reason why some participants choose not to disclose their sexuality at work. The chapter ended by looking at social ostracism as a result of the stigma attached to "non-normative" sexual identities. Participants who self-identified as "gay" were vocal on how heterosexual colleagues, particularly men, had treated them due to their sexual identities. What I argue in the chapter is how subtle discrimination is found in the very fabric of workplace culture. It permeates symbolically and is seen in daily interactions between sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and heterosexual colleagues.

In the following chapter, I will present findings on how corporate workplaces have translated the anti-discrimination agenda of legislation. I will do this by arguing that the prevalence of discrimination and prejudice against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees within corporate workplaces is because organisational leaders view diversity as a matter of legal

compliance instead of a valued addition to organisational growth. I argue that organisational leaders should maintain human rights and equality at the level of the workplace.

CHAPTER 7

The inadequacy of anti-discriminatory legislation in promoting diversity inclusion in corporate workplaces

7. 1 Introduction

This chapter draws from the previous chapter, which explored how conservative culture harnesses silences around issues of sexuality through prejudicing and subtly discriminating against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, both at an institutional and individual level. This particular chapter intends to highlight how workplaces have responded to the call for inclusion and the various backlash and resistance experienced due to this. Here, I argue that, due to the design of anti-discrimination legislation, which further brings into question the diversity management policies that some participants mentioned, diversity management at work is treated as an administrative function that is solely a response to legal requirements. Therefore, it does not provide information and strategies to be used to reduce sexual prejudice in corporate workplaces. I also outline the ineffectiveness of anti-discrimination legislation in dealing with heterosexist and sexually prejudicial behaviour at work. It is argued that, due to the nature of discrimination experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, diversity management policies and other formal strategies are not enough. As mentioned in the previous chapter, incidents of discrimination take up a more subtle form, and therefore a different strategy needs to be used in attempts to change the very strong convictions that heterosexual colleagues have towards their sexual and gender "non-normative" counterparts. The chapter also explores how, due to the criticality of the role of managers in the diversity agenda at work, resistance from them can be detrimental to creating an inclusive workplace culture (Kane-Urrabazo, 2006).

Firstly, I begin the section by looking at silences in the form of backlash that is presented by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Participants indicated that the reporting of incidents of sexual prejudice was met with resistance from managers. While resistance includes attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, this chapter also conceptualises resistance as the utilization of legitimate power by leaders to influence the workplace climate. Furthermore, Davidson and

Proudford (2008) describe organisational diversity resistance as behaviour that protects the status quo of privilege and inequality. Secondly, I present how corporate workplaces have responded to the national anti-discrimination legislation. Although a small minority of participants commented on being aware of a diversity management policy at work, it was suggested that these policies are superficial and resemble an "empty shell". This is because they do not meet the needs of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. The chapter concludes by exploring the ways in which anti-discrimination legislation has impacted individuals. From the findings, it was suggested that legislation has not been sufficiently able to reduce sexual prejudice and heterosexist behaviour at work. Instead, it has maintained heteronormativity.

Before proceeding with the chapter, I will begin by briefly outlining the equality framework in South Africa with regards to sexuality. I will do this by looking at the history of anti-discriminatory legislation, specifically the development of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, in so far as sexuality in concerned. While tolerant laws have advanced equality for all, there are limitations insofar as there is a paradox between the commitment to mass participation in policy formulation and the high level of heterosexist behaviour and discrimination in the country.

7.2 Brief look at the equality under anti-discriminatory legislation in the context of South Africa

South Africa was one of the first countries in the world to categorically make mention in the Constitution's Bill of Rights of the explicit prohibition of unfair discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. In so doing, it provided South Africans with constitutional protection from discrimination on the basis of their "sexual orientation". This kind of protection was not afforded to sexual and gender "non-normative" people prior to 1994. To raise the awareness of rights for sexual and gender "non-normative "people during the mid-1980s, wealthy white sexual and gender "non-normative" people formed organised groups. One of the most prominent groups created was Gays and Lesbians of the Witwatersrand (GLOW). Other mass movements during the time that were geared towards human rights of sexual and gender "non-normative" people were not cohesive nor had a strong, collective voice. Instead, particular

sexual politics were fragmented and reflected the political climate of the country, which consisted of the complex interplay of the politics of race, class and gender (Cock, 2003). As a result, sexual and gender "non-normative" people suffered many injustices. This included harassment, being blackmailed by the police, denied employment and refused custody of children after divorce (Ilyayambwa, 2012). This is because, under the apartheid social and legal system, sexual and gender "non-normative" people were considered different from what was considered "normal". Therefore, they were condemned, excluded and even punished by the law in the criminal, civil and family law spheres (Currie & Waal, 2005).

Despite the progressive anti-discriminatory legislation in the country post 1994, sexual and gender "non-normative" people still face discrimination, both blatant and subtle. Provisions made in the Constitution of South Africa 108 of 1996 (9 (3)), which is further supported by section 15 of the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 as amended, protect individuals and employees from unfair discrimination – among other bases of discrimination, sexual orientation. It also protects sexual and gender "non-normative" employees from being discriminated against by the state and/or private individuals (Constitution of South Africa, 108 of 1996). However, anti-discriminatory legislation is challenged in terms of the gap in implementation as well as being unable to change the mindsets of people with regards to the perceptions they hold about sexual and gender "non-normative" people. This is because attitudes are deep within the consciousness of individuals (Massoud, 2005). The ways in which government is able to deal with discrimination will determine the pace at which the complete integration of societal differences occurs in South Africa.

7.3 Silences in the form of backlash: Participants' reasons for not reporting incidents of heterosexist behaviour and discrimination in the workplace

Findings indicated that participants refrain from reporting sexual prejudice and heterosexism to managers because of the attitudes that managers have towards addressing issues of discrimination against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Participants mentioned that some managers are not concerned to address issues of discrimination because they do not regard discrimination against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees as a serious

matter that requires urgent intervention. Not only is this exacerbated by the fact that discrimination experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees is generally subtle and hard to prove, participants choose to remain silent and not report issues of discrimination to their managers. Melusi shared that a colleague of his was harassed at work in the presence of the manager, who did nothing to address the issue. He further noted that he doesn't report incidents of discrimination anymore, because nothing gets done about it.

> **Melusi**: I remember once we were in a session at work and this guy, gay guy who everyone knows came inside the room. They started their usual thing of mocking him and saying all these unnecessary things to him.
> **Lungile**: What session was this?
> **Melusi:** Training session, think it was something to do with computers. So, the trainer was gay and all the others were doing is making fun of him the whole time. Mind you, our manager is in the same training as us.
> **Lungile**: So, what did the manager do? Did he reprimand your colleagues?
> **Melusi**: The manager? No, he was busy doing other things, he didn't even bother to stop the chaos.
> **Lungile**: Why do you think he was quiet?
> **Melusi**: I don't know hey, maybe he is used to it by now, this is isn't the first time things like this happen. he just left it like that.
> **Lungile**: Why didn't you take this up to someone more senior?
> **Melusi**: It doesn't really help because they will refer me back to him so I'd rather not.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Eric stated that he doesn't report issues of discrimination and other inequalities because his manager "forgets "to follow through with reports.

> **Eric**: Everyone can talk about bringing injustices to the book, but it calls for a very special kind of leader to take it up and run with it. We have so many campaigns that people like and no one actually adopts it. They just sound nice, like to say you're a transformative leader. How can you be a transformative leader if some of your employees are not "out" under your leadership or even can talk to you about their concerns about inequalities at work? I for one try not to get into it too much at work.

Lungile: Why not?
Eric: I think it's because I still regard the workplace somewhere I can't divulge too much. I think it's also because I don't want him to think that it has got to me that way, that I can't handle it myself, that I now need his intervention. Be it as it may, he isn't that type of person.
Lungile: What time of person is that?
Eric: Someone who is willing to help, he will tell you he will deal with it but never does. He's also forgetful.
Lungile: Does he forget a lot of things?
Eric: I'm not sure, [laughs] well, maybe he is intentional in his forgetfulness.

[Indian man who self-identifies as "bisexual"]

Siyabonga also mentioned that he doesn't report incidents of discrimination because his managers "are not into these kind of things", which he later indicates are social justice issues.

Siyabonga: Discrimination happens on the daily but very, like it is subtle. You really have to think about what just happened, take a double take. A lot of things happen at work under the subliminal, it's just that you have to think and analyse it.
Lungile: Have you experienced any subtle discrimination at work?
Siyabonga: I have, plenty of times, on the daily. I just choose not dwell on it, you know? It is what it is…you get used to it which is wrong…
Lungile: And what about reporting it, have you reported any incidents of discrimination before?
Siyabonga: It's difficult to report an incident that are small, it is like a "she said he said" kinda thing. Who even has time for that?
Lungile: So just because of the form of discrimination, you don't think you need to report incidents?
Siyabonga: Yes, I just don't have the energy
Lungile: Why not?
Siyabonga: Urgh, I don't know. Don't get me wrong, the line managers are really nice people, it's just that they aren't into these kind of things. They don't really take these things seriously.
Lungile: What do you mean by "these kind of things"
S**iyabonga**: [laughs] You know, what we are talking about. Discrimination, prejudices against gay and lesbians and stuff.

[African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Additionally, participants shared that they do not report issues of discrimination to managers because of the consequences that are attached to those who are prejudiced against others. Participants shared that the consequences for discriminatory behaviour based on sexuality are insignificant, minor and meaningless and do not send a stern enough message to others on how serious issues of discrimination are taken at work. Below Zanele alludes to how, for this reason, she doesn't report issues of discrimination to management.

> **Zanele**: …for me there hasn't been much of discrimination other than what I mentioned before, so I haven't found a need to report it because, it could have been worse. For now, I'm handling it. Cause you can't always report everything all the time, most of them are minor things. It needs to be something that they see needs to be addressed and focus on it and that the repercussions needs to be severe not like a tap at the back of the hand.
> **Lungile**: What do you mean by "tap at the back of the hand"?
> **Zanele**: I mean that the punishes are not serious, it's like they only do them so that the offended person can think that the organisation is doing something about what happened. There isn't serious repercussions for discriminating against a homosexual person.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "transwoman"]

Sbani also discussed how he chooses not taken up issues of prejudice and heterosexism to his manager because such issues are ignored at work.

> **Sbani**: I remember thinking of telling my superior that I had a problem at work. Someone was giving me problems. I had to think of many things before considering it. The logic and right thing to do is to tell and get that thing sorted. But when I thought about the other hanging issues of other sticky things at work, I realised that it just wasn't going to work. We know our rights but it's hard to exercise them, you know what I mean. it's like morality is lost when it's time to consider gays and lesbians and their feelings at work. It's like it's thrown outside of the window.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "gay"]

From the abovementioned comments, it can be suggested that managers resist diversity initiatives in the workplace. This is based on the indifferent attitudes expressed when incidents of discrimination are reported to them by participants. Based on the ILO (2016), managers within South African workplaces have been discouraged from taking a specific stand on issues relating to sexual and gender identity in the ways they do on issues on race or class, amidst the widespread awareness and support displayed in the media. Furthermore, it is argued that people do not resist change itself, but rather the anticipated consequences or expected effects that may be associated with change, such as loss of status, loss of pay, or loss of comfort (Dent & Goldberg, 1999). This implies that change affects power and the potential loss it may bring. These findings are in line with a study conducted by Sheehan, Holland and De Cieri (2006) on the developments of Human Resource Management in Australian organisations. They found that policies that are centred around values and ethics were low, triggered by the resistance of employers to change. According to Alford and Lantka (2000), resistance is often related to avoidance, which can be in the form of one accepting a task and then deciding not to carry out the task. This is evident in the responses received by Eric and Sbani from their managers. The comments also suggest that the personal cultural norms and other negative behaviour towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees extend to the working environment (Hite & McDonald, 2006; Prasad, Prasad & Mir, 2001).

The comments by participants also suggest that managers regard diversity issues as unimportant or unbeneficial (Chrobot-Mason, Hays-Thomas & Wishik, 2008) and therefore, as not requiring urgent intervention. This is because managers classify people into social categories and then attach value and status upon them (VanDijk & Van Dick, 2009). Thus, heterosexual white middle-aged men would be seen as the holders of legitimate power and those who do not subscribe to this identity would be regarded as less valuable and maintain an inferior social status. It can also suggest that participants who occupy lower level jobs may be afraid to lose their jobs. Furthermore, according to Bell *et al.,* (2011), most people also do not report cases because they are reluctant to go through the tedious and daunting process of filing a formal claim. It is also costly; sexual and gender "non-normative" employees may be worried about experiencing retaliation, especially if the perpetrator occupies a high level position (Major & Kaiser, 2008). Therefore, participants' voices are silenced (Probst, Estrada, &

Brown, 2008; Thomas & Plaut, 2008) in the face of sexual prejudice and heterosexist behaviour. A hostile organisational culture is a powerful systematic force that negatively influences the potential for change. Such cultures suggest that sexual and gender "non-normative" people are not accepted, supported or welcomed at work. While this may reflect the wider social response to discrimination and violence towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, this suggests that managers endorse discriminatory intolerance, which opens up the possibility for further frequent incidents of discrimination, as outlined in Siyabonga's statement. It suggests that incidents of sexual prejudice at work are neutralised (Ragin & Cornwell,2001; Eustace & Martins, 2014). This was seen in Melusi's comment regarding how his manager ignored an apparent act of heterosexist behaviour in his presence. Therefore, if sexual and gender "non-normative" employees feel that they cannot openly express their points of view on critical issues, then pluralism cannot be attained (Morrison & Milliken, 2000). The number of official cases of discrimination may be low in corporate workplaces, which may be interpreted as evidence that sexual and gender non-normative employees do not experience discrimination. However, from the findings of this study, the lack of complaints is a sign that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience challenges in workplace due to the homophobic workplace culture. It is also clear that many do not report, as they do not see reporting as a worthwhile exercise, mainly due to inaction from managers.

7.4 Trade unions in the organisation: Irrelevant to the individual matters concerning sexual and gender "non-normative" employees

While participants felt that they could not report issues of subtle discrimination based on their "non-normative" sexual and gender identity to their managers, several participants also indicated a sense of ambivalence with regards to referring grievances pertaining to sexuality to trade unions. When asked about the importance of joining a trade union at work, the majority (18) of participants agreed. The findings suggested that the importance of union affiliation was linked to the size of the organisation. In this study, participants who were employed in medium to big organisations were almost all affiliated to trade unions. Participants who were employed in more smaller organisations did not join a trade union because there was none to join at work

or felt no need to join because, from their understanding, there were no matters that they would have to refer. Although a majority of participants were affiliated, not all were active members. Of those ten (10) participants who were active members, four of them were executive members of unions. Furthermore, of those who were executive members of trade unions, three (3) of them adopted between an *implicitly out* or an *explicitly out* identity management strategy. Of the eight (8) that were inactive members, four (4) were vocal that the unions in their respective workplaces did not positively influence how they managed their sexual identities at work or assisted in reducing subtle discrimination. In fact, it seemed that trade unions were perceived as irrelevant in alleviating the challenges participants experienced pertaining to sexual prejudice at work, hence the unreported cases.

Siyabonga shared in his interview that trade unions are unable to meet with management frequently to resolve matters on time. He also suggested that, while trade unions negotiate on behalf of all employees, he would rather allow representatives to discuss more urgent and serious issues.

> **Lungile**: You know that since you have mentioned that you are not comfortable to report to your manager how about you approach the union.
> **Siyabonga:** I would, but the unions at work are overworked and crowded with issues that still need to be revolved. There are cases still hanging for years back. I think that understanding that is key to what exactly should be referred to them. I mean they don't get an opportunity to always meet up with management because they are always busy themselves so if they get a change, I'd rather they take a matter that is oppressing, urgent and serious.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Azande mentioned that she does not have faith in trade unions within her workplace. As such, she would not refer any matters to the union. Instead, she would rather avoid conflict at work.

Lungile: Since you didn't get any help from your manager, why didn't you escalate it to the unions?
Azande: I'm not a member of a union.
Lungile: Why not?
Azande: Firstly, it is my constitutional right not to. Secondly. because I don't have much faith in unions. The cases in which they are dealing with generally take a long time to get resolved, if they ever. So, their success rate is very low. Personally, I wouldn't take a sensitive issue like this one because I don't think they will do justice to it. Like there is nothing that is threatening like me losing my job or whatever. I just deal with it.
Lungile: How do you deal with it?
Azande: Just keep to myself and avoid that person. It's not the end of the world, I still have my job.

[African woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

Jefferson alluded to the scope of trade unions being more political and wide to cater for more "major" issues that affect a larger group of people.

Lungile: So let's talk about trade unions at work. Does your organisation have unions? If yes, are you affiliated?
Jefferson: I do belong to a unions, in fact I see unions becoming more political than ever.
Lungile: What do you think of that? Is that a good or bad thing for you?
Jefferson: Uhm, I'm not political and I try not to get myself too involved in it.
Lungile: What does that mean as a member of a union? Do you mean you would not involve the services of the unions if you had some sort of grievance at work?
Jefferson: Think it would depend. Most of the conflicts I have had at work are minor to what the unions deal with on the daily. I think their agenda are more substantial than the things I have undergone.

[White man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Melusi also indicated that the scope of trade unions within the workplace excludes personal issues like that of advocacy for sexuality.

> **Melusi**: The organisation needs to have more places we can go to for discussions on an informal basis. I normally have chats with my friends outside of work concerning the issues I have at work. as I said earlier, I'm not much of a talker about such issues at work because I just think the workplace is not the right space for such discussions.
> **Lungile**: Speaking about the right space, do you think that unions at work could be ideal people to drive discussions on sexuality or campaigns about equality and prevention of discrimination based on sexuality at work?
> **Melusi:** Yes and no. The unions are a collective body that are mandated to negotiate the dealings with management. As a shop steward myself, issues that come to us are mainly those that affect the masses where we are tasked to bring to the attention of management for negotiation. So, campaigning and raising awareness would be done by NGOs or other organisations that are solely for that purpose.
> **Lungile**: What about if someone is experiencing discrimination at work because of their sexuality? How would you advise that person?
> **Melusi:** I think it would depend. Maybe if the person is "out" at work and if this is an issue that has been continuing for long, or maybe that there are witnesses and proof that it is working, then we will have to take it forward and advise.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "bisexual"]

From the abovementioned section, it can be seen that participants raised their concerns on the role of trade unions in dealing with personal issues like those of subtle discrimination at work. Those that had an interest in trade unions at work were mainly shop stewards and active members of trade unions who had a more detailed understanding of the role of trade unions in organisations. In that sense, they were more positive in what the unions can offer in terms of relief. However, what the participants had in common was the perception of the kinds of issues that cannot be referred to trade unions. These issues only affected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and were thus perceived as sensitive, personal. This is based on the

premise that trade unions negotiate issues on behalf of the majority of their membership to ensure bargaining power. Furthermore, the history of labour movements in workplaces in the country is based on the response to racism and forced labour pre-democracy within the workplace (Web & Web, 1920). Therefore, trade unions are established to ensure uniformity of working conditions for all employees. This generally includes maintain and improving wages, employee benefits, conditions of promotion and termination of employment as well as transformation. The latter may also explain why Jefferson commented on the political nature of trade unions, in that most of what they stand for are related to the struggle of equality, specifically on race and gender. Therefore, as mentioned by Azande and Siyabonga, when comparing the magnitude of these cases to those of individual cases of subtle discrimination between colleagues, participants perceived their issues as minor and not "serious" or urgent to those mentioned above. The perception of the scope of trade unions was also highlighted in the comments above by participants, Melusi and Jefferson both felt that the scope of trade unions excluded issues of individual cases, specifically those associated with sexuality that was understood to be related to groups outside of the organisation. Therefore, participants perceived that trade unions would not be able to resolve any daily experiences of heterosexism at work. Thus, they did not refer such matters to trade unions. Connected to the failure to report is that participants would have to disclose their sexuality which would be more costly, especially for participants who may have not openly declared their sexuality at work, therefore fearing repercussions of reporting discriminatory behaviour more and the attitudes colleagues may have due to reveal of "non-normative" sexual or gender identity (Karel, 2019). The data suggested that because participants felt that they could not refer matters to trade unions, they were not protected against subtle discrimination. As a result, participants are left to deal with issues on their own, that way perpetuating and maintaining a vicious cycle of subtle discrimination.

7.5 Corporate workplace approach to diversity: "Empty-shell" diversity management policies

For participants, diversity management initiatives focus on meeting the requirements of transformation set out by anti-discriminatory legislation. At the fore of the diversity

management was the establishment of Affirmative Action (AA), which was largely used in the recruitment stage of employment (see Prasad, Prasad, & Mir, 2011) and often not followed through and implemented in other personal career development structures. As stipulated in Chapter 6, issues relating to diversity based on sexuality were vaguely, if at all, addressed in the diversity agenda in corporate workplaces. While diversity management is best understood as a mere legal requirement that needs to be fulfilled in order to compete at a national and international platform, the state of diversity management in the corporate sector gives rise to the argument of the business case for diversity (Kulik, 2014; Janssens & Zanoni, 2005). In this context, the organisation experiences a loss, as failure to address diversity within the workplace can introduce conflict and other problems that can derail the organisations from its main purpose of profit building (Herring, 2009). In other words, this view of diversity suggests that South African workplaces' failure to address diversity impedes group functioning and will have negative effects on business performance.

Below participants share how diversity was approached at work. Bert mentioned that diversity management policy within his place of work was a mere "tick box" exercise that was based on key performance indicators (KPIs). He stated that workshops or training sessions that were promised were not followed through and not mandatory so attendance to these sessions are low.

> **Bert**: Yes we do have a policy but I mean it's just there to tick boxes. Most of these people in high positions have KPIs that need for them to have a policy so that they can gain a competitive edge or B-BBEEE points or whatever. They don't follow through on half the things they say they will do.
> **Lungile**: Regarding inclusive initiatives?
> **Bert**: Regarding inclusive initiatives, we were asked last time what we would like to hear about next time in the next workshop but we haven't been called yet because I asked if we can talk about sexuality at work, they said they would get someone to workshop us. When I asked they said they are still waiting on people to RSVP.
> **Lungile**: Oh, so the call had already come out for people to RSVP?
> **Bert**: Yeah, our diversity workshops are not compulsory so they make them either after work or during lunch as an extra mural activity so people become busy and don't attend.

Lungile: So does this mean that you forfeit your lunch if you attend a workshop?
Bert: No, they give pay you back your hour so you can go home early on one of the days in the week.

[White man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Similarly, also linked to performance indicators is Azanda's comment. She stated that the most that she has been involved in with regards to diversity management in terms at work was an online questionnaire that she was mandated to complete as it was part of her KPIs. She also stated that the diversity management policy had served no purpose for her at work.

Azanda: The most engaging thing that I can remember is us having to be asked to fill in an online diversity questionnaire. We had to rate the managers in terms of them being approachable to us to talk to about important things that have affected us at work. It also spoke about things like transparency, respect for others irrespective of race, gender etc. But we haven't had anything where we were fully involved…. maybe, it's because they haven't had any serious cases brought to their attention for them to be active.
Lungile: Have you experienced any discrimination at work based on your sexuality?
Azanda: I have, but it's nothing out of the ordinary
Lungile: What do you mean?
Azanda: Nothing that I have thought of reporting to anyone superior. I either ignore it or I deal with it independently. But anyways, the diversity here is very dormant, close to non-existed if you ask me. It's just there but serves no purpose for people like us.

[African woman who self-identifies as "lesbian"]

Melusi mentioned that, in his organisation, diversity is a "buzz word" thrown around a lot with no meaning or deep understanding. As a result, it was focused on race equality while ignoring other forms of diversity.

Lungile: I know you mentioned earlier that you're your offices conduct a variety of brainstorming sessions when a new client comes in, but do you

conduct just as frequent workshops that focus on diversity initiatives? More especially on sexuality?
***Melusi*:** Well, we have workshops on a variety of things, diversity is thrown around a lot at work. I sometimes think they don't exactly know what it actually means. Whenever a black person is hired or promoted, we hear them speak of diversity.
Lungile: Don't you think that equal opportunity for people of colour is a recognized type of diversity?
Melusi: It is but it's not just race, its more than that, we are experiencing more at work that needs to be recognised. We need to hear more stories on the challenges of diversity and how the company is willing to help with that. People experience so much on the daily, but nothing is ever said about those things.

[African man who self-identifies as gay]

Zanele also shared how issues of diversity management were incorporated in other policies. She also highlighted how within this policy, issues relating to sexuality were not covered in depth.

Zanele: Our company is very small, so we don't have all the policies or the workshops as much as we should. I'm not making excuses but we really are a small office. We are fairly decent with each other and just get on with our work. we have policies but they aren't all separated. We just have like four that group things together. So, for example, for benefits and leave we have a section there which also covers sexual orientation
Lungile: What does it say about sexual orientation?
Zanele: That people need to be respected each other and that, based on the Labour Relations Act, we are not to be discriminated against.
Lungile: Is there anything else that it says about sexual orientation?
Zanele: I think that's all I can think of. I think they also have something in there that's about how the company is committed to appreciate people from diverse backgrounds or something of the other. That's all I can think about at this moment.

[African woman who self-identifies as transwoman"]

Not only was the diversity agenda approached superficially but the training sessions that emanated from the policy were too. Saziso indicated that workshops that were based on sexuality were generic, basic and repetitive. He also mentioned that information shared in the workshops gave no useful insights to issues of sexuality.

Lungile: Do you have training sessions that focus on sexuality*?*
Saziso*:* Yes, we do. Although they are not isolated sessions, they are part of diversity trainings.
Lungile*:* Can you share with me what information is shared in these training sessions?
Saziso*:* They will cover things like their expectations of us as staff and where we are going as a company in terms of the vision and mission. They also cover how we should treat each other with respect.
Lungile: Can you elaborate more on what that means, "treating people with respect"?
Saziso*:* Well, it's things like being patient with each other, being understanding of each other because we are not all coming from the same backgrounds or culture. They skim through the Constitution about everyone being equal before the law and how we should not discriminate against people based on race, gender and sexual orientation. They also said once about not asking inappropriate questions or just being inappropriately around people. That's basically it, that's all they every say. There is nothing new.

[African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

The above paragraphs have suggested the various approaches of diversity used within the various corporate workplaces. What is suggested from the above is that diversity management is approached very slowly, vaguely and without much thought or consideration. McDonald (2005) refers to this approach as "piecemeal". The same is echoed by Villegas and Lucas (2002) and Randøy, Thomsen and Oxelheim (2006), who state that a piecemeal and fragmented approach to diversity management means that diversity is not a central component of strategic organisational goals. Participants mentioned that the information shared during training sessions and workshops that were focused on sexuality is repetitive and had not brought about new insights for the wellbeing and benefit of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and their colleagues. The statements above also suggest that the "empty shell" phenomenon is linked to the size of organisations. Zanele suggested that, due to the fact that they are a small office, there is no policy that is dedicated to focusing purely on diversity management. Within the policy in which sexuality is included, issues are addressed vaguely and do not relate to the current realities of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. The statements also highlight that diversity management is approached as a "tick box" exercise. This implies that

diversity management is something that is done as a means of compliance based on KPIs, which is further legislated by anti-discriminatory legislation. While Melusi's organisations may acknowledge diversity, it does not guarantee inclusion nor cultural changes within the workplace (Halberstam, 2005). Hence Melusi's idea of diversity being a "buzz word" and being misunderstood within the workplace.

In support of Ragins and Cornwell's findings, training alone might not eradicate entrenched attitudes towards sexual and gender non-normative employees. Peel (2002, p. 257) postulates that education and training courses might be a method of effecting social change as has been in the case of other diversity strands such as race. Previous studies have uncovered mixed results on the effectiveness of education and sexual orientation awareness training, from increased heterosexist behaviour to no significant change in attitudes (Sedahley & Ziemba, 1984). However, other studies, including D'Augelli (1992), have reported a positive change in attitudes as a result of education. However, conducting diversity workshops and training sessions at odd times of the day also indicates that management does not prioritise diversity management or consider it an integral part of the organisational strategy. Dickens (2000) points out, that diversity management policies in some organisations become more of an end in themselves than a first step towards equality. Therefore, no new developments are created in the policy to combat discrimination based on sexuality, hence the increase of cases experienced. It was also understood from the statement above that corporate workplaces approach diversity management and training sessions that address sexuality as more a managerial or business case then a social justice or activist approach. While Bert has pointed out that diversity is the right thing to do, it is seen as having no tangible outcomes when compared to other business concerns. Diversity management does not repay tangibly when compared to other business choices, which further affects the choice to prioritise (Herring, 2009; Robinson & Dechant, 1997). It does not produce immediate outcomes or can be measured in terms of time, like other business aspects. Widely recognised forms of diversity, like race and gender, receive more attention than others (Bell, Özbilgin, Beauregard & Surgevi, 2011). The same was suggested by Melusi, who indicated that diversity is linked to physical differences in his place of work at the expense of other, more "invisible" diversity attributes. One reason is that, historically, discrimination against black people and women was partly due

to the ease of identifying race and gender. Another reason noted by Day and Schoenrade (1997), is that visible attributes are more easily accessible in terms of decision-making and stereotyping than those considered "invisible", such as a sexual and gender "non-normative" identity. Thus, despite the clear relevance of the discrimination, stereotyping and heterosexism experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, they are often overlooked (Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Dietch, Butz, & Brief, 2004). It is therefore argued that both visible and invisible attributes should receive the same attention and level of importance, so to create a supportive working environment that encourages openness and rejects prejudicial behaviour. Although there is a close link between disclosure and workplaces with diversity management policies that include issues of sexuality (Griffith & Hebl, 2002), their findings focus on the narrow area of disclosure only. Therefore, they do not explore the issues sexual and gender "non-normative" employees would have to endure beyond disclosure, like discrimination. Furthermore, they do not explore the micro-level interactions participants have between each other on a daily basis. The limitation of such research is that it doesn't explore how sexual and gender non-normative employees manage their sensitive information once that information is disclosed. The fact of disclosure does not necessarily mean an individual is not working in a hostile environment. In contrast, the findings of this study indicate that diversity management policies that address disclosure of identity are not enough. Although these factors might make it more likely for participants to disclose their "non-normative" sexual identity, disclosure does not necessarily mean that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees have the same freedom and space to manage their sexual identity as their heterosexual counterparts, even in workplaces that participants indicated to be supportive and accepting.

7.6 The impact of anti-discrimination legislation on individuals: Inability to reduce heterosexist attitudes towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees

Legislative efforts have sought to extend protection to sexual and gender "non-normative" employees from employment discrimination and other unequal treatment at work. While the anti-discriminatory legislation prescribes by law that organisations need to act on behalf of the best interest of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work, not all employers comply. Participants noted that workplaces are not safe spaces in which they are protected or accepted at work. This was highlighted by the increased number of sexual prejudice cases

experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work that go without being addressed. This was experienced both by participants who communicated that there were diversity management policies and other diversity management initiatives at work and those that recalled there being none. In order to show the inefficiency of anti-discriminatory legislation, Adbool commented on how the policy is unable to legislate tolerance of people who subscribe to sexual and gender "non-normative" identities.

> **Abdool**: For me I don't think you can legislate tolerance. You can force people to pay a certain amount of respect and that could be a mere formality because it's the attitude. How do you change attitudes and behaviour? That's something that is over resilient or over reliant approach to legislation. I think that legislation can do so much but it also requires that people take a stand and decision to change.
>
> [Indian man who self-identifies as "Pansexual"]

Muzi also indicated that he felt the attitudes of his colleagues had not changed even after the introduction of workplace policies. He further noted how colleagues only tolerate other sexual and gender "non-normative" employees for the sake of peace.

> **Muzi:** When you challenge colleagues about certain things concerning being gay, they will say they understand and or if you tell them a story about someone who has been violated against because of their sexual orientation, they will sympathise with you and all of that. But when it's about things they do to others, it's as if you are talking to a different person. The other day, thjs one colleague was talking about how gay people keep complaining. He said gay people don't know what they want, first we want to be recognised legally, now we are and are able to marry, what more do we want? Here I was so confused because this is the same person who is always so sympathetic to the needs of gay and lesbian people. He is also an active member in training sessions we have at work. He is always active in answering questions and just talking, but he also turns around and says something different.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Anele shared that ethical values that are visible in the vision and mission of the organisation have not translated into equal opportunities at work.

> **Anele**: I think that when it comes to sexuality, it is just difficult**.** Especially for the older generation. I have a manager who I work with closely. He is very caring and honest person. He always tries to be diplomatic in a lot of what he does especially when dealing with employees, because that is in line with what the organisation stands for-mutual respect, accountability and respect.
> **Lungile**: Is that part of your mission statement?
> **Anele**: It's the values of the organisation, so practises are aligned with the company values. I also hope that we take it literally and actually action it out to others. this is where the problem is. So anyways, about this manager, he is great or whatever but, when it comes to this one guy at work who is openly gay, he is very demeaning towards him. He won't say it to his face but he will discuss it amongst us as managers. I always have to tell him that it is unethical what he is doing but I find that the other managers side with him and I don't end up being heard. This guy is good at what he does, he is talented but he has been in one position for the longest time. We will advertise but he will never get it, even if he interviewed the best. The excuse is that he is young and that he would not be able to continue to do his work well if he now has managerial expectations. As fair as it is, I know that it is more than that. That they know that he is gay and that they don't want to have someone gay as a manager.
>
> [African woman who self-identifies as "bisexual"]

Thubelihle also commented generally on how the diversity management policies have been inefficient in reducing sexual prejudice among heterosexual colleagues. He further suggested that having a policy that is not comprehensive also adds to the ineffectiveness of training and workshops that emanate from the diversity agenda at work.

> **Thubelihle:** I hear you asking about policy, for me it's neither here nor there. We have a policy but things haven't changed much. I know of companies that are doing great things where there isn't a policy, so we cannot assume that if there is a policy then everything is roses. The thing for me is that all departments and people in general need to be on board with making sure that the diversity is given priority. That the thing at our work, you find one or two people that really are passionate about this but it doesn't really do much to change the way people

> think about homophobia and stuff. So either way we are bummed. Also, it's not just the policies in house but also nationally, our constitution is so advanced, but we still experience violence and rape and other things that make being homosexual very difficult.
>
> [African man who self-identifies as "gay"]

Participants expressed their concerns with regards to the transfer of information from anti-discrimination legislation to their practical experiences at work. It was suggested that legislation is unable to "legislate tolerance" and change the ways in which heterosexual colleagues treat their counterparts who subscribe to "non-normative" sexual and gender identities. As with many social justice laws of the country that stand for equal rights extended for all, there is a general sense of support. However, support does not guarantee change of perception, behaviour and beliefs (Hoque & Noon, 2004). The ambivalent nature of sexual prejudice and heterosexism is that people can hold both negative and positive beliefs regarding sexual and gender "non-normative" people. While people are aware and support the formal rights of sexual and gender "non-normative" people, negative feelings towards them are still harboured (Herek 2002a, Norton & Herek 2012; Hoffarth & Hodson, 2014). In most cases, as seen in the study, the negative beliefs of people who hold ambivalent attitudes towards sexual and gender "non-normative" identities prevail through the expression of subtle discrimination. Despite legislation legislating against blatant discrimination, subtle discrimination persists, which we have seen reflected in the study. These forms of discrimination may also have consequences for the effectiveness of interventions. The challenge of legislating subtle discrimination is that it is difficult to prove due to its inconspicuous nature (Major, Kaiser, & McCoy, 2003). This may make it difficult to extend legislative measures and sanctions. Abdool's statement suggested that anti-discriminatory legislation alone is not enough to reduce the negative attitudes and beliefs people have towards sexual and gender "non-normative" people. Abdool, Anele and Thubelihle's comments also make reference to how, as much as the awareness is created through anti-discriminatory legislation, heterosexual privilege is sometimes not realised and so the control persists and maintains the status quo. Muzi also spoke of the superficial change that legislation and policies have had on heterosexual employees, as they have not encouraged change of views and perceptions.

Tolerance also came up in the above excerpts as experienced by colleagues at work. Like participants, social activists like William James (1890) and Martin Luther King, Jr. asserted that tolerance is learnt, not legislated. Martin Luther King, Jr. in his address at the Western Michigan University in 1963, Perez-Stable (1998) mentioned that changing one's heart cannot be dealt with through legislation, as morals are not legislated; instead it should be done through education and religion. Muzi's statement also shared light on the limitation of tolerance. We gather that tolerating a group of people is not enough to change deep seated beliefs and stereotypes held by others concerning sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Tolerance is an important component of measures of attitudes towards sexual and gender identity. However, it should not be the goal, instead colleagues need to go beyond tolerance. Also suggested in Muzi's statement, was how his colleague uses distancing strategies of social disassociation to avoid being labelled as prejudiced (Case & Hemmings, 2005). Here, Muzi outlined how his colleague was sympathetic regarding instances of discrimination and other acts of injustice against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, but was not able to answer to the ways in which he had personally contributed to heterosexism within his environment. Therefore, he distanced himself from fully engaging in efforts to eliminate discrimination towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees by confronting his personal prejudices towards sexual and gender "non-normative" people.

The transfer of information to practice has been discussed by other scholars as the "implementation gap" (Cockburn, 1991; Young, 1992, Dickens, 2005; Button et al., 1997; Ragins, Cornwell & Miller, 2003; Van der Meide, 2000; Colgan *et al.*, 2007). Others have made reference to the research-practise gap that is based on the gap between research and practise in the context of the workplace (Kulik, 2014; Rynes, Brown &Colbert, 2000, Rynes, Colbert & Brown 2000). While a lot of information may be available, evidence of the practice component is missing. Therefore, a more comprehensive, blended and integrated intervention could be used to supplement policies and legislations, in order to create a culture and climate of inclusion. Muzi's comment also represents modern homonegativity (Morrison & Morrison, 2003), behaviour that is held by heterosexual colleagues towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Their idea is that sexual and gender "non-normative"

employees exaggerate their importance and relevance and their complaints about not being recognised enough at work perpetuate institutional subtle discrimination.

What was also drawn from the above-mentioned comments is how deeply entrenched are the negative attitudes and perceptions heterosexual colleagues have towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. This is based on years of socialization of people through other institutions, like religion, about "appropriate" gender roles and sexual identities. It is also based on cultural stigma, which reinforces and is reinforced by power and status differences between the two groups, thereby legitimizing socially sanctioned enactments of stigma by other majority group members (Herek & McLemore, 2013). This then makes it more challenging to reduce these convictions, especially since the programmes offered in some corporate workplaces are limited and short-term (see Nelson & Guerra, 2014). Thubelihle stated in his comment that there was a need for the buy-in of everyone, in order for inclusion to be sustainable at work. Creating an environment that is inclusive often requires that the individuals within the organisation understand that prejudices and discriminatory behaviours are not socially accepted by the majority of employees. Although the norms may be displayed through legislation and policies within the organisation, they require individual acceptance (King & Cortina, 2010). When heterosexual colleagues become allies for change and inclusivity in the workplace, that would encourage others to model the same positive attitude (Zitek & Hebl, 2007). Allies within the workplace create informal structures to open up dialogue on how to improve the environment, in order to entrench salient norms and ensure a positive workplace culture.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter set out to understand how organisations have implemented the diversity interventions of anti-discriminatory legislation and how that impacts on the experiences of heterosexism and sexual prejudice behaviour towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The chapter started off by looking at how sexual and gender "non-normative"

employees refrain from reporting incidents of heterosexism in the workplace. This is due to the resistance of mangers to change, specifically that of "non-normative" sexual and gender diversity. The majority of the resistance expressed by managers was in the form of not taking incidents reported by participants with the utmost concern and urgency. Participants shared that managers did not have a genuine concern towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and the negative behaviour exerted on them by others. Furthermore, it was also suggested that the indifferent attitude towards issues of diversity management and its value in corporate workplaces made it challenging for managers to see the need for acting on issues of discrimination that arise at work. The chapter also explored the ways in which anti-discriminatory legislation is reflected at an organisational level and how organisations approach diversity management. While a few of the organisations in which participants worked had diversity management policies, others did not. Here, the findings suggested that organisations approach diversity management very administratively, which results in a very poor and "piecemeal" execution of diversity management initiatives. The diversity management policies are also considered "empty shell" because they lack substance and are not supported by diversity management practises. For participants who indicated that their workplaces have workshops and training sessions that focused on diversity, the information shared was not new and was not helpful enough to provide participants and others with the skills needed to understanding diversity, specifically sexual and gender "non-normative" diversity and how best to accommodate and support one another. Lastly, the chapter looked at the impact that anti-discriminatory legislation has had on sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Participants shared that incidents of discrimination continue, due to the fact of heterosexual colleagues' negative attitudes towards them. The section looked at how training sessions that were conducted towards creating awareness and inclusion at work served no purpose, as they were not able to change or reduce heterosexim and other types of subtle discrimination. It was also suggested that, to attend to the urgent issues of discrimination at work, anti-discriminatory legislation and diversity management policies need to be more comprehensive and complex, so as to attend to the needs of subtle types of discrimination. This may include workshops and training sessions that are of substance and useful to reduce discrimination at work.

This chapter concludes the discussion of the findings. In the next, I will cover the key observations and conclusions from the empirical chapters of this study. I will pull together the key arguments and attempt to answer the research questions.

CHAPTER 8

Discussion, Implications and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This study's purpose was to understand the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal. It also intended to fill the gap in existing literature, both internationally and locally, pertaining to gender identification and sexuality in corporate workplaces in South Africa. This particular chapter aims to wind the thesis up by bringing together the findings of the study. This will be done by looking at each research question and linking it to the main findings. Following this, I will outline the main contribution this thesis presents to the existing body of knowledge, which I argue is scarce. I also intend on giving an account of the implications for theory, policy and practice, as well as outline future research, which arose from the limitations of the study.

8.2 Revisiting the research aims and research questions in the light of the findings

The study included 25 sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, employed in multiple corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. In order to collect data and answer the research questions set out in this study, in-depth interviews in the form of grounded conversations were conducted. This study aimed to understand the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. In so doing, this study was interested in uncovering and unearthing deep and unique narratives of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees that otherwise have been silenced, due to the nature of corporate workplaces in South Africa, and generally the lack of scholarship on the same. Furthermore, this study also planned to develop a deeper knowledge of corporate workplace culture when it comes to issues of diversity. As has been quite evident in the findings chapters of this thesis, corporate workplace culture is heteronormative, conservative, rigid and uniform, which aids in advancing heterosexism and prejudice on the basis of gender and sexual identity. This serves to maintain the marginalization of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Moreover, this study sets out to extend the knowledge on "progressive" anti-discriminatory legislation in

the country and the role that such legislation has played in influencing the ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces. The aim here was to find out the role played by anti-discrimination legislation on shaping diversity management policies within the workplace, including the roles that these play in inhibiting discrimination of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. To recap, below are the three research questions this study intended to answer:

1. What are the workplace experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South African corporate workplaces?
2. Why do sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience the corporate workplace the way they do?
3. What is the role of national anti-discrimination legislation and policies in shaping the experiences of the selected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces?

Given the research questions above, I will revisit each question and provide conclusive discussions based on the themes that emerged.

8.2.1 What are the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in South African corporate workplaces?

In this question, I sought to understand the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces. I found that discrimination continues to describe and shape the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate South Africa. Based on the accounts from the participants, discrimination was more subtle than blatant. Microaggressions, a form of subtle discrimination defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward members of oppressed groups" (Nadal, 2008, p. 23), characterised the daily experiences of employees. Originally modelled from research on racial

microaggressions (see Sue, Bucceri *et al.* 2007), this type of subtle discrimination is argued to exist toward all marginalized groups, including people of colour, women, people with disabilities, and religious minorities as well as sexual and gender non-normative people (Nadal, 2008). In this study, microaggressions were based on heterosexism and sexual prejudice. This discriminatory behaviour was characterised by verbal and non-verbal interactions between sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and their colleagues. Often, it was through microassaults and microinsults, which involved name calling, usage of inappropriate pronouns as jokes, social ostracism and heterosexist attacks based on stereotypical ideas of sexual and gender "non-normative" identities, that informed these negative experiences.

The study also uncovered the paradoxical characteristics of microaggressions experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in the workplace. Often times, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees found it difficult to identify and recognise discriminatory acts because of how they are "packaged" (Cortina, 2008). Often, experiences of sexual prejudice are combined or packaged with jokes and humour that can be perceived as harmless and innocent, when in fact they mask the discriminatory behaviour of heterosexual people at work. In this study, incidents of subtle discrimination experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees were naturalised, tolerated and seen as part of "normal" workplace repertoire. Since jokes and humour were part of "normal office banter", subtle discrimination was accepted and went without redress. The same was found in a study conducted by Laer and Janssens (2011) on the experiences of subtle discrimination by professional ethnic minorities in Turkey. Their study highlighted a link between naturalisation and tolerance in the context of subtle discrimination. They found that subtle discrimination works through the process of naturalization, whereby behaviour that was regarded as intolerant was accepted by the majority of ethnic individuals who were said to be tolerant. The authors also shared that that "normal workplace repertoires" gloss over the underlying power and conflict structures that are then set for future incidents (cf. Gabriel, 1998; Hardy & Leiba-O'Sullivan, 1998). Therefore, while blatant discrimination towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees promotes powerlessness at the core, subtle discrimination can be understood as powerlessness through apparent legitimization. The combination of the powerlessness and legitimization makes it harder for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to challenge and prove than blatant

discrimination (Fric, 2019). This is because challenging these discriminatory behaviours can be easily justified as innocuous or facetious, and complaints can be dismissed by saying they were simply misunderstood. Therefore, primarily, the prejudicial behaviour goes unreported because it is not readily affirmed by the victim as an act that disempowers them.

Sexual and gender "non-normative" employees also experience subtle discrimination through the organisational structures within corporate workplaces. It was suggested that discrimination by participants was based on the insistence on traditional gender conformity by managers and supervisors of participants in this study. Microaggressions were reflected in the inherent positions of managers, which entrenched certain power imbalances between sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and their managers. This was seen in this study by how masculine and feminine behaviour was policed at work. This exercise was enforced by managers and supervisors in their positions of seniority, which, at times, left participants with no choice but to submit and obey in the fear of negative repercussions and victimisation. Issues of power were also reflected through reporting of incidents of discrimination. When participants followed up on these incidents of sexual prejudice or heterosexist behaviour, none was attended to or addressed. Participants reported that managers found issues of discrimination based on sexual and gender identity as not important. Therefore, these did not require urgent intervention or entail serious repercussions for offenders. Accordingly, due to the positions that the organisational structure afforded managers and supervisors, some participants felt powerless and could not take the disputes higher up or to structures like trade unions at work, as these structures were irrelevant and unable to dealt with the daily workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Therefore, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees remained silent in the face of discrimination at work.

The study highlighted that, while organisations may be considered sexual spaces, gender is reproduced and maintained in these spaces as well. The monitoring of hairstyles and work uniforms through gender expression and behaviour reaffirms gender norms and preserve heteronormativity (Clark & Turner, 2007). Workplace diversity policies and practices within the workplace disadvantage sexual and gender "non-normative" employees by institutionalizing heterosexism. According to Herek, (2007, p. 14), sexual stigma, otherwise

known as heterosexism, is "a cultural ideology embodied in institutional practices that work to the disadvantage of sexual minority groups even in the absence of individual prejudice or discrimination". The two ways in which heterosexism plays out within the workplace are through the ways in which heterosexuality is considered a "normative" sexual identity, as well as the through the visibility of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work, which leads to marginalisation, hostility and warranted discriminatory treatment. In this study, heterosexism was also evident in the silences insofar as open discussions of sexuality as well as workplace diversity management policies that privilege heterosexuality are concerned. This was most visible in the family events at work, which were created around the understanding that the ideal family unit is made up of heterosexual couples with their biological kids, making sexual and gender "non-normative" employees feel like a variation to organized social institutional norms. Thus, they were not accepted or valued within the workplace.

Below I continue to explore and attempt to answer the second research question.

8.2.2 *Why do sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience the corporate workplace the way they do?*

My line of inquiry led me to understand that the workplace experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are based on a broader social fabric. Due to the legacy of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the country remains deeply entrenched in discrimination. The historical systematic racial ordering of the regime also continues to inhabit social worlds that are largely defined by race and by the views people have of other racial groups (Francis, 2019). While the adoption of Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and other anti-discrimination legislation focused on the eradication of racial segregation, discrimination and racism remain ever present in contemporary South Africa (Seekings, 2008). The apartheid legacy was also a powerful regulator of sexual identities too. Here, sex and bodies were regulated and subjected to discriminatory practices and social control by the criminalizing of sexual and gender "non-normative" people (Judge, Manion, & De Waal, 2008; Reddy, 2001; Thoreson, 2008). Furthermore, the regime also ensured racial purity and sexual "normativity" (Carolin, 2017; Swarr, 2004). Work that has done on race and sexualities in the schooling

environment in South Africa (Carrim, 1998; McArthur, 2015; McKinney, 2010; Msibi, 2012; Soudien, 1994) highlights that both race and sexuality (as social identities) are important in determining who is excluded and included within schools in the country. The same was found in the corporate workplace context of this study. Despite the anti-discriminatory commitments, corporate workplaces continue to be shaped by social identity categories such as race, gender and sexual classification. Furthermore, corporate workplaces reflect the individual, institutional and cultural heterosexist culture in the broader South African society, which echo the discrimination and marginalisation of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees (Nel & Judge, 2008). I found that, in this study, race, sexuality and gender identities intersect as markers of difference and identity. Although very subtly, I found that racism operates in conjunction with the heterosexist culture. For example, racism was experienced by black African women who were employees in workplaces where Indian women held high positions. This represented a form of horizontal and internalised racism, which intersected powerfully with internalisation in terms of gender and sexuality.

The study uncovered that the corporate culture is heavily heterosexist and privileges heterosexuality and heteronormativity, often leaving sexual and gender "non-normative" employees feeling stigmatised, victimised and marginalised. According to Isaac (1993, p. 92-93) corporate culture is made up of "patterns of basic assumptions that a given group have invented, discovered, or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration". These patterns manifest themselves as attitudes and values, dress, beliefs, customs as well as practices and processes. The study uncovered symbolic processes and practices within the workplace that rendered sexual and gender "non-normative" identities invisible and unimportant. In the study, this was seen through the obvious exclusion of sexuality from workplace diversity policies, while race, gender and religion were included. The culture in corporate workplaces was also found to be heavily heterocentric. The study uncovered that, while "professionalism" was maintained through restrictions on conduct, where participants indicated that they did not feel comfortable to talk about issues of sexuality at work due to the "nature of the workplace", it was also institutionalised through the various types of work that are seen as "professional". Participants in the study highlighted the importance of maintaining a professional status in their corporate workplace due to contextual

reasons. Furthermore, we gather that the culture at work desexualises sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and requires that they subscribe to heteronormativity, hence sexual and gender "non-normative" employees kept their sexuality private. The study also found, similar to other studies in the field (Rumens & Kerfoot, 2009), that professionalism in the workplace is equated to heterosexuality. Those that do not publicly declare and perform their sexual identities at work are respected as credible people, a type of work orientation that is aspired by all. However, this was not the case at all for those who were publicly and visibly 'out'.

Another reason why sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces the way that they do is because of the hostile corporate environment in which employees work. The heteronormative culture reinforces hostility within corporate workplaces. The study found that there are various institutional mechanisms that make it impossible for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to express their sexualities at work. Thus, sexuality exists as a process of power relations and not just sexual acts that change, based on time and space (see Foucault, 1978). Corporate workplaces are no different; sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience the dominance of heterosexuality in a majority of environments. The standards by which people are considered and measured are framed by the larger social structures and based on the dominant groups of society (i.e., White, male, heterosexual, Christian, and cisgender) (Ward, 2007). Thus, heteronormativity consists of the manifestations of heterosexism towards sexual and gender "non-normative" people. As already alluded to above, heteronormativity is an ongoing and situated hegemony that translates into institutional discrimination and hate crimes ((Russo et al., 1992)), as well as to the mundane oppressions of daily interactions at work (Conley, Calhoun, Evett & Devine, 2002). It refers "to the myriad ways in which heterosexuality is produced as a natural, taken-for-granted, unproblematic and ordinary phenomenon" (Kitzinger, 2005, p. 478). Furthermore, organisations are assumed to be asexual spaces where sexuality does not exist. However, like any institution, corporate workplaces reflect and reinforce conventional norms of gender and sexuality (Khayatt, 2006). This includes adhering to the formal and informal dress codes that are presented explicitly and implicitly and are assigned to each gender as an example of behaviour that supports the dominant group, thus maintaining heterosexuality within the workplace. My findings suggest that it is for this reason that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees refrain from

disclosing their sexual identity in corporate workplaces (Longerbeam, Inkelas, Johnson & Lee, 2007). The general sentiments of participants were based on the homophobic workplace culture, which denies alternative discourses on sexuality. As such, participants shared that they feared negative repercussions and victimization for embracing and expressing their "non-normative" sexualities at work. To avoid interpersonal derogation, discrimination, or other negative repercussions, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees find ways to manage their sexual identities (Goffman, 1963). Whilst some participants have overcome this fear by openly disclosing their sexuality, others are still coming to terms with how to deal with fear in the workplace and how to maintain a professional image whilst embracing a sexual and gender "non-normative" identity. As a result, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees felt that they had to downplay their sexual identity in order to be seen as professional in corporate workplaces. Evidently, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees who embrace their sexual identities at work were considered overly sexual and erotic people. Hence, many adopted both public and private identities. The study highlighted that appearance at work, in terms of the ways in which participants choose to dress and wear their hair, was not the same as how they would express themselves outside of the work. It was highlighted that, due to being labelled as inappropriate at work, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees had to "tone down", limit or hold back expressions of their sexual identity so as to avoid negative attention at work. However, keeping one's sexuality private does not challenge change but encourages heteronormativity as "normal".

Despite the greater visibility of sexual and gender "non-normative" people in popular culture as well as in the workplace, there is still the mainstreaming of the traditional and the "other". Based on homophobic societal views, people who subscribe to sexual and gender "non-normative" identities pose a threat to traditional gender norms by displaying behaviour that is perceived to be associated with the "opposite" gender. This is because being sexual and gender "non-normative" is perceived as a Western import that is devastating for African countries (Reddy, 2001). This perception thus exacerbates homophobic and violent behaviours towards sexual and gender "non-normative" people. The study uncovered that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience routine subtle discrimination in the form of sexual prejudice and heterosexism, bias and hostility due to their sexual and gender identity. As a result, some

participants mentioned that they have to adopt coping strategies. In this study, these strategies included self-regulating of appearance in order to limit the association with their stigmatized sexual identities and also through policing masculinity and femininity through appearance. Self-regulation was also conducted by those sexual and gender "non-normative" employees who had indicated working in workplaces deemed "gay-friendly". These employees shared that they have to "normalize" their sexuality in these spaces. This involved positioning their sexual identity within the heteronormative disposition. This included attaching gender issues to personal stories shared by participants in order to find commonality with their heterosexual counterparts. While a majority of participants shared that they did not regard their workplaces as spaces that embraced sexuality, a small number of participants did. These participants did not have to "hide" their sexualities in such "gay-friendly" environments. I found that while 'gay-friendly' organisations may come with good intentions, they are impacted heavily by the larger context and often reinforced heteronormativity. This is because, even within "gay-friendly" workplaces, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees were expected to embrace masculine and feminine behaviours and other social norms that are prescribed by heteronormality. This then raises the question of whether or not there are organisations that can fully accept and cultivate the "disruptiveness' associated with queerness. Another factor that influences the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees is how male dominance is privileged in corporate workplaces. Corporate workplaces are perceived as "masculine" environments. In such workplaces, policing of sexuality and gender occur frequently. Due to gender binaries, participants have to skilfully navigate the heteronormative corporate workplace by refashioning their stigmatised sexual identities to negotiate social inclusion.

As I have concluded and answered to the questions as to why sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience the workplace the way they do, I now attempt to answer the third and final research question.

8.2.3 What is the role of national anti-discrimination legislation and policies in shaping the experiences of the selected sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces?

The study revealed that the ways in which corporate workplaces respond to anti-discriminatory legislation is questionable. From the data, it becomes evident that the approach of many of the workplaces in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are employed lack a preventative approach to eliminate discrimination. This is due to the assumption that diversity and other social justice issues have no place at work, as they do not directly influence the primary functions of corporate workplaces. Therefore, they do not form part of the strategic goals of these workplaces. In the study, this was seen in the ways in which issues of diversity were handled and treated. For example, participants shared that there was resistance from managers in acknowledging the importance of diversity within the workplace environment, even though transformation within workplaces is mandatory and legislated. Participants shared that diversity within the workplace was approached very vaguely and generically. This then explained the absence of inclusive diversity management policies at work as far as issues of sexuality are concerned. From a diversity point of view, participants shared that diversity management policies included race and gender identities predominantly. This could be as a result of the motivation stipulated by South African legislation and the guidance supplied by the codes of good practise relating to diversity and the elimination of discrimination in the context of the workplace (e.g.: Amended code of good practice: Handling sexual harassment cases in the workplace; Code of good practise on people with disabilities; as well as the Code of good practice on HIV and AIDS in employment). While race and gender are important social identities to focus on considering the history of South Africa, recognising, valuing and respecting other identities is also essential in the development of an inclusive work culture. Moreover, participants mentioned that "diversity" was a buzzword that was used carelessly with no deep understanding. As a result, organisations approach diversity management very administratively, which results in a "piecemeal" execution of diversity management initiatives. Other participants stated that diversity in their workplaces was a tick box exercise that was based on Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) derived from their Performance Management

(PM) contract agreements. Consequently, diversity management policies were also regarded as "empty shell" policies because they lack substance and were not supported by diversity management practices that would outlaw workplace discrimination on the grounds of sexuality.

Many participants in the study did not report incidents of discrimination at work because of the lack of confidence participants had in the legislative procedures internally as well as in forums like trade unions. Although, by law, anti-discriminatory legislation prescribes the need for trade unions to be able to act on behalf of the best interest of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work, not all trade unions were able to offer that. This was mentioned by participants in the study, who claimed that trade unions within their respective workplaces were not equipped well enough to assist in the elimination of discrimination experienced by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. From this we gather that corporate workplaces are not safe spaces for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. In many cases, participants relied on the workplace culture in fostering an environment that eliminates workplace discrimination. However, as suggested in the study, corporate workplaces are heteronormative spaces that reinforce heteronormativity through the normalising of acts of sexual microaggressions towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. Prejudice and discrimination thrive in environments in which they are perceived to be the norm, but they die when the existing social norms do not allow (Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006). Therefore, discrimination against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees remains. The study also showed a lack of transfer of application of anti-discrimination legislation to the practical experiences of employees at work. It was suggested by participants that legislation is unable to "legislate tolerance" and change the ways in which heterosexual colleagues treat their counterparts who subscribe to "non-normative" sexual and gender identities. In the main, legislation was unable to change the stigma and negative attitudes that colleagues have towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, which in turn is unable to prevent daily occurrences of microaggressions against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. It didn't help that most of the employing companies of the interviewed participants did not have workplace policies that re-enforce an anti-discrimination culture.

The study also revealed that anti-discriminatory legislation in the country is based on a single-axis approach. This traditional approach is problematic as it is unable to deal with sexual and gender "non-normative" employees who experience discrimination on multiple and diverse levels. This is because the traditional approach of anti-discriminatory legislation refers to sexual and gender "non-normative" people in terms of "sexual orientation", which is a politicized term that derives from a heteronormative view and that privileges a binary model of gender and sexual behaviours. The use of the term 'sexual orientation' often excludes the idea of gender identity, namely transgender identities. It also limits asexual people. As organisational practices and policies are not entirely internal organisational matters, other factors beyond the formal boundary of an organisation may impact the daily processes. This is because negative attitudes towards sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are deeply embedded homophobic and transphobic attitudes. Therefore, while the prohibition of unfair discrimination based on sexual orientation contained in the Constitution of South Africa and other anti-discriminatory legislation has led to significant legal changes, this study found that these legal victories have not radically altered the lived experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Certainly, much progress has been made. However, much more is still required. It is clear that organisations themselves also need to be held accountable for some of the experiences documented in the study.

8.3 Contributions this study makes: Research, practice and policy

This study has made strides in illuminating the voices of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees who are said to be a hidden and "disadvantaged" group in corporate workplaces. There are a number of contributions this study offers to the existing body of knowledge, research, practice and policy as well as theory. This work provides some understanding in terms of the lived daily experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Since this thesis has been written from a feminist perspective, I have dealt with the ways in which organisational structures create, enhance and legitimate sexual prejudice and heterosexism in corporate workplaces, which have

not been considered in the work done in the field of Human Resource Management. Therefore, in terms of research, this study made four important inputs.

Firstly, this study is concerned with bringing a feminist view to organisational culture by marrying Human Resource Management and gender scholarship together, to critically interrogate the silences insofar as sexuality is concerned. This was done by providing a more direct focus on how "non-normative" sexualities and gender identities are manifested in organisational practices and processes. Unlike any of the work done on corporate workplaces in the country, this document shows that economic institutions such as corporate workplaces, are made up of people who have a sexuality and who express it, one way or the other, at work. This study shows that sexuality is not something that can be divorced when entering the workplace but is challenged throughout the careers of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. This study also contributes to the shattering of the culture of silence within the workplace and expose the negative attitudes held by those who sought to discourage me to conduct this study, particularly in my field.

Secondly, in terms of knowledge advancement, this study contributes by dissecting the organisational culture of corporate workplaces, which has been left minimally touched in literature in South Africa. I argue that the culture in corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal is problematic in that it is hostile, homophobic and unsafe for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. I also question the male-dominated systems that has been maintained and seen in the very structures of corporate workplaces. Formal, covert organisational practices within corporate workplace are biased and uphold discriminatory behaviour against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. These systems are not inclusive or accommodative of the unique workplace needs of people who self-identify as sexual and gender "non-normative". Moreover, this study also makes a contribution to research by presenting deeper understanding of discrimination in the context of corporate workplaces. A particular focus was directed to subtle discrimination, where it was discovered that discriminatory behaviours may be just as pernicious as overt behaviours and may be more difficult to address over time (Dovidio, 2001; DeSouze, Wesselmann Ispas, 2017). The study drew the attention to how subtle discrimination manifests and emerges in the workplace setting and how this may impact sexual and gender "non-normative" employees and the organisation.

Thirdly, this study contributes to the work done on sexuality by including the experiences of people who self-identify as "bisexual" and "transsexual", which have been continuously overlooked in scholarship on gender both internationally and nationally within corporate workplaces and in the field of Human Resource Management.

Lastly, this study contributes to research by acknowledging that there are powerful socio-cultural factors that impact on the ways that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees develop and manage their sexualities at work. The study brings to the fore various peripheral factors outside of the workplace that have a direct influence on how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces. This study highlights factors like masculinity and femininity, race and gender-based issues and societal political climate, just to name a few, interact with each other to influence how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees are treated at work and also how they manage their sexualities in corporate workplaces.

8.3.2 *Contribution to practice and policy*

This study has found that issues of sexuality in the workplace have not been openly integrated or discussed at a strategic management level. This was seen in the scanty, if any, regard for issues of sexuality in workshops and in many of the diversity management policies that exist in corporate workplaces. This in turn revealed a deeply rooted heterosexist culture apparent in corporate workplaces. This study makes two important contributions – to practice and to policy. Contributions within this study were aimed at adding to the existing body of knowledge in terms of diversity, equality and inclusion in corporate workplaces in South Africa.

In terms of practice, the empirical data revealed that there were a number of limitations and challenges in the translation of policy to practice that require critical engagement. It was apparent that sexuality and gender identity diversity has been a blind spot for formal policy, which has influenced how sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces. The findings of the study suggested that the individual experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees vary across workplaces. The process of selective action that was seen play out within workplaces shows that organisations tend to focus on where

business interests and social justice coincide. In the study, this created a void in the ways diversity and equality within workplaces are considered and implemented. It is therefore suggested that a comprehensive framework is designed with customized diversity management programmes that target the needs of the sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work. Furthermore, it is important that diversity practitioners effectively frame diversity initiatives so that these efforts maximize benefits and mitigate harm.

The study highlighted that organisational change in terms of diversity does not necessarily guarantee a working environment that recognizes and embraces sexuality. In fact, even within organisations that were considered inclusive or "gay-friendly", a range of subtle sexual prejudices were prevalent. In this study, participants who considered that they worked in organisations in which they term "gay-friendly" shared that these spaces made them feel "open", where they didn't have to hide their sexuality. These types of workplaces were also ones with inclusive initiatives, where participants reported that events like "bring-your-family-to work" day were part of the progressive efforts the organisation made towards valuing their diverse employees. However, the empirical evidence from the study suggested that the presence of the diversity management initiatives do not lead to fairness for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees or to the organisational change. Despite that, it would be unfair to assume that the presence and adoption of diversity management initiatives did not have any effect on workplaces. For example, black women were represented in management. Azande, for instance, a black woman who self-identifies as "lesbian", indicated that she holds a managerial position and that there were many other participants from groups considered "underrepresented" that formed part of management. However, these effects are minute and, on their own, are ineffective to create change in management or prevent and reduce discrimination against sexual and gender "non-normative" employees (Dobbin, Schrage, & Kalev, 2015).

This study also advocates the need to introduce evidence-based strategies to managers to prevent discrimination at work. What I found is that, even though corporate workplaces have been legislated not to discriminate, they have not been provided with adequate strategies to combat discrimination. Thus, organisations have been left to develop their own strategies to

solve workplace problems, strategies that, at times, have proven to have shortcomings. Scholars like Edelman, Krieger, Eliason, Albiston, and Mellema (2011) have highlighted the criticality of evidence-based practices for human rights issues at work. This is because this study found that, while some of the equality interventions suggested by managers have been well-intentioned and comply with legislation, they have been futile in attending to the daily needs of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

The study has highlighted that, while it is desirable to have an inclusive workplace, it was suggested that organisational initiatives that promote diversity and inclusion cannot solely dismantle heteronormativity in the workplace. Heteronormativity is generally known as the normative regime that requires people to inscribe themselves to a sexual order that is hierarchical (Warner, 1993). Within the workplace, heteronormativity is mobilised: heterosexuality acquires a "normative" status while "non-normative" sexualities and gender identities are considered "abnormal" or unnatural" (Colgan & Rumens, 2015). Although it is argued that not all diversity management initiatives at work are created to solve problems, some may be developed to address diversity at work. It also indicates to its employees and the public how important and urgent transformation is in the working environment. This has presented that diversity management may have both employee and/or organisational benefits that may not be aligned with each other. Hence, corporate workplaces with diversity management initiatives may not necessarily act on the behalf of the best interests of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees.

Policy development is one of the fundamental contributions that this study has made, due to the field in which this study is located. South Africa has been a step ahead of the rest, not only in Africa but arguably in the world, to legally recognise and protect sexual and gender "non-normative" people from being discriminated against, based on their sexual identification. As Skidmore (2004) suggests, the law (whatever its shortcomings) as a regulatory apparatus is important in shaping organisational policy, practice and the production of cultural norms. However, as the findings of this study have revealed, heterosexism and discrimination still prevail (Polders, Nel, Kruger & Wells, 2008). This study contributes by capturing the subtle and problematic aspects of the legal framework despite the positive structural and legal

changes made to it. As mentioned previously, while anti-discriminatory legislation has good intentions, however it is unable to change stigma and other negative perceptions and stereotypes that people hold towards those who subscribe to "non-normative" sexualities and genders. This was captured well by Beatty and Kirby (2006), who state that environments are more resistant to change and therefore change occurs slowly, as stigma cannot be simply legislated away. The study has also contributed to literature on policy implementation. O'Toole (2000) defines policy implementation as "what develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact on the world of action" (p. 263). Other scholars have referred to implementation as the "missing link" that describes what happened between programme design and programme outcomes in the fields of public administration, political science, policy analysis, sociology, and even economics (Hargrove, 1975). This study suggests that there is an implementation gap between government information and workplace diversity policies. In fact, many a time, participants have had to rely on anti-discriminatory legislation as workplace diversity management policies were non-existent. At times, diversity management policies were present but there was a void in the inclusion of aspects that addressed issues relating to sexual and gender non-normative employees at work. The contributions of the study also highlighted that some interventions, as far as policy is concerned, receive more attention than others. This is due to the organisational consequences that may be detrimental to the performance and reputation of the organisation. Furthermore, an article by Faku, (2019) indicates that the Minister of Employment and Labour, Mr Thulas Nxesi, was concerned at the pace of transformation of workplaces in the country. The article continued to suggest that he, through his office, would focus on introducing 'harsh measures' for organisations to ensure transformation (Faku, 2019). Therefore, organisations are forced to adhere to transformation mainly in terms of race, while other aspects of diversity, like sexuality, do not receive the same attention from government. This, in turn, influences the way in leaders treat issues of sexuality at work. Diversity in terms of gender identity has also been considered invisible at work. Participants who shared that their workplaces had a viable diversity management policy, remained silent on how the policy had recognised and accepted the presence of employees who identifies as diverse in terms of gender identity. This was also seen in the lack of visibility and representation quantitatively in the number of participants who identify as "transgender"

generally in the workplaces, as well as in this particular study. Although the study has identified the importance of workplaces respond to the unique needs of employees who identify as "transgender" in terms of policy inclusion, it is also important that managers provide appropriate support to employees who may be going through transitioning process.

The study has also found that the developed and existing policies are inefficient in motivating sexual and gender "non-normative" people to openly disclose their sexuality. Whether it is in social spaces or corporate workplaces, sexual and gender "non-normative" employees choose not to disclose. This is because sexual and gender "non-normative" employees still find corporate workplaces hostile and negative spaces. Furthermore, heteronormativity continues to manifest itself in symbolic representation that further disadvantage sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The findings suggest that policy cannot just be developed outside a supportive framework that will monitor and support implementation. Indeed, as has been observed in equity targeting, organisations, while often reluctant to pursue transformation through affirmative action, often play the numbers game. They are sometimes able to show the numeric efforts, with very little to show in terms of a change in institutional culture. There are serious implications here for the manner in which policy is introduced, both in terms of it being top down and also in terms of the development of a supportive framework to enable implementation.

In the below section I outline the implications, limitations and further studies emanating from this work.

8.4 Implications for the study

While I cannot dictate what needs to be done based on a small-scale study like this one, the implications identified below come as an urgent need for further deliberation. Part of the obligation of feminists is to developed strategies to initiate social change. As a feminist myself, the implications below serve as groundwork in the quest for social change.

Like the contributions of this study, the implications this study evoked are based on policy and practise. Below I outline these implications.

8.4.1 Implications for practice

The demographic changes within the South African context, coupled with anti-discrimination legislation, have created unprecedented diversity in the South African workforce. It has arguably made diversity management a central issue in Human Resources Management. The various challenges that have flowed from this diversity are caused by the inability of workplaces to truly integrate and utilize a heterogeneous workforce at all levels of the organisations. Firstly, for practice, the implication proposed by this study is that corporate workplaces need to prioritize creating a culture of inclusivity. This can be done by driving the importance of diversity in the strategic plan of corporate workplaces. This is because the study found that there is no diligent attempt to embed the inclusion of diversity as an essential component of the business strategy; hence no proactive implementation of diversity in terms of sexuality is initiated. This is confirmed by Gwele (2009), who mentions that diversity initiatives are not an event but complex and dynamic processes that require periodic review and strategic intervention. When diversity is prioritised, management makes a genuine effort to understand the workplace challenges that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees face that hinder both their performance and overall satisfaction at work. As the transformation towards fully inclusive workplaces is far from complete, a greater focus is needed on the processes, practices and other cultural norms that determine the reproduction and institutionalization of heterosexuality and that can lead to experiences of exclusion. Such processes may include identifying and eliminating bias and unfair structure in the recruitment and selection, training and development, promotion opportunities as well as the reward structure of the organisation.

Part of creating an inclusive workplace culture is promoting the visibility of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees at work, which is important in creating acceptance at work. In order for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to feel that disclosing their sexuality

at work is a viable choice, policies have to demonstrate an open and accommodative culture that indicates that employees are valued (Beatty & Kirby, 2006). The second implication for practice that I propose in this study is an all-encompassing diversity management policy that represents the approach of the organisation insofar as sexuality in the workplace is concerned. Such a workplace policy needs to embrace the multiplicity of diversity to ensure that all employees are catered for and needs to assist in de-stigmatizing "non-normative" sexualities and genders, so as to create a more nurturing environment. Programmes and initiatives must celebrate all forms of diversity very carefully and meaningfully. Mojab and Gorman (2003) assert that diversity management initiatives call for critical engagement and reflection. This will allow for engagements between management and sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to be more meaningful as they are consciousness driven.

A third and final implication for practice suggested by the study is around sensitizing employees on issues of diversity through mentorship, training and workshops in the workplace. This can be in the form of consistently using inclusive language to promote the value that diversity brings to the organisation. It can also be in the form of running compulsory diversity seminars and workshops that aim to communicate management's commitment and support of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, both in securing employment and in ensuring promotional opportunities at all levels and occupational categories, in recognition of "non-normative" sexualities and genders within the organisation, in the promise of eradication of discrimination based on sexuality in the workplace and in educating as well as empowering employees about "non-normative" sexualities in the context of corporate workplaces. Mandatory diversity training has been shown to be less effective than voluntary training (Dobbin, Frank, Kalev & Alexandra, 2015; Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly, 2006). Creating awareness comes with increasing technical and administrative support to assist diversity management policies. This is especially important for trans employees, who may want to change names, prefixes or remove certain biographical information. Human resource information systems must be updated so as to facilitate this change easily, without having the employee encounter multiple questions or face scrutiny when trying to navigate the process.

8.4.2 Implications for policy

It goes without saying that South Africa has gone through radical change in the way in which sexual and gender "non-normative" people have been seen over the last 20 years of democracy. This has led to dramatic improvement in some aspects of the lives of sexual and gender "non-normative" people, especially among middle-class individuals who live in the suburbs of large cities. Whilst South Africa was amongst the first countries in the world to affirm protection on the ground of "sexual orientation" as a cornerstone of democracy, such victories have not eradicated prejudice and discrimination of sexual and gender "non-normative" people socially and in the workplace. Although I am not a law expert, I put forth my contribution to policymakers with the hope that this inspires transformation and equality for all.

I wish to extend two implications to anti-discriminatory legislation in the country. The first implication is that the term "sexual orientation" needs to be replaced to include a comprehensive term that is not regarded as offensive or limiting. Not only is the term "sexual orientation" limiting in its scope of protection, it also invokes something that is stable and unchanging. However, this study suggests that sexuality is fluid and can evolve. Thus, terminology used in legislation should be more inclusive, for example, by using more inclusive pronouns like they, them and you. Furthermore, words used in anti-discriminatory legislation are seen an instrument of power and resistance that continues to oppress sexual and gender "non-normative" people by delegitimizing other forms of sexuality outside the heterosexual matrix. The second implication is that of positionality; the motivation to extend protection to sexual and gender "non-normative" people needs to be reviewed. Currently, the approach by policymakers is on protecting sexual and gender "non-normative" people because of their history of being treated unfairly, including experiences of marginalization and stigmatization. However, the positionality of anti-discriminatory legislation should be that of embracing difference in terms of sexual desires or acts of gender. It should see same-sex desire as a viable alternative to the heterosexuality.

In terms of diversity management policies within the workplace, such policies and programmes need to be specific, unbiased and comprehensive (Fahrenhorst & Kleiner, 2012). Programmes that focus on creating awareness may be effective in this regard, by addressing

microaggressions and other forms of subtle discrimination that can contribute to distress to sexual and gender no-normative employees. Dialogue can be aimed at providing interchange of information sharing so as to assist employees in recognizing discriminatory behaviour; clearly, many employees do not realize how offensive is the interpersonal prejudicial behaviour noted in the study. In terms of employees who self-identify as "transgender" employees, workplaces need to provide workshops and training on issues relating to gender expression and gender transitions that may lead to an increased sensitivity and understanding.

In addition to creative inclusive policies, workplaces need to make sure that employees are made aware of these policies and need to make every effort to enforce the policies. From the study, it appears that participants were not sure of whether there were any polices on diversity. I found that in most cases, participants worked on assumptions based on their experiences at work.

8.5 Limitations and suggestions for further study

As with any academic investigation, there are some limitations to this study. As indicated elsewhere in the study, this work is new in the context of South Africa and consequently there is much more to be done. It is with great importance that I highlight that these limitations do not in any way invalidate this work, which has opened up an epoch of inquiry in corporate workplaces in South Africa. Those that follow are considered the most significant and are discussed alongside recommendations for further research as a way of addressing these drawbacks.

The first drawback relates to the context of the study. First, this study was only conducted in one province in the country. All respondents were required to be employed in a corporate workplace in KwaZulu-Natal. Thus, the data received is specifically limited to one province and to those participants who formed part of the study. Although generalization was not a priority, it is a limitation, on the basis that theory cannot be developed fully as the scope is limited. Further research would need to be conducted across various geographic regions, where the context is less conservative, to determine if data from sexual and gender "non-normative"

employees working in corporate workplaces on these contexts produces the same results obtained in this particular study. The second drawback was that my sample was skewed more towards participants who had less than 10 years of working experience. Although this was not much of a major issue, it would have been interesting to have had more participants who had more than 10 years of experience so as to reflect on how they had modified or changed the way they have managed their "non-normative" sexual and gender identities over the years. Moreover, research can look into whether older participants with longer years of experience have different workplace experiences, as compared to those in their early twenties.

The third drawback of this study relates to the limited exploration of class inequality within the corporate workplaces. It was noted that some participants in the study, when asked to reflect on issues within the working context to elaborate on their experiences, spoke of issues that one may argue provide evidence of class inequalities, however they tended to link these back to issues of race, gender and sexuality. This could be that class inequality lacks a clear framework on how to unpack it in the context of corporate workplaces. This discussion points to an avenue for further research where the study seeks to understand how class inequalities relate to race, sexuality and gender differences amongst different race groups in corporate workplaces in South Africa.

8.6 Conclusion

This thesis had attempted to understand the professional experiences of employees who self-identify as sexual and gender "non-normative" in multiple corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. A concurrent theme across a majority of participants suggested that sexual and gender "non-normative" employees have negative workplace experiences. While the extent of negative workplace experiences depended on the industry, the size of organisation as well as the management level, participants experience hostility, heterosexism and discrimination in the form of microaggressions. I found that the experiences shared by participants were an extension of the culture of "homophobia" in South Africa, which is based on the traditional constructions of gender and sexuality and the idea that "non-normative"

sexualities and genders as unAfrican (Epprecht, 2009). There were ample accounts that described the ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees construct and negotiate their sexualities in the context of the workplace. The findings of this study reveal that the ways in which sexual and gender "non-normative" employees experience workplaces are based on a workplace culture that I argue is heteronormative and full of inequalities that impact the ways in which identities are constructed. Here, I demonstrated the forms of inequality that impact on issues of silence and voice within the context of corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal. I also presented a discussion on the strategies employed by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees to negotiate their spaces in corporate workplaces. This section showed the complexity of strategies used by sexual and gender "non-normative" employees, in that employees don't only employ one process, however, they use a combination of processes to construct professional workplace identities throughout their careers.

Since democracy in 1994, the Constitution was promulgated, which gave birth to further anti-discriminatory legislation in the country that continues the agenda of preventing discrimination of sexual and gender "non-normative" people based on their identification. However, the workplace climate for sexual and gender "non-normative" employees has not progressed much. Sexual and gender "non-normative" employees still experience discrimination, although mainly not overt but covert in nature. Furthermore, heteronormativity and patriarchal discourses within the corporate workplace continue to silence the existence as well as the experiences of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees. The study has also critically interrogated these pieces of anti-discriminatory legislation and found that the principle that human rights has been extended to all South Africans regardless of sexuality and gender is still in question.

I hope that this study provokes change in the ways corporate workplaces treat issues of diversity, especially in terms of gender and sexuality. While progress has been made in the behaviour of people towards sexual and gender "non-normative "employees in the workforce, attitudes have not changed, therefore, discriminatory behaviour has not reduced. From this study, I hope that open discussions of sexuality in corporate workplaces are encouraged, so as

to break the silence and the stigma attached to identifying as sexual and gender "non-normative".

9. References

Acker, I. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender mid Society, 4*, 2, 139-158

Acker, J. (1992). From sex roles to gendered institutions. *Contemporary Sociology*, *21*(5), 565-569. doi:10.2307/2075528

Acker, J. (2006a). Inequality regimes: Gender, class and race in organizations. *Gender & Society, 20*(4), 441-464.

Acker, J. (2006b). The gender regime of Swedish banks. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 22, 195–209.

Anderson, M. Z., Croteau, J. M., Chung, Y. B., & DiStefano, T. M. (2001). Developing an assessment of sexual identity management for lesbian and gay workers. *Journal of Career Assessment, 9*(3), 243-260.

Anney, V. N. (2014). Ensuring the quality of the findings of qualitative research: Looking at trustworthiness criteria.

Ansara, Y. G., & Hegarty, P. (2014). Methodologies of misgendering: Recommendations for reducing cisgenderism in psychological research. Feminism & Psychology 24(2). 259–270

Ansara, Y. G., & Hegarty, P. (2012). Cisgenderism in psychology: Pathologizing and misgendering children from 1999 to 2008. Psychology & Sexuality, 3, 137–160.

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (2002). Identity regulation as organizational control: Producing the appropriate individual. *Journal of Management Studies, 39*(5), 619-644.

Alvesson, M., & Sköldberg, K. (2009). (Post-) positivism, social constructionism, critical realism: Three reference points in the philosophy of science. In M. Alvesson & K. Sköldberg (Eds.), *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 15-51). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Allen, L. (2015). The power of things! A 'new' ontology of sexuality at school. Sexualities, 18, 941–958.

Amory, D. P. (1997). "Homosexuality" in Africa: Issues and debates. *African Issues, 25(1), 5-10.*

Babcock, L., Laschever, S., Gelfand, M., & Small, D. (2003). Nice girls don't ask. *Harvard Business Review*, *81*(10), 14-16.

Badgett, L., & Frank, J. (Eds.). (2007). *Sexual orientation discriminatio*n*: An international perspective.* Routledge.

Badgett, M. L. (1995). The wage effects of sexual orientation discrimination. *ILR Review*, *48*(4), 726-739.

Badgett, M. V. L., Durso, L. E., Kastanis, A., & Mallory, C. (2013). *The business impact of LGBT-supportive workplace policies* (pp. 1–37). Los Angeles: Williams Institute, University of California–Los Angeles.

Baker, P. (2014). Co*nsidering context when analysing representations of gender and sexuality: A case stud*y. *Discourse in Context*. London: Bloomsbury.

Bandini, E., & Maggi, M. (2014). Transphobia. In G. Corono, E. Jannini, & M. Maggi (Eds.), Emotional, physical and sexual abuse: Impact in children and social minorities (pp. 49– 70). New York, NY: Springer International.

Barrientos, J., & Bozon, M. (2014). Discrimination and victimization against gay men and lesbians in Chile: Two patterns or just one? *Interdisciplinaria, 31*(2), 323-339.

Bariola, E., Lyons, A., Leonard, W., Pitts, M., Badcock, P., & Couch, M. (2015). Demographic and psychosocial factors associated with psychological distress and resilience among transgender individuals. American Journal of Public Health, 105(10), 2108–2116

Basic Conditions of Employment Act. 2015. Basic guides for conditions of employment. Available at: http://www:.labour.gov.za/DOL/legislation/acts/basic-guides) [14 Nov. 2015].

Basford, T. E., Offermann, L. R., & Behrend, T. S. (2014). Do you see what I see? Perceptions of gender microaggressions in the workplace. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38*(3), 340-349.

Battle, J., & Ashley, C. (2008). Intersectionality, heteronormativity, and Black lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) families. *Black Women, Gender & Families*, *2*(1), 1-24

Beatty, J. E., & Kirby, S. L. (2006). Beyond the legal environment: How stigma influences invisible identity groups in the workplace. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 18*(1), 29-44.

Bell, E. L., & Nkomo, S. M. (2001). *Our separate ways: Black and white women forging paths in corporate America*. Unpublished book manuscript.

Bell, A. (2003) A narrative approach to research. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 8, 95–110.

Bell, M. P., Özbilgin, M. F., Beauregard, T. A., & Sürgevil, O. (2011). Voice, silence, and diversity in 21st century organizations: Strategies for inclusion of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender employees. *Human Resource Management*, 50, 131–146

Benoit, E., & Koken, J. A. (2012). Perspectives on substance use and disclosure among behaviorally bisexual Black men with female primary partners. *Journal of Ethnicity in Substance Abuse*, *11*(4), 294-317.

Berg, N., & Lien, D. (2002*).* Measuring the effect of sexual orientation on income: Evidence of discrimination? *Contemporary Economic Policy, 20*(4), 394-414.

Berlant, L., & Warner, M. (1998). Sex in public*.* *Critical inquiry, 24*(2), 547-566.

Bhana, D., & Pattman, R. (2009). Researching South African youth, gender and sexuality within the context of HIV/AIDS. *Development, 52*(1), 68-74.

Bhana, D. (2012). Understanding and addressing homophobia in schools: A view from teachers. South African Journal of Education, 32(3), 307-318

Black, L. L., & Stone, D. (2005). Expanding the definition of privilege: The concept of social privilege. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *33*(4), 243-255.

Blanchflower, D. G., & Bryson, A. (2010). The wage impact of trade unions in the UK public and private sectors*.* *Economica, 77*(305), 92-109.

Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009). Gay stereotypes: The use of sexual orientation as a cue for gender-related attributes. *Sex Roles*, *61*(11-12), 783-793.

Boatright, K., Gilbert, M., Forrest, L., & Ketzenberg, K. (1996). Impact of identity development upon career trajectory: Listening to the voices of lesbians. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 48, 210-228.

Booysen, F. le R., & Summerton, J. (2002). Poverty, risky sexual behaviour, and vulnerability to HIV infection: evidence from South Africa. *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, 285-288.

Booysen, L. (2007). Societal power shifts and changing social identities in South Africa: Workplace implications. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences, 10*(1), 1-20.

Booysen, L. A. E., & Booysen, L. A. E. (2018). Workplace identity construction: An intersectional-identity-cultural lens. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Business and Management*.

Booysen, L. A. E., & Nkomo, S. M. (2010). Gender role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics: The case of South Africa. *Gender in Management*, *25*(4).

Bouman, W. P., Schwend, A. S., Motmans, J., Smiley, A., Safter, J. D., Deutsch, M. B., … Winter, S. (2017). Language and trans health [Editorial]. International Journal of Transgenderism, 18, 1–6

Bowen, D. E., & Ostroff, C. (2004). Understanding HRM–firm performance linkages: The role of the "strength" of the HRM system. *Academy of Management Review, 29*(2), 203-221.

Bowen, F., & Blackmon, K. (2003). Spirals of silence: The dynamic effects of diversity on organizational voice. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(6), 1393-1417.

Bowleg, L. (2013). "Once you've blended the cake, you can't take the parts back to the main ingredients": Black gay and bisexual men's descriptions and experiences of intersectionality. *Sex Roles*, *68*(11-12), 754-767.

Bowring, M., & Brewis, J. (2009). Truth and consequences: Managing lesbian and gay identity in the Canadian workplace. *Equal Opportunities International*, *28*(5).

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*:77-101.

Breetzke, G. D., & Hedding, D. W. (2016). The changing racial profile of academic staff at South African Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), 2005–2013. *Africa Education Review*, *13*(2), 147-164.

Brewer, M. B. (2011). Identity and conflict. In D. Bar-Tal (Ed.), *Intergroup conflicts and their resolution: Social psychological perspectives* (pp. 125-143). New York: Psychology Press.

Brewis, J., & Linstead, S. (2003). Sex, work and sex work: Eroticizing organization. In *Sex, Work and Sex Work: Eroticizing Organization*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203360965

Britton, D. M., & Logan, L. (2008). Gendered organizations: Progress and prospects. *Sociology Compass*, *2*(1), 107-121.

Brooks, A. K., & Edwards, K. (2009). Allies in the workplace: Including LGBT in HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources, 11*(1), 136-149.

Brower, T., & Jones, J., (Eds.) (2013). Dress and appearance codes in the workplace: Gender, sexuality, law and legal institutions. *Special Issue of Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*, *32*(5).

Brown, A. D., & Toyoki, S. (2013). Identity work and legitimacy. *Organization Studies, 34*(7), 875-896.

Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2011). Ethics in business research. *Business Research Methods*, *7*(5), 23-56.

Buddel, N. (2011). Queering the workplace. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 23*(1), 131-146.

Burrell, G. & Hearn, J. (1989). The sexuality of organization. In J. Hearn, D. Sheppard, P. Tancred-Sheriff & G. Burrell (Eds.), *The sexuality of organization* (pp. 1-28). London and Newbury Park, C: Sage

Butler, A. H. Alpaslan, J. Strümpher & G. Astbury (2003) *Gay and Lesbian Youth Experiences of Homophobia in South African Secondary Education*, Journal of Gay & Lesbian Issues in Education, 1:2, 3-28, DOI

Butler, A. H., & Astbury, G. (2005). *South Africa: LGBT issues. Youth, education, and sexualities:* An international encyclopedia, 810-814.

Butler, A. H., Alpaslan, A. H., Strümpher, J., & Astbury, G. (2003). *Gay and lesbian youth*

Butler, A., and G. Astbury. 2005. Over the rainbow: Recommendations for service provision as voiced by post-apartheid South African gay and lesbian youth. *Journal of Child and Youth Care Work,* (19), 126– 36.

Butler, J. (2004). Undoing gender. In *Undoing gender*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203499627

Button, S. B. (1996). *Organizational efforts to affirm sexual diversity: A multi-level examination*. Doctoral thesis, The Pennsylvania State University.

Button, S. B. (1999). *Identity management strategies: A quantitative investigation*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Atlanta, Georgia

Button, S. B. (2001). Organizational efforts to affirm sexual diversity: A cross-level examination. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86, 17–28.*

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity.* London: Routledge.

Cain, R. (1991). Stigma management and gay identity development. *Social Work*, *36*(1), 67-73.

Calciolari, S., Prenestini, A., & Lega, F. (2018). An organizational culture for all seasons? How cultural type dominance and strength influence different performance goals. *Public Management Review, 20*(9), 1400-1422.

Callis, A. S. (2013). The black sheep of the pink flock: Labels, stigma, and bisexual identity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *13*(1), 82-105.

Carolin, A. (2017). Apartheid's Immorality Act and the fiction of heteronormative whiteness. *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*, *54*(1), 111-128.

Carrim, N. (1998). Anti-racism and the 'new' South African educational order. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *28*(3), 301-320.

Case, K. A., & Hemmings, A. (2005). Distancing strategies: White women preservice teachers and antiracist curriculum. *Urban Education, 40(6), 606-626.*

Catalyst. (2013). Catalyst quick take: Women's earnings and income. New York, NY: Catalyst

Caudron, S. (1995). Open the corporate closet to sexual orientation issues. *Personnel Journal*. Retrieved from https://agris.fao.org/agris-search/search.do?recordID=US201301506870

Cavaleros, C., Van Vuuren, L., & Visser, D. (2002). The effectiveness of a diversity awareness training programme. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology, 28*(3), 50-61.

Cavalier, E. S. (2011*).* Men at sport: Gay men's experiences in the sport workplace. *Journal of Homosexuality, 58*(5), 626-646.

Cele, N. H., Sibiya, M. N., & Sokhela, D. G. (2015). Experiences of homosexual patients' access to primary health care services in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal. *Curationis, 38*(2), 1-9.

Chesebro, J. W. (2001). Gender, masculinities, identities, and interpersonal relationship systems: Men in general and gay men in particular. *Women and Men Communicating: Challenges and Changes*, *2*, 32-64.

Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory, 28*(2), 129-149.

Chrobot-Mason, D., Button, S. B., & DiClementi, J. D. (2001). Sexual identity management strategies: An exploration of antecedents and consequences. *Sex Roles, 45*(5-6), 321-336.

Chung, Y. B. (2001). Work discrimination and coping strategies: Conceptual frameworks for counseling lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients. *The Career Development Quarterly, 50*(1), 33-44.

Cilliers, F., & Smit, B. (2006). A systems psychodynamic interpretation of South African diversity dynamics: a comparative study. *South African Journal of Labour Relations, 30*(2), 5-18.

Clair, J. A., Beatty, J. E., & Maclean, T. L. (2005). Out of sight but not out of mind: Managing invisible social identities in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review, 30*(1), 78-95.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative researc*h. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clarke, V., & Smith, M. (2015*). "Not hiding, not shouting, just me": Gay men negotiate their visual identities*. *Journal of Homosexuality, 62*(1), 4-32.

Clarke, V., & Turner, K. (2007). V. Clothes maketh the queer? Dress, appearance and the construction of Lesbian, gay and bisexual identities. In *Feminism and Psychology 17*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353507076561

Clarkson, P. (1996). Researching the "therapeutic relationship" in psychoanalysis, counselling psychology and psychotherapy—a qualitative inquiry. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, *9*(2), 143-162.

Cloete, A., Kalichman, S. C., & Simbayi, L. C. (2013). Layered stigma and HIV/AIDS: Experiences of men who have sex with men (MSM) in South Africa Chapter 15). In P. Liamuttong (Ed.), *Stigma, Discrimination and Living with HIV/AIDS: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (pp. 259 –269). Dordrecht, Germany: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6324-1_15

Cock, J. (2003, January). Engendering gay and lesbian rights: The equality clause in the South African Constitution. *Women's Studies International Forum 26*(1), 35-45.

Cockburn, C. (1991). *In the way of men: Men's resistance to sex equality in organizations*. London: Macmillan.

Cockburn, C. (1983). *Brothers: Male dominance and technological change*. London: Pluto.

Cohen, A. (2006). The relationship between multiple commitments and organizational citizenship behavior in Arab and Jewish culture. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 69*(1), 105-118.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2011). Research methods in education (7 Ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Colgan, F., Creegan, C, McKearney A. & Wright T (2007). Equality and diversity practises at work: Lesbian, gay and bisexual workers. *Equal Opportunities International 26* (6):590-609

Colgan, F., & Wright, T. (2011). Lesbian, gay and bisexual equality in a modernizing public sector 1997–2010: Opportunities and threats. *Gender, Work & Organization, 18*(5), 548-570.

Colgan, F., Creegan, C., McKearney, A. & Wright, T. (2008). Lesbian workers: personal strategies amid changing organizational responses to 'sexual minorities' in UK workplaces. *Journal of Lesbian Studies, 12*(1), 31–45.

Colgan, F., McKearney, A., & Gregory, M. R. (2011). *"The faggot clause*": the embodiment of homophobia in the corporate locker room. Equality, *Diversity and Inclusion*. *An International Journal.*

Colgan, F., & Rumens, N. (2015). *Understanding sexual orientation at work. Sexual orientation at work: Contemporary issues and perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Collins, J. C., & Callahan, J. L. (2012). *Risky business: Gay identity disclosure in a masculinized industry*. *Human Resource Development International, 15(4), 455-470*.

Collins, M. (1999). The pornography of permissiveness: Men's sexuality and women's emancipation in mid twentieth-century Britain. *History Workshop Journal*, *47*(1). https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/1999.47.99

Collinson, D., & Hearn, J. (Eds.). (1996). *Men as managers, managers as men: Critical perspectives on men, masculinities and managements*. London: Sage.

Conley, T. D., Calhoun, C., Evett, S. R., & Devine, P. G. (2002). Mistakes that heterosexual people make when trying to appear non-prejudiced: The view from LGB people. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *42*(2), 21-43.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational researcher*, *19*(5), 2-14. doi.org/10.3102%2F0013189X019005002

Constantine, M. G. (2007). Racial microaggressions against African American clients in cross-racial counseling relationships. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(1), 1.

Constantine, M. G., & Sue, D. W. (2007). Perceptions of racial microaggressions among black supervisees in cross-racial dyads. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(2), 142.

Cornish, D. M., Carinci, S., & Noel, J. (2012). Gender representation in AP art history textbooks. In H. Hickman & B. Porfilio (Eds.), *The New Politics of the Textbook. Problematizing the Portrayal of Marginalized Groups in Textbooks* (pp. 273-292). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Cortina, L. M. (2008). Unseen injustice: Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *33*(1), 55-75.

Cover, R. (2004). From Butler to Buffy: Notes towards a strategy for identity analysis in contemporary television narrative. *Reconstruction: Studies in Contemporary Culture*, *4*(2), 34.

Cox Jr, T., & Nkomo, S. M. (1990). Invisible men and women: A status report on race as a variable in organization behavior research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *11*(6), 419-431.

Cox, W. T., & Devine, P. G. (2015). Stereotypes possess heterogeneous directionality: A theoretical and empirical exploration of stereotype structure and content. *PloS one*, *10*(3), e0122292.

Cox, M. B. (2019). Working closets: Mapping queer professional discourses and why professional communication studies need queer rhetorics. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, *33*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/1050651918798691

Creed, D., & Cooper, E. (2008). Introduction: Offering new insights into GLBT workplace experiences. *Group and Organization Management 33*(5). https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601108321363

Creed, W. D., & Scully, M. A. (2000). Songs of ourselves: Employees' deployment of social identity in workplace encounters. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 9*(4), 391-412.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative and mixed methods approaches.* London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2007). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Croteau, J. M., & Hedstrom, S. M. (1993). Integrating commonality and difference: The key to career counseling with lesbian women and gay men. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *41*(3). https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.1993.tb00371.x

Croteau, J. M., & Von Destinon, M. (1994). A national survey of job search experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual student affairs professionals. *Journal of College Student Development.*

Croteau, J. M., Anderson, M. Z., & VanderWal, B. L. (2008). Models of workplace sexual identity disclosure and management: Reviewing and extending concepts. *Group & Organization Management, 33*(5), 532-565.

Croteau, R. (1996). Research on the work experiences of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people: An integrative review of methodology and findings. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 48(2), 195–209.*

Crous, M. (2006). 'En ek sê dis 'n trassie': Perspectives on Afrikaner homosexual identity. *Agenda, 20*(67), 48-56.

Cruess, R. L., & Cruess, S. R. (2006). Teaching professionalism: general principles. *Medical Teacher*, *28*(3), 205-208.

Cunningham, G. B., Sartore, M. L., & McCullough, B. P. (2010). The influence of applicant sexual orientation and rater sex on ascribed attributions and hiring recommendations of personal trainers. *Journal of Sport Management*, 24, 400-415.

Czopp, A. M., Monteith, M. J., & Mark, A. Y. (2006). Standing up for a change: Reducing bias through interpersonal confrontation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 784.

Dankmeijer, P. (1993). The construction of identities as a means of survival: Cases of gay and lesbian teachers. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *24*(3-4), 95-105.

David, B., Grace, D., & Ryan, M. K. (2004). The gender wars: A self-categorisation theory perspective on the development of gender identity. In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.) *The Development of the Social* . New York: Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203391099

Day, N. E., & Schoenrade, P. (1997). Staying in the closet versus coming out: Relationships between communication about sexual orientation and work attitudes. *Personnel Psychology, 50*(1), 147-163.

Deitch, E. A., Barsky, A., Butz, R. M., Chan, S., Brief, A. P., & Bradley, J. C. (2003). Subtle yet significant: The existence and impact of everyday racial discrimination in the workplace. *Human Relations*, *56*(11), 1299-1324.

Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). Introduction to qualitative research. In N.K Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.). Handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), The SAGE handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed., pp. 1-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Department of Justice. 1997. S v Kampher, Cape Town High Court judgment. Available online at http://www.justice.gov.za/salrc/reports/r_prj85_harmb_2001apr.pdf

Department of Justice. 1998. Langemaat v Minister of Safety and Security 1998 (3) SA 312 (T), per Roux J. Available online at http://www.justice.gov.za/sca/judgments/sca_2004/2003_232.pdf

Department of Justice. 2000. National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality v Minister of Home Affairs 2000 (2) SA 1(CC). Available online at http://www.justice.gov.za/sca/judgments/sca_2004/2003_232.pdf

Department of Justice. 2002. Satchwell v President of the Republic of South Africa 2002 (6) SA 1 (CC), per Madala J for the Court. Available online at http://www.justice.gov.za/sca/judgments/sca_2004/2003_232.pdf

Department of Labour. 2012. Employment Equity Act, 1998, Code of Good Practice on HIV and Aids in the World of Work. Available at http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/downloads/legislation/acts/employmentequity/hivaidstechnicalguide.pdf/view

Department of Labour. 1998. Code of Good Practice on Handling Sexual Harassment Cases. Available at: http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/legislation/codes-of-good-ractise/labourrelations/code-of-good-practice-on-handling-sexual-harassmentcases/?searchterm=Code%20of%20Good%20Practice%20on%20the%20Handling%20of%20Se xual%20Harassment%20Cases

Department of Labour. 2000. Codes of Good Practice on Key Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Employment. Pretoria: Department of Labour. Available online at https://www.labour.gov.za/

DeSouza, E. R., Wesselmann, E. D., & Ispas, D. (2017). Workplace discrimination against sexual minorities: Subtle and not-so subtle. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences/Revue Canadienne des Sciences de l'Administration,* 34, 121–132. doi:10.1002/cjas.1438

De Vos. P., 31 March 2010. Constitutionally Speaking: Why the hate speech provisions may be unconstitutional. Accessed 09 January 2013 at: http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/why-thehate-speech-provisions-may-be-unconstitutional/

Dewaele, A., Van Houtte, M., Cox, N., & Vincke, J. (2013). From coming out to visibility management: A new perspective on coping with minority stressors in LGB youth in Flanders. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *60*(5), 685-710.

Dickens, L. (2000). Still wasting resources? Equality in employment. In S. Bach and K. Sisson (Eds.), *Personnel management* (3rd ed.) (pp. 137–69). Oxford: Blackwell.

Dickens, L. (2005) Walking the talk? Equality and diversity in employment. In S. Bach (Ed.), *Managing Human Resources*: *Personnel Management in Transition* (4th ed.) (pp. 178-208). Oxford: Blackwell.

Dietert, M., & Dentice, D. (2009). Gender identity issues and workplace discrimination: The transgender experience. *Journal of Workplace Rights*, 14, 121-140.

Dietch, E., Butz, R., & Brief, A. (2003). Out of the closet and out of a job? The nature, import, and causes of sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace. In R. Griffin and A. O'Leary-Kelly (Eds.), *The dark side of organizational behavior* (pp. 187–231). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass

Digh, P. (1999). Getting people in the pool: Diversity recruitment that works. *Magazine*, *44*(10), 94-98. Retrived from http://www.asaecenter.org/Resources/whitepaperdetail.cfm?ItemNumber=12171

Dike, P. (2013). *The impact of workplace diversity on organisations*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Department of International Business: Arcada University of Applied Sciences, Finland. Department of International Business: 59 Retrieved from: theseus32-kk.lib.helsinki.fi.

Di Marco, D., H. Hoel, A. Arenas, and L. Munduate. 2015. Workplace incivility as modern sexual prejudice. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 1–12. doi:10.1177/0886260515621083.

DiMaggio, P. (2001). The futures of business organization and paradoxes of change. In P. DiMaggio, (Ed.), *The Twenty-First Century firm: Changing economic organization in international perspective* (pp. 210-244). Oxford, Princeton University Press.

Dipboye, R. L., & Colella, A. (2005). The dilemmas of workplace discrimination. In R. L. Dipboye & A. Colella (Eds.), *Discrimination at work: The psychological and organizational bases* (pp. 425-462). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Dipboye, R. L., & Halverson, S. K. (2004). Subtle (and not so subtle) discrimination in organizations. *The Dark Side of Organizational Behavior*, *16*, 131-158.

Diphoorn, T. (2017). The 'Bravo Mike Syndrome': Private security culture and racial profiling in South Africa. *Policing and Society*, *27*(5), 525-540.

Dobbin, F., Schrage, D., & Kalev, A. (2015). Rage against the iron cage: The varied effects of bureaucratic personnel reforms on diversity. *American Sociological Review*, *80*(5), 1014-1044.

Dodge, R., Daly, A. P., Huyton, J., & Sanders, L. D. (2012). The challenge of defining wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, *2*(3).

Donahue, D. M. (2007). Rethinking silence as support: Normalizing lesbian and gay teacher identities through models and conversations in student teaching. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Issues in Education, 4*(4), 73-95.

Dovidio, J. F. (2001). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The third wave. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(4), 829-849.

Driscoll, J. M., Kelley, F. A., & Fassinger, R. E. (1996). Lesbian identity and disclosure in the workplace: Relation to occupational stress and satisfaction. *Journal of Vocational behavior, 48*(2), 229-242.

Du Plessis, R. (2004). Queer, Queerer, Queerest? Feminisms, Heterosexualities and Queer Theory. In L. Alice and L. Star (Eds.), *Queer in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 103–14). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Edelman, L. B., Krieger, L. H., Eliason, S. R., Albiston, C. R., & Mellema, V. (2011). When organizations rule: Judicial deference to institutionalized employment structures. *American Journal of Sociology*, *117*(3), 888-954.

Eguchi, S. (2009). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: The rhetorical strategy of "straight-acting" among gay men. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *38*(3), 193-209.

Elder, G. S. (2005). Somewhere, over the rainbow: Cape Town, South Africa, as a "gay destination". In L. Ouzgane and R. Morrell (Eds,), *African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late 19th century to the present* (pp. 43-60). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eliason, M. J., Dibble, S. L., & Robertson, P. A. (2011). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) physicians' experiences in the workplace. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *58*(10), 1355-1371.

Elliott, J. R., & Smith, R. A. (2004). Race, gender, and workplace power. *American Sociological Review, 69*(3), 365-386.

Ely, R. J., & Thomas, D. A. (2001). Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes and outcomes. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 46*(2), 229-273.

Epprecht, M. (1998). The 'unsaying' of indigenous homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a blindspot in an African masculinity. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 24*(4), 631-651.

Epprecht, M. (2000). *Commission of enquiry into unnatural vice in South Africa: A neglected source for understanding tolerance for homosexual behaviour in contemporary southern African studies*. Paper presented at the Future of the Queer Past Conference, University of Chicago.

Epprecht, M. (2008). *Heterosexual Africa? The history of an idea from the age of exploration to the age of AIDS*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Epprecht, M. (2012). Sexual minorities, human rights and public health strategies in Africa. *African Affair*s, *111*(443), 223-243.

Epprecht, M. (2013). *Sexuality and social justice in Africa: Rethinking homophobia and forging resistance*. London: Zed Books.

Epstein, D. (2000) Sexualities and education: Catch 28. *Sexualities*, *3*(4), 387–94.

Erlandson, D.A., Harris, E.L., Skipper, B.L., & Allen, S.L. (1993), Doing Naturalistic Inquiry: A Guide to Methods, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Eustace, A., & Martins, N. (2014). The role of leadership in shaping organisational climate: An example from the fast moving consumer goods industry. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology, 40*(1), n.p. doi:10.4102/sajip.v40i1.1112

Evans, T. (2002). A human right to health? *Third World Quarterly, 23*(2), 197-215.

Fahrenhorst, R., & Kleiner, B. H. (2012). How to write effective anti-bias policies. *Nonprofit World, 30*(4), 6-7.

Faku, D., (2019). Labour department irked by the slow pace of workplace transformation. *https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/labour-department-irked-by-the-slow-pace-of-workplace-transformation-31417792* [Accessed 23rd September 2020]

Fassinger, R. E. (1995*).* From invisibility to integration: Lesbian identity in the workplace. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 44, 148-167.

Fenaughty, J. (2004). The end of queer: Heteronormativity and suicide. In L. Alice and L. Star (Eds.), *Queer in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 71-85). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Ferfolja, T. (2007). Schooling Cultures. *International Journal of Inclusive Education 11*(2), 147-62.

Ferfolja, T. (2013). Sexual diversity, discrimination and 'homosexuality policy' in New South Wales' government schools. *Sex Education, 13*(2), 159-171.

Ferfolja, T., & Hopkins, L. (2013). The complexities of workplace experience for lesbian and gay teachers. *Critical Studies in Education, 54*(3), 311-324.

Ferguson, K. E. (1984). *The feminist case against bureaucracy* (Vol. 105). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Fish, J. (2008). Navigating queer street: researching intersections of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) identities in health research. *Sociological Research Online, 13*(1). Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/13/1/12.html

Fingerhut, A. W., & Peplau, L. A. (2006). The impact of social roles on stereotypes of gay men. *Sex Roles*, *55*(3-4), 273-278.

Florian, L. (2009) Towards inclusive pedagogy. In P. Hick, R. Kershner & P. Farrell (Eds.), *Psychology for inclusive education: New directions in theory and practice* (38-51). London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Floyd, F. J., Stein, T. S., Harter, K. S., Allison, A., & Nye, C. L. (1999). Gay, lesbian, and bisexual youths: Separation-individuation, parental attitudes, identity consolidation, and well-being. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *28*(6), 719-739.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1978*). The history of sexuality: An introduction* (Vol. 1, R. Hurley, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1999). Sexuality and Power. In J. R. Carrette (Ed.) *Religion and culture* by Michel Foucault. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Fournier, V. (1999). The appeal to 'professionalism' as a disciplinary mechanism. *The Sociological Review*, *47*(2), 280-307.

Francis, D. (2012). Teacher narratives on the teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS education. *Communitas, 17*(Special Edition), 45-59.

Francis, D. A. (2017). Homophobia and sexuality diversity in South African schools: A review. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, *14*(4), 359-379.

Francis, D., & Brown, A. (2017). 'To Correct, Punish and Praise': LRC leaders' experiences and expressions of non-heterosexuality in Namibian schools. *International Journal of Inclusive Education 21*, 1-18. DOI: 10.1080/13603116.2017.1336577

Francis, D., & Reygan, F. (2016). 'Let's see if it won't go away by itself'. LGBT microaggressions among teachers in South Africa. *Education as Change 20*(3), 180–201.

Francis, D. A. (2019). 'Oh my word; for us African gays it's another story.' Revealing the intersections between race, same sex-sexuality and schooling in South Africa. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 1-17.

Francis, D., & Msibi, T. (2011). Teaching about heterosexism: Challenging homophobia in South Africa. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, *8*(2), 157-173.

Fric, K. (2019). How does being out at work relate to discrimination and unemployment of gays and lesbians? *Journal for Labour Market Research, 53*(1), 14.

Friday, E. and Friday, S.S. (2003). Managing diversity using a strategic planned change approach. *Journal of Management Development, 22*, 863-80.

Friskopp, A. and Silverstein, S. (1995). *Straight jobs, gay lives: Gay and lesbian professionals*. The Harvard Business School, and The American Workplace. New York: Scribner.

Fuhse, J. A. (2009). The meaning structure of social networks. *Sociological Theory, 27*(1), 51-73.

Gacilo, J., Steinheider, B., Stone, T. H., Hoffmeister, V., Jawahar, I. M., & Garrett, T. (2018). The double-edged sword of having a unique perspective: Feelings of discrimination and perceived career advantages among LGBT employees. Equality, Diversity and Inclusion. *An International Journal, 37*(3), 298-312.

Gajendran, T., Brewer, G., Dainty, A. R., & Runeson, G. (2012). A conceptual approach to studying the organisational culture of construction projects. *The Australasian Journal of Construction Economics and Building, 12*(2), 1.

Gates, T. G., & Mitchell, C. G. (2013). Workplace stigma-related experiences among lesbian, gay, and bisexual workers: Implications for social policy and practice. *Journal of Workplace Behavioral Health*, *28*(3), 159–171.

Gedro, J. A. (2007). Conducting research on LGBT issues: Leading the field all over again! *Human Resource Development Quarterly, 18, 153-158.*

Gedro, J. A., Cervero, R. M., & Johnson-Bailey, J. (2004). How lesbians learn to negotiate the heterosexism of corporate America. *Human Resource Development International, 7*(2), 181-195.

Gevisser, M., & Cameron, E. (Eds.). (1995). *Defiant desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Giuffre, P., Dellinger, K., & Williams, C. L. (2008). No retribution for being gay? Inequality in gay-friendly workplaces. *Sociological Spectrum, 28*(3), 254-277.

Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis*. New York: Free Press.

Goldstein, E. A., Maestas, R. R., Fryer-Edwards, K., Wenrich, M. D., Oelschlager, A. M. A.,

Baernstein, A., & Kimball, H. R. (2006). Professionalism in medical education: An institutional challenge. *Academic Medicine*, *81*(10), 871-876.

Goodwatch, R. (2005) Sex therapy: Historical evolution, current practice, Part 1. *Anzift 26*(3): 155–164.

Grant, J., Mottet, L., Tanis, J., Harrison, J., Herman, J., & Keisling, M. (2011). Injustice at every turn: A report of the national transgender discrimination survey. Washington, DC: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

Gray, P. B. (2013). Evolution and human sexuality. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *152*, 94-118.

Graziano, K. J. (2004a). Oppression and resiliency in a post-apartheid South Africa: Unheard voices of Black gay men and lesbians. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 10*(3), 302.

Graziano, K.J. (2004b). Coming out on a South African university campus: Adaptations of gay men and lesbians. *Society in Transition 35*(2), 273-86.

Green, D. O. (2007). Using qualitative methods to assess academic success and retention programs for underrepresented minority students. *New Directions for Institutional Research,* (136), 41–53.

Green, K. A., López, M., Wysocki, A., & Kepner, K. (2002). Diversity in the workplace: Benefits, challenges, and the required managerial tools. *University of Florida*, *1*(4), 1-3.

Greene, B. (1994). Ethnic-minority lesbians and gay men: Mental health and treatment issues. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 62*(2), 243-251.

Greene, B. (1995). Lesbian women of color: Triple jeopardy. In B. Greene (Ed.), *Women of color: Integrating ethnic and gender identities in psychotherapy* (pp. 389-427). New York: Guilford Publications.

Greene, B. (1996). Lesbians and gay men of color: The legacy of ethnosexual mythologies in heterosexism. In E. D. Rothblum & L. A. Bond (Eds.), *Preventing heterosexism and homophobia* (pp. 59–70). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Greene, B. (Ed.) (1997). *Ethnic and cultural diversity among lesbians and gay men.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Greene, B. (1998). Family, ethnic identity, and sexual orientation: African-American lesbians and gay men. In C. J. Patterson & A. R. D'Augelli (Eds.), *Lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities in families: Psychological perspectives* (pp. 40-52). New York: Oxford University Press.

Greene, B. (2000a). Beyond heterosexism and across the cultural divide: Developing an inclusive lesbian, gay, and bisexual psychology: A look to the future. In B. Greene and G. L. Croom (Eds.), *Education, research and practice in lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered psychology: A resource manual* (pp. 1-45). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Greene, B. (2000b). African American lesbian and bisexual women in feminist-psychodynamic psychotherapies: Surviving and thriving between a rock and a hard place. In L. C. Jackson & B. Greene (Eds.), *Psychotherapy with African American women: Innovations in psychodynamic perspective and practice* (pp. 82-125). New York: The Guilford Press.

Griffin, P. (1991). Identity management strategies among lesbian and gay educators. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 4, 189-202.

Griffin, P. (1992). From hiding out to coming out: Empowering lesbian and gay educators. *Journal of Homosexuality, 22*(3-4), 167-196.

Griffith, K. H., & Hebl, M. R. (2002). The disclosure dilemma for gay men and lesbians: "Coming out" at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(6), 1191–1199

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field methods*, *18*(1), 59-82. doi.org/10.1177%2F1525822X05279903

Guillaume, Y. R., Dawson, J. F., Priola, V., Sacramento, C. A., Woods, S. A., Higson, H. E., ... & West, M. A. (2014). Managing diversity in organizations: An integrative model and agenda for future research. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 2*3(5), 783-802.

Gunkel, H. (2010). *The cultural politics of female sexuality in South Africa*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203856031

Gwele, N. S. (2009). Diversity management in the workplace: Beyond compliance. *Curationis, 32*(2), 4-10.

Hall, C. C. I. (1992). Please choose one: Ethnic identity choices for biracial individuals. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 250-264). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hall, M. (1989). Private experiences in the public domain: lesbians in organizations. In J. Hearn, D.L. Sheppard, P. Tancred-Sheriff and G. Burrell (Eds.), *The sexuality of organization* (pp. 125-140). London: Sage.

Halperin, D. M. (1995). *Saint Foucault: Towards a gay hagiography*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Halperin, D. M. (2012). *How to be gay*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harding, N., Lee, H., Ford, J., & Learmonth, M. (2011). Leadership and charisma: A desire that cannot speak its name? *Human Relations, 64*(7), 927-949.

Hardy, C., & Leiba-O'Sullivan, S. (1998). The power behind empowerment: Implications for research and practice. *Human Relations*, *51*(4), 451-483.

Hardy, C., Palmer, I., & Phillips, N. (2000). Discourse as a strategic resource. *Human Relations, 53*(9), 1227-1248.

Hargrove, E. C. (1975). The missing link: The study of the implementation of social policy. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute *Urban*

Harris, K. L. (2016). Reflexive voicing: A communicative approach to intersectional writing. *Qualitative Research, 16*(1), 111-127

Harrison, D. A., & Klein, K. J. (2007). What's the difference? Diversity constructs as separation, variety, or disparity in organizations. *Academy of Management Review,* 32(4), 1199-1228.

Hatch, M. J. and D. Yanow (2003). Organizational studies as an interpretive science. In C. K. Tsoukas and H. Tsoukas (Eds.), *The handbook of organization theory: Meta-theoretical perspectives.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Haveman, H. A., & Beresford, L. S. (2011). If you're so smart, why aren't you the boss? Explaining the persistent vertical gender gap in management. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 639, 114–130.

Hearn, J. and Parkin, W. (1987). *'Sex' at 'work': The power and paradox of organisation sexuality.* Brighton, UK: Wheatsheaf.

Hearn, J., & Parkin, W. (2003). The gendered organisation: A positive critique. *Comportamento Organizacional e Gestão*, 9, 125-146.

Hebl, M. R., Foster, J. B., Mannix, L. M., & Davidio, J. F. (2002). Formal and interpersonal discrimination: A field study of bias toward homosexual applicants. *Personality and Social Pyschology Bulletin*, 28, 815-825.

Hequembourg, A. L., & Brallier, S. A. (2009). An exploration of sexual minority stress across the lines of gender and sexual identity. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *56*(3), 273-298.

Herek, G. (1994). Assessing heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: A review of empirical research with the ATLG scale. In B. Greene & G. Herek (Eds.), Lesbian and gay psychology (pp. 206–228). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Herek, G. (2002a). Gender gaps in public opinion about lesbians and gay men. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 66, 40-66.*

Herek, G. (2002). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward bisexual men and women in the United States. Journal of Sex Research, 39 (4), 264–274

Herek, G. M. (2004). Beyond "homophobia": Thinking about sexual prejudice and stigma in the twenty-first century. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy, 1*(2), 6-24.

Herek, G. M. (2007). Confronting sexual stigma and prejudice: Theory and practice. *Journal of Social Issues, 63*(4), 905-925.

Herek, G. M., & McLemore, K. A. (2013). Sexual prejudice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 64, 309-333.

Herring C (2009) Does diversity pay? Race, gender, and the business case for diversity. Amer. Sociol. Rev. 74(2):208–224.

Heshusius, L. (1994). Freeing ourselves from objectivity: Managing subjectivity or turning toward a participatory mode of consciousness? *Educational Researcher, 23*(3), 15–22

Hesselbein, F., & Goldsmith, M. (Eds.). (2009). *The organization of the future 2: Visions, strategies, and insights on managing in a new era.* (JB Leader to Leader Institute/PF Drucker Foundation). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hillier, L., Turner, A. & Mitchell, A. (2005). *Writing themselves in again. 6 years on: The 2nd national report on the sexuality, health & well-being of same sex attracted young people in Australia.* Melbourne: Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health & Society.

Hofhuis, J., van Der Zee, K. I., & Otten, S. (2012). Social identity patterns in culturally diverse organizations: The role of diversity climate. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 42*(4), 964-989.

Hoffarth, M. R., & Hodson, G. (2014). Is subjective ambivalence toward gays a modern form of bias*? Personality and Individual Differences, 69, 75-80.* http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2014.05.014

Hofstede, G. (2011). Dimensionalizing cultures: The Hofstede model in context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture, 2*(1), 8.

Hogan, S. J., & Coote, L. V. (2014). Organizational culture, innovation, and performance: A test of Schein's model. *Journal of Business Research, 67*(8), 1609-1621.

Holvino, E. (2010). Intersections: The simultaneity of race, gender and class in organization studies*. Gender, Work & Organization, 17*(3), 248-277.

Hoque, K. & Noon, M. (2004) Equal opportunities policy and practice in Britain: UK: evaluating the 'empty shell' hypothesis, *Work, Employment and Society, 18*(3), 481-506.

Human Rights Campaign Foundation. (2008). Transgender inclusion in the workplace (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from http://www.hrc.org/documents/ HRC_Foundation__Transgender_Inclusion_in_the_Workplace_2nd_Edition_-_2008.pdf

Humphrey, J. C. (1999). Organizing sexualities, organized inequalities: Lesbians and gay men in public service occupations. *Gender, Work & Organization, 6*(3), 134-151.

Huntington, J., Gillam, S., & Rosen, R. (2000). Organisational development for clinical governance. *BMJ, 321*(7262), 679-682.

Hyde, 1. S., & Delamater, I. D. (2006). Understanding human sexuality (9th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Ibarra, H., & Barbulescu, R. (2010). Identity as narrative: Prevalence, effectiveness, and consequences of narrative identity work in macro work role transitions. *Academy of Management Review, 35*(1), 135-154.

ILO (2016). PRIDE at work: a study on discrimination at work on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in South Africa. *work A study on discrimination at work on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in South Africa*.

Irwin, J. (2002). Discrimination against gay men, lesbians, and transgender people working in education. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 14, 65−77.

Israel, T., & Mohr, J. J. (2004). Attitudes toward bisexual women and men: Current research, future directions. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *4*(1-2), 117-134.

Israel, T., Ketz, K., Detrie, P. M., Burke, M. C., & Shulman, J. L. (2003). Identifying counselor competencies for working with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Psychotherapy, 7*(4), 3-21.

Isaac, R. G. (1993). Organization culture: Some new perspectives. In T. T. Golembiewski (Ed.), *Handbook of organizational behavior* (Pp. 91-110). New York: Marcel Dekker.

Jackson, S. (2006). Interchanges: Gender, sexuality and heterosexuality: The complexity (and limits) of heteronormativity. *Feminist Theory*, *7*(1), 105-121.

Jacques, G. (2014). “Coming out” or coming in? social exclusion of sexual minorities in Africa: Challenges for social work education and practice. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 26*(1), 91-110.

Janssens, M., & Steyaert, C. (2005). *Theories of Diversity within Organisation Studies: Debates and Future Trajectories*. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.389044

Janssens, M., & Zanoni, P. (2005). Many diversities for many services: Theorizing diversity (management) in service companies. *Human Relations*, *58*(3), 311-340.

Jones, T., Gray, E., & Harris, A. (2014). GLBTIQ teachers in Australian education policy: Protections, suspicions, and restrictions. *Sex Education*, *14*(3), 338-353.

Judge, M., & Nel, J. A. (2008). Exploring homophobic victimisation in Gauteng, South Africa: Issues, impacts and responses. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, *21*(3), 19-36.

Judge, M., Manion, A., & De Waal, S. (2008). *To have and to hold: The making of same-sex marriage in South Africa.* Sunnyside. Jacana

Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., & Kelly, E. (2006). Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. *American Sociological Review*, *71*(4), 589-617.

Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., & Kelly, E. (2006). Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 589–617.

Kalleberg, A.L. (2000). Nonstandard employment relations: Part-time, temporary and contract work. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 26, 341–365.

Kanter, R. M. (1977). Some effects of proportions on group life: Skewed sex ratios and responses to token wome*n. American Journal of Sociology, 82, 965-990.*

Kaplan, D. M. (2014). Career anchors and paths: The case of gay, lesbian, & bisexual workers. *Human Resource Management Review*, 24, 119–130.

Katz, J. (1995). Reconstructing masculinity in the locker room: The Mentors in Violence Prevention Project. *Harvard Educational Review*, *65*(2), 163-175.

Khayatt, D. (2006). What's to Fear: Calling homophobia into question. *McGill Journal of Education, 41*(2), 133–144.

Kheswa, B. (2005). 'My attitude is manly... a girl needs to walk on the aisle': Butch-femme subculture in Johannesburg, South Africa. In R. Morgan and S. Wieringa (Eds.), *Tommy boys, lesbian men and ancestral wives: Female same-sex practices in Africa* (pp. 199–229). Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

.

King, E. B., & Cortina, J. M. (2010). The social and economic imperative of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered supportive organizational policies. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *3*(1), 69-78.

King, E. B., Reilly, C., & Hebl, M. (2008). The best of times, the worst of times: Exploring dual perspectives of "coming out" in the workplace. *Group & Organization Management, 33*(5), 566-601.

King, M., Semlyen, J., Tai, S. S., Killaspy, H., Osborn, D., Popelyuk, D., & Nazareth, I. (2008). A systematic review of mental disorder, suicide, and deliberate self-harm in lesbian, gay and bisexual people*. BMC Psychiatry*, 8, 70. doi:10.1186/1471-244X-8-70

Kitzinger, C. (2005). Heteronormativity in action: Reproducing the heterosexual nuclear family in after-hours medical calls. *Social Problems, 52*(4), 477-498.

Knox, S., Burkard, A. W., Johnson, A. J., Suzuki, L. A., & Ponterotto, J. G. (2003). African American and European American therapists‘ experiences of addressing race in cross-racial psychotherapy dyads. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 50*(4), 466.

Kock, M. M., & Smith, H. (2005). *Institutional sector classification guide for South Africa.* Pretoria: South African Reserve Bank.

Korstjens, I., Moser, A. (2017). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 4: Trustworthiness and publishing. European Journal of General Practice, 24, 120–124

Laer, K.V., and Janssens, M. (2011). Ethnic minority professionals' experiences with subtle discrimination in the workplace. *Human Relations, 64*(9), 1203–1227

Lane, T., Mogale, T., Struthers, H., McIntyre, J., & Kegeles, S. M. (2008). They see you as a different thing: the experiences of men who have sex with men with healthcare workers in South African township communities. *Sexually Transmitted Infections, 84*(6), 430-433.

Larcker, D. F., Miles, S., Tayan, B., & Wright-Violich, K. (2018). *The double-edged sword of CEO Activism.* Stanford University Closer Look Series: Topics, Issues and Controversies in Corporate Governance. Retrieved from: https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/sites/gsb/files/publicationpdf/cgri-closer-look-74-double-edged-sword-ceo-activism.pdf

Larmarange, J., Du Loû, A. D., Enel, C., Wade, A., & Horko, K. (2009). Homosexuality and bisexuality in Senegal: A multiform reality. *Population, 64*(4), 635-666.

Lather, P. (2006). Paradigm proliferation as a good thing to think with: Teaching research in education as a wild profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *19*(1), 35-57.

Lee, H., Learmonth, M., & Harding, N. (2008). Queer(y)ing public administration. *Public Administration, 86*(1), 149-167.

Leibbrandt, M., Bhorat, H., & Woolard, I. (2001). Household inequality and the labor market in South Africa. *Contemporary Economic Policy, 19*(1), 73-86.

Lemelle Jr, A. J., & Battle, J. (2004). Black masculinity matters in attitudes toward gay males. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *47*(1), 39-51.

Leonard, N. E., & Fiorelli, E. (2001). Virtual leaders, artificial potentials and coordinated control of groups. In *Proceedings of the 40th IEEE Conference on Decision and Control* (Cat. No. 01CH37228) (Vol. 3, pp. 2968-2973). IEEE.

Leppel, K. (2016). The labor force status of transgender men and women. International Journal of Transgenderism, 17(3 C 4), 155–164.

Levi, J. L. (2007). Misapplying equality theories: Dress codes at work. *Yale JL & Feminism*, *19*, 353.

Levine, M. P., & Leonard, R. (1984). Discrimination against lesbians in the work *force. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 9*(4), 700-710.

Levitt, H. M., & Ippolito, M. R. (2014). Being transgender: The experience of transgender identity development. Journal of Homosexuality, 61, 1727–1758. doi: 10.1080/ 00918369.2014.951262

Lewis, L. (2002). Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices. *Sociological Research*

Online, *7*(4).

Liang, C. T. H., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. K. (2004). The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51, 103–114.

Longerbeam, S. D., Inkelas, K. K., Johnson, D. R., & Lee, Z. S. (2007). Lesbian, gay, and bisexual college student experiences: An exploratory study. *Journal of College Student Development*, *48*(2), 215-230.

Lorde, A. (1983). There is no hierarchy of oppressions. *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, 14*(3–4), 9.

Lorde, A. (1984). Sister outsider. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.

Losert, A. (2008). Coping with workplace heteronormativity among lesbian employees: A German study. *Journal of Lesbian Studies, 12*(1), 47-58.

Lukes, S. (2005). Power and the Battle for Hearts and Minds. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies 33*(3), 477–93.

MacKenzie, C. R. (2007). Professionalism and medicine. *HSS Journal*, *3*(2), 222-227.

MacLean, D. (2003). The quest for inclusive governance of global ICTs: Lessons from the ITU in the limits of national sovereignty. *Information Technologies & International Development, 1*(1), 1.

Magolda, M. B. B. (2004). *Making their own way: Narratives for transforming higher education to promote self-development.* Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

Major, B., Kaiser, C. R., & McCoy, S. K. (2003). It's not my fault: When and why attributions to prejudice protect self-esteem. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29, 772-781.*

Magolda, M. B. B. (2001). Making their own way narratives for transforming higher education to promote self-development. In *Narratives for Transforming Higher Education to Promote Self-development*.

Magwaza T (2001) Private transgressions: The visual voice of Zulu women. *Agenda 49: 25–32*

Malebranche, D. J., Arriola, K. J., Jenkins, T. R., Dauria, E., & Patel, S. N. (2010). Exploring the "bisexual bridge": A qualitative study of risk behavior and disclosure of same-sex behavior among Black bisexual men. *American Journal of Public Health*, *100*(1), 159-164.

Malterud, K. (2001). Qualitative research: Standards, challenges, and guidelines. *The Lancet*, *358*(9280), 483-488.

Mama, A. (2011). What does it mean to do feminist research in African contexts? *Feminist Review, 98*(1_suppl), e4-e20.

Mannion, R., & Davies, H. (2018). Understanding organisational culture for healthcare quality improvement. *British Medical Journal, 2018*, 363. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.k4907.

Mannion, R. & Davies, H. (2018). Understanding organisational culture for healthcare quality improvement*. BMJ, 363*, k4907. doi. org/10.1136/bmj.k4907.

Maritz, J., & Prinsloo, P. (2015). *'*Queering' and querying academic identities in postgraduate educatio*n. Higher Education Research & Development, 34*(4), 695-708.

Martin, J. (1992). *Cultures in organizations: Three perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Martin, J. (2002) *Organisational Culture: Mapping the terrain*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Martinez, L. R., & Hebl, M. R. (2010). Additional agents of change in promoting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered inclusiveness in organizations. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 3*(1), 82-85.

Martins, E., & Martins, N. (2002). An organisational culture model to promote creativity and innovation. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology, 28*(4), 58-65.

Matebeni, Z., Reddy, V., Sandfort, T., & Southey-Swartz, I. (2013). "I thought we are safe": Southern African lesbians' experiences of living with HIV. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 15*(sup1), 34-47.

Matebeni, Z., & Msibi, T. (2015). Vocabularies of the non-normative. *Agenda*, *29*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2015.1025500

Mavhandu-Mudzusi, A. H. (2017). Impact of stigma and discrimination on sexual well-being of LGBTI students in a South African rural university. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 31*(4), 208-218.

McArthur, T. (2015). Homophobic violence in a Northern Cape school: Learners confront the issue. *Agenda*, *29*(3), 53-59.

McCabe, P. C., Rubinson, F., Dragowski, E. A., & Elizalde-Utnick, G. (2013). Behavioral intention of teachers, school psychologists, and counselors to intervene and prevent harassment of LGBTQ youth. *Psychology in the Schools, 50*(7), 672-688.

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society, 30*(3), 1771-1800.

McCune Jr, J. Q. (2014). *Sexual discretion: Black masculinity and the politics of passing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McGinley, A. C. (2007). Babes and beefcake: Exclusive hiring arrangements and sexy dress codes. *Duke J. Gender L. & Pol'y*, *14*, 257.

McKay, P. F., Avery, D. R., & Morris, M. A. (2008). Mean racial-ethnic differences in employee sales performance: The moderating role of diversity climate. *Personnel Psychology, 61*(2), 349-374.

McKinney, C. (2007a). '"If I speak English, does it make me less Black anyway?" "Race" and English in South African desegregated schools.' *English Academy Review 24*(2), 6–24.

Mertens, D. M. (2007). Transformative paradigm: Mixed methods and social justice. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *1*(3), 212-225.

Meulders D., Plasman, R. & Rycx, F. (2004). Introduction: Earnings inequalities: Gender, race and sexual orientation. *International Journal of Manpower 25(3/4): 244–250.*

Meyer, I., & Dean, L. (1998). Internalized homophobia, intimacy, and sexual behavior among gay and bisexual men. In G. M. Herek (Ed.), *Stigma and sexual orientation* (pp. 160-186). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mhlauli, M. B., Salani, E., & Mokotedi, R. (2015). Understanding apartheid in South Africa through the racial contract. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, *5*(4), 203-219.

Mikulsky, J. (2007). *"In or 'Out?'": An examination of the effects of school climate on same-sex attracted students in Australia*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Sydney. Retrieved from: http://hdl.handle.net/2123/1969

Miller, L. R., & Grollman, E. A. (2015). The social costs of gender nonconformity for transgender adults: Implications for discrimination and health. Sociological Forum, 30, 809–831.

Mizzi, R. C. (2013). “There aren’t any gays here”: Encountering heteroprofessionalism in an international development workplace. *Journal of Homosexuality, 60(11), 1602-1624.*

Mkhize, N., Bennett, J., Reddy, V., & Moletsane, R. (2010). *The country we want to live in: Hate crimes and homophobia in the lives of black lesbian South Africans*. HSRC Press.

Mojab, S., & Gorman, R. (2003). Women and consciousness in the “learning organization”: Emancipation or exploitation? *Adult Education Quarterly*, *53*(4), 228-241.

Mor Barak, M. E. (2015). Inclusion is the key to diversity management, but what is inclusion? *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance, 39*(2), 83-88.

Moradi, B., & Grzanka, P. R. (2017*).* Using intersectionality responsibly: Toward critical epistemology, structural analysis, and social justice activism. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *64*(5), 500.

Morgan, K. S., & Brown, L. S. (1991). Lesbian career development, work behavior, and vocational counselling*. The Counseling Psychologist, 19*(2), 273-291.

Moritz, M. (2003). Recapturing the archetype: An inclusive vision of sexuality and gender. In P. Martin. L. and S. Dente Ross (Eds.)*, Images that injure: Pictorial stereotypes in the media* (2nd ed.) (pp. 197-206). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Morrison, M. A. & Morrison, T. G. (2003). Development and validation of a scale measuring modern prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women. *Journal of Homosexuality, 43*(2), 15-37. doi: 10.1300/ J082v43n02_02

Msibi, T. (2012). ‘I’m used to it now’: experiences of homophobia among queer youth in South African township schools. *Gender and Education, 24*(5), 515–533

Msibi, T. (2009). Not crossing the line: Masculinities and homophobic violence in South Africa. *Agenda, 23*(80), 50-54.

Msibi, T. (2011). The lies we have been told: On (Homo)sexuality in Africa. *Africa Today 51*(8), 54-77.

Mtongana, L. (2017, February 5). 'Once empowered, always empowered' principle still centre stage. *Sunday Times (Business Times)*, 3. Retrieved from http://www.businesslive.co.za

Nadal, K. L. (2008). Preventing racial, ethnic, gender, sexual minority, disability, and religious microaggressions: Recommendations for promoting positive mental health. *Prevention in Counseling Psychology: Theory, Research, Practice and Training*, *2*(1), 22-27.

Nadal, K. L. (2013). *That's so gay! Microaggressions and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Nadal, K. L., Davidoff, K. C., Davis, L. S., & Wong, Y. (2014). Emotional, behavioral, and cognitive reactions to microaggressions: Transgender perspectives. Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 1(1), 72–81.

Nadar, S. (2014). Stories are data with soul – lessons from black feminist epistemology. *Agenda, 28*(1), 18-28.

Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review, 89*(1), 1-15.

Nattrass, N. & Seekings, J. (2005). The political economy of the basic income grant in South Africa. In K. Widerquist (Ed.), *The ethics and economics of the basic income guarantee* (pp. 235-248). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Nawyn, S. J. (2010). Gender and migration: Integrating feminist theory into migration studies. *Sociology Compass, 4*(9), 749-765.

Nel, J. (2009). Same-sex sexuality and health: Psychosocial scientific research in South Africa. In V. Reddy, T. Sandfort and L. Rispel (Eds.), *From social silence to social science: Same-sex sexuality, HIV & AIDS and Gender in South Africa* (pp. 32-50). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Nel, J.A. (2005). Hate crimes*:* A new category of vulnerable victims for a new South Africa. In L. Davis and R. Snyman (Eds.), *Victimology in South Africa* (pp. 240-245). Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik Publishers.

Nel, J, and Judge M. (2008). Exploring homophobic victimization in Gauteng, South Africa: Issue, impact and responses. *Acta Criminologica, 21*(3):19-36.

Nelson, S. W., & Guerra, N. L. (2013). Educator beliefs and cultural knowledge implications for school improvement efforts. *Education Administration Quarterly. Advance online publication*. doi:10.1177/0013161X13488597

Nettles, R., & Balter, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Multiple minority identities: Applications for practice, research and training*. New York: Springer.

Ngubane-Mokiwa, S., & Chisale, S. S. (2019). Male rape or consensual sex: Hidden hegemonic masculinities by Zulu speaking men with disabilities. *Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict and Social Transformation*, *8*(Special Issue 2), 107-124.

Nkomo, J. C. (2005). Energy and economic development: Challenges for South Africa. *J. Energy South. Afr. 16,* 10–20.

Nkomo, S. M., & Cox, T., Jr. (1996). Diverse identities in organizations. In S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy, & W. R. Nord (Eds.), *Handbook of organization studies* (pp. 338-356). London: Sage.

Norton, A. T., & Herek, G. M. (2012). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward transgender people: Findings from a national probability sample of US adults. *Sex Roles*, 68,738–753. doi:10.1007/s11199-011-0110-6.

Nuriddin, A., Jalloh, M. F., Meyer, E., Bunnell, R., Bio, F. A., Jalloh, M. B.... & Morgan, O. (2018). Trust, fear, stigma and disruptions: Community perceptions and experiences during periods of low but ongoing transmission of Ebola virus disease in Sierra Leone. *BMJ Global Health, 3*(2): e000410. doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2017-000410

Nyanzi, S. (2014). *Queering queer Africa*. In Z Matebeni (Ed.), *Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer perspectives on sexual and gender identities* (pp. 61–66). Athlone, South Africa: Modjaji Books.

Nyeck, S. N., & Epprecht, M. (Eds.). (2013). *Sexual diversity in Africa: Politics, theory, and citizenship*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Nzimande, N. (2017). Experiences of challenging heteronormativity in pre-service teacher training at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: A reflective critical incident approach. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 31*(4), 234-248.

O'day, B.L., & Killeen, M. (2002). Research on the lives of persons with disabilities: The emerging importance of qualitative research methodologies. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies, 13*(1), 9–15.

O'Toole Jr, L. J. (2000). Research on policy implementation: Assessment and prospects. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *10*(2), 263-288.

Ocholla, D. N. (2002). Diversity in the library and information workplace: A South African perspective, *Library Management 23 (1/2):59-67.*

Ochse, A. (2011). 'Real women' and 'real lesbians': discourses of heteronormativity amongst a group of lesbians. *South African Review of Sociology, 42*(1), 3-20.

Ogbonna, E., & Harris, L. C. (2006). The dynamics of employee relationships in an ethnically diverse workforce. *Human Relations, 59*(3), 379-407.

Osanloo, A., & Grant, C. (2016). Understanding, selecting, and integrating a theoretical framework in dissertation research: Creating the blueprint for your "house". *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, and Research*, *4*(2), 7.

Osnowitz, D. (2010). *Freelancing expertise: Contract professionals in the new economy*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Oswin, N. (2005). Researching 'gay Cape Town': Finding value-added queerness. *Social & Cultural Geography, 6*(4), 567-586.

Oswin, N. (2007). The end of queer (as we knew it): Globalization and the making of a gay-friendly South Africa. *Gender, Place and Culture, 14*(1), 93-110.

Ozeren, E. (2014). Sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace: A systematic review of literature. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 109*(8), 1203-1215.

Öztürk, M. B., & Özbilgin, M. (2014). From cradle to grave: The lifecycle of compulsory heterosexuality in Turk*ey.* In F. Colgan & N. Rumens (Eds.), *Sexual orientation at work: Contemporary issues and perspectives* (pp. 151–165). London: Routledge.

Öztürk, M. B. (2011*).* Sexual orientation discrimination: Exploring the experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual employees in Turke*y*. *Human Relations, 64, 1099–1118.* doi:10.1177/ 0018726710396249.

Parent, M. C., DeBlaere, C., & Moradi, B. (2013). Approaches to research on intersectionality: Perspectives on gender, LGBT, and racial/ethnic identities. *Sex Roles, 68*(11-12), 639-645.

Parker, M. (2002). *Against management: Organization in the age of managerialism*. Oxford. Polity

Perez-Stable, M (1998). *Dr Martin Luther King Jr. 1963 WMU Speech*. Western Michigan University Archives and Regional History Collections and University Libraries. https://wmich.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/MLK.pdf

Perry, C., Thurston, M. & Green, K. (2004). Involvement and detachment in researching sexuality: reflections on the process of semistructured interviewing. *Qualitative Health Research, 14*, 35–48.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751.

Pierce, C., Carew, J., Pierce-Gonzalez, D., & Willis, D. (1978). *An experiment in racism: Television and education*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Pincheon, B. S. (2000). An ethnography of silences: Race, (homo) sexualities, and a discourse of Africa. *African Studies Review, 43*(3), 39-58.

Pirlott, A. G., & Neuberg, S. L. (2014). Sexual prejudice: Avoiding unwanted sexual interest? *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *5*(1), 92-101.

Platt, L. F., & Lenzen, A. L. (2013). Sexual orientation microaggressions and the experience of sexual minorities. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *60*(7), 1011-1034.

Polders, L. A., Nel, J. A., Kruger, P., & Wells, H. L. (2008). Factors affecting vulnerability to depression among gay men and lesbian women in Gauteng, South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *38*(4), 673-687.

Polit, D., & Beck, C. (2008). Nursing research: Generating and assessing evidence for nursing practice (Vol. 8.). Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott William and Wilkins.

Potgieter, C. A. (1997). *Black, South African, lesbian: Discourses of invisible lives*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town.

Potoczniak, D. J., Aldea, M. A., & DeBlaere, C. (2007). Ego identity, social anxiety, social support, and self-concealment in lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *54*(4), 447.

Powlishta, K. K. (2004). Gender as a social category: Intergroup processes and gender-role development. In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.), *The development of the social self* (pp. 103 – 133). East Sussex, UK: Psychology Press.

Prado-Castro, D. M., & Graham, T. M. (2017). Constructing our identities: Identity expression amongst lesbian women attending university. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 31*(4), 94-111.

Priola, V., Lasio, D., De Simone, S., & Serri, F. (2014). The sound of silence: Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender discrimination in 'inclusive organizations'. *British Journal of Management*, *25*(3), 488-502.

Pringle, R. (1989). Bureaucracy, rationality and sexuality: The case of secretaries. *The Sexuality of Organization*, *158*, 177. Retrieved from https://eige.europa.eu/library/resource/GIB

Proudford KL and Nkomo S (2006) Race and ethnicity in organizations. In: A. Konrad, P. Prasad and J. Pringle (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace diversity* (pp. 323-344). London: Sage.

Raeburn, N. C. (2004*). Changing corporate America from inside out: Lesbian and gay workplace rights* (Vol. 20). Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press.

Ragins, B. & Cornwall, J. M. (2001). Pink triangles: Antecedents and consequences of perceived workplace discrimination against gay and lesbian employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(6), 1244-1261.

Ragins, B. R., Cornwell, J. M., & Miller, J. S. (2003). Heterosexism in the workplace: Do race and gender matter? *Group & Organization Management, 28, 45–74.*

Ragins, B. R. (2004). Sexual orientation in the workplace: The unique work and career experiences of gay, lesbian and bisexual workers. *Research in Personnel and Human Resource Management, 23: 37-122.*

Ragins, B. R. (2008). Disclosure disconnects: Antecedents and consequences of disclosing invisible stigmas across life domains. *Academy of Management Review, 33*(1), 194-215.

Ragins, B. R., Singh, R., & Cornwell, J. M. (2007). Making the invisible visible: Fear and disclosure of sexual orientation at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*: 1103-1118.

Raley, A. B., & Lucas, J. L. (2006). Stereotype or success? Prime-time television's portrayals of gay male, lesbian, and bisexual characters. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *51*(2), 19-38.

Rasmussen, M. L. (2004). The problem of coming out. *Theory into practice*, *43*(2), 144-150.

Ratele, K. (2006). Ruling masculinity and sexuality. *Feminist Africa*, *6*(6), 48-64.

Reddy, V. (2001). Homophobia, human rights and gay and lesbian equality in Africa. *Agenda, 16*(50), 83-87.

Reid, G. (2013). *How to be a real gay: Gay identities in small-town South Africa*. Durban, South Africa: UKZN Press.

Reingardė, J. (2010). Heteronormativity and silenced sexualities at work. *Kultūra ir Visuomenė: Socialinių Tyrimų Žurnalas, 1*(1), 83-96.

Republic of South Africa (1995). *Labour Relations Act*, No. 66, Government Gazette, No. 16861. Pretoria: Government Gazette.

Republic of South Africa (1997). *Basic Conditions of Employment Act No 75., Gazette No. 18491*. Pretoria: Government Gazette.

Republic of South Africa (1998a). *Employment Equity Act, No. 55, Gazette No. 19370.* Pretoria: Government Gazette

Republic of South Africa. (1996). *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act 108 of 1996*. Pretoria: Government Gazette.

Republic of South Africa. (2000). *Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, No. 4, Gazette No.21517*. Pretoria: Government Gazette.

Rey, A. M., & Gibson, P. R. (1997). Beyond high school: Heterosexuals' self-reported anti-gay/lesbian behaviors and attitudes. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, *7*(4), 65-84.

Richardson, E. 2008. Using film to challenge heteronormativity: South African teachers 'get real' in working with LGB youth. *Journal of LGBT Youth* 5, (2), 63-72.

Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rispel, L. C., Metcalf, C. A., Cloete, A., Moorman, J., & Reddy, V. (2011). You become afraid to tell them that you are gay: Health service utilization by men who have sex with men in South

African cities. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, *32*(SUPPL. 1). https://doi.org/10.1057/jphp.2011.29

Roberts, B., & Reddy, V. (2008). Pride and prejudice: Public attitudes toward homosexuality. *HSRC Review 6(4):9-11*

Roberts, L. M. (2005). Changing faces: Professional image construction in diverse organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review, 30*(4), 685-711.

Robson, C. (2002). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers* (2nd ed.). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Roccas, S., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). Social identity complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6*(2), 88-106.

Rostosky, S. S., & Riggle, E. D. (2002). "Out" at work: The relation of actor and partner workplace policy and internalized homophobia to disclosure status. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 49*(4), 411.

Rowe, M. P. (1990). Barriers to equality: The power of subtle discrimination to maintain unequal opportunity. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 3*(2), 153-163.

Rudwick, S. (2011). Defying a myth: A gay sub-culture in contemporary South Africa. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, *20*(2), 90-111.

Rumens, N. (2012). Queering cross-sex friendships: An analysis of gay and bisexual men's workplace friendships with heterosexual women. *Human Relations*, *65*(8), 955-978.

Rumens, N. (2013). Queering men and masculinities in construction: Towards a research agenda. *Construction Management and Economics*, *31*(8), 802-815

Rumens, N., & Broomfield, J. (2012). Gay men in the police: Identity disclosure and management issues. *Human Resource Management Journal, 22*(3), 283-298.

Rumens, N., & Kerfoot, D. (2009). Gay men at work:(Re) constructing the self as professional. *Human Relations*, *62*(5), 763-786.

Russo, A., Herek, G., & Berrill, K. T. (1992). Loving Dangerously. Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence against Lesbians and Gay Men. *The Women's Review of Books*, *10*(1). https://doi.org/10.2307/4021369

Ryan-Flood, R. (2004). Beyond recognition and redistribution: A case study of lesbian and gay workers in a local labour market in Britain. London: Gender Institute, London School of Economics.

Rynes, S. L., Brown, K. G., Colbert, A. E. (2002). Seven common misconceptions about human resource practices: Research findings versus practitioner beliefs. *Academy of Management Executive, 18(3): 92-103.*

Rynes, S. L., Colbert, A. E., & Brown, K. G. (2002). HR professionals' beliefs about effective Human resource practices: Correspondence between research and practice. *Human Resource Management, 41, 149–174.*

Sangganjanavanich, V. F. (2009). Career development practitioners as advocates for transgender individuals: understanding gender transition. Journal of Employment Counseling, 46, 128–135

Salem, S. (2018). Intersectionality and its discontents: Intersectionality as traveling theory. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *25*(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506816643999.

Sandelowski, M. (1991). Telling stories: Narrative approaches in qualitative research. *Image: The Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, *23*(3), 161-166. doi.org/10.1111/j.1547-5069.1991.tb00662.

Sartore, M. L., & Cunningham, G. B. (2009). The lesbian stigma in the sport context: Implications for women of every sexual orientation. *Quest, 61*(3), 289-305.

Sawyer, K., Thoroughgood, C., & Webster, J. (2016). Queering the gender binary: Understanding transgender workplace experiences. In T. Köllen (Ed.), Sexual orientation and transgender issues in organizations: Global perspectives on LGBT workforce diversity (pp. 21–42). Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Schilt, K. (2006). Just one of the guys? How transmen make gender visible at work. Gender and Society, 20, 465–490.

Schilt, K., & Connell, C. (2007). Do workplace gender transitions make gender trouble? Gender, Work and Organization, 14(6), 596–618.

Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity: "Gender normals," transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. Gender & Society, 23, 440–464.

Schilt, K. R., & Wiswall, M. (2008). Before and after: Gender transitions, human capital, and workplace experiences. The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis and Policy, 8, 1–26.

Schneider, B. E. (1986). Coming out at work: Bridging the private/public gap. *Work and Occupations*, 13, 463–487.

Schwandt, T. A., Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2007). Judging interpretations: But is it rigorous? trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. New Directions for Evaluation (114), 11- 25.

Scott, C. (2002). Private regulation of the public sector: A neglected facet of contemporary governance. *Journal of Law and Society*, *29*(1). https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6478.00211

Sears, J. (2005). *Youth, education and sexualities: An international encyclopaedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Sears, J. T., & Williams, W. L. (Eds.). (1997). Overcoming heterosexism and homophobia: Strategies that work. New York: Columbia University Press

Seekings, J. (2008). The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary AfricanSstudies*, *26*(1), 1-25.

Segal, L. (2006). *Slow motion: Changing masculinities, changing men* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seidman, S. (1996). *Queer theory/sociology*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Seidman, Steven. 2002. *Beyond the closet: The transformation of gay and lesbian life*. New York: Routledge.

Shallenberger, D. (1994). Professional and openly gay: A narrative study of the experience. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 3*(2), 119-142.

Shenton A.K. (2004) Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. Education for Information 22(2), 63–75.).

Shore, L., Chung-Herrera, B., Dean, M., Ehrhart, K., Jung, D., Randel, A., & Singh, G. (2009). Diversity in organizations: Where are we now and where are we going? *Human Resource Management Review,* 19, 117– 133.

Silverschanz, P., Cortina, L. M., Konik, J., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Slurs, snubs, and queer jokes: Incidence and impact of heterosexist harassment in academia. *Sex Roles, 58*(3-4), 179-191.

Simpson, B. (2006). Social identity and cooperation in social dilemmas. *Rationality and society*, *18*(4), 443-470.

Simpson, R., & Lewis, P. (2005). An investigation of silence and a scrutiny of transparency: Re-examining gender in organisation literature through the concepts of voice and visibility. *Human Relations*, 58, 12531275.

Singh, G. (2009). Diversity in organizations: Where are we now and where are we going? *Human Resource Management Review, 19*(2), 117-133.

Skidmore P. (2004). A legal perspective on sexuality in organisations: A lesbian and gay case study. *Gender, Work and organisation, 11*(3): 229-253.

Sliter, M., Boyd, E., Sinclair, R., Cheung, J., & McFadden, A. (2014). Inching toward inclusiveness: Diversity climate, interpersonal conflict and well-being in women nurses. *Sex Roles, 71*(1-2), 43-54.

Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of culture and organizational analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 339-358.

Smuts, L. (2011). Coming out as a lesbian in Johannesburg, South Africa: Considering intersecting identities and social spaces. *South African Review of Sociology*, 42(3), 23-40.

Snyder, K. (2003). *Lavender road to success: The career guide for the gay community*. Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press.

Soeker, S., Bonn, G. L., de Vos, Z., Gobhozi, T., Pape, C., & Ribaudo, S. (2015). Not straight forward for gays: A look at the lived experiences of gay men, living in Cape Town, with regard to their worker roles. *Work, 51*(2), 175-186.

Soudien, C. (1994). Dealing with race: Laying down patterns for multiculturalism in South Africa. *Interchange*, *25*(3), 281-294.

Spicer, A., & Fleming, P. (2007). Intervening in the inevitable: Contesting globalization in a public sector organization. *Organization*, *14*(4), 517-541.

Statistics, South Africa (2002). *Census in brief*. http://www.statssa.gov.census00/html/CIB/Population/26.htm

Stein, A., & Plummer, K. (1994). "I can't even think straight": "Queer" Theory and the missing sexual revolution in sociology. *Sociological Theory*, *12*(2), 178-187.

Steyn, M., & Van Zyl, M. (2009). *The prize and the price: Shaping sexualities in South Africa*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press,

Sue, D. W. (2009). Racial microaggressions and worldviews. *American Psychologist*, 64, 220–221. doi:10.1037/a0015310

Sue, D. W. (2010a). *Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. John Wiley & Sons.

Sue, D. W. (2010b). *Microaggressions and marginality: manifestation, dynamics, and impact*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc

Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(1), 72.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., & Holder, A. (2008). Racial microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 39*(3), 329.

Sue, D. W., & Constantine, M. G. (2007). Racial microaggressions as instigators of difficult dialogues on race: Implications for student affairs educators and students. *College Student Affairs Journal, 26*(2), 136–143

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2007). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (5th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Swann, G., Minshew, R., Newcomb, M. E., & Mustanski, B. (2016). Validation of the sexual orientation microaggression inventory in two diverse samples of LGBTQ youth. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 45(6), 1289-1298.

Swarr, A. L. (2004). Moffies, artists, and queens: Race and the production of South African gay male drag. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *46*(3-4), 73-89.

Syed, M. (2010). Disciplinarity and methodology in intersectional theory and research. *American Psychologist,* 65, 61–62.

Symington, A. (2004). Intersectionality: A tool for gender and economic justice. *Women's Rights and Economic Change,* 9. Retrieved from http://www.awid.org

Trahar, S. (2013). *Contextualising narrative inquiry: Developing methodological approaches for local contexts*. Taylor and Francis, Hoboken.

Tallis, V. (2009). Health for All? Health Needs and Issues for Women Who Have Sex with Women. In *From Social Silence to Social Science: Same-sex Sexuality, HIV and AIDS and Gender in South Africa: Conference Proceedings*, 216– 225. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Talwar, S. (2010). An intersectional framework for race, class, gender, and sexuality in art therapy. *Art Therapy*, *27*(1), 11-17.

Tangmunkongvorakul, A., Banwell, C., Carmichael, G., Utomo, I. D., & Sleigh, A. (2010). Sexual identities and lifestyles among non-heterosexual urban Chiang Mai youth: implications for health. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 12*(7), 827-841.

Tati, N. (2009). *An exploratory study of the experiences of black lesbian students in an institution of higher learning in the Western Cape-South Africa*. Doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town.

Tatli, A. (2006). *Handbook of workplace diversity*. Equal Opportunities International.

Theuninck, A.C. (2000). *The traumatic impact of minority stressors on males self-identified as homosexual or bisexual.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

The Equality Court. 2008. Strydom v Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Gemeente Moreleta Park 2009(4) SA 510. Available online at http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZAGPHC/2008/269.html

The Labour Court of South Africa. 2009. Ehlers v BohlerUddehom Africa (Pvt Ltd): JS296/09. Available at http://www.labourguide.co.za/2010-labour-court-judgements-–-provided-bysaflii/ehlers-v-bohler- uddeholm-africa-pty-ltd

Thoreson, R. R. (2008). Somewhere over the rainbow nation: Gay, lesbian and bisexual activism in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *34*(3), 679-697.

Thurlow, C. (2001). Naming the "outsider within": Homophobic pejoratives and the verbal abuse of lesbian, gay, and bisexual high-school pupils. Journal of Adolescence, 24(1), 25-38

Timmermans, S. (2005). From autonomy to accountability: the role of clinical practice guidelines in professional power. *Perspec Biol Med,* 48, 490–501.

Tinker, A., & Coomber, V. (2004). University research ethics committees: Their role, remit and conduct. London: Nuffield Foundation/Kings College

Torres-Harding, S. R., Andrade Jr, A. L., Diaz, R., & Crist, E. (2012). The Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS): A new scale to measure experiences of racial microaggressions in people of color. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 18*(2), 153.

Trau, R. N., & Hartel, C. E. (2007). Identity orientations and peer supportive relationships in demographically diverse organizations. In *Academy of Management Annual Meeting Proceedings* (pp. 358-358). Academy of Management.

Trautner, M. N., & Kwan, S. (2010). Gendered appearance norms: An analysis of employment discrimination lawsuits, 1970-2008. *Research in the Sociology of Work*, *20*.

Trevino, L. K., & Nelson, K. A. (2014). Managing business ethics: Straight talk about how to do it right [VitalSource Bookshelf Online] (Sixth ed)

Tsui, A. S., & Gutek, B. A. (1999). Demographic differences in organizations: Current research and future directions. Lexington Books.

Tucker, W. H. (1996). The science and politics of racial research. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Tyler, M., & Cohen, L. (2008). Management in/as comic relief: Queer theory and gender performativity in The Office. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *15*(2), 113-132.

Ullman, J., & McGraw, K. (2014). Troubling silences and taboo texts: Constructing safer and more positive school climates for same-sex attracted high school students in Australia. In D. Carlson & E. Meyer (Eds.). *Gender and sexualities in education: A reader* (pp. 298–312). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Valocchi, S. (2005). Not yet queer enough: The lessons of queer theory for the sociology of gender and sexuality. *Gender & Society, 19*(6), 750-770.

Van den Berg, P. T., & Wilderom, C. P. (2004). Defining, measuring, and comparing organisational cultures. *Applied Psychology, 53*(4), 570-582.

Van der Meide, Wayne. (2000). Legislating equality: A review of laws affecting gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people in the United States. Washington, DC: *National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce.*

Veenstra, G. (2011). Race, gender, class, and sexual orientation: Intersecting axes of inequality and self-rated health in Canada. *International Journal for Equity in Health, 10*(3), 1-11.

Vimba, M. (2003). *Recognising same sex marriages*. Available: http://www. equality. org. za/features/20030204ssmar. php. [2016, November 28].

Von Holdt, K. (2005). Political transition and the changing workplace order in a South African steelworks. In E. Webster and K. Von Holdt (Eds.), *Beyond the Apartheid workplace*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.

Wang, C.C. and Geale, S.K. (2015) The power of story: Narrative inquiry as a methodology in nursing research. *International Journal of Nursing Sciences*, 2(2), 195–8.

Wallis, A., & Van Every, J. (2000). Sexuality in the primary school. *Sexualities*, *3*(4), 409-423.

Walls, N. E. (2008). Toward a multidimensional understanding of heterosexism: The changing nature of prejudice. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *55*(1), 20-70.

Wang, P., & Schwarz, J. L. (2010). Stock price reactions to GLBT nondiscrimination policies. *Human Resource Management, 49*(2), 195-216.

Ward, J. (2007). Respectably queer: Diversity culture in LGBT activist organizations. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Ward, J., & Winstanley, D. (2003). The absent presence: Negative space within discourse and the construction of minority sexual identity in the workplace. *Human Relations, 56*(10), 1255-1280.

Ward, J., & Winstanley, D. (2004). Sexuality and the city: Exploring the experience of minority sexual identity through storytelling. *Culture and Organization, 10*(3), 219-236.

Ward, J., & Winstanley, D. (2005). Coming out at work: Performativity and the recognition and renegotiation of identity. *The Sociological Review, 53*(3), 447-475.

Ward, J., & Winstanley, D. (2006). Watching the watch: The UK fire service and its impact on sexual minorities in the workplace. *Gender, Work & Organization, 13*(2), 193-219.

Warner, M. (1993). *Fear of a queer planet. Queer politics and social theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Warner, M. (2000). *The trouble with normal: Sex, politics, and the ethics of queer life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Watson, R. J., Wheldon, C. W., & Russell, S. T. (2015). How does sexual identity disclosure impact school experiences? *Journal of LGBT Youth*, *12*(4), 385-396.

Watson, T. J. (2008). Managing identity: Identity work, personal predicaments and structural circumstances. *Organization, 15*(1), 121-143.

Weber, L. (2001). *Understanding race, class, gender and sexuality: A conceptual framework.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Webster, L. & Mertova, P. (2007). *Using narrative inquiry as a research method: Introduction to using critical event narrative analysis in research on learning and teaching.* London, England: Routledge.

Weeks, J. (1995). *Invented moralities: Sexual values in an age of uncertainty.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Weichselbaumer, D. (2003). Sexual orientation discrimination in hiring. *Labour Economics, 10*(6), 629-642.

Weinberg, G. (1972). Society and the healthy homosexual. New York: St. Martin's/ Macmillan.

Welle, B., & Button, S. B. (2004). Workplace experiences of lesbian and gay employees: A review of current research. *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology,* 19, 139-170.

Whitehead, S. M. (2002). *Men and masculinities: Key themes and new directions*. Cambridge, UK: Polity

Wilkinson, L., & Pearson, J. (2009). School culture and the well-being of same-sex-attracted youth. *Gender & Society*, *23*(4), 542-568.

Williams, C. L., & Giuffre, P. (2011). From organizational sexuality to queer organizations: Research on homosexuality and the workplace. *Sociology Compass, 5*(7), 551-63.

Williams, C.L., Giuffre, P.A., & Dellinger, K. (2009) The gay-friendly closet. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy: Journal of NSRC, 6*(1): 29–45.

Williams, C. L., Muller, C., & Kilanski, K. (2012). Gendered organizations in the new economy. *Gender & Society*, *26*(4), 549-573.

Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health*, *93*(2), 200-208.

Willis, P. (2011). Laboring in silence: Young lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer-identifying workers' negotiations of the workplace closet in Australian organizations. *Youth and Society*, *43*(3). https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X10377650

Woodford, M. R., Howell, M. L., Kulick, A., & Silverschanz, P. (2013). "That's so gay": Heterosexual male undergraduates and the perpetuation of sexual orientation microaggressions on campus. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *28*(2), 416-435.

Woods, J. D. (with Lucas, J. H.). (1993). *The corporate closet: The professional lives of gay men in America.* New York: Free Press

Woods, S. E. (1992). Describing the experiences of lesbian physical educators: A phenomenological study. In A C. Sparkes (Ed.), *Research in physical education and sport: Exploring alternative visions* (pp. 90-117). Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Woods, S. E., & Harbeck, K. M. (1991). Living in two worlds: The identity management strategies used by lesbian physical educators. *Journal of Homosexuality, 22*(3-4), 141-166.

Worthen, M. G. F. (2016). Hetero-cis-normativity and the gendering of transphobia. International Journal of Transgenderism, 17(1), 31–57.

Young, R. M., & Meyer, I. H. (2005). The trouble with "MSM" and "WSW": Erasure of the sexual-minority person in public health discourse. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(7), 1144–1149. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2004.046714

Yuval-Davis, N. (2011). *The politics of belonging: Intersectional contestations*. London: Sage

Zanoni, P., Janssens, M., Benschop, Y., & Nkomo, S. (2010). Guest editorial: Unpacking diversity, grasping inequality: Rethinking difference through critical perspectives. *Organization*, *17*(1), 9-29.

Zivony, A., & Lobel, T. (2014). The invisible stereotypes of bisexual men. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *43*(6), 1165-1176.

Zitek, E. M., & Hebl, M. R. (2007). The role of social norm clarity in the influenced expression of prejudice over time. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 43, 867–876.

Appendix A
Ethical clearance approval

24 October 2016

Ms Lungile L Ntombela 207511873
School of Management, Information Technology & Governance
Westville Campus

Dear Ms Ntombela

Protocol reference number: HSS/1210/016D
Project title: Experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees regarding the employment relationship in KwaZulu-Natal.

Full Approval – Committee Reviewed Protocol

With regards to your response to received 18 October 2016 to our letter of 05 September 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the above mentioned application and the protocol has been granted Full Approval.

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

[redacted]

Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Prof Thabo Msibi & Mr David V Dlamini
cc Academic Leader Research: Prof B McArthur
cc School Administrator: Ms Angela Pearce

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

Appendix B

***Consent** to participate in research form*

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

Date:

Greetings,

My name is Lungile Ntombela from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Westville campus. I am currently registered as well as employed in the discipline of Human Resource Management and Industrial Relations, in the School of Management, Information Technology and Governance.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that is titled

The experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal.

The aim and purpose of this research is to understand the institutional cultures, practices, systems and structures that are in place and the role that these play in shaping the experiences of employees who self-identify as sexual and gender "non-normative". The study is expected to include a total of 25 (twenty-five) participants who are employed in various corporate (private sector) workplaces in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Participants invited to take part in this study are selected based on a homogenous type of purposive technique which includes participants meeting a short three-part criterion. Interested participants will be requested to sign this consent form upon commencing the grounded conversations (interview). Thereafter, participants may choose where they would like to conduct the interviews which last between 1-3 hours long.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number HSS/1210/016D).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban 4000 KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Your participation in the study is voluntary and by participating, you are granting the researcher permission to use your responses. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time with no negative consequence. There will be no monetary gain from participating in the study. Your anonymity will be maintained by the researcher and the School of Management, I.T. & Governance and your responses will not be used for any purposes outside of this study.

All data, both electronic and hard copy, will be securely stored during the study and archived for 5 years. After this time, all data will be destroyed.

If you have any questions or concerns about participating in the study, please contact me or my research supervisor at the numbers listed above.

Sincerely

Lungile Ntombela
207511873@stu.ukzn.ac.za
[redacted]

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I (Name) have been informed about the study entitled (provide details) by (provide name of researcher/fieldworker).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate).

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at (provide details).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interviewYES / NO

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____

Signature of Witness Date
(Where applicable)

_____ _____

Signature of Translator Date
(Where applicable)

Appendix C
Turnit-in report

Appendix D

Language editor's confirmation

Crispin Hemson
15 Morris Place
Glenwood
Durban
South Africa 4001

hemsonc@gmail.com
[redacted]

This is to confirm that I have undertaken language editing of a thesis by **Lungile Londiwe Ntombela**, entitled ***Experiences and identity constructions of sexual and gender "non-normative" employees in corporate workplaces in KwaZulu-Natal.***

.

[redacted]

12th November 2020

Appendix E

Grounded conversations schedule

Pre-interview details

Conducting grounded conversations means that the style of interviewing is semi-structured, flexible and informal. Therefore, it allows for questions to be modified, whilst probing depending on the responses supplied by participants. Therefore, the below is merely a guide of the questions I prepared to ask participants. As mentioned in Chapter 4, some participants who were English second language speakers would use both English and isiZulu to express themselves when answering the questions. While I also used vernacular to probe and seek clarity on some of the information I received from participants, the prepared questions were in English.

As the researcher, I will start off by introducing myself to participant and give them an opportunity to introduce themselves to me too. This will give participants a smooth, welcoming and comfortable environment and will enhance rapport between myself and the participants. I will also introduce the topic and elaborate on its aims and objectives. I will also mention that conservations between myself and participants are confidential, therefore, participant are encouraged to be honest when answering the questions.

Part 1: *Participants Biographical information*

1. Tell me about yourself: who are you, where are you from, how old are you, what type of family do you come from, etc.
2. Do you subscribe to a particular religion? What are your values? Does this mould the way in which you view your sexuality?
3. How is your relationship with your family?
4. How many siblings do you have? What is the nature of your relationship?

5. Do you have any same-sex identifying family members?
6. How do you sexually identify yourself and why? When did you come to terms with your interest in the same sex?
7. Did you make any adjustments to your lifestyle after coming to terms with your sexuality/ gender identity?
8. How do religious views of colleagues and employer influence the attitudes towards your sexuality/ gender expression?
9. Who have you told about your sexuality/ gender identity?
10. What was their reaction?
11. Have you come out? Do you intend to come out and what are your views on coming out?
12. What have been your experiences of homophobia/transphobia in your community?
13. What is your view on being an openly same-sex identifying person in your community?

Part 2: *Workplace experiences*

1. When did you start working for the company in which you are right now? What is your position, your responsibilities and what has been your general impressions about that specific workplace?
2. What is your relationship like with your colleagues and employer/manager?
3. What are your colleagues and employer's attitudes (if any) towards your sexuality/gender identity in general ?
4. What has been your workplace experiences?
5. Has your sexual or gender identity changed the way in which you relate to colleagues? If yes how?
6. Have you disclosed your sexual/ gender identity at work? What made you decided to disclose/ not to?
7. How do colleagues and employer of different racial groups treat you?
8. How do you negotiate your sexual identity or gender identity at work?
9. How do you deal with homophobic sentiment from other colleagues?

10. Have you experienced any incidents of discrimination? If you have, please share these with me.
11. Do you know of any colleagues who have experienced discrimination at work or other corporate workplaces similar to yours? Can you share what your friends have told you?
12. How are issues of discrimination handled at work? is there a process that needs to be followed? What is this process and who is involved?
13. Are there differences in the way supposedly heterosexual males and females treat you? If yes, what are the differences?

***Part 3**: Organisational Diversity Policy and Legislation*

1. Does the organisation in which you work conduct workshops, trainings and/or information sessions in which issues of diversity and inclusion are discussed?
2. Are you aware of national legislation that prevent discrimination of sexual and gender "non-normative" people? If yes, please share what these pieces of legislation are?
3. What do these legislation say and what do they mean to you in terms of protection against discrimination at work based on sexuality?
4. How has your organisation responded to these legislation?
5. How has the employer handled/accommodated the unique needs of sexual and gender non-normative employees at work? How has the working relationship been thereafter? Has it changes? If yes, why do you think that is the case?
6. How would you describe the organizational culture at work as an employee who self-identifies as sexual and gender "non-normative"? Would you say that it is inclusive?
7. Are there any networks/allies or structures that are available in your organization that provide for support to sexual and gender non-normative employees? If any, are they beneficial to you and your needs?'
8. Are you a member of a trade union at work? if yes, why is it important for you to join?