Organisational Renewal
in COSATU & Affiliates:
An Overview

National Labour & Economic
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Contents

Abbreviations Used

CEPPWAWU Chemical Energy Paper, Printing and Allied Workers Union
COSATU   Congress of South African Trade Unions
CWU   Communication Workers Union-
DENOSA   Democratic Nursing Organisation of SA
DITSELA   Development Institute for Training, Support and Education for Labour
FAWU   Food and Allied Workers Union
IMATU   Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union
MUSA   Musicians Union of South Africa
NALEDI   National Labour and Economic Development Institute
NEHAWU   National Union of Education, Health and Allied Workers Union
NUM   National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA   National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
PAWE   Performing Arts Workers Equity
POPCRU   Police and Civil Rights Union
SAAPAWU   South African Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union
SACCAWU   South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union
SADNU   South African Democratic Nurses Union
SAFPU   South African Football Players Union
SAMA   South African Medical Association
SAPU   South African Police Union
SACTWU   South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union
SADTU   South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAMWU   South African Municipal Workers Union
SASAWU   South African State and Allied Workers Union
SASBO   The Finance Union
SATAWU   South African Transport and Allied Workers Union

1.   Introduction

1.1. Background

"The Seventh Congress established the Organisational Renewal Commission to co-ordinate a systematic organisational review process. It argued that the Commission should ensure systematic organisational development to meet new challenges"[1]

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and its affiliates recognised that the political transition and economic changes posed new challenges for the trade union movement. In 1996 the Central Executive Committee established the September Commission "to investigate the changed political and economic conditions and assess whether COSATU's policies and strategies were appropriate to these new conditions". At the COSATU National Congress in 1997, the Commission tabled its report[2], which was adopted as a guideline for the future direction of the Federation. However, COSATU acknowledged that it had failed to develop a systematic plan to take forward the September Commission recommendations.

At the 7th National Congress in 2000, COSATU decided to embark on a systematic Organisational Renewal (OR) process, building on the work of the September Commission. It established the Organisational Renewal Commission (ORC or Commission). Its terms of reference, adopted by the Central Executive Committee (CEC) in April 2001, were to carry out, "fundamentally a critical review of the Federation and its affiliates both historically and in the current context", based around an historical and political overview, service to members, review of structures, union management, leadership and staff development.

The work of the Commission culminated in a report to the 1st COSATU Central Committee (CC) in November 2001. The Central Committee adopted a comprehensive implementation plan. The Commission produced further reports, including a review of affiliate and federation progress. Resolutions on organizational renewal were adopted at the 2nd COSATU Central Committee in April 2003, and at the 8th National Congress in September of that year. Together these resolutions set out key areas of work, implementation guidelines and plans.

COSATU explained the importance of the organizational renewal process as follows,

"The renewal process should enable us to work consciously with changes in our environment, rather than reacting spontaneously and piecemeal or worst having change imposing itself on us in the manner that threatens our traditions and organizational culture...." [3]

At different times, with differing approaches and differing "success", a number of affiliates began to plan or implement organizational reviews and renewal programmes.

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[1] COSATU, Organisational Review Report to the 8th National Congress, 2003
[2] COSATU, Report from the September Commission, COSATU 6th National Congress, September 1997
[3] COSATU, OR Report to the 8th National Congress, 2003

The National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) was given a significant role in supporting affiliate and COSATU organizational renewal processes through research and other activities, such as auditing progress. It secured funding for an Organisational Renewal Project from the Netherlands Trade Union Confederation (FNV). The research and overview presented in this report forms part of the project.

Box 1: Terminology: a note

There has been some confusion about terms used. For example, COSATU talks about the Organisational Review Commission in some documents and Organisational Renewal Commission in others.

However, it now seems to be clarified that we are talking about a major programme of change- **Organisational Renewal**, with a first stage in the renewal process being an **Organisational Review**- the stage of assessment and diagnosis. Renewal would come about by implementing the changes agreed upon as a result of the review.

1.2. Purpose and Aims of the Research

The main purpose of the research is to inform NALEDI's organizational renewal work, by providing information on union organizational renewal processes, strategies and progress. We hope it can make a contribution to deepening the collective knowledge and understanding of organizational renewal in unions

It aims to:
- provide information on organizational renewal in COSATU and affiliates
- explore reasons and objectives for embarking on organizational renewal, or for not doing so
- examine the processes, issues and outcomes of organizational renewal programmes
- begin to identify organizational renewal approaches and trends
- draw lessons and identify constraints and opportunities, which may help future work.
- make suggestions and recommendations for NALEDI work

1.3.Research Process and Methodology

The research was conducted primarily in July-August 2004. It involved reading a range of relevant documents (Appendix Two) and interviewing 20 unionists drawn from 19 affiliates and from COSATU, using a set of guiding questions. Interviews were carried out either face-to-face or by telephone with national organizers, general secretaries or their deputies, and others responsible for organizational renewal processes within their union as recommended by their unions (Appendix One). The research was also able to draw on experiences the Development Institute for Training, Support and Education for Labour (DITSELA) and NALEDI workshops and staff members.

Unions were responsible for selecting their interviewee. In some cases the interviewee (respondent) was not able to provide full information, due to her position and limited involvement in organizational renewal. Where possible, information obtained from the interview was supplemented by union documents, reports to COSATU and publications, and, in two cases, other respondents. All interviewees were asked not only for facts, but also opinion, and all opinions were

taken into account in this report. They may not always reflect the official position of the union.

It was not possible to obtain an interview with an appropriate person in two affiliates, SACTWU and NEHAWU. However, with SACTWU, up-to-date documentation was received, followed by e-mail questions and responses. For NEHAWU the author relied on written sources, information from DITSELA and NALEDI, and personal knowledge. It may therefore not reflect latest developments.

This study reflects the position of the unions at a particular point in time. Given the ongoing nature of organizational renewal work and the turbulent organizational and political environment within and outside of the unions, the position and status of COSATU and affiliates' organizational renewal programmes may well have changed before the completion of this report. It is hoped that this will not detract from the analysis and lessons learned.

1.4. Defining Organisational Renewal

Organisational renewal in unions is a developing concept. Not all respondents interpret or understand it in precisely the same way, despite the various definitions and practical approaches offered by COSATU. It has been, and remains, the subject of debate and divided opinion (although originally the term "organisational development"(OD) was used). For some, it is new. During the interviews, this was borne in mind and the questions adjusted accordingly.

To provide a background, definitions developed by unionists over time are presented in the box below. There are many more, some of which appear within the report, expressed either explicitly or implicitly. Given that the concept and terminology of OD originated in the corporate world, the use of "Organisational Renewal" rather than "Organisational Development' is in itself an attempt to appropriate a concept, and give it new meaning, in language appropriate to the union movement. The term "renewal" is also increasingly used in the international union arena [4].

Whilst there are a number of common understandings within the definitions, the focus ranges from internal union organizational change, to the more political and activist; from an emphasis on grassroots involvement to a more bureaucratic understanding.

This report does not offer a definition. It rather hopes to contribute to deepening understanding on what is meant by, and what should be done in, renewing union organisation.

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[4] See forthcoming, International Colloquium on Union Renewal: Assessing Innovations for Union Power in a Globalized Economy, November 2004, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Box 2: Defining Organisational Renewal in a Union Context- an ongoing process

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COSATU 1997 *Report of the September Commission*
"Transforming ourselves to transform society"

"We mean a more specific focus on internal organisational issues- such as organisational management, communication systems, financial management, staff development and working relations etc."

COSATU 2003 *Report of the OR Commission to the Central Committee / Resolution*
"Organisational renewal is an ongoing process to ensure effective organizations that are able to service members and meet new challenges"

"It means a process without final or simple solutions, or quick fixes that take into account union sensitivities, values and traditions".

Unionists on DITSELA OD & Change Course in, DITSELA, *OD in a Trade Union Context,* **draft working paper, 2002**
"A modernising process to meet the challenges of the changing material conditions"

"About planning, developing and looking ahead"

"About building union organisation and rebuilding grassroots structures and activism"

"Restructuring the union workplace"

Unionists at *NALEDI Workshop on OR in Unions,* **January 2004**
"OD/OR is a conscious change and transformation process whose plan should be about developing activism, effectiveness and efficiency."

"OR is a conscious process of change and improvement involving a strategy and plan which builds union organisation and activism"

"OD/OR is a planned development towards change to improve strategic effectiveness"

1.5. This Report

This report begins by analysing the overall plan of the federation as finalized at the COSATU Congress in September 2004 and develops a framework for understanding the different parts of the plan (Section 2). It goes on to look at why unions embarked on organizational renewal programmes, their stated objectives and how far reasons and objectives are in line (Section 3). A more detailed analysis of union organizational renewal processes, issues and outcomes is then presented (Sections 4-6). This attempts to identify categories, trends and patterns, illustrated by concrete examples of work done. Lessons learned by respondents are documented in Section 7 and in Section 8 we explore the role of COSATU and NALEDI. Some broad conclusions and specific recommendations for NALEDI organizational renewal work are drawn together in Section 9. An overview of individual affiliate organizational renewal programmes can be found in Appendix 4.

2. COSATU's Organisational Renewal Plan

"We expect this Congress to mark the end of the overall analytical phase, and initiate a focus on developing and implementing concrete plans.."[5]

Concrete plans for implementation were adopted as policies at the 8th Congress. These incorporate detailed proposals from the Central Committees in 2001 and 2003. The policies and plans are wide-ranging and operate at a number of levels. This section, drawing on numerous COSATU documents, attempts to provide a framework for understanding how the various parts of the plan fit together to make up the whole, and as a reference point for assessing progress.

The COSATU plan and programme is based on the premise that,

"While the federation must set the framework, each affiliate must adopt a strategy that is unique to its sector and organisational challenges it faces. However, this must be within the broad framework set by the federation " [6]

The COSATU respondent identified two levels to the implementation programme- COSATU 'own' organizational renewal, and affiliate programmes. Within each "level" there are a number of components. Diagram one below presents a framework for understanding the organizational renewal programme of COSATU, as interpreted by the author.

Diagram 1 : COSATU's OR implementation programme: a framework

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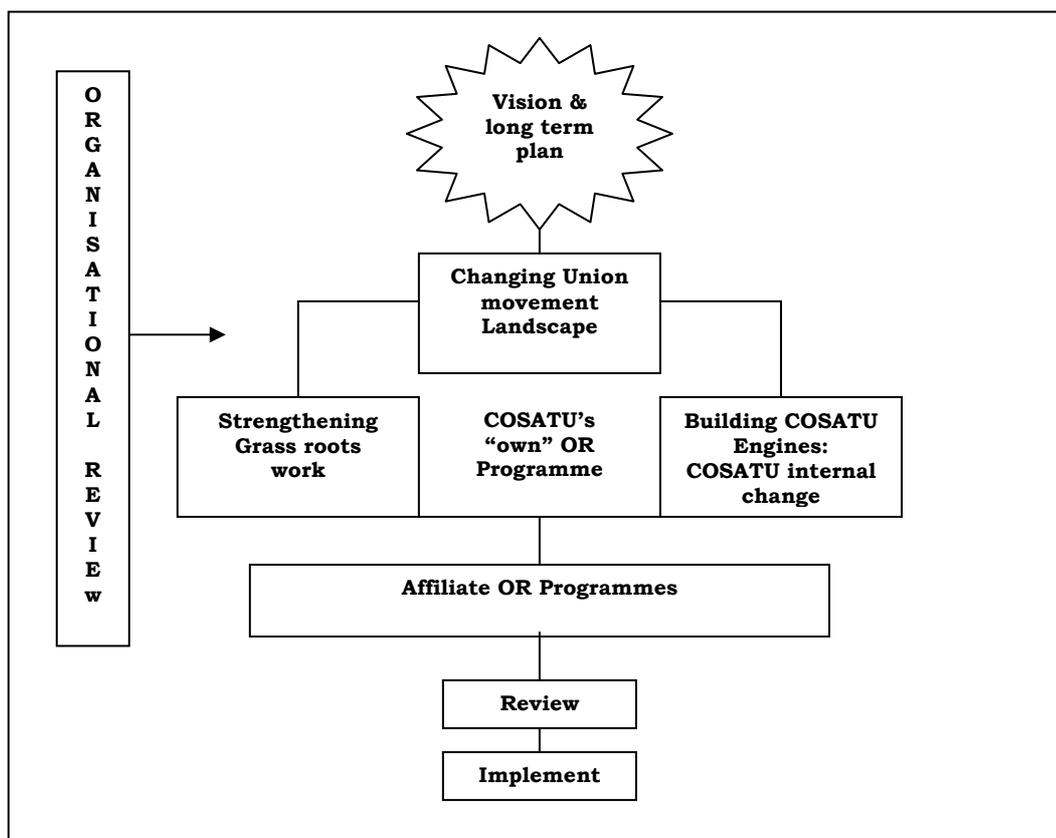
[5] COSATU, OR Report to Congress, 2003
[6] COSATU, 2nd CC, Resolution on Organisational Renewal Process, 2003

2.1. Vision and long-term plan

COSATU and affiliates programmes are meant to feed into, and support, a common vision and long-term plan, as expressed in resolutions and the 'consolidating working class power for quality jobs towards 2015" [7] programme adopted at the 8th Congress.

For COSATU, renewal does not include a radical change to its vision, purpose and character (transformation), but is a process of adapting and strengthening to meet new challenges and to build the future. After reviewing its vision the Federation resolved,

"1. To retain the character of the Federation as a transformative and revolutionary union movement committed to the NDR and the struggle for socialism. We remain committed to addressing broader social questions but primarily defend our members.

2.Our vision is to build a Federation that represents all workers of South Africa; and that is able to respond to the challenges that may arise from time to time. Thus, we seek to build a strong, vibrant, dynamic, democratic and responsive trade union movement" [8], **and,**

"We reaffirm our vision of a transformative union movement, committed to social transformation both at home and internationally" [9].

Renewal forms part COSATU's broader political strategy. This was explicitly stated in the Commission's report to the 1st Central Committee,

" the organizational review is not technical but political in fulfilling the task of building socialism now"[10].

2.2. COSATU's "own" programme

COSATU's renewal programme is at the implementation stage. It involves implementing change in the Federation, and supporting affiliates in their change processes. COSATU has developed an agreed list of priority areas for union review and change, as well as guidelines for a well- planned organisational review process.

Diagram one above identifies three major components at the COSATU level. Each component is made up of several programmes, contained in numerous resolutions and current practices.

2.2.1 Changing the landscape of the union movement

This involves driving change on a **macro level** such as:
- demarcating union scope in line with industry and other changes
- demarcating the scope of COSATU regions
- mergers between affiliates and with unions outside COSATU
- building "one country-one federation"
- expansion of COSATU and affiliates beyond traditional membership- for example into workers in the informal economy, domestic workers, casual workers

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[7] COSATU, "Consolidating Working Class Power for Quality Jobs- Towards 2015", 2003
[8] COSATU, 2nd CC Resolution, 2003
[9] COSATU, Consolidating Working Class Power, 2003
[10] COSATU, Resolution of 1st CC, November 2001

2.2.2 Strengthening grassroots work: cross-union programmes and affiliate support

This includes:
- facilitating the development of membership and financial systems
- developing a common labour market within the Federation
- assisting with the development of approaches to member benefits
- cross union "workplace focus" work such as the living wage campaign, education and capacity building, gender work and empowering women, building membership through recruitment campaigns, providing frameworks

In addition, support should be given to affiliates for their organisational renewal programmes through coordination and resource mobilization, and providing forums for sharing experiences. There should be a programme of research, with NALEDI playing a prominent role. COSATU should also be able to give assistance directly to affiliates experiencing difficulties ("rescue operations").

2.2.3 Building COSATU's Engines: COSATU programme for internal change

This involves;
- changes to COSATU constitutional structures
- changes to COSATU's operational structures, including COSATU Head Office; improving leadership, management and finances
- improving COSATU staff capacity, systems and performance

Whilst using the term COSATU's "own" programme helps to understand how the parts of the organizational renewal fit into the whole, it is important to note that, in practice, all programmes involve affiliates in a variety of ways and levels of intensity. COSATU is a federation that is "the sum total of its parts".

2.3. Affiliate Programmes; COSATU guidelines

> *"Affiliates are called on to conduct an **organizational review**. On that basis, develop an **organisational renewal** plan with measurable targets, timeframes and key areas of work"[11]*

The 2nd Central Committee adopted guidelines for affiliate organisational reviews, noting that this was merely a framework, and affiliates should," adopt a strategy that is unique to its sector and organisational challenges it faces ". The guidelines incorporate both the priority issues for review, as well as a suggested process to be followed. COSATU also noted that, affiliates must be guided by "our rich values and traditions".

2.3.1. Issues for review

The issues agreed upon are:
- worker control (explained as how well elections work, the timing and attendance at meetings, communications including internal media)
- recruitment of members;
- service to members and shop stewards;
- education of shop stewards, organizers and members;
- gender work;
- administrative systems including financial management and membership;

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[11] COSATU, 2nd CC Resolution, 2003

- personnel management.

This should be contextualised in an environmental analysis, and the political and organizational programme of the Federation as expressed in its vision and the "Towards 2015" document adopted at the 8th Congress.

2.3.2 Review Process

The resolution suggests that there be dedicated capacity among officials and leaders, a National Office Bearer (NOB) responsible for the process and a reference group to guide the process. Key steps were identified as:
- constitutional discussions
- communication throughout the union
- workshops to identify problems and propose solutions at regional and head office levels
- a report to structures
- a NOB's *lekgotla* to develop an implementation plan
- adoption by constitutional structures.

2.3.3 Implementation process

"…in general we are quite good at developing strategies. The main problem is that our unions have weak structures for implementing and coordinating decisions. Too many policies and decisions are never implemented. If they are implemented there is a lack of consistency, coordination and follow up so that they do not yield results" [12]

There is less, or uneven, guidance to affiliates on change implementation strategies (although the CC resolutions provide quite detailed ideas in some areas, for example, on financial management), and both the Central Committee and the COSATU Congress 2003 resolutions on organisational renewal focus more on COSATU "own" implementation programme. Roles are identified for NALEDI and DITSELA in assisting with implementation at a federation and affiliate level.

Implementation is clearly a concern for affiliates and COSATU. There are fears,

"Will we succeed in implementing? If we see problems will we able to attack in time and get the necessary assistance? ", CEPPWAWU, and possible opportunities,

" We need to have the capacity to implement straight away- things take too long. I am now more hopeful of being able to implement", SAMWU

"Our ability to implement and drive is weak. Through OR we hope to find more effective ways of doing and monitoring", SATAWU.

COSATU sees the Organisational Renewal programme as central to the future of the union movement in South Africa, which should be strong, politically powerful, transformative, and a home for all workers. It is a complex and ambitious programme, requiring central coordination and clear direction. It also requires flexibility and innovation to accommodate rapid change, union differences and an increasingly divergent membership. The programme is sometimes difficult to fully understand as it is captured in a series of documents and resolutions rather than in one overarching summary document. Using the summary framework developed above as a reference point, the following sections look at what is happening, why it is happening, progress made, contradictions, problems and successes.

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[12] September Commission, 1997

3. Reasons and objectives: why renew ?

"...we needed to embark on a review process to analyse the impact of the changes in the environment in which we operate on our internal organisation: as well as address some of the glaring weaknesses we were beginning to identify"[13]

In a NALEDI workshop in January 2004 participants felt that not everyone had a clear understanding of why unions were engaging in organizational renewal at this time, and what unions wanted to achieve. It seemed that the reasons for organizational renewal kept shifting over time. The purpose of asking why unions had embarked/intended to embark on a renewal process was to try and establish whether or not there was a common understanding, what was the understanding and was this being translated into appropriate change objectives and processes. For some affiliates, COSATU's organizational renewal programme is not on their current agenda. However, all are undergoing change and their responses are included below.

Table 1: Reasons given for Organisational Renewal Process /Change

Environmental Challenges	
Changing global economic and political environment	7
Strategies to deal with workplace, industry and worker challenges	
Specific changes or difficulties in industry or workplace e.g. casualisation, industry restructuring, transformation of sector	11
Need to strengthen union through e.g. campaigns, international work, involvement in COSATU, engaging with government, collective bargaining etc	4
Inadequate service to members and/or need to provide more "appropriate" service for new workers	8
Membership loss and change	
Loss of membership- including industry change, globalisation, rival unions- and need to build membership. New types of workers and membership- casual, professional, new attitudes	9
Strengthen democracy and unity	
Need to strengthen democratic functioning of structures, accountability, membership involvement and leadership, worker control	5
Integration into COSATU and changing values, perceptions of members	3
Deal with factionalism, lack of unity, in- fighting, political differences and need for political education	3
Union Capacity and strength	
Need for increased skills and capacity to deal with more complex or technical issues at workplace and other levels- staff, leaders, shop stewards	5
Ensure future/sustainability of union, survival	2
Improve financial position of union	2
Process/ way of dealing with change	
Need to plan, look to the future	5
Need a better/focused programme of change–internal and/or COSATU influence	7
Need tools and measures to effect a programme of action	1

The responses fall into three broad groups, which are discussed below.

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[13] COSATU, OR Report to 2nd Central Committee, April 2003

3.1. Global impact

Some respondents began by citing broad environmental challenges, globalisation in particular, in line with the Organisational Renewal and September Commissions' findings. For others, this background may have been assumed as the broad analysis and underlying reasons for change have been widely discussed and documented. As one respondent noted,

"Challenges are well known...a scratched record. We need to find solutions", SATAWU.

Changes in industry and workplace and their effects, emerge as the most important reason for union change (seen as resulting from global changes- implicitly or explicitly stated). This is linked to the struggle to find new ways to do things, to develop new strategies, and to provide the kind of 'service' that members require.

" There are many challenges at workplace we are unable to deal with – we are merely firefighting. We are dealing with things in the old way. If we can't change we will disappear", CEPPWAWU

When examining the stated objectives of union organizational renewal programmes this major reason *usually* translates into the primary, but generalized, objective of improving service to members, rather than an explicit focus on developing strategies to deal with workplace or industry change as part of organizational renewal. There are exceptions, such as SACTWU, where the Programme of Action adopted in 1999, has a focus on saving jobs in an industry undergoing massive restructuring due to the effects of globalisation. In some ways then the *reasons* given by many respondents for organizational renewal and the *specific objectives* of union renewal programmes, do not always fully match. However, implicit in broad objectives are strengthening approaches and capabilities to deal with these new challenges.

Loss of membership, as a result of industry and workplace change, as well as the emergence of a different type of worker, who asks "what can you offer", or who is "non-standard" (meaning without a permanent, full time contract of employment and benefits associated with employment), is also given as an important reason for renewal or change. This translates into another commonly cited objective of organizational renewal, namely to strengthen the union by growing and sustaining membership.

3.2. Internal Weaknesses

Internal union weaknesses impact on the ability to deal with the fundamental issues above. The need to rebuild and strengthen democratic structures and grassroots participation is given as an important reason for embarking on organizational renewal.

" Our structures are functioning at the upper levels but not at ground level", SASAWU

Some unions pointed to internal political problems and " factional leadership squabbles" at various levels in the organisation, the need to overcome these and build unity.

An important reason for change in new, strongly professional affiliates is the need to integrate members into COSATU more fully. Members do not necessarily see themselves as workers, with some viewing unions as organisations for blue collar,

non- professional working people. Both DENOSA and SAMA are, in fact, professional associations and trade unions.

" a paradigm shift is needed. There is a blue collar view of unions", SAMA

Equally important are weaknesses in the capacity of people- shop stewards, leadership and staff- to deal with changing and complex issues at the workplace and more broadly. This is an important motivation for organizational renewal, and building capacity is a specific organizational renewal programme objective of many unions.

Unions struggling to survive or having severe financial difficulties see this as a reason for organizational renewal, and specific objectives of their organizational renewal work are to improve membership systems, cut costs and improve financial management. These objectives apply also many other unions.

3.3   New Process

"The timing of OR process is refreshing. It is a breath of fresh air.
It has opened up opportunities", SATAWU

Another important reason for organizational renewal is the process itself, and what this may achieve. There is a need to be pro-active and drivers of change rather than victims,

"It was necessary to look ahead, to see what we wanted to be", NUM.

Some unions pointed out that they were not in crisis but,

" Unless we do something we will reach breaking point and there will be a crisis", NUMSA

" Not an immediate crisis but incremental. Leadership anticipated future problems", POPCRU

Some pointed out that reviewing the organisation is not new. Resolutions are taken, plans are made all the time, but they are not implemented. An organizational renewal process is therefore important to profile change and make it conscious.

"Our ability to implement and drive is weak – through OR we hope to find more effective ways of doing and monitoring. We need to focus and implement, not withstanding all the issues. We need to find our own solutions to challenges", SATAWU.

Some also noted that an important reason for embarking on an organizational renewal programme, or naming ongoing union change programmes 'organisational renewal", was the push from COSATU itself.

3.4   A common view ?

In giving their understanding of the reasons for organizational renewal, or for the need for change (where no organizational renewal programme), unionists emphasized different areas, according to the specific circumstances of the union and their personal understanding. Some were more focused on specific problems and weaknesses of their unions, whilst others contextualised these within a broader, more futuristic view. Some unions had no conscious organizational

renewal programme, with a few unions showing limited understanding of the programme.

Collectively the reasons for embarking on organizational renewal are in line with COSATU resolutions and guidelines. Individually, the perceptions, focus and understanding range widely. In some cases the reasons given for organizational renewal are not translated into clearly matched objectives. It was notable that none of the respondents linked the vision and political perspective of COSATU directly to the reasons for change, nor were these cited as an objective. However, some union documents on organizational renewal place socialism and challenging the economic system as important renewal objectives, or place renewal in a more politically explicit context (see SAMWU, NUM, CEPPWAWU, SATAWU).

The current circumstances of the union appear to be the primary influence on how respondents see the reasons organizational renewal. Their position and experience within the Union, COSATU and with organizational renewal discussions is also an important factor in determining their understanding of organizational renewal, and thus the reasons and objectives for renewal programmes. The position espoused may not always be the official union position as contained in union documents, especially where the respondent was not member of the secretariat or a national office bearer.

There is clearly a need for much more dissemination of information, as well as ongoing development of the theory and practice of organizational renewal in unions.

"The environment for OR must be right. If there is no organisation or proper membership structures there can be no OR. If a union is still battling with building its base there can be no OR. In COSATU the OR programme is driven by unions which are comfortable and are established. Resources are an issue", NUM

The research set out to establish what was actually happening in affiliates. Have they heeded the "call" to conduct an organizational review and renewal programme? How did they do this? What issues have emerged for change? What activities have they engaged in and what were the outcomes? How much has taken place since the COSATU Congress of 2003? Are there any patterns and trends? Is the observation by the NUM respondent above a true reflection?

Appendix Four– Organisational Renewal in COSATU Affiliates- An Overview, July/August 2004, summarises the organizational renewal work carried out by individual affiliates**.** The summary is primarily based on interview information, supplemented by relevant documents. It includes a brief background, information on the review stage, issues for review or implementation, implementation carried out and/or plans, as well as progress since the COSATU Congress, 2003. Drawing on a number of COSATU reports and author assessment, the summary highlights pertinent features of each union and the organizational renewal process. As this is a summary it is not possible to include the finer details of individual union programmes. Some are further expanded on in this section, and sections 5 and 6 below. It would be important to read/ refer to the appendix in conjunction with the main commentary which analyses information across unions.

This section focuses on the *process* of organizational renewal in affiliates. It looks at the different types of affiliate processes, similarities and differences in their approach, and important and contradictory influences.

4.1. Types and stages

There are many approaches, understandings, applications, stages and levels of organizational renewal (or not) within COSATU affiliates. This reflects their diverse natures, developmental stages, and their degree of 'independence" and confidence.

It is possible to distinguish three broad types of affiliate organizational renewal programmes. For the purpose of analysis, unions have been allocated into a group based on an interpretation of each union's dominant position and approach. In practice affiliates may straddle more than one type.

- **Defined OR Project Type ("Defined")**
At one end of the spectrum are well- defined organizational renewal projects. These most closely resemble the process guidelines adopted by COSATU. Whilst similar in overall approach, they may be in- process, planned, stalled, suspended or being revived. They may be at a review stage or implementing change.

- **Pre-OR Programme Type ("Pre-OR")**
At the other end of the spectrum, are unions which cannot be said to have a conscious, internal organisation renewal process. They are battling with survival issues or building union basics.

- **Integrated Programme Type ("Integrated")**
Some unions have change programmes following a different model from that adopted by COSATU. These programmes are seen as an integrated or ongoing part of union work.

Across categories, some unions are focusing on what is a major renewal process, namely merger or integration, as part of the COSATU 'landscape changing" process. Other unions are consolidating a new union after merger. Some unions fall into more than one category. For example, SAAPAWU had a defined organizational renewal process, supported by the Danish Sid that is on hold pending integration of the union with FAWU.

Table 2 below attempts a rough classification into the three engagement types and indicates the stage or status of the process where applicable.

Table 2: COSATU Affiliates: Organisational Renewal "Type" and Stage

	In process: reviewing or implementing	Planned, stalled or suspended	Number
Defined OR project In line with COSATU guidelines	NUMSA -implementing POPCRU -implementing CEPPWAWU-reviewing SADTU- reviewing	(SAAPAWU) –suspended - integration NEHAWU - suspended SATAWU-stalled/reviving SACCAWU-stalled/reviving CWU-stalled / reviving	9
Integrated OR programme OR as part of union own programme & approach	NUM SAMWU DENOSA SASAWU SASBO SACTWU - all implementing	(FAWU)-stalled -integration	7
Pre OR programme Building, aligning, merging No internal, conscious OR programme	SAMA SADNU SAFPU MUSA PAWE		5

Whilst a slightly larger number of unions (9 or 43%) have chosen to engage in a defined organizational renewal project approach, in practice, less than half this group are actually fully engaged – with NUMSA and POPCRU implementing change and CEPPWAWU and SADTU at the early stages of a review process. Where unions (7 or 33%) have an integrated programme, 6 out of the 7 unions are implementing change, with one (FAWU) having stalled on its internal organizational renewal programme due to its focus on integration with SAAPAWU. Unions with no conscious programme (5) make up 24% of the unions.

Of the twenty-one unions in COSATU therefore, ten (48%) are actively engaged currently (July/August 2004) in what could be called conscious affiliate organizational renewal programmes, whether "defined" or "integrated".

4.1.1. The Defined OR Project Type

Features
This group has adopted a focused, conscious and planned organizational renewal project approach, in line with COSATU guidelines. This may be in process or planned, stalled or reviving. Features common to *most* processes are:
- A recognition of, and support for, a conscious and named organizational renewal project within the union
- An identified, planned review process, with a report to constitutional structures, followed by a planned change programme
- A stated commitment to a democratic and inclusive process
- Led by NOBs/constitutional structures
- People clearly allocated to coordinate and drive the process, either through an allocated coordinator and/or a coordinating team (reference group).

Differences occur around:
- The extent to which the review process is internally or externally facilitated, and who facilitates
- The extent to which the process is externally or internally funded, and the amount of finances available/dedicated to organizational renewal
- The focus and priorities for change

The Unions
Most unions in this group have their roots in, or have been influenced by, a traditional COSATU union culture, based primarily on a "worker control model" of organising as defined below[14]. So whilst SATAWU and CEPPWAWU have existed in their current form for six years or less, both unions are formed from founding members of COSATU, as is SAAPAWU.

The public sector unions in this group are long- standing COSATU affiliates, in which COSATU culture and values are primary. However, they are subject to different influences such as the nature of their membership, their historical organisational form and influences particular to their sector. For example, SADTU is composed of members who see themselves as professionals[15] whilst POPCRU in earlier years tended to follow the leadership and organizational style of the "force" [16].

Most unions are well established or result from a merger of established unions, having in place structures and systems, staff and often a significant number of long standing worker leaders, secretaries and senior staff.
However**,** not all are equally stable financially or politically. At the time of the 2nd Central Committee in 2003 NEHAWU, SACCAWU, SAAPAWU were seen as unions facing serious financial challenges with possible threat to their survival, whilst CEPPWAWU and CWU were seen as likely to be in difficulties in the near future. From this group only NUMSA, POPCRU, SADTU were seen as stable financially. There is no absolute correlation between stability and choice of approach, but lack of finances and political and organizational turmoil are clearly important factors in preventing progress.

Unions working on a "Defined" project do not see the process as separate from ongoing union work, or as starting from scratch. In this respect there is overlap

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[14] Samuel Denga, Thobile Yanta & Bobby Marie, Challenges Facing Union Organisation, Survey of Union Organisers, September 2001- draft report, and see box on page 19
[15] Samuel Denga,..Challenges.. draft report
[16] Personal communication, workshop, 1997

with the views/approach of the "Integrated" model. They also agree that organizational renewal is "continuous and integrated".

" In a sense OR / reviewing the organisation is not new. It is ongoing. There have been many resolutions on rebuilding NUMSA in past Congresses- issues were identified but not implemented. Our OR is rooted in ongoing assessments … the past provided a reference point for our OR initiative", NUMSA

It is also important to note that plans change, due to changed circumstances, crises, experimentation and learning.

"We should perhaps have focused first on specific issues that would appeal to members – demystifying the concept of OR, or developed the understanding in phases. The method is important. When people look at a big programme they become overwhelmed. Perhaps we should not do everything in one go and rather look where to key in?", SACCAWU

Box 3: A Note on Organising Models[17]

"The **worker control model** focuses on building organisation (i.e. active participation of shopstewards in the control of the union and the implementation of programmes) as a way of delivering services…."

" The **business/service (*or professional)* model** separates out the delivery of services by union officials from the task of building active members and worker leader participation in organisation. These unions concentrate on the improvement of wages and working conditions, at either plant or industrial level."

"The **social movement model** is when unions are used as vehicles through which its members cannot only address their bargaining demands but actively lead the fight for everything that affects working people in their communities and the country as a whole. Unions take an active lead in the streets, as well as in politics. They ally with other social movements. These unions are actively involved with communities from which their membership derives, and see their role as protecting the interests of those communities"

Author's note
In this report, I use the first two models described above as a way of distinguishing between different tendencies and types of unions**.** In practice, most unions draw something from all three models, but tend towards one primary model. Most established COSATU affiliates for example would fall within in model one, but also identify strongly with model three. New models are also developing, such as dual organisations, with professional and union wings, and organizations of workers in the informal economy, that take different forms.

4.1.2. The Integrated programme type (or "perpetual revolution")

Features
This group of unions have either taken a conscious decision that organizational renewal should not be treated as separate from the ongoing work of the union, or have defined or redefined ongoing change processes and strategic plans as their organizational renewal programmes. These may be long standing programmes which were developed prior to the current COSATU resolutions, such those of NUM and SACTWU, or may be of more recent origin, such as DENOSA. The General Secretary of one union sees the union as having an organizational renewal process, not named "OR", due to hostility or a lack of understanding of the concept.

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[17] Samuel Denga, Challenges…draft report

What *most* processes have in common are:

- The conception that organizational renewal is not new, but is something that the union is continuously engaged in.
- They are driven and coordinated by constitutional structures and existing operational structures, rather than a team or dedicated person
- The Union has undertaken some process of assessment and strategic planning – often in the form of a workshop or *bosberaad*, rather than a review process as suggested by COSATU
- There is usually a written plan
- Plans are based on, and rooted in previous processes, experiences and ongoing work
- The work is funded from normal union budget, but funds may be solicited for specific projects

" This was FAWU's own internal way of doing things and it was not really informed by the COSATU OR programme. Our document is the result of three processes over different periods", FAWU

"There is an OR process which is integrated into the work of the union…even the idea that there should be a specific focus on OR is a misleading way of doing things. It is not new. We will always continue to do organizational renewal and development work, but will be directed by what is happening. The Union is in perpetual revolution", SAMWU

"Our view on Organisational Renewal is that it is within the strategic management of the union. In 1997 we held a strategic review of the union and adopted a 10 year plan.…Our approach is continuous and integrated", NUM

" OR is a process within our daily work. There is no formal written OR plan. It is on our menu every day", SASBO

"We have an OR process which was in place before we looked at the COSATU resolution. We asked, 'how do we fit into this OR resolution?'. When we looked at our strategic plan we saw it fitted in", DENOSA

" ..our National Congress in 1999…adopted a serious programme of action, and mandated executive structures to put in place OR measures that would give effect to the POA", SACTWU

And for at least one union organizational renewal was rejected as an "alien concept",

"This process we have embarked upon is OR but is not named as such…some people disputed OR and said 'let's get on with building the union'…OR is an alien concept. We simply run with the process that is OR but not called OR", SASAWU

The Unions

This group of unions is of more mixed origins. It includes founding and long standing COSATU affiliates, strongly associated with a "worker control" model of organizing- NUM, SAMWU, FAWU and SACTWU. It also includes newer affiliates with a more business or professional culture, SASBO, DENOSA, and SASAWU which is probably somewhere in- between.

Most of the unions are well established and *relatively* stable financially and politically, the exception being FAWU, seen by COSATU as an affiliate likely to face difficulties in the near future.

4.1.3. The Pre OR programme type

Features
This group of unions are focusing their energies on surviving, building and consolidating a 'new' union, or aligning an existing union with COSATU policies, politics, structures and culture. Many are focused on moves towards merger as a means to greater strength, power and financial viability. None have an explicit union organizational renewal programme- their participation in organizational renewal being currently confined to COSATU's "changing landscape" and cross union programmes. In many ways the idea of "renewal" does not capture their concerns, or is not appropriate to their developmental stage[18]. They do not have an organizational renewal consciousness.

" We are just an emerging union...we are still building so there is not much to renew. As time goes on we will need to renew and change", SAFPU

" There is not really a COSATU OR process in place. We have been concentrating on damage control since the change of leadership in 2003, PAWE

" We need to make sure in dealing with divergence in the organisation that we reach a common understanding in line with the vision of the organisation and the countr", SAMA

' We are still defining our role in the OR programme. We need an engagement with COSATU. We have only a vague understanding of OR", MUSA

" We don't really have an OR process- without full time officials it is difficult to get the show on the road...As a new affiliate we are still grappling with the term OR", SADNU

The Unions
The unions are all new affiliates of COSATU. They can be said to be "emerging unions", either because they are relatively new (SAFPU), or are unions being revived (MUSA, PAWE), or unions re-positioning themselves within the labour movement (SAMA, SADNU). All are organizing workers with different concerns, regulatory frameworks and class -consciousness - many are classified in law as "independent contractors" or "self employed". Some are financially (PAWE, MUSA, SADNU) or organizationally (SAFPU) unstable. Most have limited resources, in some cases having no full time staff (SADNU, PAWE). Most are heavily dependent on COSATU for advice and assistance, either through specific union support (e.g. shop steward training) or through participation in cross –union programmes (e.g. gender work). Some have turned to DITSELA for assistance in strategic planning or leadership workshops, or have made use of DITSELA courses. This reflects their need for ongoing support, at little cost, to build and develop. Importantly, COSATU plays a facilitating role in all the merger processes.

"COSATU has been a big influence on the union. It has given us practical support. It has facilitated negotiations on the forthcoming merger...It is difficult to be independent. In a big world, we need a big brother", PAWE.

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[18] In organizational development theory all organisations evolve through developmental phases. Some unions in the 'Pre-OR' group have many features of organizations in the "primal" or "dependent" stage of development, whilst many in the "Defined" or "Integrated" groups would fall into the "developmental" or "integrated" phase. From the work of Olive OD&T, in DITSELA, Organisational Change and Development Programme File, 2002

"We participate in COSATU activities such as gender committees, shop steward training to help our members understand unionism and their position as workers", MUSA.

"COSATU has a vision on how the unions should be run. It gives direction to emerging unions", SAFPU.

"We are looking to make use of NALEDI and DITSELA...New affiliates grapple to understand OR. Therefore the OR course of DITSELA will be useful", SADNU.

4.2 Similarities and Differences

In this section we examine in more detail the processes followed by unions, and include some concrete examples of what has been done. Appendix Three: Case Studies, gives more information on two unions, POPCRU, NUMSA.

4.2.1. Reviews

The defined group is more likely to institute a formal organizational review process. This takes different forms, but usually has similarities with the COSATU guidelines. The key method of identifying problems and issues is through a series of workshops at national and regional levels. NUMSA pioneered this approach and coined the term "vomiting sessions" to describe participatory, open and free sessions held around the country with worker leaders, secretaries and staff members. Participants were granted "indemnity". It was seen at the time to be a highly successful process in conditions of political tension.

Another method is to conduct a survey through questionnaires, and interviews with a range of different people in the union, as followed by CWU. This might be a wide review of the union, or be focused, such as the SASBO survey of membership needs or SADTU's research into the effectiveness of structures. A third method is to hold strategic planning sessions as part of normal planning, or as an extraordinary event. As part of the strategic planning process, the organisation assesses the environment externally and internally before developing a plan. DENOSA and FAWU provide examples of this approach. Some unions in the "Integrated" group, use their constitutional structures as an ongoing review body, but may feed the results of focused research, recommendations and think- tank documents into discussions. One example is SAMWU, where the National Organising Forum, led by the head of the Organising and Development department, and with input from the National Education Forum, initiated and developed the organizational renewal plan adopted by the Union Congress. This plan "crystallizes on-ongoing development work in the union".

Some unions, such as SACCAWU, plan to use a mixture of methods. They intend to hold "vomiting sessions", as well as conducting surveys. In all unions, review materials and recommendations are presented for decision to constitutional structures.

4.2.2. Funding

Table 3: External Funding for Organisational Renewal

NUMSA	Funding from Swedish Metalworkers who have agreed to further funding for Phase 2. Additional funding for research from FES, and funding contribution by DITSELA of evaluation process
CEPPWAWU	From union budget but "free" person assistance from SACP
SAAPAWU	3 year funded project with Danish Sid
SACCAWU	In process of raising funds from global unions, but using own funds for planned interim process. DITSELA resources for planning workshop
CWU	Review funded by the Investment Company
NEHAWU	Funds from the SALDT and funding for a regional workshop from DITSELA support programme.

External funding is more likely to be sought by the "Defined" group. This is usually a thought- through strategy, where unions feel the process will be enhanced, or be more successful, with dedicated funding. However, fund raising is not always easy and may delay the process. At least two unions in the group have found a way to move ahead despite a lack of outside funding. Unions have also been able to access some of the small DITSELA funds available for support work.

"Important was the fact that we were able to raise dedicated finance. We could have carried out a programme without this but it would have been limited – doing it through constitutional structures would have meant it would not get sufficient attention.", NUMSA.

" We could probably have used existing forums rather than waiting for funds…we have changed direction now, and will focus on one area and self finance the process, using existing forums, until we receive funds", SACCAWU.

In the case of SADTU, a dedicated budget was set aside for research (review), but from union internal funds.

In the "Integrated" group, all unions draw from their normal budget, and in most cases there is no specific budget item for organizational renewal. Some unions raise funds for specific implementation projects or for research. The "Pre-OR" group of unions is generally struggling financially. The unions make use of COSATU and DITSELA for education and support work at little cost to the union.

4.2.3. Facilitating

External facilitators/consultants/ researchers are more likely to be used by the "Defined" group, but not exclusively so. The main reason for using an external person is to ensure objectivity and neutrality in the process. The type of facilitator/consultant used tends to differ between unions from the "worker control" and "business/professional" models. " Worker control model" unions more commonly use, or intend to use, external facilitators who are "union friendly" (usually defined as, COSATU, DITSELA, NALEDI, ex-unionists or NGO), reflecting their concerns with worker control, union values and suspicion of management consultants. However, they are usually happy to use technical "experts" for specific projects such as membership and finance systems**.**

Table 4: Use of External Facilitators and Consultants

NUMSA	Union friendly	Ex NUMSA organizer facilitated review; a number of others used for specific implementation projects- ex-DITSELA for leadership, KPMG for financial assessment (technical)
CEPPWAWU	Union friendly	SACP review facilitator
SAAPAWU	Union friendly-corporate	Sid consultant review facilitator (international), with some support from DITSELA
SACCAWU	Union friendly	Planning workshop – DITSELA; intending to engage external "union friendly" facilitator for review (DITSELA, NALEDI, COSATU)
CWU	Corporate	Sediba Consultancy- management consultancy recommended by Investment Company. Headed by ex-unionist.
DENOSA	Corporate	Management consultant used to facilitate strategic planning workshop. HR consultancy used for current job evaluation exercise
SASBO	Corporate	Markinor -market research organisation used for membership needs survey
SADTU	Union friendly	NALEDI contracted to facilitate a participative research project/ review
SATAWU	Union friendly	Debating whether to use outside facilitator but would use for e.g. ex unionist if decided to do so
FAWU	Union friendly	Did not use for its original strategic planning, but would want to use external, union friendly, for new process
NEHAWU	Union friendly	Used Olive OD&T, NGO working with other NGOs & unions for original/stalled OD process, plus DITSELA for recent work.

Unions from a "business/professional model" engaged external "corporate" consultants for part of their review processes (strategic planning facilitator, membership survey).

 ' We should take someone who can bring a fresh look or drive internally. The best people to review are ourselves, but can we be objective? My opinion is that the political leadership must drive the process, but the implementation can either be by the OR Committee or a grouping of people carefully chosen – for example former unionists", SATAWU.*

" We would use someone "union friendly" but not someone who would take sides. We want someone who could be more robust, who would not be involved or benefit from the process and who was outside union power dynamics", SACCAWU.

" We wanted someone who could drive the process, be objective – otherwise people might not be able to admit their inadequacies. We did not want to go out there to commercial companies – but needed someone who understands the organisation", CEPPWAWU

"If we were to do I (research) internally it will get absorbed in internal union dynamics. The person would have a ready formed opinion", SADTU

" People leading the process are important in the approach used. We might have had a different approach if someone else without a union background was facilitating or coordinating", NUMSA.

4.2.4. Coordination, Leadership and Decision Making

In the 'Defined" group, all unions, with the exception of POPCRU, have set up a special team to coordinate or drive the organizational renewal process. The teams report to constitutional structures and are sometimes led by one of the National Office Bearers. The teams are responsible for ensuring the review or change plan is implemented, but decision- making is in the hands of constitutional structures. There is a concern that leadership must lead and be fully involved in the process.

With the "Integrated" group, coordination lies directly with the constitutional structures, through the General Secretary, rather than with a special team. In some unions an existing operational structure feeds ideas on organizational change into constitutional structures. Such a structure may act as a think tank (SAMWU), or be a strategic management committee (NUM), coordinated by a departmental head.

" Pillar heads, secretariat and the NEC must spend most of their time on strategy – to think ahead. They drive the organizational renewal process. There is therefore no need for dedicated team for organizational renewal. Within the organisation, it is not the province of a particular door", NUM.

4.2.5. Participation and Involvement

All unions believe in the importance of membership, shop steward and staff participation in the organizational renewal process. Most unions in the "Defined" group have, or plan, special processes to involve worker leaders, shop stewards and members as widely as possible-for example, "review" workshops or research focus groups around the country, or special general meetings with members. In the "Integrated" group, constitutional structures are the main vehicles for grassroots participation. These are usually supplemented at some point by workshops for national and regional leadership and staff. Union media is also used to inform members of the issues, processes and decisions.

Respondents expressed reservations as to how successful they have been in ensuring full participation and understanding.

" We tried to involve everyone in the initial stages through the national and regional review workshops. We did take their concerns on board. In locals we tried to involve shop stewards in assessments, as well as the leadership and staff. Phase two had a special project to ensure membership knew what was happening and could engage, for example through NUMSA News. This was not as successful as it should have been", NUMSA.

"The masses are not ignored. Every effort is made to engage them on issues. But have they actually engaged? I worry that people are blasé about approving documents", SAMWU.

"The push for change came from the grassroots – they are therefore fully involved and included in the process. This came about because they were crying out 'we are neglected. We get feedback through the media, and not through our structures' ", SASAWU.

4.2.6. Resistance

Introducing new changes always brings resistance. Human beings are inherently opposed to change", POPCRU.

Most unions implementing change noted some form of resistance. One union reported that there was no resistance, rather a sense of excitement because,

" (there is) something to sink their (organisers) teeth into and a clear programme of action", SASAWU.

In some cases there was passive resistance to change,

" people do not come out openly but they resist by not cooperating", SAMWU.

In other cases resistance was open and hostile. In POPCRU, branch leadership, having lost their positions due to branch closures, held protests at Head Office and resorted to court action when dismissed by the union. In NUMSA, where political tensions are present, resistance or non-cooperation happened along "factional" lines in Head Office and in some regions. In the same union there were pockets of resistance from staff, worker leaders and shop stewards when local organizers were moved into regional offices. In the NUM some of the cost cutting measures undertaken by the union have met with resistance from worker leaders set to lose privileges. For example, a decision to centralize agency shop funds was not implemented due to resistance by some branch chairpersons who hold power over the funds, and may directly benefit.

Resistance by staff members to different forms and styles of management took place in a number of unions. For example, where unions have tried to introduce tighter monitoring and management of staff, including performance management systems (PMS), staff resisted. This has resulted in the systems not being fully effective or being blocked. The POPCRU respondent noted that it was "difficult to introduce corporate culture into the unions due to union culture", whilst the NUM respondent noted that "people don't like to be monitored".

SACTWU, in its Secretariat Report to Congress, September 2004, also noted staff resistance:

" To turn the union around in 36 months has not been without problems: staff who needed to be refocused, resistance from some to new ways of working, cutting wasteful expenditure from regional and national budgets to shift it to new areas of work, and fighting the vested interests who wanted to keep doing things the old way".

Resistance is also a problem when mergers are planned/take place. The DENOSA respondent, whose union had experienced an earlier merger, noted how important it was to ensure that staff support the values and objectives of the new union. Giving staff the option to move into the new union or to leave, with the incentive of a lump sum package, helps to avoid problems of resistance in the new union. Resistance from different grouping within a merged union sometimes leads to, or stokes, serious organizational problems. Such resistance may be triggered by political, cultural differences, or personal interest, including exposure of corruption. Splinter unions were set up from inside the merged unions of CEPPWAWU and SATAWU.

Dealing with resistance is difficult and needs time to deal with. Some respondents noted that it was important that leadership works with those resisting and not against them; that it is necessary to take time to talk to them; not rush too many things at once; ensure they are part of the process and are allowed to have their say; try and make them understand the value and importance of change for the organisation. One union noted how important it had been in limiting destructive resistance, to give everyone an opportunity to voice out their concerns and problems without fear, and to ensure that progress reports were regular, full and distributed widely.

Theorists suggests that,

"Resistance is not negative. If conscious, it is a valuable resource in the process of change as it raises new or alternative perspectives and ensures that peoples' interests are brought into play…… listen to resistance, uncover it, work with it and recognize its value".[19]

Despite this, and some of the positive examples in the unions, in practise it is extremely difficult to work with resistance, and of great concern to most unions engaged in implementing change.

4.2.7. Evaluation

Only NUMSA in the "Defined" category has carried out a formal evaluation of its organizational renewal programme to date. NUMSA holds regular meetings of its coordinating committee, made up of all project coordinators and regions involved in pilot change projects (see summary and case study for more details of pilot projects). It also carried out regular evaluation of pilot projects in the regions, facilitated in one region by DITSELA. In March 2004 it had a final assessment of its first four years, in preparation for a report to Congress (September 2004) and to its funders. POPCRU intends to have a formal evaluation shortly, but has monitored progress in an ongoing way through structures.

In the" Integrated" group, ongoing evaluation by constitutional structures is the most common form of assessment process. NUM has revised its original 10 year plan at its Congress. SACTWU, through its Secretariat Report to Congress, provided a comprehensive overview and evaluation of its Programme of Action agreed upon in 1999. It has also introduced an ongoing and tight evaluation system. This takes the form of an annual census of regions, which evaluates performance areas, identifies weaknesses and formulates steps to correct these. SAMWU remarked that it had not really thought about evaluation of its plan and would now do so.

4.3. Influences and variables

This section identifies some of the key influences and variables affecting the type and effectiveness of organizational renewal programmes.

4.3.1 Emerging – Established

The developmental stage of the union has an impact on the ability of the union to understand organizational renewal, and to implement planned and conscious change and renewal programmes. Established unions are more likely to have an understanding of organizational renewal, find it appropriate to their needs, and to be able to plan, implement and in some cases, sustain a programme- whether

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[19] See Olive OD&T, Ideas for a Change, Part 4: Working with Resistance", June 1999

"Defined" or " Integrated". For emerging unions (new unions or those in a new form), COSATU affiliate guidelines may not be appropriate, and the concept itself not meaningful. They are more focused on establishing their basic organizational form, values and programmes, rather than on renewing what exists. Additionally, emerging unions generally do not have the resources or capacity to engage in such a programme.

Whilst being an emerging union, is not necessarily synonymous with being a new affiliate of COSATU, in practice emerging unions are new or relatively new affiliates. This means that most have not had time to develop a clear understanding of COSATU's organizational renewal programme.

4.3.2 Stable – Unstable

Financial, organizational and political stability are *crucial* factors in ensuring sustained implementation of organizational renewal and change programmes, or in determining whether such a programme is possible. All unions who are *actively* engaged in implementing programmes are those classified by COSATU in 2003 as financially stable (except for CEPPWAWU). Financial crises consume leadership energies, de-motivate staff and worker leaders and are not conducive to planned change programmes. They rather encourage a "fire-fighting" approach. Unions such as CEPPWAWU and SACCAWU have moved to stabilize finances prior to the implementation of other aspects of organizational renewal.

All unions' plans are, from time to time, hampered by political and organizational differences to a larger or smaller degree. Union programmes are often disrupted in the run up and aftermath of Congresses especially where leadership is contested and/or changed. Where serious instability occurs – a merger and a break-away union in SATAWU, leadership struggles and political differences in NEHAWU- then programmes generally stall. NUMSA's programme, although clearly defined and relatively advanced, is slowing down as its congress approaches and old tensions and power struggles re-emerge.

Emerging unions are generally unstable financially, organizationally and sometimes politically – another important factor influencing the lack of engagement with affiliate level organizational renewal.

On top of all this, unions are constantly involved in struggles with employers and/or government. A major strike will bring temporary instability, consume resources and disrupt or slow down other work, including organizational renewal. This is a necessary part of union life, which has to be built into the expectations of what is possible.

4.3.3 High- Low Cost

Additional resources seem less necessary for an "Integrated" approach, whilst a "Defined" approach is more likely to be successfully implemented if financial and additional person resources are available. In reverse, the choice of an integrated approach might be influenced by resource limitations, and/or unwillingness or the perceived lack of need to direct resources to a specific organizational renewal programme, given that renewal is integrated into ongoing union work. Unions unable to raise additional finance are seeking innovative strategies to overcome resource limitations. For example, CEPPWAWU has negotiated an innovative arrangement with the South African Communist Party (SACP). This provides for an SACP employee to spend one day per week facilitating the CEPPWAWU Review, free of charge. In return CEPPWAWU will provide reciprocal, yet to be defined,

assistance to the SACP. SACCAWU has agreed on a more limited and focused programme, run with internal resources, whilst awaiting external funding.

4.3.4 Worker Control- Professional/Business Model

The dominant organizing model, tradition and culture of the union does not appear to influence the broad organizational renewal type, but does affect detailed processes and the approach, such as choice of facilitators, leadership and management of the process, as well as priorities and changes effected.

4.3.5 Internal- External

Whilst many unions feel that the main influence on their change processes comes from inside the union, they recognize COSATU as being influential in developing a *consciousness* of the need to change across the groups. For the 'Defined" and "Integrated" groups, COSATU has had little direct influence on detailed implementation. On the other hand, the " Pre-OR" group is heavily dependent on COSATU for advice and guidance, hands – on assistance and facilitating merger processes. Other external influences cited are DITSELA, through its Organisational Development (OD) Network and its OD & Change Course, NALEDI research work, and international bodies to whom they are affiliated. A union investment company influenced the choice of review facilitator in the CWU. Most unions have been influenced in one way or another by the experiences of others. This is most strongly expressed by those in the "Defined" and "Pre- OR" groups, with the "Integrated" group more independent and confident in their own way of doing things.

Stability and experience seem to lie at the heart of successful organizational renewal initiatives. Whilst crises propel unions into action, which may ultimately result in positive change in the union, such actions are focused on resolving the immediate situation. They are not primarily focused on long term, conscious change and renewal. Established unions, with experienced layers of leadership and staff, are more likely to weather temporary periods of instability and set- back, and be in a position to revive organizational renewal work. Where unions are struggling to establish themselves and lack a firm tradition and culture, organizational depth and experienced people, organizational renewal will remain a concept without resonance. However, this does not imply that change and development is not possible, rather that it takes place in a different framework and form, and with a different understanding.

5. Affiliate Overview: The Issues

5.1. Priorities for Review and Change

To a large extent the issues that unions have identified for review, or which have emerged from completed reviews, strategic planning or "experience", follow common trends- and are in line with those identified collectively through COSATU. Table 5 attempts to give a broad picture of union priorities for change and development, and how these relate to the issues adopted by COSATU.

Table 5: Priority issues for organizational renewal/change

COSATU guideline for review	Union priorities	Unions
Recruitment	Membership growth & recruitment	SASBO, NUM, DENOSA, SAAPAWU, SACCAWU, SAMWU, SASAWU, MUSA, CWU, FAWU, SADTU, SACTWU- 12
	Improving membership benefits	SASBO, SASAWU, POPCRU, NUMSA-4
Service to members and shop stewards	Delivering a better service to members	SASBO, NUMSA, SASAWU, NUM POPCRU, SACCAWU, FAWU, CWU, CEPPWAWU, SAAPAWU, SATAWU, DENOSA, SACTWU, SADTU 14
	Collective bargaining reform, strategy, gains & other workplace issues	NUMSA, SACCAWU, FAWU, MUSA, CEPPWAWU, SADNU, SACTWU- 7
	Intervention in broader national policy issues e.g. through tri-partite forums, engagement with government	SAMA, SACCAWU, SAMA, SACTWU, SADTU-5
Administrative systems including financial & membership	Administration, financial management and/or membership systems	NUMSA, CEPPWAWU, SASAWU, NUM, SAMWU, SAAPAWU, MUSA, SATAWU, PAWE, SACCAWU, DENOSA, FAWU, SACTWU, NEHAWU-14
	More effective operational structures &/or union management	DENOSA, NUM, NUMSA, POPCRU, CWU, CEPPWAWU, SACTWU, NEHAWU- 8
Worker Control	More effective constitutional structures & communication with members	NUMSA, SAMWU, SASBO, DENOSA, SACCAWU, SADTU, NEHAWU - 6
	More effective structures which includes constitutional changes	SASAWU, SATAWU, POPCRU, NUM, CWU, FAWU - 6
Gender Work	Gender / empowerment of women	0 volunteered. In documents, identified by FAWU, SAMWU, POPCRU, SACCAWU, SADTU, SACTWU
Education of shop stewards, organizers and members	Shop steward & worker leader capacity	SAMWU, CEPPWAWU, SAAPAWU, SATAWU, SACCAWU, DENOSA, SACTWU, FAWU-8
	Leadership & management skills & capacity	NUM, NUMSA, SAMWU, CEPPWAWU, SAAPAWU, CWU, SACCAWU, DENOSA, FAWU, NEHAWU -10
Personnel management	Staff development, performance, conditions	NUMSA, CEPPWAWU, SAMWU, SAAPAWU, SATAWU, POPCRU, FAWU, DENOSA- 8
Mergers	Merger or Integration	MUSA, PAWE, FAWU, SAAPAWU, SAMWU, SADNU, DENOSA, NEHAWU -8
Other	Political tensions, political re-alignment, breakaway unions,	CEPPWAWU, NUMSA, SAMA, DENOSA, SATAWU -5

Most unions see their *overall* objectives for organizational renewal as being to "strengthen the union" and/or to 'meet the new challenges', in order to "focus on the needs of the members". This may be expressed explicitly or implicitly.

Union organizational renewal programmes are *primarily* focused on the practical and immediate questions of recruiting and building membership, improving service to members, ensuring better administration and financial management, and building the capacity and performance of the people involved. It includes, for many unions, ensuring that structures are functioning in a way that enhances decision-making and grassroots participation ("worker control"). SACTWU has defined organizational renewal somewhat differently, distinguishing between its Programme of Action that deals with substantive change and action, and Organisational Renewal which provides the tools " to deliver on the POA".

The combination of key issues above reflects questions of both effectiveness (ensuring the purpose of the union is achieved) and efficiency (using resources in the most cost effective way). However, unions have prioritized or emphasized different issues and combinations of issues according to their specific circumstances, culture and tradition, as well as people leading the process. There does not appear to be any clear correlation between organizational renewal "type" and issues prioritized.

5.1.1. Gender work and empowerment of women

> *" Gender equality is not a focus of our plan but it should be" SAMWU*

Striking is the lack of recognition or priority given to gender as an integral part of organizational renewal, despite the emphasis given to this in COSATU resolutions. In the interviews held, and noting that 18 out of the 20 people interviewed were men**,** not one respondent *volunteered* (raised without prompting) gender work, or changing the position of women, as a focus for their organizational review or renewal programmes.

"Gender is not a central thrust in the OR programme. There is no focus on this although the intention is there. There are many resolutions and a gender coordinator was appointed who deals also with Health and Safety and HIV/Aids. There are constraints because it is not a funder priority and we have to deal with the issue through our own resources", NUMSA.

"Gender is not a focus but should be. It is not specifically mentioned in our plan. When we start afresh we must look at women's participation. We need a conscious approach", SATAWU.

"Gender equality in the union is an issue, but it is not in the strategic plan", DENOSA.

" In the past we have done a lot of work in this area, but it needs to be attended to in this programme", SADTU

Some unions refer to gender in their organizational renewal documents or Programme of Action (e.g. SAMWU, FAWU, SACTWU), or planned it as a focus during organizational renewal planning processes (SACCAWU). Most, if not all, unions have gender resolutions, structures and programmes. However, there seems to be little consciousness, or lack of focus on, the link between organizational renewal, union building and changing gender relations within the union and workplaces. POPCRU leadership acknowledged their omission in their report to the COSATU Congress, and have since taken steps to ensure that all structures elect women office bearers.

" Our Organisational Renewal Document fell short of re-aligning our current gender structures with the renewal process, which culminated in the commissioning of a discussion document", POPCRU- report to COSATU Congress

5.1.2. Building membership and recruiting

The new member says,
"What can you offer?" SASBO
"Unions are for old people" CWU
" We pay, you give us something", SATAWU

Given the general decline in union membership, all unions have an interest in building and maintaining membership. Most union organizational renewal work addresses the issue, either through direct recruitment campaigns or a combination of strategies, or as a "spin off" from other change processes.

5.1.2.1 Arresting decline: recruitment strategies

For many unions, arresting declining membership is at the heart of their organizational renewal programme, and active recruitment strategies are being planned or implemented.

SACTWU implemented "an aggressive membership recruitment campaign", named Project 30 000- using shop stewards and ex-shop stewards as "our recruitment advance guard". It has an annual budget of R1 million, a dedicated staff coordinator and a team of 200 recruiters. It successfully halted a potential rapid decline in membership due to job losses. Membership is tracked daily and reported on every week to the secretariat meetings.

In SASBO a special unit (mini call center) staffed by contract workers has been set up specifically to,

" follow up on those members whose membership has been suspended for some reason or other, as well as to follow new leads for recruitment".

In addition, the union has introduced an improved incentive competition for best recruiters. The winner gets a prize. For the best organizer recruiter there is a monetary prize; for the best call center recruiter, a trophy, and the best member recruiter, a holiday in Mauritius. POPCRU has also introduced a financial incentive for shop stewards to recruit members. It should be noted that POPCRU consulted with SASBO on its systems and experiences, and used ideas gleaned in its renewal programme.

Some unions have identified a need to collect accurate information on members and shop stewards, and potential members. For example, both SAMWU and SASAWU are using participative approaches to collect information. SAMWU has set up a data bank of occupational information on its shop stewards. It developed an audit form for its full time shop stewards to complete, supplemented by the collection of information in workshops. This provided the basis for analyzing the position, role and ambitions of full time shop stewards and for developing policy on how they should operate. The union plans to carry out research on membership, including why members leave the union. It would like to involve NALEDI in the research project. SASAWU organisers are engaged in 'mapping' where members are located, with a view to holding more effective meetings, and developing a targeted recruitment strategy.

"We want to recruit on the basis of accurate and real information as to where real and potential for membership growth is", SASAWU.

The SAMWU respondent feels that there will be no quick turn around in membership growth, and that consolidation is what can be expected. Therefore, recruitment campaigns aimed at a mass membership increase are inappropriate. New, well-targeted recruitment strategies are more likely to succeed. These must be based on accurate information on recruitment possibilities, and on an understanding of member/worker interests e.g. why they move to the Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union (IMATU), or maintain dual membership. It is important to try and change the mind-set of shop stewards in their approach to recruitment.

" Shop stewards do not take a measured approach to recruitment. They still talk of mass campaigns. The 1980s tradition persists whilst objective conditions are different. There can be no more mass recruitment", SAMWU.

5.1.2.2.   **Improving member benefits**

At least four unions feel that recruitment will be enhanced if they offer improved or new, tangible, material benefits to members and they include this in their organizational renewal programme. In response to perceived needs of the "new worker", and membership loss to rival unions offering benefits, they are investigating or implementing new member benefits.

' This is an issue because the 'new worker' asks 'what do you have to offer?' There is a shift in ideology and a search for status. They no longer want to associate with toyi –toyi and strikes", NUMSA.

Some unions plan, or offer, a growing number of different benefits- non-labour legal advice, tax advice, discounts at certain retailers or wholesalers, insurance at reduced cost, death benefits, loans. However, for some unions, this is a controversial issue for practical or ideological reasons. Administrative and financial constraints, as well as corruption, have emerged as practical problems in providing some member benefits. In the NUM a death benefit was introduced, with the benefit paid out of union funds. The costs of the scheme were much more than anticipated, possibly connected to the rise in Aids-related death. The union has been forced to review the scheme. In SAMWU, a loan scheme designed to assist members avoid loan sharks, led to corruption by some officials. This caused tensions and divisions within a region, and the scheme is being terminated. SAMWU is investigating the possibility of a savings cooperative instead.

SASAWU questioned the politics and ideology of providing loans,

" We can't wish away the issue, but is providing loans the role of a progressive union? The Congress decided it was not and therefore we agreed to strengthen our links with group schemes".

The COSATU respondent felt unions were not using their social power and that,

" We should perhaps concentrate on those schemes with a social benefit e.g. bursaries".

5.1.2.3. Growing membership through merger

For many unions, merger or integration with another union is a way of increasing membership. The NUM and CAWU successfully integrated, with spin offs for membership growth- construction being the only growing sector of membership in the NUM at present. FAWU also noted that the SAAPAWU integration would bolster membership.

5.1.2.4. Extending beyond traditional membership type

Extending the boundaries beyond "traditional" membership type does not appear high on the agenda of many established affiliate organizational renewal programmes. Whilst the September Commission, as early a 1997, set out recommendations for organising workers in the informal sector (now termed the "informal economy" – see below), and COSATU Congress of 2000 set out a programme to do so, unions have not generally prioritized this in their organizational renewal programmes. Where this appears specifically in plans, for example SACCAWU and SAMWU, they have targeted "atypical" or "non-standard" workers in waged employment, such as casual and outsourced workers, workers employed through labour brokers and the like, rather than those who more clearly form part of the informal economy, such as street vendors. As the respondent from SAMWU noted,

" We still need to concentrate on outsourced workers, but this is a high cost operation with poor returns from an income point of view".

It is an even greater problem for organising workers in the informal economy, in informal jobs or scattered in households.

Box 4: Workers in Informal Employment-who are they?

The concept of the "informal sector" has been expanded to one of the "informal economy"- with a focus on 'informal employment"- which is now used by the ILO.

" the informal economy is seen as comprised of informal employment (without secure contracts, worker benefits, or social protection) both inside and outside informal enterprises....

- Informal Employment in Informal Enterprises (small unregistered or unincorporated enterprises) including: employers, employees, own account operators and unpaid family workers in informal enterprises.

- Informal Employment outside Informal Enterprises (for formal enterprises, for households, or with no fixed employer), including: domestic workers, casual or day labourers, temporary or part-time workers, industrial outworkers (including homeworkers), and unregistered or undeclared workers."
`
" The link between working in the informal economy and being poor, especially in the lowest-return activities, is stronger for women than for men" [20]

Some unions are organising, or supporting the organisation of, workers in informal or "atypical" employment, although this might not appear in their organizational renewal plans. SATAWU, for example, has recruited taxi drivers and is struggling,

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[20] ILO, Women and Men in the informal economy: A statistical picture, 2002

with some success, to bring them under the ambit of a defined and legislated employment relationship [21]. SACTWU instituted a pilot project in Cape Town, organising industrial homeworkers with links to the formal economy (firms, retailers)[22], and attempted to set up a collective negotiation relationship with retailers who indirectly contract to home-based workers[23]. However, the union has experienced some difficulties in servicing members and "delivering on core benefits". The SAMWU president has been supportive of moves to form a national alliance of street vendor organisations, by chairing meetings and giving advice. COSATU itself has embraced a number of unions organising " atypical" workers such as football players, musicians, and performers. Some fall outside, or on the margins, of the Labour Relations Act, being classified as " independent contractors", and who themselves may not have a worker consciousness. Where work is irregular, these unions have the same problems in collecting membership subscription as many organizations of workers in the informal economy.

5.1.3 Improving Service to Members and Shop Stewards

"A POPCRU member is our Priority"- POPCRU slogan

At the heart of organizational renewal is a focus on the needs of the members, and being able to effectively service their needs. *All unions* have a strong focus on improving service to members and include this in their reviews or implementation plans. For unions in the "Pre-OR" group this is implicit in their objectives and daily work.

Unions interpret this major objective in different ways and have different emphases. It is not clear whether there is in fact a common understanding of what is meant by service. Unions from a more professional/business model background or with a more pronounced tendency in this direction, appear to place a greater emphasis on "service" as individual case handling, regular visits to workplaces by organizers, good communication and benefits. For example, SASBO has a very tightly monitored system of organizer visits to workplaces for recruitment and service. These are planned and arranged well in advance. Each organizer is required to submit a detailed itinerary to the recently appointed National Organising Secretary, whose role it is to coordinate and monitor organizer work. They are required to report on the visits and account for any changes to the submitted itinerary. SACTWU, with a "worker control" background is also implementing measures to tighten up on organizer visits, reports and monitoring to improve service. The Union held a special Service Conference. One outcome was the requirement on all SACTWU offices to set up a wall map listing factories in the branch and recording details of organizer visits and general meetings so gaps could be identified and corrective measures taken. Regional Office bearers must have regular meetings to evaluate service, and organizers and shop stewards are required to submit regular reports. Organisers are formally disciplined if this requirement is not met.

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[21] Tanya Goldman, Organising in South Africa's Informal Economy: An Overview of Four Sectoral Case Studies, Working Paper No 60, ILO, Geneva, 2003, and Jane Barrat, NALEDI workshop presentation, April 2004
[22] Tanya Goldman, Organising in South Africa's Informal Economy..
[23] See OR Report to 2nd Central Committee, 2003

Box 5: Defining "Service"

> "An economistic approach emphasises material benefits to members. The more transformative view sees service for members as centred on building our organisations to advance worker control and improve workers' conditions of work and life. COSATU has historically adopted the second definition "
>
> "Service to members is a package that derives from strength of the organisation and not individuals."
>
> The five dimensions of service identified by COSATU are solidarity, representation, working conditions, living conditions, participation in decision- making.
>
> *COSATU, OR Report to Congress 2003*

There is a greater tendency for the established COSATU unions, with a more pronounced "worker control" model approach, to interpret "service" more broadly- at least in their documents. In addition to issues identified above, they are more likely to place building unity and solidarity, improving shop steward and organizer capacity to deal with the changing workplace and environment, reforming or improving collective bargaining as part of the "service" agenda, or as a specific focus of organizational renewal.

NUMSA has a renewal sub-project to develop new collective bargaining strategies, and improve collective bargaining and campaigning. SAAPAWU's stalled programme had the objective of improving collective bargaining. SACCAWU plans to redefine the collective bargaining agenda, issues and structures. In the case of SAMWU the Sector Job Summit was also included as a key membership issue in the written organizational renewal plan. Some respondents raised the need to improve on the union's broader economic and social roles, or placed their organisational renewal work in this context. SACCAWU plans include improving union intervention in policy issues at tri-partite institutions. SATAWU's planned organizational renewal programme has as one of its terms of reference,

"To review and define "service" to members, worker control and quality of cadreship in political and organizational terms", SATAWU, ORC report.

However, unions seem to struggle to turn this broader understanding of service into concrete programmes. An economistic approach is more straight- forward and measurable. Pushed by workers, rival unions and a market oriented context, the differences in approach appear to be blurring. A more individual servicing approach, coupled with provision of material benefits, is becoming more common across the different types of union. In other words, COSATU's transformative definition in the box above, is increasingly being infused with a more economistic understanding and practice.

5.1.4. Making structures more effective and efficient

"There seems to be a more structural approach by affiliates "
COSATU respondent

5.1.4.1.   Constitutional Structures

Many unions have a focus on improving the functioning of constitutional structures. There are a number of reasons for this. For some unions there is a focus on rebuilding structures in order to build the power and strength of the union, increase grassroots participation, and as an important element in improving service to members as defined broadly (see above). Some change structures to be more responsive to changes in the political or sector landscape. For example, FAWU restructured its regions in line with the provinces in order to engage at that level more effectively. SAMWU changed its shop steward committees in line with local government restructuring. For some, changing structures is in part a response to financial difficulties.

There is a trend towards trying to increase the *efficiency* of decision -making through improving how meetings are run. POPCRU, for example, has set out clearly the administrative and political/policy functions of its various structures to avoid duplication and ensure that committees focus. So for example, the Central Executive Committee has a political role as its primary function and no administrative role, whilst the National Executive Committee has an 80% administrative and a 20% political role. SAMWU has also attempted to clarify the different roles of committees, as has NUMSA.

A number of unions have looked to increasing efficiency by *decreasing* the layers of structures. COSATU itself, SASAWU, SATAWU, CWU have all made amendments to their constitution along these lines. NUM has recently phased out its regional policy conferences for health and safety and education and integrated this work into main structures. The structures will remain at branch level. For the NUM this,

" forms part of a need to refocus and ensure greater integration of the work of these structures within the overall work of the union"[24]

Changes to structures are often linked to an effort to reduce costs but with the intention of not " compromising worker control". Whether this is possible is still a question. There is no doubt that in many unions the various committees do to some extent duplicate discussions, and change is needed to make meetings more efficient as well as effective. However, there may be a danger in decreasing the number of meetings unless this is linked to a vigilant and more comprehensive programme to ensure that communication, education and opportunity for participation are in place. Over time, there has been a tendency for increased centralization of power and decision -making in the hands of national office bearers and secretariats. This may be an unacknowledged move towards a form of representative rather than participative democracy, and a change to the notion and practice of worker control.

Whilst the trend towards decreasing layers of structures is current, some of the "older" renewal projects, such as those of the NUM and NEHAWU, sought to decentralize and increase the participation and power of lower structures. In the case of NEHAWU an additional layer was introduced (regions) and workplaces were recognised as "institutions" [25]. For NUM the central feature of its plan was to

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[24] SALB, NUM matures to adulthood, interview with Gwede Mantashe, Vol 28, No 3, June 2004
[25] C.Dicks & L.Thobejane, OD in unions – a case study of NEHAWU, SALB, Vol 24, No 3, June 2000

increase the autonomy and responsibility of regions and branches [26] (but see recent change above). POPCRU has more recently replaced its branch structures with local structures, which are more numerous and closer to membership, and introduced "service centers" serving clusters of locals rather than branch offices.

5.1.4.2.   Operational Structures

In addition to changing constitutional structures there is an emphasis on reworking operational structures. This involves reorganizing staff / creating new positions to adjust to new work priorities, and introducing or improving " management" of the union. This is linked to the focus on improving administration and financial management, and the increasingly felt need to manage staff performance. Most of the unions involved have focused on changing head office. DENOSA for example has changed its Head Office operational structure to relieve the pressure on the General Secretary and more clearly delegate responsibilities. Three directorates now report to the General Secretary where previously seven people reported directly to her. SACTWU has instituted a compulsory national secretariat meeting, which takes place every Monday.

" This gives us a very good management tool, and we have an extremely good idea what is happening anywhere in the union and can take the necessary decisions to deal with the problem areas quickly", SACTWU

As well as reviewing Head Office, NUMSA's renewal programme starts to change operational structures at a regional level. It has a clear focus on "restructuring" regions and locals to improve service by better coordination and management, and more effective use of staff. This involves increasing the need for active management of staff and work, and begins to change regional secretaries from mainly political leaders to managers as well. The programme is couched in struggle language, "rebuild our local attack", fitting in with the NUMSA view that it is possible to find a balance between bringing in changes and maintaining the "old values of worker control". (See case study in Appendix Three for more details). It is also in line with the emphasis in the Organisational Renewal Commission Report to the 1st Central Committee where the idea of "democratic management" was introduced as an important way of distinguishing union management from that of the corporate world.

5.1.5. Administration and Financial Management

" All will come to nothing if we cannot get our finances in order" SASAWU
"Finance cannot be mediocre", COSATU

Fourteen unions, drawn from across the spectrum, have identified the need to improve on administration, with the main focus being on financial management, as well as membership systems. The intention is to increase revenue and reduce expenditure. They have included this in their organizational renewal programmes (or priority area of work). They have often implemented this aspect of organizational renewal prior to other areas in order to deal with a financial crisis.

Some unions, particularly those from a more business/professional tradition, see themselves as efficient administratively,

" We run our union more like a business", DENOSA

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[26] Meryl Plasket, Meeting the Challenges of the 21st Century", OD Debate, June 1998

" The culture of our administration is corporate. Our finances are well managed"
SAMA

Nevertheless where they have falling membership and thus income, such as in DENOSA, improving effective collection of subscriptions and cost effectiveness is an organizational renewal issue.

There is an emerging trend towards the outsourcing of some parts of the subscription collection and recording process in the short term. CEPPWAWU and SACCAWU have both adopted this approach, which is beginning to show results. The intention is to ensure that eventually the two parts of the system are integrated and internal staff are empowered to run the system.

Most unions see improving financial health as critical to the success of any organisational renewal programme, or even the ability to embark on one. Where there is a crisis, this needs to be dealt with first. If the union has no financial resources and is struggling to continue its daily work, then organizational renewal work is difficult. This is a challenge. Getting out of a crisis requires change, but change requires financial and human resources as well as energy and motivation.

" We will continue with the bigger process as appropriate and when funds are available", SACCAWU.

5.1.6. Building leadership capacity and improving staff performance

> *If you have a cadre of officials who are not capable, not committed*
> *then change is difficult", SAMWU.*

Running through all union organizational renewal and ongoing work is a concern about the capacity of shop stewards, leadership and staff. This is not new. It is fundamental requirement for the renewal process itself, and for achieving renewal objectives. The centrality of people in organizational development has been recognised by OD theorists and practitioners [27].

5.1.6.1.   Union Staff

There is a strong focus by unions on improving the performance of staff members, particularly organizers and those in "managerial" roles. This usually involves a combination of education and training, re-evaluating, redefining and sometimes re-grading jobs, monitoring performance, including the introduction of formal performance management systems (PMS). Union organizers are in direct contact with workers and are often seen as being a major cause of "poor service". Most unions are grappling with managing staff, and unions already implementing performance management systems, particularly in the "traditional" unions are struggling to make it work.

" In a union setting it is not easy to accept the introduction of corporate culture into the union set-up, due to the culture of the unions", POPCRU.

" The system of monitoring staff through PMS is in process. It is not yet working properly...people don't like to be monitored", NUM.

Many unions also see the need to improve on working conditions to attract and retain skilled staff.

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[27] See for example, Rick James, Demystifying Organisation Development, 1998, Intrac

5.1.6.2. Leadership

On building leadership and managerial capacity there is a less clearly defined approach, but training is seen as the major vehicle for improvement, internally such as in DENOSA, through external education institutes such as in NUM, and through DITSELA.

NUM has an extensive education programme for leadership, including staff. It actively encourages all leaders and staff to study individually through outside institutions, and supports such study financially and through access to union resources such as use of union computers and the internet. It encourages the acquisition of formal qualifications and has, for example, negotiated a two year accredited course for shop stewards and worker office bearers with the Rand Afrikaans University. The General Secretary and Education Secretary amongst others, have set examples, by themselves studying and gaining formal qualifications at a high level. The Union is aware of the potential danger of its leadership being exposed to business analysis, attitudes and imperatives when attending MBA and other management courses.

"We are careful to ensure political education to counter possible effects of business type courses being attended by leadership", NUM.

However, most unions are unable to match NUM in the provision of resources for leadership development, and some are less open to the use of outside institutions.

Education of leadership is linked to the need to clarify their roles, responsibilities and authority, and to implement more active management in the union. However, there is no indication or suggestion that leadership performance be the subject of any additional monitoring (apart from by constitutional structures), except in unions such as DENOSA and SAMA, who's Executive General Secretary and Secretary General respectively are appointed. Both these leaders feel that it is important that a General Secretary be appointed rather than elected so that necessary skills can be ensured, and s/he can be held to account for performance. The issue of leadership capacity and style, power and politics is a sensitive area and one on which most respondents were not generally forthcoming. However, at least one leader was able to reflect on his own shortcomings, which provides an important starting point to address some deep- seated difficulties.

" Do we leadership have the capabilities to drive.. I realize I might not have the skills to deal with the position....We need proper advice on issues" CEPPWAWU

In another union, the possibility that leadership rather than structures might be a key problem, was seen as something that could emerge from the review,

" It could be that leadership is the problem. Leaders sometims stay too long in the unions and stagnate...they shun change. On the other hand some leaders leave for greener pastures", SADTU

5.1.6.3. Shop stewards

Building the capacity of shop stewards through effective education, political, organizational and technical, is emphasized by COSATU, and *in intention,* an important part of many affiliate organizational renewal programmes.

*" Our political education is inadequate. We cannot deal with the forces out there."
CEPPWAWU*

The decline in vibrant shop steward and other education programmes in COSATU and affiliates has often been noted[28]. Most unions see education as a key to rebuilding grassroots activism and to leadership development, but many are constrained by lack of resources. FAWU for example did extensive education planning work with DITSELA as part of their stalled programme in 2001. They are now hopeful (in 2004) that the programme will "roll out" soon, as funding is close to being secured. There has recently been promising improvement in the level of education provision by COSATU.

5.1.7 Merger and Integration

> " *We cannot survive in isolation. There is strength in numbers*", PAWE.

Unions have bought into COSATU's merger/integration agenda, with differing degrees of enthusiasm and urgency.

For "emerging" unions like MUSA and PAWE, merger is seen as an extremely positive and necessary step. Likewise for SAAPAWU, where,

" *It became obvious that SAAPAWU was not viable and therefore that integration is the right thing. It is long overdue*".

For the unions involved in these two merger/integration processes, their organizational renewal programme (recognised as such or not) is focused here.

" *Once COSATU put integration of SAAPAWU as a condition, the OR exercise became futile. We have to focus on integration*", SAAPAWU.

Whilst discussions are still taking place on various options for public sector union unity, COSATU is keen to move on agreed mergers.

For SADNU and DENOSA there is commitment to integration but with reservations. There does not appear to be a sense of urgency, and DENOSA is continuing to enthusiastically implement its strategic plan. COSATU is trying to drive this process.

" *There is not much progress as there are fundamental political differences between us*", SADNU.

The NEHAWU Congress (July 2004) saw strong support for progress to be made on the merger with SAMWU. The SAMWU respondent, whilst expressing support for the merger, envisages a lengthy process ahead with the,

"*possibility of merger not affecting our OR programme – on the ground things carry on*".

For SACCAWU the proposed merger with SACTWU is not enthusiastically supported.

"*The resolution is informed by expedience – shrinking membership. Most people are not comfortable with merging with SACTWU – different traditions. There is not much going on*".

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[28] See for example, DITSELA , A Survey of COSATU Education, April 2001and Resolution of COSATU 8th Congress

Past experiences of mergers provide important learnings for unions embarking on this route. The COSATU respondent noted certain problems with merger processes:
- No organizational plan or forward vision for the new union
- Little anticipation of what might happen and what the problems might be
- The detailed work needed is not carried out
- Merger tends to be done at a political rather than operational level
- Staff transition is not thought through

5.2. Similarities and Differences

It is not surprising that the issues identified by unions are similar, and in line with those adopted in COSATU Central Committees and Congress. Most of the issues have been the subject of discussion over many years, with some, such as financial management, being intensified through crisis or decline. Hence the view of some unions that this is nothing new, or that unions are merely 'rehashing old resolutions".

What may be different for *some* unions is that they are *beginning* to see the issues as part of a whole, a necessary package of change needed for survival, strengthening capacity to serve members as well as continued societal relevance – and an ability to be able to prioritise and deal with issues in an holistic, less crisis driven way.

Despite similarities, there are differing approaches and emphases dependent on a union circumstances and culture and leadership.

5.2.1 Short term– long term

Some unions have a more long- term and stated vision of where the union wants to be. Their programmes, whilst practically focused, have a more conscious long -term point of reference and "big picture" approach. The NUM for example developed a ten-year plan in 1997, which has subsequently been revised [29]. Similarly, NEHAWU developed a 5 -year plan and engaged in an organizational development process to support implementation of the plan in 1998.

" Our objective, mission, vision must be clear and drive the plan whilst not ignoring the environment – near and far. There must be a strategic fit in our plan, NUM.

Unions with a more long- term view are generally established, large, with confident leadership, but can be taken off course from time to time where instability occurs.

Many union plans are less informed by a clear, long- term vision. Their approach is more medium- to short term. They are primarily focused on practical and immediate problems and danger points. This may apply to both emerging and established unions. The process may stall or change due to a crisis.

"A proposed organizational renewal plan was adopted but no progress was made as the union was dealing with various problems and crises", CWU.

Unions often deviate from their plan as circumstances change, even where there is no crisis. They may return to the plan or revise it along the way. This is important and necessary. Internal and external changes and pressures constantly affect unions. They need the flexibility to respond to these.

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[29] NUM, Ten Year Plan of the National Union of Mineworkers. Second Edition 2003-2013. A fighting programme for transformation, Adoped by the 11th National Congress, 2003

" We will always continue to do organizational renewal work, but will be guided by what is happening.... Having a plan does not mean that if will be followed...we must be realistic. Unions do not work in a straight forward way", SAMWU

On the other hand if this is not a conscious approach, and carefully monitored, the organizational renewal programme may be narrowed or aspects lost. SADTU originally identified a range of issues for review, but is now focusing on a narrower agenda.

" Our OR programme is concentrated on the NALEDI research project (effectiveness of structures, impact on public policy)... we must pursue other areas as well...there are some things we could do ourselves", SADTU

5.2.2. Structure – Service

In many unions, making changes to constitutional or operational structures to make them more effective is on the change agenda. However, in all unions meeting the needs of members through improved service is paramount.

Concerns have been expressed that there is a focus on changing structures as the route to renewal, rather than "renewing" approaches to activism and grassroots concerns, and focusing on new strategies and capacity for dealing with workplace and industry challenges. Internationally, the issue of a top down or a structural approach to organizational renewal was recently raised by Dan Gallin, ex Secretary General of the global food union (IUF) in the context of merger discussion between the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) [30].

" A renewal of the trade union movement has to come from the membership. ...power is generated by the struggles such mobilization and participation make possible and new structures that express new power are the result of such struggles".

" no reshuffling of useless structures will solve these problems".

This is a complex question. Activism and grassroots change require democratic, well functioning constitutional and operational structures for effectiveness, whilst structures will wither without activism and responsiveness to the needs of members. In some ways changing structures is the most obvious and easily realizable objective, and unions often tackle this first. Hence, at least three unions changed their constitutional structures, via Congresses, before, or as a first step in, the organizational renewal process.

Many unions appear to be grappling with the relationship between structural change, capacity building, "turning around" financial weaknesses and achieving their key purpose of ensuring the needs of members are met. In many unions the focus of organizational renewal work is on the basic requirements needed to facilitate improvement in service, rather than on new strategies for dealing with workplace and industry challenges. However, in a number of other unions collective bargaining strategy has been identified as an organizational renewal priority (see above 5.1.3.).

Unions cannot, and are not, ignoring fundamental changes in their industries and workplaces. These do not necessarily form part of their organizational renewal programme, although change might be happening. How and where issues should

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[30] Dan Gallin, Not With a Bang but With a Whimper, document August 2004

be addressed, the relationship between this work and formal organizational renewal programmes, needs further exploration and clarification. In the end it may not matter too much how unions perceive different areas of work or where they deal with it. What is important is that the issues are being addressed and practically, if not explicitly, link to "official" organizational renewal work. SACTWU's framework of a Programme of Action dealing with substantive change, and Organisational Renewal as the tool to ensure its implementation, provides the most explicit expression of a dual but linked approach.

5.2.3 Bold – "Business as usual"

" Business as usual won't work. Boldness is needed", SACCAWU.

Many unions expressed a need to do things differently, to be bold or innovative. Some unions are risking new ways of doing things. POPCRU has set up a call center so that members have ready access to union and individual (cases) information. SACCAWU and CEPPWAWU have outsourced part of their membership system. SAMA and DENOSA have brought doctors and nurses into COSATU. Some unions are beginning to address organising outside of their normal membership- SACCAWU and casual workers, SATAWU and taxi drivers. Others find new ways to tackle economic challenges, such as SACTWU's innovative campaigns to save jobs by forcing retailers to buy local. But in general the unions are struggling to come up with new solutions.

" There is no buzz.. we are not thinking big. We act within the limits of what we have and can't think beyond this. We need new ideas and innovative thinking. People are too tired', COSATU.

Interestingly it may be that newer affiliates are more able to recognize the need for new ideas and approaches, perhaps driven by their own needs, but also precisely because they are not well established, with embedded ways of doing.

"We need a vision in the changing world. We need to be futuristic and open- minded. We need to move from the traditional union approach. For example, we should be helping members to create work – provide economic opportunities through projects. We should set up partnerships to create work for our members. We should do plays, music, create concerts and employ people. We could set up sub companies and get government funds – a cooperative type of approach", PAWE.

5.2.4. Corporate- comradely: a question of culture?

Most unions have been influenced by prevailing "corporate" diagnosis of, and solutions to, problems, and by corporate language. The degree to which this is happening varies. Most unions from the "worker control" tradition are wary of a potential dilution of comradely tradition, culture and values. At the same time, improving management of the union, staff performance, communication with members are critical issues, and innovative, but 'union- unique' solutions are still to be developed. Whilst most unions have accepted the need to use or borrow "corporate" methods and to run more professionally, it is still an issue of concern for many.

" Unions need to be run professionally. Their bureaucracy must be professional. We can still maintain our purpose whilst running our organizations in a businesslike way. Professionalism will strengthen our political and organizational functions",
COSATU.

" Bring in changes whilst being guided by old values of worker control and a strong shop floor influence," NUMSA.

" We are skeptical of OR, that it is a management or bureaucratic approach. We have tried to avoid using a 'non-union resonance' approach", SAMWU.

" It is not the theoretical concept that counts, but how the organisation can be constantly modernized and restructured to deliver effectively on its core POA. We have borrowed many other concepts from the corporate world which have helped to make us a more effective organisation" SACTWU

" POPCRU's organizational review process uses corporate language, which may end up conflicting with the union's organizational and political principles" [31]

COSATU stresses the need to maintain the culture, values and political vision as a basis for renewal. However, there are increasingly new influences within the Federation and affiliates. New affiliates bring with them different, and sometimes opposing, cultures, values and political perspectives. Within older affiliates, the "new worker" is one who,

" look (s) at unions as buying a commodity... and who doesn't understand that the strength of the union is at the workplace", CWU.

Often the culture and values of the "old" worker / official and unions are changing slowly and often imperceptibly. This is reflected in behaviours that may not match rhetoric, such as the adoption of corporate language, or careerism rather than collectivism. Although COSATU leaders have begun to speak out on some of these contradictions, it often goes unacknowledged, being too uncomfortable to deal with. Participants in a NALEDI workshop in January 2004 noted that organisational renewal is not seriously addressing these deep -seated issues, and the potential for even greater shifts in culture and values in the future.

The culture of an organisation is usually the aspect of an organisation most resistant to change. It "contains that part that resists change at any cost"[32]. This may be important in retaining the "best" aspects of union culture and in helping to limit the potentially damaging effects of corporate and individualistic behaviour. On the other hand, it might limit the ability to change what is less good in union culture. Gender is a case in point, where resistance to change is high, and where stated ("aspired to") values often do not match actual ("integrated") values and behaviours. This is captured well in a study carried out by NALEDI.

" Most national office bearers express their commitment to gender equality and are familiar with the rhetoric, therefore it is difficult to assess their attitude based on what they say, and more revealing to reflect on what they do"[33].

Issues then are similar across unions, regardless of their type. But the emphasis and focus is determined by a complex mixture of factors including organizational culture, stability, leadership, length of time within COSATU, particular circumstances and needs of the union, its membership, sector, collective bargaining arrangements and so on.

Some trends can be detected across organizational renewal programmes. These are not universal, but are present in several unions. A majority of unions prioritise internal change, which will help them deal with new challenges. This includes staff

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[31] OR Report to 2nd CC, 2003
[32] S.Soal, Exploring organizational culture in South African NGOs, OD Debate, March 2000
[33] Liesl Orr, Assessing Gender Structures and Strategy in COSATU, NALEDI, 2000

development and monitoring, good financial management, changing structures, improving on management. A lesser number of unions include in their organizational renewal work developing new strategies for dealing with industry and workplace change, as represented mainly by a focus on collective bargaining. Across unions gender equality is not immediately seen as a key issue for organizational renewal, although it may be included in documentation. Similarly, broader political and economic objectives may be contained in documents, but without observable practical impact. Established COSATU affiliates are borrowing from corporate ideas and language, which, together with the changed ideological context, may unconsciously be changing culture and values. There is a reluctance to step outside known boundaries, but there are some moves to take on the unknown, such as organising casual workers, and trying out very different solutions, such as running a call center to improve member service. Improving service to members is the major concern of almost every union. There are different interpretations of service, but unions from different cultures are increasingly adopting a more economistic approach under pressure from members.

6. Overview: The Outcomes

"The OR Programme must achieve two aims: first and foremost, we must build a strong trade union movement that excels on workplace issues and defense of members in the face of attacks by employers. Second, we must continue to engage on priority policy issues, above all to ensure employment creation and strengthen social protection" (Towards 2015..)

6.1. Overall objectives

" early days...."

The consensus view is that the broad objectives for organizational renewal have not been achieved. Given that a majority of unions are not yet consciously *implementing* programmes, this is not surprising. Unions also recognize that change is slow, and that organizational renewal is a long- term and complex process**.**

*"It is difficult to say whether the OR processes have strengthened the union. It will be a long time before we can say it has had a definite effect and what that effect is. Much too early to tell"***,** SAMWU.

"Too early to tell if objectives have been achieved. The issues have not been taken up fully yet", CWU.

"Still in process...as it unfolds it creates a momentum of its own", SASAWU.

" Not fully achieved our objectives – it is early days. However, OR has added value. You cannot get immediate results from OR but we are beginning to get feedback", POPCRU

*"***Not yet achieved due to integration process...the whole new union will need a renewal process", SAAPAWU.*

" We haven't achieved our objectives as in the OR plan. But people are beginning to appreciate the need to do things differently from the past", SACCAWU.

There is guarded or positive comment from some unions where an assessment has been made (specific or through structures).

"There is an overall agreement that the OR programme has been a positive development in the union and has been a success. However, we are not at a stage where we could state that NUMSA has completed a comprehensive renewal programme" [34].

*"I think we are stronger in some respects, depending on how you define strong. For example we are more visible in COSATU and the voice of nurses is becoming stronger in the country. However, membership is not growing- so in that sense we are not stronger"***,** DENOSA.*

"As a result of leadership education, a high calibre of leadership is now evident at NEC and at unit/pillar head level. There is improvement in analytical and strategic skills," NUM.

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[34] NUMSA, Report on Assessment Workshop, March 2004

" Our main achievement is that we have been able to deliver successfully on our POA. This does not mean that we do not have problems. But we are fairly content that we have done well over the last few years to build a stable, financially sound and active organisation", SACTWU

6.2 Milestones along the way

Unions cited a number of concrete achievements and promising progress as a result of the organizational renewal process. Most of this is *work in progress* and it is not, in most cases, possible to assess end results, unintended consequences or how these specific changes contribute or relate to the broader organisational renewal objectives. Some examples are:

- Improvement in membership system and subs collection: DENOSA, SASAWU, CEPPWAWU, SACCAWU, NUMSA
- Improved financial management and financial health –SACCAWU, NUM, NUMSA, SACTWU
- Constitutional changes made -COSATU, FAWU, SATAWU, SASAWU, POPCRU, CWU
- Changes to (some) operational structures made – NUM, DENOSA, POPCRU, NUMSA
- Increased leadership capacity- NUM
- Improved staff management systems- SAMWU, NUM, POPCRU, SASBO, SACTWU
- Motivated staff - NUMSA, SASAWU
- Membership increase or stabilization- POPCRU, SASBO, SACTWU
- Successfully organising "atypical" or informal workers- SACCAWU, SATAWU
- Improving bargaining power and structures- SACTWU

During the research process, it was not possible to gather detailed information on the individual parts of most organizational renewal plans, their implementation and impact. It would be valuable to carry out detailed research on very specific projects entered into by unions, with inputs from different groups or individuals affected. This would be a way to enrich collective understanding of what worked and why, what was problematic, and to assist unions to generate ideas by building on experiences and adapting to their own circumstances.

Some specific union activities, achievements, new ideas have been briefly discussed in previous sections. Appendix Three, provides more detailed case studies on NUMSA and POPCRU organizational renewal processes and outcomes. Again, it would be valuable for more in-depth, union based, case studies to be prepared, especially for Unions with a longer history of organizational renewal.

6.3   COSATU's programme achievements

> " *It is a stop-start situation. We still need to plan the nuts and bolts of implementation*", COSATU

6.3.1. A COSATU Perspective

The Organisational Review Commission was successful in that it carried out its terms of reference and "produced". This could have been improved had there been more detailed research and information on what was actually happening in unions and at workplaces. The organisational renewal implementation programme agreed at Congress is moving very slowly. There is no focus on organizational renewal since the Commission ceased to exist.

> " *We only remember it when we have to report on it. There are so many other things happening*", COSATU respondent.

Leadership seem to have lost interest. However, the Federation is currently reviewing all programmes. A plan of action will be developed out of this process.

Table 6: Progress & achievements in COSATU's "own" programme

Area of work	Progress and achievements
Organisational Review Commission	Has carried out the review and reported to CCs and Congress.
Changing the Landscape	*On demarcation*: research by NALEDI is in progress *On mergers:* COSATU has facilitated workshops and discussions with public sector unions, and with FAWU-SAAPAWU, DENOSA-SADNU, PAWE-MUSA
Strengthening Grassroots support	*Workplace Focus*: HIV/Aids, gender, education – little follow up on resolutions, although some improvement in education *Campaigns:* little progress in the Living Wage, Recruitment campaigns *Systems support*: membership benefits survey underway, membership systems work – no progress, common labour market - stalled *Coordination, networking forums:* still to be set up *Assistance to unions experiencing difficulties*: from time to time tries to assist but lacking resources
Building COSATU Engines	*Constitutional changes:* implemented *Building regions/locals:* not followed up *Head Office reorganization:* some work underway e.g. grading, discussions on staff positions – otherwise stalled

The Federation has a serious lack of capacity, which hampers implementation. There are too many issues to be dealt with by a limited number of people. Importantly there is no driver for organizational renewal work and no dedicated resources. In addition COSATU is "not out of the wood with finances" and this limits what it can do. There is a reluctance to employ more staff.

6.3.2. Affiliate perceptions

" it seems that NALEDI and DITSELA are doing everything", SASBO

Affiliates were generally supportive of the COSATU process, but had specific criticisms about its performance post Congress.

"The Commission was useful. Unions learnt a lot. The report and programme assisted other unions", NUM.

" The Commission was quite good in identifying problems, which was its brief. It uncovered many things and gave recommendations and guidelines", FAWU.

' Many of its conclusions were fine (but) there is a gap between the report and implementation.", SAMWU.

" There is not a sense at federation level that we are achieving anything. The momentum is lost and then what?...there is not much hype anymore", SACCAWU.

"Timing is good…..breathe of fresh air…", SATAWU.

" Approach in COSATU is mainly on older unions. … COSATU is not much focused on getting new affiliates on board in OR processes. The likes of NUMSA, NUM, SADTU, NEHAWU are pushing the process. New affiliates grapple to understand OR", SADNU.

" COSATU is driven by the more established and strong unions within the COSATU fold with strong and experienced leadership. Some of the decisions might split unions. They need to bring the new union leadership on board", DENOSA.

" COSATU helped by pushing us to do something when we forgot", CEPPWAWU

" After the CC decision it became palatable to go ahead. It would have been difficult if someone inside the organisation had suggested it", SADTU

Affiliates then are both positive and critical of the role played by COSATU. Most see the Commission as important in putting and keeping organizational renewal on the agenda. They appreciate the role COSATU played in insisting on reports and in criticizing their programmes. This spurred many unions to begin programmes or to reflect on current ones. However, they are less positive about the process since Congress. They see little implementation of organizational renewal work. They are critical of the fact that COSATU is no longer driving the programme, or acting as coordinator and facilitator for affiliate programmes. There is a common plea for more activity on the part of the Federation. New affiliates in particular look to COSATU to provide more direct leadership and to ensure their needs are taken into account.

Overall the concrete achievements of the organisational renewal process in COSATU and affiliates are as yet very limited. This is not surprising given that, for most, organizational renewal is still in its infancy. COSATU and unions are struggling to define what they want to do, how it fits into their overall strategy, plans and daily work. They are experimenting, changing course, stopping and starting. They have problems of time, money and resources to implement an organizational renewal programme. Most unions have not reached the stage of formally assessing their programmes.

More positively, there has been a change in consciousness on the need for organizational renewal, what it means and how to go about it. The serious efforts to ensure the participation of all affiliates in Central Committees and the Congress, and a common framework and guidelines has seen more unions with conscious change programmes planned or in place. Change is slow, particularly in large, multi layered, membership organizations with strong traditions and organizational forms. Looking back at the response to the September Commission, it is possible to see important progress and achievements in this current process. The Federation needs to resuscitate its leadership role and actively encourage and support affiliates, if the gains made are not to be lost.

" It was going to be exciting because we would be avoiding the mistakes made by other unions and building on their experiences", SAAPAWU.

Many unions stated that sharing experiences is one of the most important and valuable ways of learning what to do and what not to do, and for developing fresh ideas. Despite the "early days", some unions were able to pin-point key lessons from their experiences in an organizational renewal process which should be shared with other unions. Some of the most common lessons as stated by respondents are discussed below. These present both constraints and opportunities for organizational renewal in unions.

7.1.   Participation and involvement at all levels

The need for participation and involvement of everyone in the union is the primary lesson. Most unions felt that, whilst they were attempting to ensure the widest possible participation and involvement, this needed much more work, and it could have been done better

7.1.1. National and regional leadership

The involvement and commitment of leadership and constitutional structures at all levels is essential throughout the process. They must be part of determining the problems and issues, as well as implementation. Organisational renewal must be a priority issue on all constitutional agendas. National leadership must be active in organizational renewal coordinating structures and take part in some activities. They should take the time to attend regional meetings, visit branches and locals to hear concerns and explain what is happening.

7.1.2. Shop Stewards & members

Shop stewards and members must made aware and contribute to the development of the programme from the beginning. More time should be spent at the early stages on this. It may need a special effort or process to do so, rather than relying only on normal constitutional processes.

There must be good communication with members and shop stewards as things progress. Use of union newspapers is helpful but not always satisfactory. There needs to be a proper strategy in place.

7.1.3. Staff

Staff are a key group to bring on board. They are often influential "resistors" of change. From the early stages staff should be part of the process and given chance to put forward their views and opinions freely. Their views should be taken into account. They should be motivated and encouraged to focus on the "excitement" of change rather than on the possible negative effects on themselves. They should all be given a clear role and purpose in the process.

Identifying problems through "vomiting sessions" at regional level is a useful technique for reducing tensions and to draw in people who are against change or who are organizationally disaffected. This allows them space to voice out opinions, and encourages cooperation from worker leaders and staff throughout the union.

7.2. Culture and values are important

These affect how we approach change, what we see as most important. We must be conscious of changes to culture that can come about because of change – we must defend values, political outlook, worker control.

7.3. Work with resistance

Resistance from staff and/or leaders will occur due to fear of losing power, self - interest, and loss of material benefits, fear of change. It is necessary to address skeptics and resistors. Give them a platform to say what they want. Listen to them. Value what they say. Take time to talk to people; take time to introduce changes. Try and avoid political differences and power struggles getting in the way.

7.4. Someone must drive the change

This might be a specially appointed coordinator or it might be the General Secretary. Whilst there are differences of approach, the need for someone to ensure things happen is crucial. Ideally it should be someone "passionate" about organizational renewal, and someone with some "expertise" in the area. Caution will need to be applied when using "experts".

A coordinator should try and be neutral and avoid taking sides in political and organizational fights or the process will be derailed.

7.5. Good planning and coordination essential

The process must be well planned, realistic and capable of being implemented. It should be well coordinated, including having proper administrative back-up. There must be regular assessments, and plans should be adjusted according to needs and circumstances, with full accountability. Things do not work in a straight-forward way in unions and this must be taken into account. There must be full and regular feedback on progress and plans throughout the union.

Change must be a conscious process.

7.6. Leaders are very influential

Where there is a core of strong, secure and experienced leadership, which has spent considerable time in the union, the chances of successful change are stronger. It is important for leaders to understand and appreciate the culture and history of the union, and take this into account.

Leadership is extremely important in determining the approach taken, the values and principles on which it is based.

Leaders can make or break a change process in unions if they are not committed, or their power or position is threatened. They can limit progress if they are not open to change themselves, including changing their leadership style.

Frequent changes of leadership can disrupt plans, and the period leading up to Congresses often results in organizational renewal processes stalling. This must be built into the process so it can be dealt with constructively.

7.7. Interests of members are primary

Member needs and interests must drive organisational renewal. This must always be a point of reference. It might be useful to start by identifying an issue/ area which really appeals to members and work on this rather than trying to do everything at once. Staff are very important, but do not make them the primary focus.

7.8. Change is difficult and slow

> " *We seem to do a lot of lateral movement rather than moving forward"*, DENOSA.

Unions are very complex organizations. Changing unions is not an easy process. You must expect the process to be slow and frustrating. The process is not linear. Unions do not work in straight-forward ways. It is important to take time and not make too many drastic changes at once. On the other hand a very slow pace may mean a loss of interest and impetus. We have to balance this.

Change is also difficult because we do not always have capacity to deal with change processes and implementing change. We need to build the capacity of those coordinating and leading change in the union.

7.9. Care must be taken in choosing facilitators and experts

The choice of facilitator for the organisational review process is important. Care must be taken to choose someone appropriate to the culture and traditions of the union, and who will be able to understand and anticipate the kinds of tensions, political differences and relationships. S/he must be able to relate well to the participants.

A facilitator must be able to be objective and be seen to be so. This is important whether an internal or external person is used.

Unions need access to technical expertise from time to time and should not be afraid to call on "experts". They need to use them strategically, but in a way that does not threaten or usurp the leadership, nor undermine the union's ability to work with and sustain the programme of change into the future.

7.10 Resources are needed but outside funding is not a pre-requisite

It is preferable that dedicated resources are allocated for the review process – either from outside funding or by acknowledging in the budget where funds for the process will be found. Funds will also need to be clearly allocated for implementation projects. However, it is important not to be put off engaging in an organizational renewal process, or implementing change. In most unions, with a bit of creative thinking, resources can be found. There are ways of linking and integrating into ongoing work already budgeted for.

8. What should COSATU and NALEDI be doing?

8.1. The Role of COSATU

"COSATU needs an engine", SATAWU.

The Congress Organisational Renewal report gave COSATU a direct and ongoing leadership and coordinating role. COSATU should set up an:

- **Organisational Development Collective** led by the Secretariat to assist with co-ordination and mobilisation of capacity to support affiliates and to manage the Federation's internal process. The collective should also provide overall political support and oversight, while devolving aspects of organisation review work to the relevant unit.

- **Organisational Development Network** to bring together people driving organisational change in affiliates, and provide reports to the CEC. It should include NALEDI, DITSELA. The organising unit should convene the Network.

Respondents generally support the above approach, as well as the need for direct intervention in affiliates, where necessary (as contained in the Congress resolution). They expressed the need for COSATU to play a more active role in organizational renewal work, and for the work to be a more central priority of the Federation.

What they consider to be most important is for COSATU to get regular feedback on affiliate renewal work, monitor progress, coordinate this information and make it available to affiliates. They see sharing of detailed experiences as the best kind of support for unions. There is a sense that unions feel alone and uncertain in this work. Many unions feel that having a network with regular meetings is very important, and cited the DITSELA OD Network as being useful, and something that could be built upon.

One affiliate noted that it was important not only to have such a network, but that organizational renewal must be a priority issue in CEC meetings.

" Problem in the CEC is that not much attention is given to it. It needs to be discussed in the CEC as it carries weight. We often do not have time to attend workshops", SACCAWU.

Some respondents went further, and felt that COSATU should have dedicated resources for organizational renewal work, including a special OR unit and an organisation- building expert who could work intensively with affiliates and help with "turn around" strategies. COSATU must be more visible. It should give guidance and direction and positively "push" affiliates. It should intervene in affiliates where requested or necessary. Some unions felt that COSATU should mobilise resources for affiliates, including financial assistance.

A number of respondents remarked on the fact that COSATU was not using the power, authority and respect it commanded with affiliate worker leaders to encourage affiliates. The bi-lateral meetings with union office bearers agreed in the Congress resolution was supported. A number of unions noted how helpful it would be if COSATU leadership were to attend union discussions on organizational renewal, and generally visit unions more often. One respondent suggested that COSATU Office Bearers adopt an affiliate.

Two respondents raised the issue of affiliate- to- affiliate support. Much more could be done if COSATU coordinated and supported this assistance. Given that COSATU has limited resources why can't stronger affiliates work with those less developed or resourced?

" We are not in competition…we must assist each other to grow…COSATU should assess affiliate strengths and weaknesses and then direct other affiliates to get experiences from others. Teams could be built up based on affiliate strengths in certain areas e.g. legal, education," NUM.

Many unions feel it is important for COSATU to give more assistance to new or struggling affiliates, and to take more account of their interests and concerns. This was expressed strongly by new affiliates, with suggestions that COSATU should mentor them on an ongoing basis, or that COSATU must "nurture" new affiliates.

COSATU's lack of capacity is a point of frustration with affiliates and within COSATU. One respondent strongly felt that COSATU should not attempt to coordinate affiliates,

" the recruitment month goes nowhere. COSATU does not have the skills and capacities to do this kind of work. COSATU should focus on sorting out COSATU!", *SAMWU .*

Others were less skeptical. They understand the problems of capacity, but feel this should be addressed. Some felt that DITSELA, NALEDI and others could play a role in supporting and supplementing COSATU capacity, including a suggestion that someone from NALEDI be seconded to COSATU. The roles of COSATU, NALEDI and DITSELA in organizational renewal in any case need to be defined, including how they can assist affiliates going through a "rough patch".

8.2. NALEDI's Role and Research needed

> *"**NALEDI** should provide **research** to back up the process. It should be asked to set up a team for that process. It should provide an **annual report** on the impact of organisational renewal, highlighting strategic issues"* [35]

The Congress resolution assigns a number of specific research and support projects to NALEDI, such as demarcation, assisting with a systematic analysis of affiliate workplace structures, a study on service to members, reviewing systems and resources for shop stewards, study on gender.

In addition to the suggestions on support for COSATU above, some affiliates commented on research needs and possible NALEDI work. No clear direction emerges on what they see NALEDI providing, or where research fits into the organisational renewal process. Most felt that there is a role, but are not clear yet what that is.

One union expressed a view that most NALEDI research was COSATU based and

'not of much relevance or use to affiliates" SAMWU.

 An opposing view was that,

" cross- affiliate research is useful as a background for OR work. More of this on this on specific issues would be useful e.g. survey of salary scales", NUMSA.

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[35] OR Report to COSATU Congress, 2003

Some unions felt that the collection of accurate and detailed union information for recruitment and servicing purposes was really important, but that the union may have to do this themselves on location and type of membership, or shop stewards' profiles. There were a few specific suggestions made:

" NALEDI could provide research into affiliates – a clearer assessment of what is happening and what is needed", NUM.

" Research on mergers would be useful. NALEDI could do useful research on dismissals in the public service or corruption", SASAWU.

"case studies on municipal sector and why worker have left the unions – by interviewing members who have left", SAMWU.

SADTU has defined a clear role for NALEDI, and has contracted it to carry out major research into the effectiveness of its structures and into its impact on public policy. This is the major focus of SADTU's organizational review.

COSATU has identified a number of broad research programmes for NALEDI, which it will need to tackle, such as supporting unions in analyzing the state of workplace structures and developing a framework to support shop stewards. Most unions have not as yet developed a clear idea of what specific research support NALEDI should give to their own programmes. There is a developing opinion that there is a need for unions to gather hard information on which to base organizational renewal work. Without this, union strategies will be a repeat of those, which failed in the past. The role NALEDI could play in this needs further thought. Some ideas are offered in the concluding section.

9.   Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1. Conclusions

Unions have approached organizational renewal differently, and the COSATU guidelines have not been as widely implemented as expected. Where unions have embarked on renewal programmes, they are at very different stages. Important influencing factors, in various combinations, are the length of time in COSATU, how well-established the union is, organizational and financial stability, union organising "model", values, culture, and leadership.

Unions have their *major* focus on correcting immediate weaknesses such as poor service, loss of membership, degenerating structures, financial difficulties, inadequate managerial, technical and leadership capacity. Correcting gender imbalances and empowering women does not appear as a priority area for organizational renewal, although this may be part of union programmes, in theory or in practice.

Many unions contextualise their organizational renewal work in the broad vision and political, economic and social policies of the Federation, particularly in their written analyses and plans. In practice it does not appear that the political is easily or obviously integrated into organizational renewal on a day- to- day basis.

Overall, progress in implementing organizational renewal in affiliates and within COSATU itself is slow, often stalling due to more immediate priorities. Although most unions officially support the organizational renewal initiative, COSATU has not yet succeeded in ensuring full understanding of, and commitment to, a Federation wide, organizational renewal programme, within a common framework.

However, COSATU has succeeded in putting organizational renewal more firmly on the agenda than it did following the work of the September Commission. The major achievement of the organizational renewal programme to date appears to be in raising consciousness of the need to change, providing ideas and guidelines, motivating and inspiring, pressurizing, deepening understanding and beginning to build the skills and capabilities to deal with ongoing, conscious change in a constantly changing environment.

9.1.1. A long, complex and continuous process

There is general agreement that *overall* renewal objectives have not been met at a Federation or affiliate level. It is far too early to expect measurable change and impact outside of specific sub projects like recruitment. The process will be long, complex and continuous. Organisational renewal is likely to progress unevenly, stopping and starting and changing direction under the influence of the internal and external environment.

There has been some progress. A number of affiliates have completed a form of organisational review, and some have implemented or begun to implement, recommended changes. Concrete gains, particularly in the more technical and more easily measurable areas such as financial management and membership system development, are beginning to be seen. The *impact* of other changes, including to constitutional and operational structures, is less easily measurable in the short term. Information is available on actions taken rather than impact made. Where unions began conscious organizational renewal and development early on, this may provide an opportunity to look deeper into the impact of changes made, and provide lessons for the future. Given the long time frame for organizational

renewal it would be important to find ways to maintain and constantly renew interest. A contribution to this could be made by ongoing information exchange and publication of exciting and successful achievements as well as ongoing critical analysis

9.1.2. Trends

Three broad organizational renewal types have been identified: "Defined", "Integrated" and "Pre-OR". These are based on an assessment of the overall approach or position of the union, noting that there are overlaps. The groups incorporate unions at different stages, and with different detailed approaches, priorities, commitments and understandings.

The most important reason driving unions to consciously change are the challenges posed by changing industries, changing workplaces and changing membership, and a decline in their ability to effectively provide for the needs of their members (service). Financial viability is often an important consideration in determining renewal priorities.

Within and across the groupings it is possible to tentatively detect some trends.

- Most union programmes are *primarily,* but not exclusively, concerned with *efficiency and capacity,* with a view to delivering a more effective service to members.

- Service is interpreted along a *continuum,* ranging from an almost salesperson approach to service, to a broader view of service with workers being active participants, through worker control and empowerment. There is an increasing move towards the *mid point,* with more unions concerned to offer "products" to members alongside traditional union "benefits" of representation, collective bargaining, solidarity and participation. There is an increasing blurring of organizational models.

- Organisational renewal programmes tend to focus more on renewing union *capabilities to deal with change* in industries and workplaces, rather than on the development of new policies, strategies and 'new ways of doing" at the workplace, industry or society- although this might be a stated objective. This means a focus on building strength through membership recruitment, turning around finances, improving administration, operational and constitutional structures. It means a strong emphasis on more active management of staff, and building their capacity and that of worker leaders. It does not however include a strong emphasis on empowering women. This does not imply that unions are not strategising and changing approaches, or are not concerned about politics and the social/economic context, but that this work is often perceived to be outside of direct organizational renewal agendas.

- Unions are increasingly "borrowing" from the *corporate* world. This includes using business management techniques and associated language, professionalising functions, and using business education for leadership capacity building. Most established COSATU affiliates are keenly aware of potential changes to culture, values and traditions. Hence active attempts or the intention to *counterbalance* this by emphasizing greater membership participation, raising awareness, political education, using "union-friendly" facilitators, keeping the process in-house, consciously using struggle language.

- Whilst a majority of unions are enthusiastic about organizational renewal, some unions and unionists are not fully embracing, or are *resisting change*. There indications that some staff members and leadership are resisting change, passively or actively. This is occurring at the level of the individual, for example, an official resisting being managed. It occurs on a union level where the organizational renewal programme is not being taken seriously by leadership. Culture and tradition, inflexible structures, self interest (even corruption) and union chauvinism all play their part.

- The focus of union organizational renewal programmes, and the ability of the union to implement, to a large extent are dependent on union *stability*. Periods of crises or instability, including leadership power struggles and financial difficulties, generally de-rail, stall or prevent planned and conscious organizational renewal work from proceeding. Most progress appears to be in established unions with experienced leadership.

- Organisational renewal itself is *constrained* by some of the very problems unions want it to address: lack / poor management of financial resources, and inadequate capacity and capabilities. This creates a circular problem.

9.1.3. Adapting not transforming

COSATU's renewal programme tends towards "adaptative" change rather than "transformative" change[36]. This assessment is based on the understanding that transformative change or "second order change" involves a radical overhaul of organisation:

"It involves a paradigm shift, a rebirth and re-direction of organizational energy… a whole new set of assumptions is needed…Transformation is the emergence of new ideal or vision….this…becomes the new dominant paradigm" [37]

COSATU's vision remains intact, and its core values and principles have been re-affirmed by the Federation and a majority of affiliates. On the one hand it is important that unions retain their fundamental values and role, so that they avoid,

" change imposing itself on us in the manner that threatens our traditions and organizational culture", COSATU.

 On the other hand, a reluctance to question some of the stated values and norms, to match rhetoric with reality, might limit openness to, and the possibility of, more transformative change, if this is required. In the NALEDI study on organising one of the conclusions was that,

"the rhetoric of strategic engagement and proactive unionism …is not consistent with practices on the ground…there is a need to clarify strategic engagement strategy in the light of recent experiences…"

At affiliate level there are examples of new ideas, and more bold solutions to specific problems, which could be usefully investigated and experiences shared. However, the overall impression is one of reluctance to venture beyond modification of current structures and practices. In the short term this may be a realistic approach, which unions can build on. In the longer term more substantial innovation will be needed.

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[36] See model in C.Dicks, Working with Organisational Development in a Progressive Trade Union Environment" September 2002
[37] M.Mpisi, Unpacking Transformative Change, OD Debate, September 2002

9.1.4. A home for all workers?

There are contradictory trends within COSATU. Most of the new unions organize workers outside of the traditional COSATU membership base, and often with a "non-worker" consciousness, erratic employment and confused legal status. Some of the unions are run "like a business", and, whilst leadership may support the political direction of COSATU, they are faced with hard questions from their members. Their influence within COSATU is small at the moment but could increase should COSATU *seriously* move towards its stated objective to "represent all workers of South Africa". This would include those currently in other federations, vulnerable workers such as domestic workers, and those in the informal economy. It would include highly paid professional to the poorest of the poor, including an increasing number of women.

These contradictions apply not only to new, but also established, unions. Most unions have raised concerns about the "new worker" and the more individualistic and materialist culture that has developed. This is an important factor driving unions to address new ways of attracting and retaining membership, bringing possible changes to the focus, ethos, culture and values of the union.

COSATU with affiliates will have to interrogate more closely what it wants to be, consider more seriously radical change to organizational structures and practices, as well as creative and new ways of catering for new member needs.

9.1.5. Leading the way: COSATU's Role

COSATU's Organisational Renewal Commission successfully completed an organizational review, providing valuable analysis of the challenges faced by COSATU and the labour movement, with ideas and guidelines for change, and useful documents. There were limitations in the detailed knowledge of what was happening in unions and at workplaces, which is still a gap.

However, serious reservations have been expressed about the ability of COSATU and individual affiliates to successfully implement resolutions on organizational renewal and sustain the work, unless COSATU actively keeps it on the agenda, continuously "whips" affiliates into action, and provides more support for affiliates processes. Since the 8th Congress it has failed to do this.

COSATU leadership has influence, weight and authority with affiliates, which it is failing to maximize to promote and monitor affiliate organizational renewal work. As it falls off the list of priorities and the "hype" fades away, the opportunity to build on work done is likely to disappear. The enthusiasm for, and movement towards, renewal will get lost in the day to day struggles, crises and old ways of doing.

COSATU needs to seriously look at its commitment to organizational renewal in the light of affiliate suggestions, particularly those concerning new affiliates and those experiencing difficulties. If it is still a priority, COSATU will have to find ways of mobilising and allocating the necessary resources.

9.1.6. Grappling with change: questions not answers

Grappling with change is not easy. COSATU's programme is ambitious given union constraints. This study has been carried out at an early stage in the programme. Although trends are detected and suggestions made, it perhaps raises more questions than answers. It is not yet clear, for example, to what extent a 'grand plan" is workable across the Federation, or whether a clearly defined organizational

renewal project is suited to a union context. How to focus organizational renewal programmes, whether unions have a common understanding and what that understanding is or should be, are still questions not fully answered. Unions also need to interrogate whether it really matters what we call " it" as long as it happens. Unions have ways of doing and achieving things that are not always easily understood. This warrants further study.

All agree on the necessity to secure the future of unions in an increasingly hostile environment for workers and the poor, and to ensure their strength and relevance. All agree that this means change. Despite unanswered questions and slow, uneven progress, it is important that organizational renewal remains centrally on the agenda. COSATU needs to take seriously not only the practical challenge posed by affiliates of providing leadership, coordination and support, but also the intellectual challenge of continuously deepening understanding of organisation and organizational change in unions. NALEDI has begun to provide support for COSATU and affiliates and is promoting, together with DITSELA, the collection of practical experiences, and expansion of theoretical knowledge and understanding. It is hoped that through the combined efforts and experiences of all the players, answers will be found and unions remain strong, central players in the struggle for worker rights and a transformed society.

9.2   **Recommendations for NALEDI**

NALEDI has an important role to play in supporting the organizational renewal work of COSATU and affiliates. A number of roles have been suggested by COSATU and affiliates. These range from broad cross- affiliate research contained in resolutions, through research for affiliates on specific issues, to direct support for COSATU and/or affiliates on their programmes.

NALEDI has already a number of commitments and tasks to fulfill in its organizational renewal programme. These must clearly be a priority. There are a number of other ways in which NALEDI might enrich the organizational renewal project. The following are offered as suggestions for further exploration. They primarily focus on deeper research, and the further development of practical ideas and theoretical clarity.

- Record experiences of change and change processes in the union movement, and provide, or participate in, forums where reflection, analysis and theorizing can take place.
- Prepare detailed case studies on union organizational renewal processes. This would include details of different "projects" within the process, and comparing different union experiences on similar issues. For example, recruitment, leadership development, organising casual and vulnerable workers, worker control, management in unions, workplace change, reducing structures etc
- Support unions in the collection of "hard data" such as membership profiles and attitudes- directly, or by training and monitoring union internally-run projects
- Explore linkages between organizational renewal programmes and union work often not included, for example workplace change, industry strategy, collective bargaining, gender, health and safety
- Explore the meaning, concept, language and models of service in unions, and possible alternatives
- Look at what strategies are being employed locally and internationally for organising and meeting the needs of "new workers" in affiliates and in the Federation

- Prepare detailed case studies on mergers and integration processes. Analyse successes and problems. Develop possible strategies to maximize success and limit problems.
- Explore the implications of moving to one country-one federation politically, culturally and practically for COSATU, and whether this is a real possibility.
- Explore the traditions, culture and values of COSATU and affiliates, the contradictions, the rhetoric and reality, the trends and the implications for change
- Collect and analyse international examples of organizational renewal, or similar programmes, in unions.

Chris Bonner, November 2004

Appendix One

List of unionists interviewed

Contributor	Organisation	Position
1. John Mawbey (telephonic)	SAMWU	Head of Organisation & Development Department
2. Alex Ramahlo	NUMSA	OR Coordinator and Skills Development Facilitator
3. Sipho Khumalo	SAAPAWU	General Secretary
4. Welcome Mboniso	NUM	Production Pillar Head
5. Basil Dube	MUSA	National Organiser
6. Mthimkulu Mashiya	SASAWU	General Secretary
7. Ronnie Zondi	SAFPU	National Organiser
8. Randall Howard	SATAWU	General Secretary
9. F. Mohai (telephonic)	SADNU	General Secretary
10. Louise Plaatjies	SASBO	Head of Services Department
11. Pat Ntsobi	POPCRU	Secretariat Coordinator & Union Spokesperson
12. Ike Khumalo	PAWE	Education Officer
13. Mawethu Sizathu	CWU	National Organiser
14. Mduduzi Mbongwe	SACCAWU	Deputy General Secretary
15. Welile Nolingo	CEPPWAWU	General Secretary
16. Dr Moji Mogari	SAMA	Secretary General
17. Thembeka Gwagwa	DENOSA	Executive General Secretary
18. Katishi Masemola	FAWU	Deputy General Secretary
19. Oupa Bodibe	COSATU	Secretariat & OR Coordinator
20. Solly Mabusela	SADTU	Assistant General Secretary
21. Andre Kriel (via e-mail)	SACTWU	Deputy General Secretary
22.	NEHAWU	

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Appendix Three: Case Studies

Note that these case studies are incomplete, and are work in progress

Case Study One: Police and Civil Rights Union (POPCRU)

POPCRU, formed in 1989, and affiliated to COSATU in 1995, has a history of organizational development work. In 1997 POPCRU worked with COSATU and DITSELA on a number of issues such as leadership roles, management of the union, shop steward training and staff policies. In 1999 POPCRU, with new leadership, decided once again to embark on a programme of organizational development. The union consulted with DITSELA and a number of other organizations. A report was compiled which was never used. In 2000 the Union adopted a three- year strategic plan that sought to build organizational capacity.

POPCRU Congress of 2001 agreed to embark on the current programme of organizational renewal, informed by the changing environment, internal trends such as loss of membership and poor service. It was also informed by the COSATU decision, and work being done by other COSATU unions. There was no immediate crisis but leadership anticipated future issues and problems.

The Congress defined the output not how to get there. This was referred to other constitutional structures to deal with.

Review Process
The review process was run and funded internally. It was led by the then Deputy President. It was not a very structured process. The first step was to gather together documents and draw on previous discussions with organizations such as DITSELA, NALEDI, Trade Union Research Project (TURP). Head Office then sent out a questionnaire to survey the current organizational situation in the union. Its focus was on services offered, such as the newsletter, organizers, case handling, training given, benefits. 4000 responses were received. The results "left much to be desired".

The Deputy President prepared an organizational renewal discussion document, which defined areas for renewal. These were the political role, management, structures and staff. This was "work shopped" with leadership nationally- National Executive Committee (NEC), Heads of Department (HODs), National Office Bearers at a policy conference/ extended NEC in 2002. Leadership discussed what they wanted to achieve and drew up an implementation plan. It agreed that service delivery was the key – being responsive to members' needs and solving workplace problems. A slogan was developed, "A POPCRU Member Is Our Priority"
.
The oganisational renewal framework was then discussed at the grassroots, including with staff. Sister unions were consulted, such as SASBO. An implementation plan was adopted at the CEC in June 2002.

Key objectives for organizational renewal
- Ensure good service to members
- Increase union capacity
- Do away with organizational red tape, administrative bureaucracy, and ensure members have speedy access to accurate information.
- Cut costs – operate more efficiently
- Streamline structures.
- Decentralize services to provinces and locals to be closer to grassroots

Implementing the Renewal Plan
The process is being managed internally. The Deputy President heads the process, with the National Office Bearers as the drivers, reporting to constitutional structures. Officials are delegated or tasked to be responsible for various activities in the programme. The implementation process is well advanced, but is ongoing and has to deal with a number of problems, including resistance to some of the changes made.

The plan focuses on four major areas:
- Changes to constitutional structures
- Changes to operational structures and improved communication
- Changes to the way in which staff are managed
- Improvement to benefits offered to members

Other areas of work are ongoing and important but are not specifically included in the Organisational Renewal plan: education, gender, collective bargaining, recruitment.

Changes to constitutional structures
> *"Our political values, principles, programmes and campaigns must inform the structures. The most important principle that must always guide us in designing our structures is that of worker control" (Report to COSATU CC, 2003)*

In order to improve service, the Union began phasing out ineffective structures, making access and information for members easier, increasing representation and defining the roles of each structure more clearly.

A major change was to phase out branches and branch offices, which were not useful, and not servicing members. These are replaced by locals, that are in line with COSATU locals. Provincial shop steward councils have been formed, and provincial working committees have replaced provincial executive committees.

Delegations to the CEC from provinces have been increased in proportion to membership. Election rules have been put in place, including the provision that there must be a woman office bearer.

The role of all structures was defined, with separation and definition of political and administrative functions. For example the CEC has a primary political function, whilst the NEC is primarily administration and management. In the provinces the provincial shop stewards councils are primarily political whilst the provincial working committees focus on management and administration

Because of loss of positions some branch leaders resisted the phasing out of branches. They have used the media and disturbed offices. They were disciplined by the NEC and were expelled from POPCRU. They took a case to court on the grounds that the NEC did not have the power to dismiss them. Additionally, there was some resistance to changes in financial allocations to the provinces.

The union is also getting negative feedback from some members. They want to relate through offices and now they have to do it through structures due to the scrapping of some of the offices.

Changing operational structures and improved communication

Head office has been transformed. There are now six departments, which are service oriented. A Secretariat Coordinator/ Chief of Staff was appointed. The departments are Secretariat, Human Resources, Organising, Training and Development, Collective Bargaining, Finance, plus administrative positions. Some posts were abolished including that of the gender coordinator. Implementing the changes is an ongoing process. For example, the Head of Organising is responsible for managing a number of areas of work, including legal. He is currently undergoing legal training so that he can better understand the issues and be able to manage legally trained staff members in his department more effectively.

In provinces, service centers have been introduced. These service between 18-20 locals. Each service center has an office, a full time shop steward, fax, computers, cars. The resources are paid for by the police service. This was negotiated by the Union.

The Union has employed more organizers in the provinces in line with improving service, and staff numbers have increased.

At Head Office a call center (service center) has been established. This came on line in July 2004. Members can phone in and receive up to date information on the union, including services offered by POPCRU and the decisions taken by POPCRU structures. Members can register their cases telephonically and " be given continuous feedback on the status of their cases on the press of a button". Most of the information is voice recorded. The system also sends SMS messages to cell phones. POPCRU stresses that this does not mean POPCRU offices will close down, but that members are "still expected to participate in the activities of the union, including referring cases to your respective structures, which then will be captured in the system to update our records" *(POPCRU News, January-February edition, 2004)*

Changes to staff management

"POPCRU's performance management system is a result of members not being happy with the service they receive... Adopting a professional approach was about strengthening the values of the union "(Minutes of DITSELA OD Network, 2003)

POPCRU took a "radical" approach to managing staff. In developing and implementing a new and more "corporate" approach, the Union employed a Human Resources specialist with a business background.

Restructuring of operations and management of the union involved changes to jobs. It was decided that all staff had to re-apply for positions in the union. They were guaranteed a job. It they could not be accommodated in the same position, or did not have the necessary skills, they could be moved to another position. For example, the gender coordinator became an organizer. This process was resisted by some staff members and has taken a long time to fully implemented. It is however almost complete (July 2004), with some posts still to be filled.

The Union also changed the system of setting wages. It introduced a performance management system. All staff had to sign performance management contracts, including Heads of Department who were given performance management contracts with targets to be achieved. The idea is that performance be closely monitored and pay linked to performance. Instead of annual general increases this will be granted once every three years. In between, there will be performance based increases.

Management and office bearers have been trained on the system. Staff were consulted throughout the process. Again, the changes met with resistance from

some staff members. There were challenges to job descriptions and performance contracts. Some staff refused to sign. The system has not been implemented yet.

Membership benefits
The union has provided improved membership benefits through the Investment Company. For example, a 5% discount on insurance policies, discounts on various services such as at Cashbuild, at hotels, funeral services. The move to improving benefits is partly a result of the rival union South African Police Union (SAPU) providing similar kinds of benefits that attract members.

Recruitment
Although this was not the main objective of the organizational renewal programme, membership has been increasing (69 000 to 82 000). There was a recruitment drive with targets set. Incentives are paid to shop stewards for recruitment of new members.

Education and training
The union has an active education programme. It linked up with DITSELA to develop a shop steward manual and to plan a programme. It also makes extensive use of DITSELA courses.

Gender
"*Our Organisational Renewal document fell short of realigning our current gender structures with the renewal process, which culminated in the commissioning of a discussion document*", *(Report to COSATU CC 2003,)*

The Union now needs to fully assess and evaluate its organizational renewal programme. Although it is "early days", organizational renewal has added value and the Union is beginning to get feedback. Some positive results are that:
- there is better information flow and communication
- more active participation by members in structures
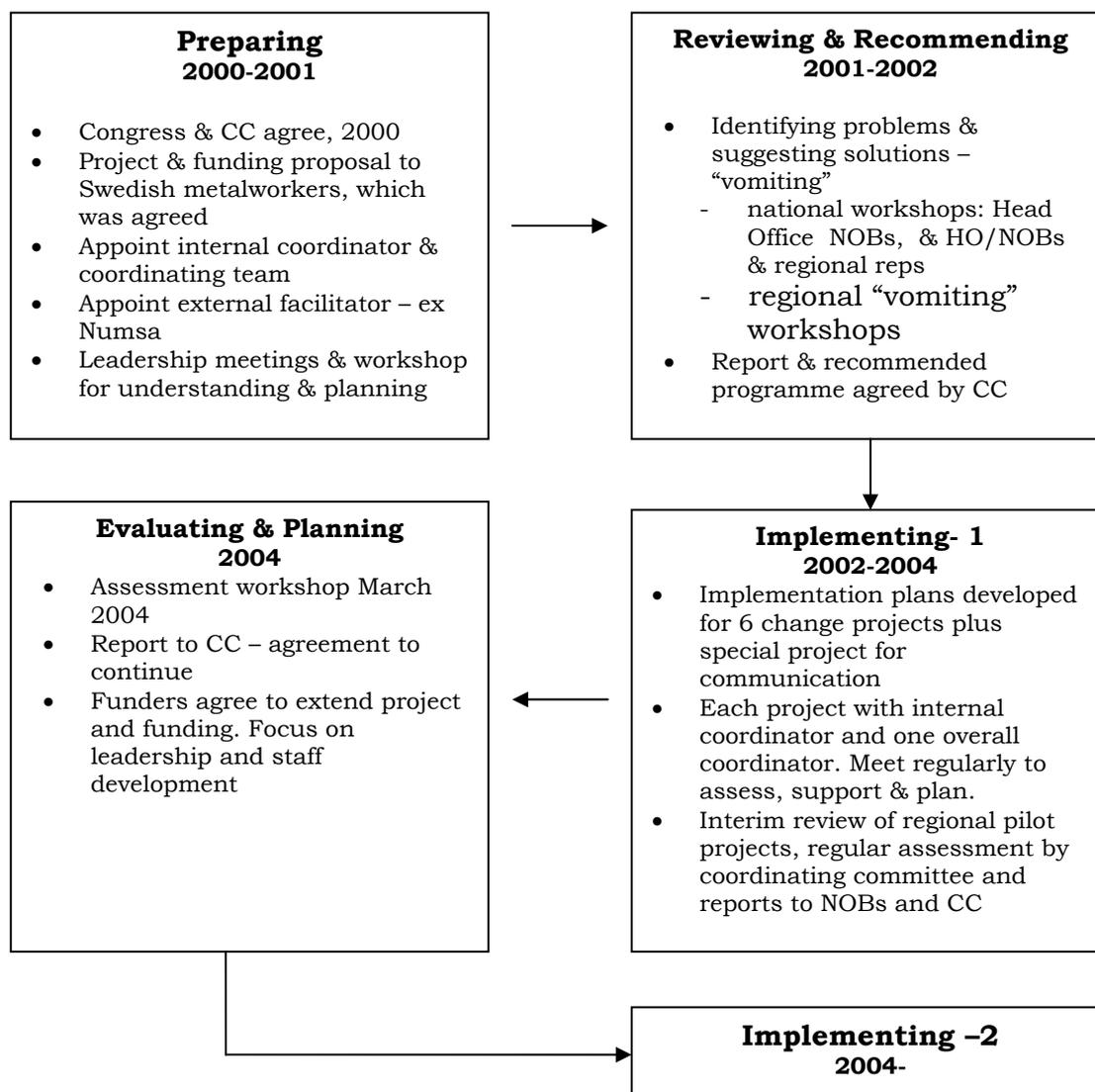- membership is growing (from 69000 to 82 000).

Compiled from interview with P.Ntsobi, DITSELA OD Network minutes various, NALEDI OD workshop, January 2004, additional information from Knowledge Mafane, report to the COSATU 8th National Congress, POPCRU News.

Case Study Two: National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)

NUMSA is a union operating in the engineering, auto, rubber and motor industries. It was formed in the 1980s, from a merger of different unions operating in the sub sectors. The Metal and Allied Workers Union, the major union in the merger, was a founding member of COSATU. NUMSA has around 175 000 members.

In 2000 NUMSA decided to embark on an organizational renewal process. This was not a new idea. There had been many resolutions on organizational issues over the years, which had not been implemented, including a comprehensive plan in 1993. The union felt that it needed to start somewhere and make a focus. There was no immediate crisis in the union, but leadership recognized that unless something was done things could reach breaking point and crisis. There were many problems including lack of staff capacity to deal with new issues, leadership weakness and tensions, loss of membership, poor service, financial problems. There was a need to rebuild the union in the new context. The Union planned carefully for a dedicated, conscious and defined organizational renewal process. It drew in DITSELA and an ex-NUMSA staff member to assist in drawing up a project proposal.

The Process: overview

Preparing
2000-2001

- Congress & CC agree, 2000
- Project & funding proposal to Swedish metalworkers, which was agreed
- Appoint internal coordinator & coordinating team
- Appoint external facilitator – ex Numsa
- Leadership meetings & workshop for understanding & planning

Reviewing & Recommending
2001-2002

- Identifying problems & suggesting solutions – "vomiting"
  - national workshops: Head Office NOBs, & HO/NOBs & regional reps
  - regional "vomiting" workshops
- Report & recommended programme agreed by CC

Implementing- 1
2002-2004

- Implementation plans developed for 6 change projects plus special project for communication
- Each project with internal coordinator and one overall coordinator. Meet regularly to assess, support & plan.
- Interim review of regional pilot projects, regular assessment by coordinating committee and reports to NOBs and CC

Evaluating & Planning
2004

- Assessment workshop March 2004
- Report to CC – agreement to continue
- Funders agree to extend project and funding. Focus on leadership and staff development

Implementing –2
2004-

The Review

Key Problems identified in the Review

- our service to members is very poor
- our organisation in workplaces and in the local is weak
- shopstewards and membership activity and commitment is on the decline
- our membership is declining steadily
- union income is declining, but costs of maintaining our operations and staff are constantly increasing
- our decision making and staff operational structures are inefficient and lack innovative capacity

(Organisational Renewal Programme, Proposals adopted by CC June 2002)

For the review stage the Union used a participatory research approach. It did a problem analysis through a series of workshops nationally and in the regions, starting with national office bearers, secretariat and head office. Staff and worker leaders were involved in the workshops. The idea was to let people speak out. Participants could talk about everything. They had indemnity. These sessions became know as "vomiting sessions". This approach was very important because of the political and organizational tensions in the union.

At the same time the union agreed a grassroots programme known as "ear to the ground", where local meetings were held to give members an opportunity to state their views.

The union appointed an external facilitator- a former NUMSA staff member with long experience in the Union. The union wanted someone neutral, but one who knew the union.

The union also appointed an internal coordinator (with 50% of time allocated to this function) who was responsible for ensuring the workshops took place, reports were produced and information circulated

From information obtained in the workshops, key issues and priorities for change were identified. It was agreed that these would have the largest "ripple effect" in the union. A proposed renewal programme was drawn up, based around six projects. The report was approved at the Central Committee of June 2002.

From formal inception in 2000 to the stage of implementing change, the process took two years. However, organizational renewal is not linear. Some of the decisions of the 2000 Congress were already underway as were other changes. These were incorporated into the renewal plan. For example, improving financial management and cost cutting as well as a project to improve the membership system (MEMs project).

The approach adopted was very important and useful because of the political and organizational tensions in the union. These had intensified at the 2000 National Congress and there were divisions and conflicts in the union. The process included as many worker leaders and staff as possible. Everyone was free to voice out whatever they wanted without fear. This was important in bringing everyone on board and committed to renewal. Also important was the use of an outside facilitator who was neutral but at the same time understood the history and culture of the union, and the issues and problems. However, more could have been done in the "ear to the ground" campaign to involve members and shop stewards.

Implementing OR: actions and achievements

'We were guided by old values of worker control – bring in changes whilst being guided by and take along the element of worker control. There were strong shop floor influences"

The union set up six implementation projects, each with an internal coordinator. In some of the projects external people were brought to assist. These included researchers, technical experts such as the auditing firm KPMG, and ex unionists. A seventh important cross cutting project agreed upon was one to ensure communication and understanding of organizational renewal throughout the union. The idea was to appoint a person responsible for this and to use the NUMSA News and Bulletin. It was noted that "Gender is not a central thrust in the OR programme. There is no focus on this although the intention is there".

Project One: Rebuilding our Local Attack (Regions and Locals)

" We must review and develop our regional strategy and local structures as well as capacity to organize and deliver basic services to members"

Regions and locals were experiencing decline. It was decided that the union needed to rebuild and strengthen locals and regions to improve service to members. This would involve rebuilding structures, reviewing work organisation, building staff and leadership capacity. It was agreed to set up pilot projects in one or two regions to explore how this objective could be achieved.

The first pilot was in the Western Cape, followed by Wits Central, Kwa Zulu Natal and Ekurhuleni. The pilots focused first on reviewing and redesigning structures and allocating staff, together with some staff development. There was less focus on improving organising and delivery of basic services *(Assessment workshop. March 2004*). A "model" for more effective work organisation is emerging. This model can be adapted to the particular circumstances of the regions.

Western Cape: an example
Prior to the pilot project, regional office staff consisted of the regional team- regional secretary, regional organizer, para- legal and education officers- a regional administrator, receptionist and other administrators. In each local an administrator and at least one organizer were located.

During the pilot, the region was reorganized so that all local organizers were relocated to the regional office, except for those in George, 500 km from Cape Town. Each local retained an administrator.

Organisers were then allocated to different units, thus specializing in an area of work. The units are legal, education, organising and collective bargaining (OCB). Locals now routed issues, cases, requests etc through the regional office. The regional secretary had to allocate work to organizers, and more actively manage and plan. Organisers were no longer responsible for specific workplaces, but would be allocated according to their specialization.

Local administrator jobs changed and expanded. They were now expected to actively deal with all members' issues in the locals as a first port of call. They were responsible for ensuring proper referrals to the regional offices. They had to work directly with the local office bearers.

Local office bearers had to take more responsibility for ensuring structures were functioning. Training programmes were run for the para legals/ organizers and for administrators to empower them in their roles.

There were a number of problems and some resistance:
- Long delays in processing issues by the regional office
- Too much time spent on administration rather than strategy
- Regional Secretary and team finding managing difficult
- Shop stewards wanting to cling to "my organizer for my company" or requesting
- a particular organiser
- Shop stewards lacking confidence in the local administrator to give advice, and undermining her.
- Organisers wanting to cling to "my companies and my local"

In the light of these problems which were raised in evaluation sessions facilitated by DITSELA, as well as in constitutional structures and staff forums, the region and systems were reorganized again. The key change came about due to pressure from workers. Each local would now have one organizer, in addition to the administrator. The responsibility of locals was defined:
- procedural agreements in companies
- recruitment of new members
- assisting shop stewards committees to build strong factory structures
- assisting with shop steward elections

In addition, every organizer, including those in the legal unit, was allocated ten strategic companies. Local organisers were allocated ten companies in their locality and regional organisers ten companies across the region. All organizers were required to attend local shop stewards council meetings as allocated by the Regional Secretary.

Whilst there are many shortcomings and much more to do, there is generally positive assessment.. The Organisational Renewal Coordinator noted the following positive achievements:
- The new approach is working. The four regions involved in pilots are settling down. They are enjoying the new way of doing things.
- We are beginning to see a shift in management of the regions. Management styles are shifting. Previously there was a fear for the Regional Secretaries to stand up and manage. Now people are starting to respect them. At the same time worker office bearers are on board and worker control is not being lost. We are going some way to get the balance between managerial efficiency and worker control
- There is more team- work, planning and feedback.
- There is a much clearer demarcation of jobs/roles between locals and regions
- Work is focused
- Staff is motivated. For example, legal officers are "spruced up" and taking their work seriously. They are keeping diaries of their work, reporting back properly, and generally are more effective and efficient. Organisers are handling cases as well in KZN. Administrators are able to give information on the law. It is no longer a case of " waiting for an organizer"
- Regional coordination and management is much better, including much better communication.

However, with rising tensions and possible power struggle, prior to Congress, affecting regions, it is unclear whether the positive progress will be maintained.

Project Two: Consolidate and sharpen our national attack (Organisation & Collective Bargaining)

" We must rebuild and, where necessary, redesign our national organizing and collective bargaining programme"

Union collective bargaining strategy was developed several years ago and needed to be reassessed in the light of industry changes. Collective bargaining structures had become weak and relatively inactive, and there were no longer vibrant national campaigns. There was a need to increase the capacity of the sector coordinators and of research.

It was agreed to set up a research project to evaluate the collective bargaining strategy and develop a new one. Structures should be reviewed with a view to regions and locals playing a stronger role in the national programme. There should be integrated national campaigns, and capacity building.

The union started by initiating the research project on the collective bargaining strategy. It raised funds for this from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES). The research went slowly and the resulting report was not available for the Bargaining Conference in 2004 as planned. This was the main focus of the project.

There was little progress in other areas due to pressure of work, weak coordination and implementation planning.

Project Three: Renew our Structures and Operations

"We must develop and strengthen, and where required, redesign our decision – making, controlling, and operational structures, approaches and practices so that we are more efficient and provide stronger support for our organizing activities and services to members"

The union agreed that it needed to define roles of office bearers, secretaries and staff and set clear objectives, improve team-work and communication, improve union office efficiency and the effectiveness of constitutional structures. There was a need to build the capacity of office bearers and staff who have leadership and management duties. It was recognised that this was a sensitive area. The strategy adopted was to first collect and agree what were the policies, structures, roles, responsibilities of both constitutional and operational structures and to capture these in a booklet for use by leadership and staff to improve the efficiency of their work. The second stage would be to develop a leadership, management and administration development/ training programme. It was hoped that the very process of developing the handbook through discussions with leadership and head office staff, would precipitate some of the desired changes. It is not clear whether or not any positive changes were effected.

An ex- unionist was brought in to assist in preparing the handbook. She collected and reviewed numerous policy documents, interviewed office bearers and heads of departments and compiled a first draft of the handbook. A process for taking this forward was to be agreed. Again, the time frame for the implementation process became lost, and the programme was put on hold until after the Congress.

Project Four: Renew Membership Systems and Finance Management

> *" We must develop our Membership Systems and build our capacity to better manage our finances so that the union is financially stable"*

The union was facing a looming crisis with declining income and rising expenditure. It was implementing a computerized membership system, but there was a lack of clarity on the impact it would have on membership and finance management. It was agreed to investigate the state of finances, future viability of the union, improve cost efficiency as well as ensuring clear programme and deadlines for the membership system project.

The union brought in KPMG, auditors and management consultants, to do an assessment of union viability. This assessment was positive. At the same time various cost cutting and efficiency measures were successfully put in place and finances were "turned around". The union now has a substantial surplus rather than a deficit.

The membership system project made considerable progress, with the assistance of a full time consultant, but the process is much longer than anticipated and clear deadlines not set.

Project Five: Renew Membership Benefits

> *" We must expand the range of NUMSA benefits to membership so that we address new membership needs"*

There is a new strata of better paid members in the union and generally membership needs seem to have changed. Rival unions offer benefits, which attract the "new worker". ' The shift in ideology and the search for status by members means they no longer want to associate with *toyi toyi* and strikes. Providing membership benefits is important in recruiting and retaining members".

An agreed feasibility study on membership benefits was not carried out due to a logistical and staff problems. NUMSA Investment Company is working on a number of projects – one to investigate medical schemes and another to look at providing discounts for members on certain goods and services.

Project Six: Renew our staff development programme

> *" We must improve the conditions of work of staff so that NUMSA can attract and retain motivated and skilled staff"*

In the current context NUMSA struggles to attract and retain motivated and skilled staff. Staff expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of career paths and wages and working conditions. Many older members of staff struggle to work differently or deal with new challenges.

A team was set up and work done on identifying needs, preparing a staff development menu, identifying and contracting education and training providers. Some programmes have been implemented. Some staff conditions have been reviewed and changes made and others are proposed. There are some coordination problems at Head Office with a lack of coordination between education and skills development departments. There is also concern about the slow pace of implementation.

Achievements and Lessons

The Assessment Workshop report says:

"There is overall agreement that the OR Programme has been a positive development in the Union and has been a success. However, we are not at a stage where we could state that NUMSA has completed a comprehensive renewal programme. There has been some progress in all of the project areas agreed upon by the CC in June 2002. The projects are at different stages of development. In many projects the progress is visible. Others have encountered problems and have stalled. None of the projects has completed its work as agreed in the 2002 implementation plan. However, the process cannot be reversed. Rather we must deal with the problems encountered and go forward."

The Coordinator notes that:

"It is difficult to say if union has been strengthened – not fully fledged yet and fully ready for new challenges. There is more to do. We still need to improve our core management functions and to do better in implementing. More is happening in the regions but nationally not much is really taking place. The political tensions and problems are not resolved. There are still two camps in the union".

He further notes the following *lessons learnt* from the process to date:
- It is possible to change a trade union into being efficient and effective without losing worker control.
- We should have gone further in ensuring more membership participation e.g. open meetings, rallies, area meetings. It would have been useful to take leadership to address workers and get their opinions on what we are doing, get their ideas, for example we need to test ideas on benefits with workers.
- The coordinating committee needs to have more direct participation of Central Committee (CC) members to ensure leadership involvement, better information flow and more integration.
- There should be more discussion with shop stewards outside formal structures and workshops
- Commitment of leadership is key to a successful organizational renewal programme
- The process must be as inclusive a process as possible
- You must address the skeptics – don't ignore grumblings. Give them a platform to say what they want.
- Office bearers must bind themselves to decisions. They must make sure there are proper discussions and decisions in constitutional structures, and that decisions are implemented.
- Coordinator of the process should be neutral. S/he must not get involved with different factions/take sides
- The process is slow. How do we deal with this – how do we maintain interest and momentum?
- We need to find a way to balance the expert power of specialists with elected leadership who may be threatened and adopt a " we are in power approach"
- We must find a way to use "experts" and not push them away
- An important influence was the fact that we were able to raise dedicated finance. We could have carried out a programme without this but it would have been limited. Going only through constitutional structures would have meant it would not get sufficient attention.

Compiled from interview with OR coordinator, notes from DITSELA and NALEDI workshops, various NUMSA OR reports, NUMSA report to COSATU Congress, August 2004

Appendix Four : Organisational Renewal in COSATU Affiliates- An Overview, July /August 2004

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
1.NUMSA 175 000 Metal, auto, rubber, motor **Established & stable** **Worker control model**	**"Defined" OR project** Recognised organizational problems & need to change from 1993 – series of non implemented organizational resolutions Decision on OR by 2000 Congress & CC Funded by Swedish Metalworkers 3 years **Implemented & evaluated Phase One** **Continuing implementation & planning for Phase Two**	**Formal Review** Completed in 2002 Participatory 'research' on problems and solutions, through national & regional workshops for staff and Obs. "Vomiting sessions" Clear written assessment & plan External facilitator: ex Numsa /ex DITSELA official working with Coordinator & Team **External/Internal**	6 priorities & implementation projects: • Rebuild locals • Collective bargaining strategy • Leadership & structures • Finance & m/ship system • Member benefits • Staff development *"Changing to become efficient & effective without losing worker control"*	Projects implemented from mid 2002 with uneven but positive progress. Assessment March 2004 Recommended continuation of coordinated OR programme. Implementation continuing, with some "lull" due to forthcoming Congress Awaiting final decision and outcome of funding proposals & Congress decision New implementation plan to be developed	OR Coordinator-experienced staff member with other related functions OR team-coordinators of projects-meets every 6 months to assess & plan Report to GS & Const structures	Project implementation progressed Phase 1 Evaluation completed Continuing implementation

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
2.SAMWU 114 000 Municipal Workers, Water Boards, Municipal services **Established & stable** **Worker Control Model**	**"Integrated" OR programme** Nothing new... Continuous review of state of union & adaptation to confront new problems. Important strategic review workshop held in 1999. An OR plan adopted as guideline- Congress 2003 Internal funding through normal budget **Implementing: Phase One** *"Organic & ongoing"* *"Permanent revolution"*	**No formal review process** Review and proposed OR plan drawn up by Head of Organisation and Development department- drawing on issues identified by constitutional & other processes, including 1999 strategic workshop Clear written assessment and OR plan **Internal process**	8 priority areas: Membership expansion/retention & education, including merger Effective & democratic shop steward leadership Roles &rules of management & FTSS Improving branch functioning (including gender committees) Strengthening provinces Improving national structures Improving skills, capacity & performance of union officials Improving admin including financial	Membership: -sector summit input complete, date set -Research on membership planned -SS Ed ongoing, new modules developed Management/FTSS: -Workshop held with FTSS: information, policy development underway Union officials: -Policies/procedures manual completed & adopted, including PMS -New grading system agreed & working on job evaluation Improving structures: workshops held-progress in clarifying roles Staff skills: WSP submitted Admin/Finance: obs assessing in provinces; nearly fully computerized. To report to Congress 2006	NOBs through Constitutional Structures: NEC drives CEC finalises policy National Organising Forum (NOF) with Educator forum (NEF) acts as think - tank. Led by Head of Organisation & Development epartment	Some progress in most issues as described in Implemen- tation

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
3.SAAPWU 22 000 Farming, plantation &forestry, nursery, fish Unviable & integrating **Worker control model**	**1. Defined OR project** **2. Merger /integration** History of od plans and projects to build union- COSATU, DITSELA, Danish SID project New SID project in 2002- includes planning, advice & funding. On hold until integration with Fawu Decision on merger by COSATU and agreed by Constitutional structures 2003 **Integration in process**	**Formal review** **1. SID project**: Review carried out by independent SID consultant. Interviewed staff, obs & structures. Staff held GMs on issues with members. Review report & recommendations prepared & plan agreed 2. Integration Arising from ongoing assessment by COSATU **External/internal**	1.SID Project Organising to increase membership Improving service & collective bargaining + Building capacity of shop stewards, leadership & staff Restructuring & improving admin 2. Integration Ensure farm workers are organized *"Ensure viable organisation"*	1.SID Project Agreed POA Funding available Staff appointed National workshop held Some training took place Negotiated for project to continue under new Fawu 2. Integration Task team set up- COSATU, Saapawu, Fawu Integration of staff into Fawu nearly complete Working on legalities and agreement Further meeting	1.SID Project Project coordinator Project team, SAAPAWU, SID, DITSELA, COSATU Reporting to constitutional structures 2. Integration Task team Constitutional structures	1. SID project On hold 2. Integration In process since Congress.

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
4.NUM 299 500 Mining, Energy, Construction Building Materials **Established & stable** **Worker Control model**	**"Integrated" OR programme** 1990s took decision to decentralize & change operational structures 1997 Strategic Review leading to 10 year Plan, incorporated realignment Congress 1997 adopted plan & Congress 2003 adopted revised plan Internal funding through normal budget but funds are raised for specific projects **Implementation – Phase Two**	**Formal review 1997 Continuous review thereafter** 1997 team went on 3 day retreat & developed transformation programme. Widely discussed in workshops. Adopted by Congress. Thereafter integrated into Strategic Management of Union & change agreed through constitutional structures **Internal Process**	3 key issues: Building & maintaining strong branch structures Building self contained regions Reviewing national leadership & Head Office Specific current issues: Develop staff & leadership cadres Ensure effective & efficient staff Tightening financial systems Improving service to members Growing & maintaining membership	Regions & branches Ongoing programme of empowerment: Regions: negotiated full time obs on secondment Branches: dealing with agency shop problems. Leadership –extensive education, internal & external Staff – Performance Mgt System in process Membership-Integrated CAWU. Membership growth in Construction Finances- new systems & policies + cost cutting Head Office- Set up strategic management team Set up NEC sub committees Recent changes made to sub structures in regions, and role of H&S and educator officials	NEC & NOBs Supported by Strategic Management Team & strategic meetings involving regions	Set up NEC sub structures Improved on Performance Mgt System for staff Implementing recent decision to abolish separate sub structure conferences and integrate into main structures Implementing a move to make H&S and Education officers in regions into general organizers Other areas on going e.g. finance, development programmes etc.

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
5.MUSA 2000 musicians, music authors, technicians & performers **Emerging**	**Pre-OR** **Building & Merging** Resuscitation of union from 2000 (formed 1994) Affiliated to COSATU 2003 Still understanding the OR process **Merger discussions**	**No formal review**	Merger with PAWE Reviving & rebuilding union Mobilizing artists to organize -recruiting members Representing members with promoters, government etc, & servicing Financing & staffing union	Adopted COSATU resolution on merger. Meetings held to discuss details Hope to complete negotiations with PAWE by Sept 2004 & launch 2005 Once launched new union will develop its objectives & programme	Interim General Secretary & Exco Secretariat to support	All merger developments Increase in membership Recruiting in new areas Admin & staffing base set up Engaging with government & other relevant bodies
6.SAFPU 416 Football players **Emerging**	**Pre -OR** **Building & Surviving** Affiliated to COSATU 2000 Strategic workshop with DITSELA 2003 Dealing with leadership crisis **Crisis handling**	**No formal review**	Handling leadership crisis Collective bargaining Membership awareness & education Financial sustainability	Get meeting together to sort out time frames and then develop a strategic plan		No progress

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
7.SASAWU 8000 Public Servants **Established & stable** **Worker control model (moving to)**	**Integrated OR programme "unrecognized"** Strategic planning workshop with DITSELA in 2000 OR not adopted by union but change process dealing with "bread & butter issues" agreed by Congress 2003 *"We are running with the process that is OR but not called OR"* Internally funded **Implementation : Phase 1**	**No formal review** Constitutional structures engaged in discussions leading to Congress After Congress a Plan of Action for 12 months agreed at NEC Prior to NEC a staff bosberaad **Internal process**	Reduce duplication of decision making Rebuild union from grassroots Recruitment Improve service/case handling Membership benefits Financial management & membership systems	Constitutional amendments to reduce structures – adopted at Congress In process -mapping of membership location/info as basis for building structures & identifying recruitment opportunities New computerized membership system being implemented Working on improving financial management Negotiated with Old Mutual group loan scheme Planning to be done on education, media, new provinces, merger Report to Congress 2006	GS leading & managing process with NOBs and reporting to the NEC	All planning & implementation since the Congress

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
8.SATAWU 79 325 Transport Contract Cleaning Security **Merged from established unions & not fully stable** **Worker control model**	**Defined OR Project** Before merger recognised need for a change process to deal with challenges. Discussions with DITSELA pre merger Merger between TGWU & SARHWU Decision on OR process & OR Review Committee, CEC November 2001 Internal funding **Stalled – planning to revive**	**Formal review** Two stages: Review of constitution-completed Broader review of environment and union -planned Review method to be determined. **Internal/external facilitation to be determined**	For review: Structures Organizational environment Service to members, worker control, cadreship Skills of officials & shop stewards Education and resources Impact of breakaway union *"Building union based on values, traditions & policies"*	Constitutional amendments adopted Congress 2003- reduction of structures without reduction in worker control Plan to start afresh. Reconvene ORC, replan and put flesh on the bones Report to Congress 2006	Organisational Review Committee led by Deputy President and DGS Reporting to CEC	Little progress Except for plan to review
9. SADNU 9000 Nurses in public & private sector **Established & struggling** **Professional moving to w. control model?**	**Pre- OR** Affiliated to COSATU 2002 Focused on aligning with COSATU way of doing things No special OR process **Merger discussions**	**No formal Review**	Realigning structures Building capacity Policy development HIV/Aids Gender Finance & membership systems Merger with Denosa	Constitutional amendments completed & registered Policy conference scheduled HIV/Aids programme Planned meeting on merger	GS & structures	Little progress

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since C. Congress
10.SASBO 59 000 Financial Industry, Banks Insurance **Established & stable** **Business/ Professional model**	**Integrated OR programme** Affiliated to COSATU mid 1990s Was an earlier OR process during time of union internal problems Decision taken in structures to change 3-4 years ago Current process: no written plan or special budget/funding New leadership 2002 Self funding **Implementation** *"OR is a process within our daily work. It is on our menu everyday"*	**Formal review (partial)** Survey of membership by commercial research company – Markinor Formal report prepared Structures & management decided on actions to be taken **External/internal**	Resuscitating, reviving & renewing membership Ensure better service and communication to members Improve member benefits	National organising secretary appointed to monitor organizer work Improved systems of work planning and reporting as well as induction for organizers introduced Recruitment drive – set up recruitment department (mini call center) to follow up members and recruitment leads Provided improved recruitment incentives for staff and members Improved member benefits e.g. tax advice, legal advice Improved legal services Set up internal skills & equity committee	Union management & structures	Appointed National Organising Sec Recruitment center set up Best recruiter incentive scheme

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
11.PAWE 1000 & 315 paid up Actors & performers **Emerging**	**No formal OR** In 2001strategic workshop with DITSELA Change of leadership in Congress 2003 Concentrating on damage control/ crisis management Preparing for merger with Musa **Merger planned**	**No formal review**	Merger key issue In meantime: Coping with change of leadership Getting house in order –damage control & keeping things going Financial sustainability	Adopted COSATU merger resolution Workshop with MUSA planned for July Hope to: Appoint team to check legalities Set dates for merger congress Raise funds Merger not before December 2004	Exco (no full time GS)	None except for merger discussions
12.CWU 30 000 Telkom, PO, Broadcasting, Mobile phones **Established & not fully stable** **Worker control model**	**Defined OR Project** Recognition of new challenges by leadership & decision to review 2001 Investment company funded review process OR report & plan adopted but not implemented. New plan July 2004 **Stalled/ reviving**	**Formal Review** Review completed & report compiled, presented to structures Interviews with staff, members, obs, non members, management Used management consultants – Sediba recommended by Investment Company **External**	Reduce number of structures to enhance info & decision making Poor union management Difficulty in recruiting "new workers"/declining membership Instability in union Inadequate ss education and poor service	Constitutional amendments implemented – Congress 2002- to reduce number of structures New OR plan drawn up & adopted- structures & operations, collective bargaining & organising, staff development, member benefits, membership system & financial management	Team led by president set up for Sediba process. Coordinator - Natal RS Reports to constitutional structures July 04 elected new team, reporting to GS	No progress in implementation New plan adopted by NEC July 04 Crisis-COSATU intervened. CWU as a COSATU project.

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
13.SACCAWU 115 000 Wholesale, retail, catering, tourism, hospitality, finance **Established & not fully stable** **Worker Control model**	**Defined OR Project** Union struggling to cope with changing nature of work, fragmentation of sectors, casualisation, retrenchments + internal weaknesses Congress 2002 took resolution to embark on OR **Stalled – reviving**	**Formal Review planned** Planning workshop facilitated by DITSELA in 2003 Drew up detailed plan for the review process and identified issues. Plan included: 1.design, budget, review tools (questionnaires, interviews & regional workshops – vomiting sessions),reporting, mandates at grassroots, 2 collect info, 3 Report, analyse, recommend 4. Plan implementation 5. Evaluate Planned to use **external**, union friendly facilitator & raise funds Interim process: Focus on one area- service to members Attend meetings & hear views, talk to non members, questionnaire Carried out by **internal** team &self financed	Initial broad categories to guide review process: Service to members Capacity building & education Staff/leadership development, union management, including finances Redefining CB agenda Intervention in policy at tripartite level Recruitment & building structures (including casual workers)	No implementation of original plan but some issues taken up and progressed: Membership system now in place & improvement in finances Financial controls and systems improved Casual worker members increased and many elected as shop stewards Still committed to process –awaiting funding which is looking promising In May 2004 decided to change direction to focus on one area which will "appeal to members" – service. Review will lead to a service delivery strategy.	Set up a review team led by president (now 2nd deputy) to coordinate implementation of review process – including new direction Report to NOBs & to constitutional structures Implementation structure formed to ensure decisions are implemented.	No progress on original plan but some on specific issues as detailed. Decision & plan for new direction focusing on service to members**.**

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
14.POPCRU 82 000 SAPS, Correctional Services, Traffic Depts **Established –& stable** **Worker control model**	**Defined OR Project** From 1997 various attempts / plans for OD processes in union- some with DITSELA Congress 2001 took decision to embark on new OR programme **Implementing.**	**Formal review** Review/survey on current organizational situation was completed. Focus on services offered. Review led by deputy pres. Drew on info from various orgs – DITSELA, NALEDI, TURP. A questionnaire sent to regions/branches & 4000 responses received Strategic session/workshop held in 2002 to look into document arising from review and draw implementation plan- NEC, HODs, NOBs CEC approved plan – June 2002 **Internal**	" A Pocru member is our priority" – OR slogan Key: Improving service to members Structures – duplication & red tape-poor communication flows Management of union Staffing levels & location Improving staff management Improving member benefits	Branches scrapped and locals set up. Roles of structures clarified, including separation of political & admin responsibilities. CEC-Increased representation from regions. HO departments restructured More organizers employed in provinces (NB all staff had to reapply for jobs – completed) Staff management – PMS introduced – still implementing Membership service – service centers in regions and a call center at HO set up New membership benefits introduced Membership increased Needs an evaluation	Deputy president heads process, with NOBs as drivers & reporting to constitutional structures Different tasks/projects delegated to individuals	Ongoing implementation Call center live in July 2004.

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
15. CEPPWAWU 63-65 000 Petrochemical, Consumer chemical, Rubber, Plastic, Glass & ceramics, printing, paper, pulp, furniture, woodworking **Merged from established unions & not fully stable** **Worker control model**	**Defined OR process** After merger in 1997 was a review of union and bosberaad held. Implementation stalled, although some issues taken forward. Decision in 2002 Congress to revive and develop comprehensive OR strategy. Framework/strategy agreed NEC 2003 Internally funded **Review in process**	**Formal review** Review process now underway – early stages. Facilitated by SACP leader on one day per week basis – no charge Interviews, discussion document for regions leading to discussion in Nov 2004 & Congress 2005 Build on previous bosberaad but note changes since then **External/internal**	Review covers: Political overview Organisational overview- workplace restructuring & training of shop stewards, skills development, HO coordination Administrative & financial overview Improving staff capacity and effectiveness: training & HR systems. Skills audit Shop steward & leadership capacity	Work started on HR- job descriptions. Some work delegated to departments e.g. education Some things will be implemented along the way. Ongoing work/progress: Membership system improvement Reviving gender structures-workshop held	Committee to drive the process includes Education, C. Bargaining, Secretary, President & independent facilitator. To meet monthly Report to constitutional structures	Adoption of OR framework Staff bosberaad Setting up of OR structure Starting to implement the review stage**.**
16. SAMA 17 000 Private & public sector doctors Established & stable **Professional model**	**No formal OR** Sama formed 1998 from number of professional associations. Union activity only over last two years. Affiliated to COSATU 2003. Transformation process driven by internal imperatives. **Adapting…**	**No formal review** Ongoing assessment through structures	Internal political transformation & paradigm shift To be part of broader democratic process Engage /make impact with govt on health care Assist COSATU on health care issues	Jacked up admin in line with needs Built understanding of leadership (board) Re political environment Engaging with government Become embedded in COSATU	Secretary General & board	

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
17. DENOSA 63 000 Nurses in public & private sector who are registered or registerable with the SA Nursing Council **Established & stable** **Professional model**	**Integrated programme** Denosa formed from merger of professional associations & registered as union 1997 Strategic plan focused on building unity. New strategic plan 2002 to focus on purpose Process in motion before looking at COSATU resolution. Found union strategic plan/process to be fitting in with COSATU guidelines. Internally funded **Implementing..**	**Formal review - Strategic planning** Through strategic planning including environmental scan. Facilitated by management consultants. Following this: review of membership (customer) needs by Old Mutual review of HR by consultants **External**	HR management – improving staff retention Empowering leadership Surveying and responding to membership needs Admin & finance improvement – including membership records & better budgeting Recruitment Capacity building for shop stewards, leadership Improve internal & external communication Restructuring HO, delegation and reporting lines Merger with Sadnu (not part of SP)	Restructured HO with some changes still to implement Set up one training & development unit for professional and union education Planning programme & training trainers for provinces Improved information sharing through new electronic international bulletin Employed national organizer to drive and monitor recruitment. Still planning Developing membership system Set up finance & membership in one unit Gender coordinators in provinces	Executive General Secretary & structures	Ongoing implementation of plan. Most restructuring completed by time of Congress Since Congress: HR policy, job description process underway Education & recruitment planning process Electronic international bulletin Work on membership system

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
18. FAWU 85 000 verified Food & beverage processing, agribusiness, fishing **Established, not fully stable** **Worker control model**	**Integrated OR programme** Attempts made since 1997 to respond to challenges & develop new strategies. Restructuring process 1999 2002 programme developed as part of ongoing union responses to challenges Not part of COSATU OR programme Not implemented Considering new OR process **Stalled & merging**	**No formal review (strategic plan)** 2002 strategic workshop to identify strengths & weaknesses (SWAT) & develop programme with leadership, HODs etc Internally facilitated **Internal**	Identified in 2002 process: Worker control Improving service Address membership decline & recruiting Improving participation of worker leaders in structures Campaign for bargaining councils Better management of legal issues Implement education plan – shop stewards, leaders, staff development Improve admin & finances Empower women Integration with Saapawu (not in original plan)	Plan not implemented- progress in some areas: Finance improving – raised subs ceiling which helps cash flow problem Education dept raising funds – expect roll out soon Saapawu integration concluded at branch level, regions in July/Aug, staff integrated. Process to be concluded October There is a view that need to start again with a well defined & designed OR process in line with COSATU guidelines and facilitated by COSATU, DITSELA or NALEDI.	Education was coordinating. Reporting to structures Integration – constitutional structures	Little progress except towards integration

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
19. SADTU *(Interview October 2004)* 218 000-220 000 Public and Private Primary and Secondary Schools, Technikons and Teacher Training Colleges, University Academic Staff **Established & stable** **Worker control model/ professional**	**Defined OR Project** Discussion paper on OR tabled at 2002 Congress but not discussed (developed by Research Officer) Agreement to embark on OR programme NALEDI requested to carry out research into 3 areas **Review/research in progress**	**Formal Review /research** Original overview prepared by union research officer Current review focused on research in to effectiveness of structures NALEDI contracted to carry out detailed research. Involves interviewing leaders, provincial leaders/ shop stewards, members and focus groups. Want to hear views of members. Additional research sub contracted to CEPD **External**	Issues identified in original document: Organising, recruitment & retention of members Trade union & political education Professional development Assessment of union structures, organizational model & possible realignment Role of regions/ strong branches Gender equity Organisational links Current focus: Effectiveness of structures Impact of union on public policy Potential in higher education sector	Research into effectiveness of structures underway	OR commission led by Assistant General Secretary , includes Provincial Secs and NALEDI	Research project agreed and implementing

Union	OR Background & Status	Organisational Review & Planning	Issues	Implementation & future plans	Leading & Coordinating	Progress since COSATU Cong
20.NEHAWU *(no interview)* 234 607 State, Health, Education and Welfare **Established , unstable** **Worker control model**	**Defined OR Project** A five- year plan developed in 1997. 5 year plan & OD strategy adopted by 1998 Congress Review conducted. Workshops held to thrash out possible solutions to problems identified – head office and regions. Some changes were made as a result of the review & plan Formal programme was abandoned Renewed process CC Jan 2003. DITSELA asked to assist. **Stalled/reviving**	**Formal Review** Conducted by Olive OD&T – NGO specializing in OD Initial review-interviews with national obs and ho staff Teams/od structures set up/ realigned Thereafter provincial audits & workshops Final report not completed**.** **External/internal** *Info from COSATU report & SALB article + DITSELA*	*Original process:* Structures Role of office bearers Worker control HO reorganization – Service centers & departments Review of policies Capacity building *Reported to COSATU Congress:* Conclude launch of new branches Strengthen regions Stabilise HO service centers Financial crisis Resolve problems of funeral scheme Focus on public sector restructuring	Constitutional amendments made – clarifying roles and setting up new structures Documents on role of obs & worker control Established HO service centers – improved management capacity New policies developed e.g. staff & financial management, education, organising and CB Agreed to start new process building on old – 1 provincial workshop with DITSELA 2004 Internal tensions, power struggle. Congress 2004 change of leadership and resolution on merger with SAMWU	NEC sub committee on OD set up- never functioned. Thereafter driven by NEC but with standing committees set up to support the OD process and to make recommend -ations to the NEC	Plan to revive. Agreed on DITSELA support 1 workshop held Focus on "restoring" the union. Other?

21.SACTWU 112 608 (stop order & 126 900 total Garment, Textile Prod Wool Processing & Trade, Leather & Footwear, Knitting, Tanning, Woolpulling Fellmongering, Canvas & Ropeworking, Laundry, Dyeing &Dry-cleaning, Farming, Retail, Commercial &Distributive Trade of Textile, Clothing & leather **Established & stable** **Worker control model**	**Integrated OR programme** 1999 Congress initiated a wide- ranging POA to challenge turbulence caused by trade liberalization and globalisation. Deep process of organizational review in place…this is an ongoing process with annual census, audit and reviews Congress sets framework for all union activities for 3 years OR as a tool to ensure implementation of POA **Implementing…**	**Ongoing review** Annual census of union covering range of categories and a comparison is made over time & between regions Policy review sessions in NEC s – strategic agenda over 3 meeting cycle Congress review & assessment in 2004 **Internal** *Information from COSATU Congress Report, SACTWU Secretariat Report to Congress Sept 2004, e-mail responses to questions (Nov 2004)*	POA includes 9 areas: Recruitment Save jobs-campaigns Benefit members e.g. through collective bargaining, member benefits Build equality (gender) & international solidarity Modernise SACTWU e.g. case management systems, ICT Build skills Reach out beyond workplace e.g. HIV/Aids awareness, Matric winter schools Specific OR focus: Improving service to members, case management, coordination & management of activities & staff, better planning	Annual census of regions x 3 Annual staff skills audit Strategic budgeting process in place Recruitment drive – Project membership-successfully recruited 48 620 members & prevented decline Monthly reports from staff & shop stewards & monitoring of service Integrated bargaining councils, improved conditions, compliance order strategy for sweat shops Buy local campaign and pressure on retailers	Constitutional structures Reporting to NEC & to Congress	Ongoing implementation Congress assessment