

NALEDI Organisational Renewal Programme

The State of COSATU Affiliates:

The Survey Questionnaire Report

Janet Munakamwe

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6th Floor COSATU House
1 Leyds Street, Braamfontein
Johannesburg

Tel.: (011) 403-2122

Fax: (011) 403-1948

E-mail: liesl@naledi.org.za

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THE STATE OF COSATU AFFILIATES

1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of the study was to review and establish the state of COSATU in terms of its strengths and weaknesses. A questionnaire was administered to assess the current structures for both the Federation and its affiliates as part of the broader need to achieve organisational development.¹ The major intention was to consolidate on the strengths and implement relevant intervention strategies to effectively address the weaknesses. Further, the data gathered will form part of the agenda of the COSATU Congress to be held in September 2009 and shall inform the 2015 plan. At a broader scale, through an analysis of COSATU's organisational development, this study contributes to the field of unions' organisational development across the globe. In addition, it provides possible policy recommendations to COSATU which could be adopted by other federations in other countries. NALEDI's Organisational Renewal programme was responsible for analysing the information, producing, and distributing to all relevant parties, a synthesised report for consideration by the CEC. COSATU's Organising Department assisted at various stages of the project.

1.1 The organisational renewal process²

Since the September Commission Report in 1997, and with subsequent COSATU Congresses, COSATU and its affiliates have committed to a programme of Organisational Renewal. This aims to ensure that every affiliate has the means and resourcing in place to achieve the following five goals:

- i. To provide excellent service to members in terms of collective and individual cases, political and labour-relations education, managing pension funds and other schemes.
- ii. To maintain internal democracy through regular and well-attended constitutional meetings, support for shop-stewards, and well-defined and effective report-back systems.
- iii. To sustain an effective recruitment drive, both in terms of reaching new members and in terms of fulfilling COSATU's long-standing mandate of "one industry – one union."

¹ See Orr (2006). 'The State of COSATU' in *Labour Bulletin*. Vol.8 No.1. Johannesburg: NALEDI

² See Denga (2003). Building Effective Union Service Delivery. *The Results of a Survey of Four Affiliates*. Johannesburg: NALEDI

- iv. To support federation initiatives, especially policy engagements and campaigns.
- v. To maintain international solidarity.

1.2 Summary of Key findings

- The study has revealed that the Federation provides adequate service to most of its affiliates except for notable shortfalls in education, recruitment, organisational and research/policy. Nonetheless, a few smaller affiliates are totally disgruntled in terms of the support they get from the Federation with one union rating all assessed areas as “poor” throughout.
- Regrettably, the maintenance of internal democracy is lacking as there is poor attendance at constitutional meetings, though affiliates still maintain effective mandating and report-back systems for collective bargaining.
- Little has been done in terms of fulfilling COSATU’s long-standing mandate of “one industry – one union.”
- Inadequate data has been provided in terms of affiliates support to federation initiatives, especially policy engagements and campaigns. The Federation and its affiliates should be applauded however, for their strong policies on international solidarity.
- One major weakness that has been noted is that of poor record-keeping, both on membership and financial matters by most affiliates. This could be attributed to the hiring of inappropriately qualified personnel in a bid to save financial resources, whilst it may also be due to weak systems and a generally poor culture of record-keeping in the trade union environment. If this is not closely monitored, the Federation’s membership as well as financial records would be negatively and indirectly affected.
- Another key issue that COSATU has to address is that of perpetual under representation of women in top leadership positions of affiliates.
- From a standpoint of organising and recruitment, lack of resources and personnel to co-ordinate recruitment efforts has been cited as the principal hindrance to affiliates’ recruitment campaigns. Consequently, the federation is directly affected as the affiliates are the basic building- blocks of the mother body’s membership. A handful of cases of union rivalry among affiliates within and outside COSATU have also been accused of impeding recruitment drives.
- On the same issue, age and high levels of education among the current workforce provide new challenges in recruitment. The study has therefore proposed that special programmes be set aside that are specifically meant for the ‘young worker’ so as to attract them to join the union. Be that as it may, the problem of high levels of unemployment here in South Africa should not be underestimated as this impacts negatively on union membership.
- Finally, flexible employment relations such as casualisation, out-sourcing and labour broking have been noted as common challenges that are faced by affiliates

in this global era. This affects both the numerical and political strength of affiliates given that they are not represented throughout the workforce in their sectors.

1.3 Research Methodology

1.3.1 Research design

The qualitative research approach, also known as the phenomenology approach, as opposed to the scientific quantitative approach, was used to conduct the research through the medium of a questionnaire. The approach seeks to understand and explain a phenomenon rather than search for external cause or fundamental laws. Initially, a questionnaire was administered to all COSATU affiliates, twenty-one in total³. Only thirteen unions managed to respond in the first phase which prompted the need for a follow-up through face-to-face interviews by NALEDI with unions which had failed to provide feedback. In order to complement and substantiate the above mentioned method, a review of documentary evidence for COSATU policies such as those on gender was done. Data gathered through the questionnaire was captured in excel and thematic analysis was employed to analyse the provided information.

1.3.2 Population

The population target was all 21 COSATU affiliates nationwide⁴. Specific union departments namely: the Secretariat, Human Resources, Finance, Organising and Recruitment, Education, Policy and Research had to make input into the various sections of the questionnaire. Most of the head offices are concentrated in Johannesburg within Braamfontein and the CBD area which meant easier accessibility for the researcher during the follow-up process.

1.3.3 Limitations of the study

- **Time constraints:** The amount of time awarded for follow-up was inadequate. Also, this was wrongly timed as most affiliates were busy rounding up their activities for 2008 such that most General Secretaries were out of reach.
- **Constrained Budget:** The financial resources set aside would not allow for movement to conduct face-to-face interviews with those affiliates whose headquarters are outside Johannesburg; that is those located in Bloemfontein and Cape Town.
- **Lack of access to inventory records and financial books:** though the research was commissioned by COSATU, the researcher was not mandated to get access to certain important union documents for verification purposes. This constraint affected the authenticity and reliability of the data provided by affiliates. For instance some union respondents gave figures from their heads during face-to-face interviews.

³ See Annex 1 for the list of COSATU affiliates

⁴ COSATU affiliates head offices are concentrated in two main provinces namely Gauteng and Western Cape. Some affiliates have provincial offices in all the nine regions of South Africa.

1.3.4 Sample size

Purposive sampling aimed at soliciting rich data for a deeper understanding of the affiliates was employed⁵. Using this particular technique, all COSATU affiliates qualified to be part of the research.

1.3.5 The Questionnaire

As a research instrument, the questionnaire sought to understand trends across the affiliates in terms of the seven areas outlined below. Through the questionnaire, strengths and weaknesses of affiliates including that of the federation were brought to light. As mentioned before, the data gathered has to feed into the agenda for 2009 COSATU Congress. Lastly, the federation intends to re-launch its recruitment drive and the input from this questionnaire would be of great significance.

Specifically, the questionnaire sought information on the following areas:

- **Indicators of functioning level and context**
 - Membership and level of organisation in the industry
 - Nature of sectors and employers
 - Bargaining trends
 - Recruitment

 - **Management and resourcing**
 - Meetings of constitutional structures
 - Shop steward support systems
 - Frequency of shop steward elections
 - Total staff and budgets

 - **Recruitment**
 - Achievements
 - Systems
 - Funding

 - **Education and media**
 - Service to members
 - Staffing and funding
-

⁷ See Neuman, L.W. (1997). Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (3rd ed.) Toronto: Allyn and Bacon

➤ **Sectoral engagements**

➤ **Support for COSATU**

- Participation in CEC, CC and locals
- Participation in engagement with government, MLC and NEDLAC
- Support from COSATU around education, media, policy issues and organising

➤ **International solidarity activities**

1.3.6 Responses

Only thirteen unions managed to respond in the first phase of which it was noted that CEPPWAWU did not respond at all. For those affiliates who managed to respond, regrettably some were selective in terms of which questions to respond to. In the second phase, all the unions based in Gauteng Province (Johannesburg and Pretoria) except for SASFU and CWU managed to provide missing information. SAMWU, though based in Cape Town, also managed to supply outstanding data through their President who is stationed at their satellite office in Johannesburg. By the time this report was written only those unions other than SAMWU based in Cape Town (SACTWU, FAWU, and PAWUSA) still had outstanding information. Adequate data was provided by SADNU which is based in Bloemfontein.

1.4 A brief note on COSATU

“COSATU is a classic example of an organised formation that does not wait to be invited but takes an initiative in intervening in processes that affect the lives not only of its members but South African citizens broadly” (Sinono, 1998)⁶. The federation represents South Africa’s poor and marginalised majority who form part of the working class⁷. However, as mentioned elsewhere in this report, there are increasing numbers of informalised workers that are not unionised.

COSATU is a federation of unions comprising of 21 affiliates spread across South Africa. Formed in 1985, the federation has a long standing history of militancy and defiance against the apartheid rule. Indeed, labour in conjunction with the liberation movement, the African

⁶ Malizo Sinono was the then CWU KwaZulu Natal deputy Provincial Chairperson in 1998. His article entitled “Let’s take our destiny into our hands” was published in the Shop steward of April May 1998. Vol. 7; No. 3

⁷ Refer to the Tripartite booklet published recently in preparation for the elections entitled “DEFEND OUR MOVEMENT. Advance the gains of Polokwane! Expose and Isolate the Black DA!

National Congress (ANC) played a significant role in creating an egalitarian South African society, actively participating in the transformation project. During the democratisation process, the federation as part of the Tripartite Alliance made sure that the Constitution and laws safeguard workers' rights to fair labour standards, employment equity, better health & safety standards, and skills development. COSATU has also been at the forefront of denouncing neo-liberal policies which were 'blind' to workers' rights. Today, the Federation is expected to play a radical role in society by:

“advancing its transformative trade unionism through anti-capitalist struggles and contributions towards deepened democracy that is reflected in outcomes that advance working class struggle for socialism” (Orr 2006:3)

However, the federation's efforts in challenging capitalism are uneven. Now that apartheid is over, the federation is not expected to relax but has to fight contemporary neo-liberalism and the working class' worst enemy: capitalism. Above all, the federation should ensure that democratic principles prevail and are entrenched within the working class and the South African society as a whole.

The federation's alliance with ANC has provided it with a leverage to engage the state and negotiate on behalf of the working class. At the same time, COSATU is committed to protecting the hard-won workers rights and is committed to developing as well as implementing the policies needed to defeat unemployment, poverty and inequality. In fact, COSATU can only achieve this through its affiliates from which its membership is drawn. This therefore implies that close monitoring of affiliates be done so that policies are implemented and that the interests of the working class are advanced.

2 SECTORS

2.1 *Nature of Sectors and Employers*

COSATU affiliates represent a broad spectrum of industries ranging from the public sector to the private sector, including manufacturing, mining/engineering and the services industry⁸. Most affiliates define their scope by the industry that they organise, since COSATU as a federation is based on industrial unionism. Of note is the fact that some unions like SADNU, DENOSA, POPCRU, and SADTU are defined in terms of occupation, either in practice or by Constitution. In some instances, such as in the case of SAMWU and NEHAWU, the nature of employer defines the union's scope.

The data provided clearly demonstrates that the principle of “one industry, one union” is systematically undermined by public sector affiliates. For instance, there are three health

⁸ Both the public and private sectors encompass the following in their scope mining, agriculture, communications, postal and courier, transport, security, entertainment, broadcasting, petroleum, chemical, sawmill and forestry, pharmaceutical, plastics and rubber industry, soccer, music, cleaning, military, finance, banking, state administration, water and local governance, clothing, textile, leather, wholesale and retail, allied, correctional services, police services, social services, metal and engineering, motor industry, auto-tyre and rubber; construction, energy, food and beverage processing

unions that are affiliated to COSATU and are servicing the same members namely; NEHAWU, DENOSA and SADNU. This could be viewed as duplicating efforts rather than combining resources together to fight other rival non-COSATU unions. Some other examples of rivalry that can be cited are those of NEHAWU/PAWUSA and SADNU/DENOSA. The irony in all the above mentioned cases is that both rival unions belong to COSATU which automatically qualifies them to be “sisters” who should at anytime unite and ‘funnel’ ample resources towards servicing their membership. The reluctance of unions serving within the same industry to merge may be attributed to territorial and power struggles.

The principal employers come from the public sector, mining, agriculture, and metal industry, wholesale/retail and local government. It has been noted that certain public sector unions tend to cover across all government employees. This has stimulated debate concerning the scope or sectors that one particular union is expected to cover. In fact, there are a number of issues arising from the choice of industrial unionism and scope and demarcation. For instance, with increasing outsourcing and subcontracting there is a proliferation of unions in one workplace, many of which are COSATU affiliates. This raises serious questions about worker unity, given that it is often the desire of workers in the same workplace to be members of the same union, and this would make sense as a way of building a unified and coherent front. However, issues of scope stemming from industrial unionism and from bargaining forums do not allow for this. This is an issue which needs to be debated and confronted by COSATU.

3 MEMBERSHIP TRENDS AND DEMOGRAPHICS

3.1 Membership trends⁹

3.1.1 Membership by year

A trend analysis was carried out for the 5 year period from 2004 to 2008. The following affiliates did not provide adequate information as follows:

SACTWU	-	did not provide any data for all the years
CWU	-	did not provide data for 2004 and 2005
CWUSA	-	did not provide data for 2004 to 2006

⁹ For data on membership trends for all the affiliates, please refer to Tables provided in the Appendices Section.

Table 1: Affiliate Annual Membership Figures from 2004 to 2008¹⁰

Union	Year				
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
CWU			25083	24218	27672
CEPPWAWU	66541	59212	60700	63827	63212
SAFPU	341	448	557	557	
CWUSA				680	1090
SATAWU	88837	88837	133472	133472	133472
SASFU	5940	6200	6150	6300	
SASBO	57439	60379	62062	64416	65237
SASAWU	11771	9436	8497	8182	7832
SAMWU	±114127	±114127	±114127	±118973	±118973
SAMA	16024	16187	16277	16358	17115
SADTU	200146	219191	220882	230574	233784
SADNU	9172	9287	9265	9338	9244
SACTWU					
SACCAWU	107553	128520	128520	128520	147488
POPCRU	84994	90491	100310	105090	121380
PAWUSA	19239	19113	16569	15876	17418
NUMSA	174212	216808	216808	216808	
NUM	262809	262846	269849	274520	308665
NEHAWU	180155	185144	205716	214850	219613
FAWU	86000	106000	114000	116000	117600
DENOSA	53222	57997	57043	64010	66174

¹⁰ It is worth noting that some affiliates have provided exactly the same membership figure for 2-3 years in a row. Clearly this raises suspicions about the accuracy of the data, given that it is almost impossible to retain exactly the same number of members over such a period.

Notwithstanding the above, the following trends are discernible:

- With 2004 as the base year, membership grew by an average of 23.40% or 333,440 new members from a membership of +/- 1,538,522 to 1,899,634.
- Annual growth did not follow any discernible trend as follows:

YEAR	Growth rate	New members
2005	7%	111,701
2006	7%	115,664
2007	3%	46,682
2008	5%	87,065

- The table below gives a summary of the five affiliates at the top in terms of membership numbers for the years 2004 and 2008. Four affiliates at the top maintained their respective rankings while SACCAWU (with a total membership of 147 488 from 128 520 in 2007) replaced SAMWU (with a total of 118 973 from exactly the same figure in 2007)¹¹ as the number five in 2008. Over the 5 year period, NUM and SADTU grew by an average of 17% while NEHAWU and NUMSA grew by 22% and 24% respectively.

Table 2: Affiliates with Highest Membership Growth 2004-2008

RANK	AFFILIATE	MEMBERSHIP: 2004	RANK	AFFILIATE	MEMBERSHIP: 2008
1	NUM	262,809	1	NUM	308,665
2	SADTU	200,146	2	SADTU	233,784
3	NEHAWU	180,155	3	NEHAWU	219,613
4	NUMSA	174,212	4	NUMSA	216,808
5	SAMWU	114,127	5	SACCAWU	147,488

3.1.2 Membership by sector

It is beyond doubt that the largest sector in the affiliates is the public sector, which incorporates municipalities, teachers, health workers, police and civil servants, with numbers estimated at upwards of 700,000 (+/-36%) members. Mining accounts for almost 13% at upwards of 245,000 members. Other significant sectors include wholesale and retail (+/- 100,000 members) and food and processing (+/-82,000 members).

¹¹ However, the membership figure for SAMWU may not be accurate, given that it is highly unlikely that the union remained with exactly the same number of members over this period.

3.1.3 Membership by race and gender

Table 3: Membership by gender for 2008

Union	Male	Female
CWU	17545	10118
CEPPWAWU	52586	13244
SAFPU	--	--
CWUSA	785	565
SATAWU	106314	21396
SASFU	--	--
SASBO	20138	35115
SASAWU	5324	4565
SAMWU	--	--
SAMA	11509	5541
SADTU	40%	60%
SADNU	1401	7843
SACTWU	--	--
SACCAWU	45%	55%
POPCRU	37306	87621
PAWUSA	38%	62%
NUMSA	--	--
NUM	277795	30870
NEHAWU	86032	133603
FAWU	--	--
DENOSA	5259	60920

The responses were not adequate to compute a representative distribution of members by race. Most affiliates simply ignored the question on race. NUMSA gave 0.1% as the proportion of whites in the union while NUM gave 5% or 15,000 members as coloured.

Regarding gender, the ratio is in the region of 65%:35% in favour of males – refer to the weighted average table of the five affiliates with the highest membership in 2008 below:

Table 4: Gender Breakdown for Affiliates with Highest Membership 2008

2008 TOP 5 weighted average			
	Total	males	females
NUMSA	216,808	60%	39%
SADTU	233,784	40%	60%
NEHAWU	219,613	39%	61%
SACCAWU	147,488	45%	55%
NUM	208,665	90%	10%
TOTALS	1,026,358	65%	35%

The results demonstrate that unions' gender representation is dependent upon the sectors that they organise. For service sectors like education, health, hotel and catering, there appears to be a greater number of female members as compared to males. Considering the above table, the male /female statistics provided could pose as indicators regarding specific sectors the respective unions organise. Likewise, male domination occurs in the mining, construction and manufacturing sectors. Based on such observations, we can deduce that affiliates such as SADTU, NEHAWU and SACCAWU are female dominated whereas NUM and NUMSA are male-dominated. NUM's female to male ratio of 1 to 9 respectively reflects the significantly unequal gender employment ratio in mining.

3.1.4 Membership by age

Table 5: Estimated Union Membership by Age

	Union	<i>Estimated**</i> Share of members aged under 30 yrs (%)	Share of workers in industry aged under 30 yrs (%)
1	CWU	--	--
2	CEPPWAWU	2.87	5
3	SAFPU	75	
4	CWUSA	50	75
5	SATAWU	33	50
6	SASFU	10	
7	SASBO	33	75
8	SASAWU	--	--
9	SAMWU	--	--
10	SAMA	18	20

11	SADTU	10	10
12	SADNU	33	10
13	SACTWU	10	10
14	SACCAWU	33	33
15	POPCRU	33	33
16	PAWUSA	20	
17	NUMSA	75	10
18	NUM	10	33
19	NEHAWU	33	50
20	FAWU	33	33
21	DENOSA	6.6	

**** Please note that these figures are only estimates provided by unions**

Information on this variable was only collected on the below 30 years age group. According to the data at hand, this group constitutes about 26% (+/-500,000 members). This could be a significant pointer to the extent of the unemployment situation in the country as a whole¹². The Labour force survey of 2004 noted that 41% of working age people in South Africa are unemployed. A more recent study by NALEDI revealed that:

“young people in the age category 15-34 are more likely to be unemployed new entrants (1.7 million) while for the middle- aged and old people (1.2 million) , job loss is likely to be the reason for unemployment “ (NALEDI 2009:13).

The above statement could partly explain the reasons why affiliates have a few young workers as members¹³. Despite claims by economists that 400, 000 jobs have been created between September 2007 and 2008, South Africa’s rate of unemployment has however increased. This decline in labour absorption rate according to NALEDI (2009:5) could be attributed to the collapse of the major economies as well as global recession being experienced currently since the year 2008. Affiliates are therefore encouraged to make interventions in as far as job creation, employment, and organising of young workers is concerned.

Of the total number of those employed in both formal and informal economy, young workers constitute a proportion of 47% and 48%¹⁴ respectively. These figures mirror a low labour absorption rate which also directly affects unions. The distribution of these workers in various affiliates is quite interesting ranging from the lowest penetration of 2.87% at

¹² Unemployment has been defined by the ILO as the “extreme situation of total lack of work”. Stats SA, November,(2008:10)cited in NALEDI (2009) The Annual Report on Bargaining (2009). “Collective Bargaining At a Time of Economic Crisis”.

¹³ See Frye, I. (1996). *Employment and Recent Trends* in Policy Bulletin. Vol. 8 No. 1. <http://www.naledi.org.za>

¹⁴ Statistics derived from calculations done using figures provided by Stats SA

CEPPWAWU, through 33% for 7 affiliates (SASBO, SATAWU, SADNU, SACCAWU, POPCRU, NEHAWU, and FAWU), with 50% at CWUSA and capping at 75% in NUMSA and SAFPU.

Other than the high rate of unemployment, lower concentration of young members to a union like CEPPWAWU could be explained in terms of sectoral jobs involved. Equally important is the fact that the union is basically involved in more traditional scientific factory jobs like chemical engineering which demand extensive knowledge in chemistry as an academic subject. Unfortunately, the current young and enthusiastic workforce is more attracted to 'fancy' jobs like Information Technology (IT), artists or banking as opposed to traditional jobs like teaching and nursing. Nonetheless, the fact that some of these workers especially artists might be operating in the informal economy should not be over-emphasised.

Though NUMSA organises in a traditional sector predominantly automotive, it has the highest number of young workers. The reason could be because the jobs are relatively well-paid such that young workers are attracted to the sector. According to NUMSA, this is also the result of an aggressive recruitment policy by employers and the fact that the entry level for workers in the sector has been raised by stealth. At the same level as NUMSA is SAFPU, which because of the nature of its sector (football players) has a stipulated and regulated age group that is supposed to be recruited for playing soccer.

FAWU, though it organises in one of the oldest sectors, agriculture, still has got a fair number of young workers as its members. This could be explained partly by the fact that it is an easy sector to enter and requires a lower level of skills in most cases. Usually, cases of child labour are rampant in the agricultural sector, where children even below the age of ten are forced to work on farms in order to earn a living. The use of young children under 15 years is actually in conflict with the BCEA and the South African' Constitution; Section 28(1) (e) and (f). Not only are the children exploited but they also miss the opportunity for skills development such that they are forced to struggle within the vicious poverty cycle at a very tender age.

3.1.5 Education (and skill) levels of membership

In its broad sense, education refers to:

“ any act or experience that has a formative effect on the mind, character, or physical ability of an individual. In its technical sense education is the process by which society, through schools, colleges, universities, and other institutions, deliberately transmits its

cultural heritage--its accumulated knowledge, values, and skills--from one generation to another”¹⁵

Education is acquired either formally or informally. With formal education, different stages are involved and these include pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary. However, the focus of the study was on the share of membership with tertiary education and the skills level of members. The knowledge of these factors is necessary for affiliates to be able to protect their workers from the threat of the “reserve army’ within the labour market. In addition to that, affiliates would have the platform to bargain for the right to education or skills development on behalf of their membership. In contrast, Frye (2006) argues that despite conventional knowledge that lack of education and training leads to unemployment, the trends have shifted as “unemployment has increased even for people with degrees and diplomas” (Frye 2006:9). In addition to addressing issues of skills development, affiliates and COSATU have to deal with a massive challenge of unemployment. They should therefore engage strongly with the government so as to come up with strong policies pertaining to job creation within the sectors they represent.

Contrary to the above statement, according to NALEDI (2009:14), education and skills are the principle pre-requisites for entering and remaining in the labour market. Though this argument might not apply to other sectors like domestic work, agriculture, cleaning or security, it however gives some basic guidelines on the expectations of the labour market. In light of this, unions should be knowledgeable on the level of education and skills of their membership especially for bargaining purposes. Usually wages are market related and “pegged” in terms of skills and specific educational levels expected of that particular sector.

3.1.6 Concentration levels of tertiary education

The subsequent table provides a summary of tertiary education concentration among COSATU affiliates membership.

The results reveal that the level of concentration of tertiary education in COSATU affiliates is at a weighted average of 32% but the distribution varies widely between the 10% and 100% (Refer to distribution table below).

¹⁵ Definition source: Wikipedia, free Encyclopaedia. The right to education has been described as a basic human right; since 1952, Article 2 of the first Protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights obliges all signatory parties to guarantee the right to education. At world level, the United Nations’ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 guarantees this right under its Article 13.

Table 6: Distribution of Members with Post-Secondary Education

MEMBERS WITH POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION		
No. of unions	Concentration level	No. of members
7	10%	91,332
1	15%	9,482
6	30%	114,198
2	50%	41,796
4	75%	331,303
1	100%	17,115
21	32%	605,226

Only 7 affiliates have a concentration level of above or equal to 50% while the majority of 14 are at 30% and below. The responses to the question on whether unions had plans to improve on members qualifications was somewhat on the low side with 10 affirming that indeed they had an educational plan, 3 had no plans and 8 did not respond to the question.

3.2 Union Education

Education is one of the fundamental elements within the labour movement. In view of this , COSATU and its affiliates see great significance in education. As pointed out by the federation, historically, education was used as a tool for liberating the black majority from racist and colonialist oppression as well as advancing militant shopfloor struggles. In contemporary South Africa, education is still relevant as it helps in strengthening revolutionary trade unions and the struggle to fight to improve the living conditions of the working class in South Africa and internationally. In addition to this, COSATU perceives education as a necessary empowerment tool in the struggle for socialism.

At a special congress in 1999, the Federation reviewed its education programme and designed an Education Strategy that was meant to guide education processes. The following areas of focus were proposed:

- Ideological work (for membership, office bearers, shop stewards, COSATU locals, officials and staff)
- All round shop steward training
- Leadership and staff training
- Membership education
- Gender Equality education

3.2.1 Resources

Both financial and human resources are essential for successful implementation of the education programmes for both the Federation and its affiliates. In terms of financial resources, COSATU has a long-standing resolution that 10% of subscriptions/ income goes towards expenditure on education (COSATU 2001:7). Each affiliate including the Federation is expected to have an education structure with educators to co-ordinate and conduct the programmes

3.2.2 Contemporary Education Programmes within affiliates

The study reviewed the education programmes among affiliates in terms of the following areas:

- Education plan
- Number of educators; induction or further training
- Service providers/ Partners who provide education
- Dedicated education budget/ external funding
- Content of the education programmes
- Beneficiaries of the education programmes

3.2.3 Education plans

Only ten unions indicated that they had an education plan. Amongst those with education plans, the following were cited as areas requiring focus:

- Political Education
- Grievance handling and CCMA procedures
- Wage negotiation skills
- General administration skills
- Leadership
- Trade unionism
- Public speaking, speech writing and handling the media
- Gender and women's empowerment
- Health and safety with special emphasis on HIV and AIDS
- Labour Legislation
- Employment Equity Act and Skills Development Act

3.2.4 Dedicated education budget

Twelve unions confirmed that they have budgets for training and the sizes of the budgets range from R120,000 (SAMA) to R6,000,000 (NEHAWU) for 2008. The variations in amounts of budgets allocated to education departments in affiliates could be a pointer to how unions prioritise education programmes. The results reveal that most of the affiliates in their education budgets do not stick to the stipulated 10% of the overall as proposed by COSATU. The most possible explanation for SAMA's smaller education budget could be because all its

members are well educated and have gone up to tertiary level as mentioned before. A point that has been neglected here is that of disparities in terms of academic/ professional content as compared to union content. As mentioned before, the labour movement and COSATU and its affiliates have their own specific content completely different from that of the corporate world. The size of the union also contributes significantly when determining the education budget. This may explain and justify NEHAWU's budget which appears to be huge compared to other affiliates.

3.2.5 Service Providers

Affiliates draw their educational services from a wide range of service providers . The most common service provider is Ditsela followed by COSATU, NALEDI, DoL, NGOs/LSOs, other COSATU affiliates, SACP, foreign unions and finally ILO. Sector specific courses are addressed through professional service providers for that particular sector. A good example is that of SAMA that benefits from some training courses offered by Foundation for Professional Development. Other service providers cited by affiliates are Workers' College, CCMA, Business Solutions, Solidarity Network International, University of Western Cape, University of the Witwatersrand, ILRIG, and LRS.

3.2.6 Content / Beneficiaries of education programmes

The most popular courses undertaken by most affiliates are Labour Law, HIV/AIDS, Political school and skills development with economics and negotiation courses following in popularity. Of significance but lacking among the courses offered, are financial management courses which explain the reasons for poor responses to the question on union budget and the structure & capacity of the accounting department in the affiliates. In most cases, shop stewards as the building blocks of unions are the major beneficiaries of most courses on offer with the exception of unions like SADTU and SAMA whose educational programmes target membership & leadership; and leadership respectively. No data was provided by NUM in terms of their target group for their educational programmes though they indicated that they have ix national educators. On average, there is one national educator and nine provincial educators per affiliate. Some exceptional cases were noted and are mentioned below.

- DENOSA indicated that they make use of peer educators to substitute for provincial educators.
- CWU delegate provincial education programmes to 54 elected worker leaders although not qualified.
- NEHAWU mentioned that they have 27 brigades to undertake the task of provincial educators.

4 Permanent and atypical work

Affiliates provided estimates of the proportions of their membership in permanent full-time and atypical employment (including permanent part-time, short-term/seasonal/casual contracts and labour broker contract employment).

The vast majority of affiliates (16) estimated that their members are predominantly in permanent full-time employment (between 75% and 100% of membership). In fact 8 affiliates estimated over 90% and the other 8 affiliates estimated 75%. Only CWUSA, FAWU and SACCAWU indicated that 50% or more of their membership were in atypical forms of employment.

In the case of CWUSA about 80% of their members are employed in short-term/casual/seasonal contracts whilst about 20% of their membership is in permanent full-time employment.

SACCAWU has approximately 50% of their membership in permanent full-time employment, whilst 30% or more are in part-time permanent employment and roughly 20% in casual and contract employment.

FAWU estimates that about 50% of their members are in permanent full-time employment, whilst the rest of their membership are more or less equally distributed between part-time, contract, casual and labour broker employment.

Four affiliates estimated that 100% of their membership is in permanent full-time employment, namely, SASBO, POPCRU, PAWUSA and CEPPWAWU. The data provided for CEPPWAWU seems surprising given that there is a degree of casual, seasonal, labour broker contracted work in the sectors the union organises.

SADNU indicated that 98% of their members are in full-time permanent employment, whilst the other 2% are contracted through labour brokers.

SASAWU, SADTU and SACTWU estimated that 90% of their members are in permanent full-time employment, whilst the other 10% are in contract employment in the case of SACTWU AND SADTU. SASAWU estimates that about 10% of its members are employed through labour brokers.

5 COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

5.1 Bargaining structures

Collective bargaining is necessary as a means of regulating employment relations as well as settling disputes between management and employees. According to the LRA, only unions that are sufficiently representative in a workplace are entitled to organisational rights. Likewise, unions with majority membership are entitled to receive relevant information from the employer and to conclude collective agreements.

Collective agreements:

- Will override the provisions of any inconsistent individual employment contracts
- May be concluded within bargaining councils and thus serve as minimum wage and working conditions instruments

The LRA has established statutory bodies called Bargaining Councils. Accordingly, registered unions and employer organisations may voluntarily and co-operatively establish within a specific economic sector. Collective agreements are inclined to be time-bound, with a life span that is by and large determined by the parties' bargaining cycles. Nonetheless, the agreement can be terminated on reasonable notice by either party. Issues pertaining to collective bargaining are central for the sustainability and relevance of COSATU affiliates as trade unions. This section shall review the collective bargaining process among affiliates.

The majority of the unions, sixteen out of twenty one, use bargaining councils as a forum for collective bargaining but twelve of them use it in conjunction with negotiations at the workplace. The bargaining council in some situations is used as the minimum fall-back. Only 4 or 19% of the unions prefer to rely solely on the bargaining council. One union (SASBO) indicated that it does not use the council nor the workplace but other unknown forum. One union (SASFU) did not indicate its bargaining structure. The reason cited during a follow-up face to face interview is that football players have no specific workplaces other than clubs. With regard to that, the union bargains with club owners. According to the spokesperson for the union, plans are still underway to attempt to establish a bargaining council for football players.

The following unions have already established some Bargaining Councils; SADNU and CEPPWAWU has already established two bargaining Councils for Chemical and Wood & Paper sectors. SATAWU though it has one provincial bargaining council for cleaners, indicated that it had no bargaining council but it was planning to do so for its following sectors; security (through the CCMA), cleaning, maritime, aviation, taxis, car rentals. However, SATAWU complained that NEHAWU is sabotaging one of its processes as it has poached some of its members at ACSA, thus "undermining the numbers the union requires".

As for car rentals and taxis, SATAWU has admitted that no clear strategies have been developed. The same applies to Aviation of which the affiliate has documented that it has not commenced the campaign as decided and that no progress has been made so far.

PAWUSA indicated that it was in the process of establishing a bargaining council for the State Sector. Also SACCAWU mentioned that it was pursuing the same process for Casinos and Wholesale & Retail Sectors. SAFPU again, revealed that they were in the process of setting up a bargaining council for the soccer industry. Lastly, NEHAWU stated that they were in the planning phase of creating a Higher Education Bargaining Council.

CWUSA, in their response, proposed that the government must establish a Consultative Committee that will oversee mobility of artists internationally so that they can contribute to their Social Fund as practiced in the USA, UK and worldwide. Further, they complained that:

“In our view locally, we find it difficult to negotiate with individuals while when we manage to achieve victories, everyone benefits. We would like to force employers to enter into a close shop agreement with us” (CWUSA: 2008).

Some unions such as NEHAWU, CEPPWAWU, CWUSA, SACCAWU, SAMWU and FAWU who represent several sectors mentioned that they have multiple bargaining partners corresponding to the respective sectors that they are involved with.

The following table demonstrates the bargaining trends for all COSATU affiliates.

Table 7: Bargaining Trends

	Union	Bargaining council (%)	Individual workplaces (%)	Other kind of forum (%)
1	CWU			
2	CEPPWAWU	75	15	10
3	SASFU	100		
4	CWUSA	33	75	10
5	SATAWU	75		33
6	SASPU	0	100	
7	SASBO			100
8	SASAWU	100		
9	SAMWU	75	10	10
10	SAMA	50		50
11	SADTU	100		
12	SADNU	99	1	
13	SACTWU	90	10	
14	SACCAWU	100		
15	POPCRU	75	33	
16	PAWUSA	95	5	
17	NUMSA	75		
18	NUM		33	75
19	NEHAWU	±85	10	10
20	FAWU		10	33
21	DENOSA	75	10	33

The table below is a summary of bargaining forums used by unions.

Table 8: Bargaining Forums used by unions

Bargaining council only	Individual workplace only	Combination of the two	Other fora	Total
4	Nil	15	1	20
20%	-	75%	5%	100%

According to the table, the majority of unions make use of a combination of both bargaining council and the workplace. None of the affiliates make use of the workplace only as the bargaining forum except for SAFPU, which bargains at club level. Only one union, SASBO as mentioned above make use of an unspecified forum.

5.2 Why collective bargaining?

Unions embark on collective bargaining for both financial and non-financial issues. Frye (2006:8) argues that “strong unions are vital in demanding real increases for workers, especially for more vulnerable sectors”. As such, unions win the hearts of their membership when they claim victory over wage increases as opposed to other non-financial benefits. The following table provides information on various percentage wage increases for affiliates as revealed by the study.

5.3 Wages

Table 9: Highest and Lowest Wage Increases 2004-2008

YEAR	LOWEST AWARD		HIGHEST AWARD		INFLATION
	AFFILIATE/S	%	AFFILIATE/S	%	
2004	SACTWU	5.00%	SACTWU/NUMSA	9%	1.29%
2005	SADNU	3.40%	SACTWU	11%	2.54%
2006	SADTU	4.60%	SACTWU	10%	4.88%
2007	SASFU	5.10%	FAWU/SASAWU	10%	7.10%
2008	SACTWU	8.00%	DENOSA	24%	12.28%

Since 2004, wage negotiations have been above inflation except in 2006 and 2007. Most affiliates took a cue from the inflation level when negotiating for wage increases. In 2008, DENOSA achieved a 24% increase against an inflation rate of 12.28%.

Some unions have multiple year agreements with employers and this could probably account for awards below inflation in 2006 and 2007. Such affiliates include the Public Service, NUM, NUMSA and SAMWU. With multi-year agreements, wages are stagnant such that if hyper-inflation occurs the workers would be at a disadvantage. For multi-year agreements, it is therefore advisable for unions to speculate about inflation as they peg their wages and settle on realistic figures. Real wages should keep pace with inflation (Frye, 2006:9) failing which workers experience real declines.

Wide differences exist in terms of minimum wages from under R2 500 at SACTWU & SACCAWU and NUM, with R6 000 at NUMSA and over R10 000 at SAMA. The disparities could be explained in terms of labour flexibility and minimum educational and skills requirements for that sector. Where minimum skills are required which imply easy entry into that particular job, wages are often low and vice versa.

Clothing & textiles and Hotel & Catering are vulnerable sectors such that wages are usually low. Regrettably, most women are employed in those sectors and as such the union is their main agency for collective action and bargaining power. However, unions are often not conscious of the particular gender dynamics in the sectors that they organise. The mining sector, which is male dominated, is also a low-paid sector, where the bulk of workers (underground miners) have low levels of formal education and work under dangerous and unpleasant conditions..

5.4 Benefits

Virtually all affiliates are covered under provident or pension schemes. Major issues with pension schemes include delayed payouts on retirement resulting in some employees suffering for long periods or even dying before settlement. Of significant concern is the non-compliance by employers in the security and cleaning services (SATAWU) and non-cover for contract and casual workers.

Access to medical cover varies widely from union to union with the major reason being the high cost of contributions. A large proportion of COSATU members' wages are too low to afford medical aid cover, therefore the federation has been calling for a national health insurance scheme covering public and private health care.

Other pertinent issues that affiliates have to negotiate for on behalf of their membership include those dealing with unemployment benefits, the negative impact on cash flows due to HIV/AIDS epidemic and the slow pace of processing compensation.

6 SECTORAL ENGAGEMENT

In economic terms, a sector refers to one of the several divisions in an economic system usually used for analysis and classification.¹⁶ With reference to labour, a sector could be

¹⁶ See the Wikipedia Dictionary

regarded as a section or subdivision within a particular industry that a union represents. Engagement is a broad term which comes in two dimensions namely: “defensive” which simply means getting involved to stop job loss and worsening conditions of employment¹⁷ and “offensive” which refers to efforts to improve conditions and advance the position of workers.

In labour terms, Sectoral engagement could mean a delicate balance between destroying institutions and ideas hostile to workers’ interests, preserving what protects their interests, and creating new institutions to advance their interests. In other words this involves the development of a clear understanding of and exploiting contradictions between different segments of capital in order to win space to pursue workers’ agenda through collective bargaining. Sectoral engagement is necessary as it allows better communication between affiliates as unions sharing the same membership are brought together to bargain for common issues. By so doing room is provided for organisations to interact as well as learn more readily from one another’s advances.

Unions have the obligation to collect mandates and to give feedback to their members in terms of sectoral engagement. The table below gives a summary of how the different affiliates undertake the mandate/ report back process.

¹⁷ <http://www.cosatu.org.za/shop/ss0703-5.htm>

Table 10: Summary Table: Sectoral Engagement Mandating and Reporting Mechanisms

UNION	MANDATES	FEEDBACK
CEPPWAWU	Developed 'Demands' booklet for sector job summits agreements;	Report back through LSSCs, RECs, NECs
FAWU	Through Constitutional Structures	Constitutional Structures are responsible
NEHAWU	Through Nat. meetings, Provincial Coordinators;	Written reports send to Provinces
NUMSA	Policy positions endorsed by constitutional Structures	Through Regional and National Workshops
PAWUSA		Through Shop stewards Meetings and Communiqués
SACCAWU	Through Reference group	Through reference Group
SADNU	Through Constitutional Structures	Through: Constitutional Structures e.g. NOBs, NEC, General meetings
SADTU	Through Nat. Bargaining workshop comprising of Provincial and regional reps. /delegates + office-based educators	NECs responsible for managing the mandates from time to time.
SAFPU	Through Goal Magazine	Through Goal Magazine
SAMA	Communicate with all members	Through Internal monthly publication; also through EXCO, Board Committees, Branches, National Council
SAMWU	Mandated by policy positions on a no. of strategic issues	Via Constitutional Meetings; Newsletters
SATAWU	Through Sector Councils; provincial Sector-based mandates; GS approves the drafts according to Constitution	Sector-office-bearers responsible for reporting back and managing the process

The table has shown that the mandate and feedback process for sectoral engagement is not heterogeneous among affiliates. Quite a number of them make use of traditional approaches such as constitutional structures and through Bargaining/ Sector Councils. CEPPWAWU is quite unique in its approach and has developed a 'Demands' booklet for

sector job summits agreements. Two other interesting approaches mentioned are those of SACCAWU AND SAFPU who make use of Reference groups and Goal magazine respectively.

7 SUPPORT FROM COSATU TO AFFILIATES

As mentioned before, COSATU is a federation union comprising of twenty-one affiliates. All the affiliates are expected to be accountable to the federation and in return, the mother body is also required to reciprocate positively. In as much as service delivery by affiliate unions to membership is critical, COSATU also has the obligation to make sure that it fully services its affiliates. With regard to the above, this section shall review the federation’s support and service to its affiliates. Table 12 provides a summary of the different specific areas that have been used to assess COSATU’s service to its members.

Table 11: Affiliate Assessment of COSATU

RATING	EDUCATION	ORGANISATIONAL	RECRUITMENT	INTERNATIONAL	RESEARCH/ POLICY	LABOUR LEGISLATION	CAMPAIGNS
Poor	6	4	11	6	6	3	4
Adequate	3	3	2	1	3	4	2
Good	8	10	4	9	8	10	11
Good as % of respondents	47%	59%	24%	56%	47%	59%	65%
Total respondent affiliates	17	17	17	16	17	17	17
Non-respondents	4	4	4	5	4	4	4
	21	21	21	21	21	21	21

The affiliates rated COSATU on the areas that the mother body offered or is expected to offer support on. COSATU managed to score impressively on four service areas, where the affiliates evaluated the mother body’s service level to be above “adequate” 50% and above) level. These included organisational (59%), international (56%), labour legislation (59%) and campaigns (65%). On both education and research/policy, they scored 47% but would really need to drastically improve in the area of recruitment, where they scored a mere 24%. The variations in scores by departments need further investigation¹⁸. Equally, the amount of

¹⁸ This is discussed and assessed in the report on focus groups.

resources channelled to individual departments has to be questioned as empirical reasons should be provided. Recruitment is very fundamental to the sustainability of both the affiliates and the federation. If an assumption is made that all non-respondent affiliates did so because they are not happy with COSATU service delivery at all, then the federation would score below “adequate” in all the areas surveyed.

8 COLLECTIVE DISPUTES/STRIKES

8.1 *Quantity of disputes/strikes*

A collective dispute is:

“A disagreement between the employees and the employer (or the employers) regarding working conditions, wages, insurance benefits, as well as trade union rights and freedom”¹⁹.

In South Africa, labour disputes are dealt with on several levels namely Bargaining Councils, CCMA, private arbitration, Labour Court and the Labour Appeal Court of South Africa²⁰ According to the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995, (“the LRA”), collective agreements are normally legally enforceable as between employers and trade unions. Failure to comply with the above can lead to a collective dispute which, if not handled to the satisfaction of the employees, may escalate into a strike.

The expression "strike" means:

“any concerted cessation of work by workers with the objective of halting the activities of a given establishment or of paralysing such activities to a considerable extent, or any abandonment of work by workers for the purpose of remedying a grievance or resolving a dispute in respect of a matter of mutual interest”²¹.

The right to strike by workers is entrenched in Section 23 of the Constitution. Accordingly, strikes are expected to be procedural. Furthermore, employers have been given the right to ‘lockout’. However, both of these factors impact on the ability of workers to exercise their collective power in the workplace and in effect undermine the right to strike.

The results of the study demonstrate that the number of disputes handled in a year varies widely among the unions as shown in the table below.

¹⁹ http://www.houseofmediation.eu/index_en.php?menu=6

²⁰ See Bhoola, U. (2002). National Labour Law: South Africa.
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/ifpdial/info/national/sa.htm>

²¹ ILO Website: 12/01/09

Table 12: Distribution Table of Disputes/Strikes

**DISTRIBUTION TABLE OF
DISPUTES/STRIKES**

NUMBER/NAME	NUMBER OF DISPUTES	NUMBER OF STRIKES	CONVERSION RATE
OTHER UNIONS (15)	+/-2	+/-1	+/-50%
SACTWU	10	0	0%
NUMSA	13	8	62%
SATAWU	20	10	50%
NUM	20	10	50%
NEHAWU	324	10	3%
SACCAWU	400	20	5%

The table also computed the probabilities of disputes escalating into strikes through the computation of a conversion rate. NUMSA has the highest risk at 62% which means there is a 62% chance that every dispute will end up in a strike. SATAWU/NUM at 50% are at par with the majority (15) of the affiliates even though they each handle a higher number of disputes at 20 apiece a year. SACTWU and SACCAWU (though it records the highest number of disputes) portray minimal chances of the occurrence of strikes at 0% and 5% respectively. This could be partly explained in terms of high casualisation and labour broking cases within their sectors. Of note is the low occurrence of strikes among those unions that organise essential services sectors like health, education and security. In fact, Section 65 (1) (d) of the LRA prohibits strikes and lockouts in essential services and maintenance services. Inability of public sector affiliates to mobilise their membership through strikes, might weaken their bargaining power, militancy and visibility. This is an issue of serious concern to public sector affiliates and to COSATU and should be dealt with as a matter of urgency.

8.2 Reasons for the disputes/strikes

Wages and benefits were cited as the major triggers for strike action. Other reasons like retrenchments and unfair dismissals were mentioned but with far less emphasis compared to the former two.

9 INDIVIDUAL DISPUTES

An individual dispute involves one employer and one or more employees. Individual disputes are rights disputes – they concern disagreements that relate to an existing legal right established by law or regulation, or by agreement²². Also matters pertaining to unfair

²² Robert Heron and Hugo van Noord.

dismissals (retrenchments, redundancy) are dealt with. A special labour body tasked with resolving multifarious employment related disputes and arbitration called CCMA²³ has been established here in South Africa. At CCMA, Commissioners are responsible for conciliation and arbitration of disputes.

9.1 Quantity of disputes within the last 12 months

The number of recorded disputes varies from union to union. Below is a collection of 5 unions' figures used to illustrate the wide variations that have been observed.

Union	No of Disputes
SADNU	25
SAMA	600
SAMWU	1,780
SACCAWU	2,500
SADTU	5,000

Table 13: Distribution of Individual Disputes

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL DISPUTES

UNION	NO.OF DISPUTES	BARGAIN.COUNCIL	CCMA	LABOUR COURT
SADNU	25	1	2	2
SAMA	600	102	2	14
SAMWU	1780	1692	88	40
SACCAWU	2500	200	2300	300
SADTU	5000	3000	20	2

It is apparent from the distribution of the escalation of the individual cases from the union level to the next level of redress that there is no trend that can be discerned. SADNU

<http://www.betterfactories.org/content/documents/1/National%20Strategy%20on%20Labour%20Dispute%20Prevention%20and%20Settlement.pdf>

²³ CCMA stands for Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration

recorded a 100% escalation rate from the CCMA to the Labour Court while SACCAWU achieved an 86% reduction rate of cases escalated to the Labour Court from the CCMA.

9.2 Causes of individual disputes

Unfair dismissal was cited as the major cause for disputes. Disciplinary action came second which is assumed to mean it was improperly administered or handled. Other causes cited in a minority of cases included:

- Unilateral change of employment conditions (SADNU,POPCRU)
- (Mis) Interpretation of collective agreements (POPCRU)

9.3 Dispute resolution satisfaction level

It was widely acknowledged by the majority of unions that workers were generally satisfied with the way disputes were resolved. The rating for members wishing to quit due to disgruntlement was very weak giving more credence to worker satisfaction. However, we should bear in mind that unions were being asked to evaluate themselves in this regard.

10 RECRUITMENT²⁴

10.1 Introduction

Recruitment is fundamental for the sustainability of trade unions and should be an on-going process. It is therefore necessary to:

- Develop new recruitment strategies aimed at selected target groups;
- Make human and economic resources available; and
- Ensure a breakthrough in the organisation for important target groups.

There are several aspects influencing the recruitment possibilities in today's society and working life. In several international studies, there are indications of two trends that create difficulties with regard to the recruitment to the trade union movement, namely differentiation and individualisation (Kahmann 2002). The former deals with the fact that as from the 1980s, there has been a stronger increase in the number of so-called white collar workers who have outnumbered the so-called blue collar workers. And it has been more difficult to recruit white collar workers. It is pointed out that this trend has created larger, although perhaps artificial, elite in the labour market that is not easily convinced about the importance of unity and trade unions (Hyman 1997).

Individualisation has to do with the situation where particularly workers are more exposed to an individualised labour market. This means that workers to a greater extent are involved in atypical work. They more often work as extra casuals, out-sourced and part-

²⁴ For data on recruitment trends for all the affiliates, refer to Statistics Tables provided in the Appendices Section.

time. The contemporary workforce has proven difficult to recruit, irrespective of age. Flexible employment relationships are maintained to create relationships in the world of work that undermine the communication between colleagues (hence individualisation). Moreover solidarity between workers (Zoll 1996) is undermined, a situation that clearly can contribute to making it more difficult to recruit people to the trade union movement.

The study has confirmed the existence of some of the obstacles to recruitment as asserted by some international scholars mentioned above. Recruitment trends actually vary from union to union depending on sector jobs. Sharp declines in recruitment between 2007 and 2008 have been experienced in the majority of unions that supplied such data. The subsequent table gives a summary for some affiliates who have recorded outstanding recruitment trends for the period under review.

Table 14: Recruitment Figures

RECRUITMENT FIGURES

	SATAWU	SASBO	SACTWU	SACCAWU	NUM	NEHAWU
2004	NO DATA	8,000	20,700	4,000	897	NO DATA
2005	56,660	6,500	31,480	6,000	6,329	4,989
2006	28,672	10,000	24,280	6,500	19,169	20,572
2007	30,237	9,000	28,198	7,500	19,360	9,134
2008	12,545	4,120	15,890	5,000	3,186	4,785

A sample of the 6 major affiliates in terms of recruitment of new members for the period 2004 – 2008 is presented above. Disregarding missing data, and deliberately assuming the sample is representative of the rest of the affiliates, it would appear that critical mass was achieved in 2005 and momentum was sustained until 2007. COSATU achieved a 4% membership growth between 2003 and 2006. The current study has been extended to year 2008, which however, shows a decline in numbers. This could probably, be in line with the world-wide economic recession, which culminated in the current global financial crisis. Also this could be attributed to the labour flexibility whereby there is a high wave of job insecurity within the working class²⁵. With the advent of globalization, most workers are losing their permanent jobs due to global competition which impacts negatively on union membership. A good example of the industry that is under great threat is that of Clothing and Textiles as evidenced by a sharp decline of membership within the periods evaluated by

²⁵ See Webster et al (2008). Grounding Globalisation.

the study. Empirical evidence has shown that Chinese hegemony on the Clothing and Textiles industry has had a detrimental effect on the world prices as well as labour.

10.2 Obstacles to recruitment

Some unions described their recruitment campaigns as follows:

- adhoc, unstrategic and lacking focus
- good on paper but not accompanied by implementation plan
- Recruitment campaigns are normally linked to the Service Delivery Campaign and during periods of wage negotiations.
- Targeted approach

Major factors affecting recruitment were then identified and categorised as follows:

10.2.1 Age

Some affiliates, based on their statistics claimed that youthful employees are not interested in membership. However, this might not be accurate given the country's high rate of unemployment of which new entrants²⁶ are the mostly affected. The global workplace restructuring could also be blamed for lower participation of the youth. The majority of young workers only find employment in the most vulnerable sectors like retail, hotel & catering.

10.2.2 Level of education

Some unions claim that highly educated and job-qualified employees usually shun away from unions. Because their jobs are highly skilled, they tend to have logistic power such that they are able to negotiate for their on wages that are market related. Unlike the traditional reliance on trade unions, most educated workers now prefer the use of plaintiff based lawyers and labour consultants for litigation matters relating to unfair dismissals. Nonetheless, the issue of unemployment among the highly educated populace should not be overlooked (Frye 2006). On a different note, some salaried employees are discouraged by the 1% levy they have to subscribe to unions monthly.

10.2.3 Lack of resources

The sustainability of any recruitment drive is dependent upon the availability of both financial and human resources. Financial resources are required to advertise the benefits of membership in order to attract new recruits, to organise educational workshops, and to visit workplaces and/or workers. SADTU highlighted that the ratio of organisers to membership is too low and that places a huge burden on organisers. The issue of time was noted as another hindrance as one union DENOSA reported that recruitment work for nurses is done outside of normal working hours or lull periods

²⁶ Assuming that the new entrants in the labour market fall within the South African definition of the youth.

10.2.4 Race and geographical positions

SADTU documented that they encounter a challenge with regard to the race factor where unions are perceived to be associated with militant black teachers as opposed to staff associations who are seen as professional. Another union pointed out that it is also difficult to access white employees at work places. For instance, SAMWU cited apartheid as having contributed to the racial aspect of its membership through amalgamation of geographical areas (homelands vs townships). The union claims that the majority of its members are blacks, with KZN having more Indians and Western Cape comprising of more coloured workers.

10.2.5 Competition

SADNU indicated that workers already belong to other unions and it is extremely difficult to attract workers from competing unions due to competitive benefits already being offered. Generally, there is also stiff competition for new workers from rival unions and at the same time the expectations of new workers are sometimes high.

10.2.6 Growth in contract employment

Most contract workers do not join unions due to high turnover. Also employers are deliberately recruiting workers through individual contracts to undermine unions. In addition to that retrenchments also account for a heavy toll on membership loss. Employers make use of threats and flexible labour as a strategy for union bashing.

10.2.7 Lack of proper organisation and planning

Most unions focus mainly on settling disputes and CCMA matters at the expense of other functions. The staff to volume of work ratio is also another inhibiting factor. There is also a clash of roles with organisers taking over the work of shop stewards and hence neglecting their equally-critical roles of recruitment. To a lesser extent, CEPPWAWU indicated that there is lack of commitment to implement the recruitment strategy by certain union officials and leaders. Similarly, SACCAWU stated there is a lack of will amongst some of their organisers and shop stewards. However, they also indicated that lack of mobility is also a factor, and given that the retail and tourism sectors are located in widespread geographical areas this is a major obstacle.

10.2.8 Lack of legal recognition

Some government departments were not taking unions seriously as is the case of the Department of Health, which does not recognise the union status of SAMA. By so doing, potential members become despondent and uninterested in joining the union. In the same vein, the credibility of unions in the eyes of both existing and potential members is undermined. In their response on obstacles to recruitment, SAFPU also mentioned organisational rights as a hindrance. Due to the fact that they are dealing with clubs only other than the workplace, it is difficult to get in contact with all players at the same time. Also worker-to- relationships seem to be low as the employers deals with them on a personal basis.

10.3 Evaluation of the Recruitment Campaign

10.3.1 Main strengths

Most unions tended to cite campaign strategies as opposed to strengths and weaknesses that are inherent in their organisations. Below is a summary of some of the strengths that were noted by individual affiliates.

The notable strengths highlighted were:

- The level of education of members is above national average.
- Affiliation of COSATU to the major and ruling party in the country (Tripartite Alliance)
- A robust infrastructure of shop stewards in companies which spearheads Recruitment
- Most union leaders (at all levels) are activists in their own right and are champions at mobilising new members
- Strong financial base and hence other provinces have dedicated organisers to drive recruitment

10.3.2 Main weaknesses

Most weaknesses cited all seem to revolve around the issue of resourcing as explained below:

- Poor record-keeping, both on membership and financial matters, due to lack of appropriately qualified and remunerated personnel
- A lack of resource personnel to co-ordinate recruitment efforts across unions
- Lack of capacity to carry out servicing follow ups on both new and old members

On the issue of resourcing, unions are affected by the subjective and objective problem of organisers not having time for recruitment and broader organising work. One union indicated that their organisers spent most of their time at CCMA at the expense of recruitment.

11 Union leadership and organisational management and resourcing

11.1 National office bearers

National Office bearers (NOBs) time in office is on average six years; ranging from two years in SASFU and SASAWU to nine years in SADTU and SAMWU. The statistics for all the unions indicate that the General Secretary (GS) has the longest tenure, averaging seven years. Within the average, it is worth noting that the statistics for the different unions are not

uniform, and vary widely. For instance, the GS of SADTU has been in office for 18 years in comparison with 2 years for SAMWU, NUM and SASFU. These ranges are indicative of the differences in organisation and longevity of the structures that sustain the leadership of the different unions. However, it should be noted that both NUM and SAMWU had just elected new General Secretaries, with the previous incumbents having been in office for two or more terms. In about half of all unions, worker leaders are effectively fulltime. This is very significant, given that the earlier tradition of COSATU was to have worker leaders located at the workplace. NALEDI has found in previous research that this new trend is contributing to some tensions within the national office bearers collective, particularly between General Secretaries and Presidents. Since they are all full-time this has led to some changes in the respective roles of national office bearers.

Unions reported that most meetings are convened once a month and more than 50% of the respondents have an annual lekgotla.

Gender representation in the appointment of NOBs is very poor; as there is only one union (NEHAWU) that is headed by a female president. At best women occupy the posts of second deputy president (57%) and 42% occupying the post of treasurer. Across the unions; women constitute 24% of all the NOBs which is a worrying factor in the light of the increasing consciousness on matters of gender representation in the trade union movement. Nevertheless, there has been an increasing awareness amongst unions on the need to increase women's representation in leadership. Of course, this must be accompanied by programmes and action to empower women at all levels of the organisation.

11.2 Shop stewards

Of the 16 unions²⁷ that gave figures on their shop stewards, the majority indicated that their shop stewards work part-time. Only 5% of shop stewards in all the unions work for their employer full time with DENOSA having the greatest number (1392 hours) and no part time stewards. Most unions indicated that they have approximately one shop steward for every 30 to 100 members but only one full time shop steward for several thousand members.

The results have shown that 66.7% of the 15 unions that provided information keep shop steward details at the provincial office and about six unions maintain the details at the national office. Only 2 unions did not have contact details of the stewards at both the national and provincial offices. There is a reasonable level of contact and fast conveying of messages between the top level NOBs and the shop stewards.

In terms of induction, 14 of the unions indicated that their shop stewards go through such a process. The training ranges from 2 to 3 days for basic content for SASAWU to detailed intermediate and advanced training for NUM and DENOSA. The shop stewards are equipped with basic skills to advance negotiation and dispute handling skills that prepare them for the shop floor dynamics.

²⁷ The affiliates are as follows: CEPPWAWU, CWU, DENOSA, FAWU, NEHAWU, NUM, NUMSA, POPCRU, SACCAWU, SADTU, SADNU, SADTU, SAMWU, SASAWU, SASFU AND SATAWU.

Representation in terms of gender favours men over women though the differences are not as great as in the selection of organisers. At least 3 (SADTU, SACWTU and DENOSA) of the 7 unions with figures provided have more women shop stewards than men, although this is to be expected given that these unions all have majority women membership. A point worth noting is that in absolute numbers across the unions male representatives constitute the greater number but the difference is not as pronounced in terms of figures per union.

Of the 14 unions that gave information on the election of shop stewards, 57% hold elections every three years, 14% every 4 years, 21% every 2 years and 7% every year.

11.3 Management and staff

The time spent on union work is not standardised across the unions. The NOBs of SATAWU, SASFU, PAWUSA, NUM, NEHAWU and POPCRU on average spend no less than 30 hours and no more than 48 hours on union work in a week. The union leadership of SACTWU, SASAWU, SAMWU and SASBO meet on an ad hoc basis while that of SAMA spends 5 hours a week on union business. NOBs for SADTU and NUMSA spend the greatest number of hours on union work; 72 hours and 60 hours respectively. This is in respect to the positions of president, first deputy, second deputy and the national treasurer. All the unions reported that NOBs meet as a collective at least once a month and 68.8% have an annual Lekgotla. For those who responded, the General Secretary (GS) meets with heads of department as a collective once every two months. They meet with the rest of the staff and with provincial staff twice a year.

11.4 Organisers

The number of organisers varies significantly across the different unions. The same holds within the unions as the number of organisers varies from one province to another. At 112, SACCAWU has the highest number of organisers while SASFU has none. The ratio of members per organiser varies from 34,322 for POPCRU to 257 for SADNU but 71% of the unions have ratios below 5000. The majority of unions (82.4%) that provided information give induction training to their organisers. The training ranges from very little at NEHAWU to comprehensive at POPCRU and SASAWU. On the other hand, 17.6% of the unions indicated that they do not provide any induction training for organisers with one union inclining that they employ seasoned organisers.

In terms of benefits, 76.5% of the unions reported that they give car allowances to the organisers. Along with that, 70% give cell phone allowance and about 50% give other facilities such as computers and petty cash. In spite of the COSATU resolutions on gender parity, the unions still do not have gender equity in their recruitment of organisers as only 15% are women. SASBO is the only union that has more women organisers (58.8%) compared to their male counterparts.

11.5 Staffing

The average union employs 101 people or one for almost every thousand members. The number of employees varies from one union to the other ranging from six for SASFU to 252 for NEHAWU. It is worth noting that in all the unions; organisers constitute the greater majority of staff, because of their utility in the day to day functioning of the unions. In terms of representation; SAMA has 157 members per staff person compared to POPCRU with 1745 per staff member. The large disparities presumably reflect, in part, the size of the membership in each union.

11.6 Salaries

In spite of the bargaining efforts of the unions; salaries in the majority of the membership still remain low. Three unions indicated that at least a tenth of their members earn less than R1000 a month. More than 50% of the unions have members who earn R6000 a month and only a tenth of the membership in 62.5% of the unions earn over R10000 a month.

The salaries for the staff employed by the unions are represented in Table 16 by position. The figures indicate earnings per annum; in the range of the lowest paid and highest earning staff member.

Table 15: Union Staff Salaries

	Minimum	Maximum
Administrator	R24,840	R120,000
Organiser	R72,000	R200,000
Educator	R96,000	R300,000
Provincial secretary	R120,000	R217,176
General secretary	R156,0000	R720,000

The salaries vary widely from union to union with evident differentials in the earnings of the General Secretaries and administrators. The lowest paid GS earns R156000 compared to the R720000 that accrues to the top earning GS across the unions. This wide variation poses a significant challenge for COSATU's attempts to develop a trade union labour market.

12 FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

12.1 *Role of sound financial management in trade unionism*

With the rapid growth and increasing size and complexity of trade union organisations and the challenging environment in which they have to operate today unions are required to

have strong financial management skills, amongst others. This has not necessarily been prioritised by trade unions because of the association with corporate management. Financial management, accountability to members, research and development, organisational and negotiating skills, and planning for the future of the organisation are some of the approaches which successful trade unions use.²⁸

The above observation is not reflected in COSATU affiliates' accounting structures. Only 2 of the unions have specified the crucial role of Finance Managers. Other accounting governance positions as represented in the unions are reflected in the table below. The lack of senior financial management roles in the unions could be the sole reason why most unions ended up with qualified reports in their audited accounts. Added to this is the fact that those responsible for financial management in unions tend to be overridden by office bearers who regularly make financial decisions outside of the agreed budget. It is also difficult in a union environment for a trade union official such as an accountant or head of finance to ask an office bearer to account, even though this is a requirement both in terms of union policies and sound financial and organisational management and accountability.

Table 16: Distribution of Financial Accounting Positions in the Unions

DISTRIBUTION OF ACCOUNTING POSITIONS IN THE UNIONS

POSITION	NO.OF UNIONS WITH POSITION
Treasurer	13
Deputy Treasurer	3
National Accountant	12
Deputy National Accountant	5
Provincial Accountants	5
Administrators	10
Provincial Treasurer	3
Financial Manager	2

Response rate: 18 unions responded to the question.

12.2 Qualified audit reports

Many of the unions' accounts have been qualified by the external auditors for a number of reasons, the major ones being:

²⁸ Copyright © International Labour Organization 2002

- ✓ Inaccurate record-keeping e.g.: the absence of membership and asset registers
- ✓ Lack of supporting documentation
- ✓ Non-compliance with rules and procedures
- ✓ Non-compliance with financial policies and procedures

13 GENDER

Reflecting back to the South African's apartheid era, one cannot dispute the significant role that women have played. Indeed, working class women have been at the forefront of protests and demonstrations against the minority rule through defiance, resistance and participation in strikes masterminded by the labour movement²⁹. At the ushering in of democracy, the ANC, as the ruling party implemented a strong policy on gender whereby a quota system was established in all structures and government departments. Likewise, COSATU as one of the elements of the tripartite alliance, was not an exception in this regard, and adopted such a policy.

13.1 COSATU Affiliates and Gender Policy

One of the objectives of this study was to interrogate and make an audit of COSATU affiliates in terms of how much they have achieved so far with regard to gender parity and mainstreaming. However, it is unfortunate that the question on affiliates' NOBs failed to solicit data according to gender which made it difficult to deduce from the information provided whether the office bearers were female or male. According to the results of the study, there is evidence that most unions have made attempts to subscribe to COSATU's gender policy and to some extent adopted the resolutions of the federation's 8th Congress. Unfortunately this is more theoretical than practical.

The study has shown that most gender structures exist only at national level other than at provincial or local levels (grassroots) where there is more interaction with membership. SACCAWU, SADTU and SATAWU have a gender policy as well as the structure and co-ordinators though they did not specify on which level and whether its full time or part-time. DENOSA pointed out that they are in the process of establishing a women policy though they have created gender structures with the Deputy General Secretary responsible. NUMSA, POPCRU, CEPPWAWU indicated that they do have a women empowerment policy and gender structures but did not have personnel to co-ordinate the programmes. CEPPWAWU however, stated that it makes use of full time staff to co-ordinate but on a part time basis. NEHAWU has a gender policy and structure as well as a national co-ordinator for that. At provincial level, according to the union, workers leaders do the co-ordination. SACTWU does have a gender policy but does not have a gender structure neither does it have specific co-ordinators for that other than the DGS and the DP who have been tasked to

²⁹ See NALEDI (2006) Labour Pains. *Women's Leadership and gender strategies in COSATU*. Johannesburg: NALEDI

co-ordinate. To them gender should be integrated/ mainstreamed across all union departments. CWUSA does have a policy and gender structure (interim structure formed recently but still to be launched) with co-ordinators but did not specify as to how many and at what level. Likewise, NUM does have a gender policy including structures and has indicated that the union has negotiated with the employers to ensure that the Women structure secretary's position be full time. SASAWU has gender structures without a policy in place and relies on one gender co-ordinator who is elected with the assistance of other union officials. In the same situation as SASAWU is SADNU which stated that it has an ineffective gender structure run by a National Gender Co-ordinator who is nominated and the first President. Again, CWU does have a gender policy although they do not have a specific quota and are still to implement the resolution of making sure that gender chairpersons and secretaries become permanent members of executive meetings at all levels in order to give them constitutional powers. Regrettably, SAMA and PAWUSA, do not have any gender programmes at all whilst SAMWU's response on this issue was not clear.

Though most unions indicated that a gender policy was available but a further probe concerning implementation revealed that nothing much was being done to enforce the policies. The results from the initial study indicated that a third of unions had virtually no staff or structures on gender. In the same vein, most of them do not keep gender disaggregated data for members, shop stewards or organisers, NOBs and POBs as evidenced by their failure to provide demographic data of membership according to gender.

13.2 An Analysis of the Gender Breakdown of NOB Positions

Empirical evidence derived from the study, demonstrates that a few women still assume top six leadership positions in COSATU affiliates. For those unions that have women among the top six, usually they are found in deputising or less powerful positions. Only SAMA whose General Secretary is a woman and NEHAWU who have a female President have managed to demonstrate their "maturity" as far as Affirmative action is concerned. SADNU's Deputy General Secretary is a woman. CWUSA, DENOSA, SADTU, SADNU and POPCRU have two female Deputy Presidents respectively while SASAWU and CEPPWAWU have female second Deputy Presidents. In the same vein, CEPPWAWU, DENOSA SACTWU and SASAWU have female Treasurers. PAWUSA has a female National Secretary.

13.3 Gender division of Labour in Unions

Unions that organise in industries or sectors that are male dominated like CEPPWAWU, NUM, NUMSA, POPCRU, SAFPU, SAMWU, SASFU, and SATAWU still have a long way to go in addressing the issue of quotas in their leadership structures. The problem seems to reside in the ratio of females to males in those industries. Of great concern is the fact that most women tend to take up lower rank union positions such as treasurers or deputising even in those female dominated sector unions like SACTWU, SACCAWU, SADNU and DENOSA. Of the twenty one affiliates, 11 unions indicated that they had staff to co-ordinate gender while 7 had none. SAPFU indicated that they have created gender structures yet they do not have a women empowerment policy. NUMSA, POPCRU, CEPPWAWU gave awkward

responses to this question. SASBO completely eliminated the question from their questionnaire.

In terms of union staffing, there is a strong gender division of labour in most affiliates whereby most Personal Assistants (PAs), Human Resources, Marketing and Communications, and Education are women. On the other hand security, Information Technology, Finance, Research, Organising and Recruitment personnel are usually men. This reflects societal gender stereotyping and occupational segmentation. Men are usually placed in positions that are more public with higher levels of decision-making, responsibility and often more technical aspects. On the other hand, women tend to be located in the more internal administrative and service-related positions such as cleaning and reception.

13.4 Exceptional Cases

Special cases of unions which do not have top six female office bearers were noted. These were those of NUM, NUMSA, SAMWU and SAPFU who do not have any females within their top six. In an interview with the President of SAMWU, he admitted that a quota system exists within the affiliate but it is regrettable that in most cases (within the affiliate)³⁰ female office bearers fail to complete their term of office.

14 INTERNATIONAL

The world is undergoing a phenomenon popularly known as globalisation whereby it is increasingly becoming integrated, interconnected and interdependent among its economies, cultures and political institutions. What this process entails is a range of issues such as de-territorialisation, hyper international capital mobility and the formation of world markets. Simply, this means that borders tend to be insignificant, firms have the liberty to locate their production anywhere in the world (often in less developed countries) since they supply cheap labour³¹.

Increased competition in terms of economy and labour markets is also a common feature. Moreover, huge Multinational companies popularly known as MNCs have been formed. Although MNCs have played a significant role in job creation (though predominantly poor quality jobs) especially in developing countries and for women in particular, they can also be blamed for the proliferation of informal work and flexible labour standards.

Currently, labour is under threat as capitalists now prefer to make use of three major forms of flexible work relations namely casualisation, out-sourcing and subcontracting. This is because MNCs institutions seem to be stipulating the 'rules of the game' in all nation states that they operate in. Consequently, labour power has been undermined and the significance

³⁰ The data is derived from a face-to-face interview with the President of SAMWU

³¹ Source: www.geocities.com/anil.ari_global/index.html

of unions is diminishing worldwide. Union membership is declining across the globe and the unions here in South Africa are not an exception. The implication this has for labour is that unions of the same trade especially those servicing members working for MNCs link up and if possible form global unions so as to fight their common enemy: capitalism and also to keep these MNCs in check .

14.1 *Why International Linkages*

Having good international linkages also assists in promoting worker-to-worker contacts and also promotes solidarity. For instance, SAMWU is affiliated to Public Sector International (PSI) such that if they organise a strike or demonstration to Municipal workers here in South Africa, other affiliates to PSI can join hands in solidarity. With regard to this, the subsequent section seeks to interrogate the relationship of COSATU affiliates at international level in their bid to fight for worker's rights.

The results of the study demonstrate that not all COSATU affiliates have international linkages. Of the 21 affiliates, 12 indicated that they have partnership and relationships either regionally or internationally. Particular unions, with their respective partners have been outlined in the table below. Most of the unions come from the manufacturing unions as well as service unions. The international linkages of COSATU affiliates are shown in Appendix 1.

15 Conclusion

The current section presents the conclusions of the research that was designed to review COSATU and its 21 affiliates spread across the country. Particular unions like CEPPWAWU, DENOSA, NEHAWU, POPCRU, SATAWU, SACCAWU, SAMA, SADNU, SAFPU, SAMWU, SASAWU and SASBO supplied adequate and well-detailed data. The rest of the unions that have not been mentioned provided inadequate information.

A SWOT analysis of affiliates including those of the federation has been highlighted. Poor record-keeping, both on membership and financial matters has been noted as a major and common weakness among affiliates.

From a standpoint of organising and recruitment, lack of resources and person power to coordinate recruitment efforts has been cited as the principal hindrance to affiliates' recruitment campaigns. Consequently, the federation is directly affected as the affiliates are the basic building-blocks of the mother body's membership. A handful of cases of union rivalry among unions within and outside COSATU have also been accused of impeding recruitment drives. On the same issue, age and the high level of education within the current workforce are accused of having a detrimental effect on recruitment. The study has therefore proposed that special programmes be set aside specifically meant for the 'young worker' so as to attract them to join the union. Furthermore, unions need to devote specific attention and resources to organise casualised and labour broker workers.

As for the core business of affiliates, most of them have provided informative data on collective bargaining matters pertaining to both wage negotiations and non-financial benefits. Most unions should be applauded for having achieved positive results in terms of

wage negotiations and that nearly all are covered under provident or pension schemes, though some shortfalls such as delayed payouts have been reported. However, the above benefits should also be extended to contract and casual workers.

In terms of meetings, most unions indicated that usually POBs are responsible for meetings with shop stewards and the former will in turn have to convey whatever deliberations made to the NOBs. However, the issue of internal democracy is questionable as along the bureaucratic pathway, certain facts might be omitted that should be presented to the highest ranks of the unions. In the same vein, inadequate information was given with regard to report-back systems for these meetings. On a different note, most affiliates stated that they usually hold shop steward elections once every three years.

Most unions were quite selective on particular questions especially on that of disputes and strikes, which made it difficult to come up with clear convictions on the subjects. Also the question on permanent and atypical work was poorly answered through statistical errors. Furthermore, the study has revealed that there is less emphasis on gender policy among affiliates.

Unfortunately, most affiliates evaded the question which required them to rate themselves in terms of their service delivery to their members. Nonetheless, they had the liberty to evaluate their mother body in terms of the services offered or they expected to be offered. On a low note, though not documented on responded questionnaires³² during face -to -face interviews, some affiliates have expressed negative sentiments on COSATU's major role in party politics. They however, argued that COSATU should invest much of its efforts and focus on the workplace as well as 'bread and butter' issues. Finally, in some cases, affiliates would rate COSATU as 'Good' throughout whereas in some instances as 'Poor' right through. This raises a lot of concern as to whether COSATU is selective in terms of the services it renders to, for instance Affiliate A as opposed to Affiliate B. There is therefore a need for further inquiry into this matter.

³² Though this is very crucial, name of the affiliates could not be noted down for ethical reasons and also to avoid conflict with the mother body.

16 Recommendations

Affiliates

- Affiliates should keep their own membership records and in the case of outsourcing, they should keep check and review these on a regular basis. COSATU should have random audits of membership records as most affiliates failed to provide precise figures as indicated by tables that failed to tally. It seems like most of the members are withholding their membership statistics in order to evade proper subscriptions to the mother body.
- Unions should embark on thorough skills development and education programmes that target their activists/ shop stewards/ NOBs for functionary positions of the union. Moreover, there is need for staff development of union officials in terms of economics, (Collective bargaining), statistical and financial management skills (Finance department).
- Gender issues within affiliates seem to be losing significance. There is need to revamp and enforce gender policies and thorough monitoring so that they are implemented. Full time gender coordinators should be appointed to effectively run gender programmes.
- Financial issues such as budgets, salaries and book-keeping need constant checks by independent auditors. Heads of Finance must be enabled to carry out their responsibilities without interference.
- Affiliates should tighten up their links with international unions in order to effectively deal with challenges faced by workers due to neoliberal policies and global forces. In this regard, worker to worker contacts should be enhanced and the establishment of global unions encouraged.
- Most unions do not have Bargaining Councils and are therefore encouraged to do so particularly for their vulnerable sectors that they represent, especially given the fact that most workers are losing their jobs and end up in the informal sector. Unions should therefore devise new strategies of organising such workers outside the normal workplace so that they fall under their jurisdiction.
- Young worker programmes should be initiated in order to encourage young workers to join the union. From the study, there is evidence that the majority of union members are found within the range of 30 years and above. The current workforce comprises of young educated workers who in some cases regard unions as “insignificant” to their employment relations and “old-fashioned” and that they were designed only for factory workers.³³

³³ See Cobble, D (1996). *The Prospects for Unionism in a Service Society* in Sirianni, C and MacDonald (eds.). *Working In A Service Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- In terms of recruitment, affiliates should mobilise ample resources and also appoint personnel to coordinate recruitment efforts.
- Affiliates should do reviews of their service delivery and meet with shop stewards on a regular basis as a means of formative evaluation. They will be able to take note of their strengths and improve on their weaknesses before it is too late.
- There is great need to recruit appropriately qualified personnel for specific tasks such as administration (for effective membership record keeping) finance (internal auditing, accounts and book-keeping).

COSATU

- The study has revealed that affiliates score COSATU support highly in some areas such as campaigns, international solidarity; whereas it is lacking in rendering ample support to its affiliates in education, recruitment and research/policy according to its affiliates. In this regard, the Federation is advised to come up with viable strategies or policies to address the shortfalls noted.
- The Federation, as the mother body should play a unitary role in order to encourage rival affiliates to merge in order to fulfill its longstanding mandate of “one industry-one union”.
- COSATU should take a strong stance on those unions that seem to divert from policies, a good example noted being that on gender and should enforce Affirmative Action policies such as on race and Employment Equity.
- Young worker programmes should be initiated in order to encourage young workers to join the union. From the study, there is evidence that the majority of union members are found within the range of 30years and above. The current workforce comprises of young educated workers, some of whom regard unions as “insignificant” to their employment relations and “old-fashioned” and that they were specifically designed for factory workers.³⁴
- The study has revealed that the labour market’s rate of absorption for new entrants is very low. COSATU and its affiliates in conjunction with the government should be at the forefront of formulating labour market policies that are in line with employment creation. By so doing, new entrants (usually young workers) will have the opportunity to employment and therefore consider joining unions.
- From the evidence provided by the rating table for COSATU, it is clear that the federation is strongly grounded as far as international links are concerned. Because of this, it is advisable for the federation to take the lead in the campaigns to establish global unions which are very fundamental in this global era.

³⁴ See Cobble, D (1996). *The Prospects for Unionism in a Service Society* in Sirianni, C and MacDonald (eds.). *Working In a Service Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Education for unionists and those who serve within unions like shop stewards is very crucial. Unfortunately, the study has revealed that affiliates are not prioritising education programmes within their budgets. COSATU should enforce the education policy among its unions and if possible also provide its membership at grassroots level with such service so that they are in line with the Federation's political and economic ideologies.
- The federation should enforce the ILO mandate on decent work among its affiliates in order to fully achieve its goal of furthering the interests of the working class.

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18 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Abbreviations

UNIONS

Abbreviation	Full Name
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CEPPWAWU	Chemical Paper Printing Wood & Allied Workers Union
CWU	Communication Workers Union
DENOSA	Democratic Nurses Organisation of South Africa
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
CWUSA	Creative Workers Union of South Africa
NEHAWU	National education, health and allied Workers Union
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA	National union of Metal Workers of South Africa
PAWUSA	Public and allied workers Union of South Africa
POPCRU	Police, Prisons Civil Rights Union
SACCAWU	South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union
SACTWU	South African Clothing and Textiles Workers Union
SADNU	South African Democratic Nurses Union
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAFPU	South African Football Players Union
SASFU	South African Security Forces Union
SAMA	South African Medical Association
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SASAWU	South African State and Allied Workers Union
SASBO	South African Service and Banking Organisation
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union

Appendix 2: COSATU affiliates International Linkages

Table 17: COSATU Affiliate International Linkages

UNION	International Federations; Global/Regional Unions the union is affiliated to	MNCs Organised by Union	Relations with other African unions
CEPPWAWU	ICEM UNI BWI	Sasol, BP, Engen, Caltex, Mondi, Sappi, Nampak, Kimberly Clark, Tetra Pak, Steihof	Good and improving
CWUSA	FIM Have twinning agreement with Swedish Union (SMF)	None; Still in process	Formed FIM African Committee
DENOSA	ICN (Ex-President sits in the Board) PSI CNF	None	Part of SADC Nurses and Midwives structure SANNAM of which President is the Chairperson; Part of Eastern, Central, Southern College of Nurses (ECSACON)
NEHAWU	TUI (Cde Sotaka President of TUI an affiliate to WFTU)	South –South Collaboration	Project relations; Strategies to build worker-to-worker contact; Friends of Cuba Society; Solidarity with Swaziland; Policy Development
POPCRU	PSI (1 st President an Executive Member) ICPRS	GSL SACM	Plays a crucial role ; unionization of Police in Southern Africa eg Lesotho & Swaziland; have developed links in Namibia, Mauritius and Botswana; assist the ILO East Africa (Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania on Police labour Relations
SACCAWU	UNI (GS World Executive Member for UNI) IUF	ShopriteCheckers Pick n Pay; Ellerines; Edcon; JD Group	Good relations and have been strengthened
SAFPU	FIFRO	Blackburn roots	Close relations with African unions in Cameroon and Morocco
SADTU	EI (SADTU's GS is the President) AATO SATO (Gauteng Gender Convenor is the Deputy Chairperson)		Part of SATO, A SADC group; Part of the effort to revive the AATO; meeting once a year with other African affiliates of EI to share experiences

FAWU	IUF GS is Africa Executive member; 1 st Alternate Member on the Global IUF Executive	SAB; COCA-COLA; PEPSI,CO; NESTLE, DADONE; KRAFT; PARMALAT	Poor relations with other African unions: rely on IUF in the North to Facilitate worker/worker or union/ union contact and solidarity work
SAMA	AFMA (Dr Kgosi Letlape is the President of AFMA and Council Member of WMA CMA WMA	None	Helped to establish AFMA, close working r/ship with Mozambique, Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea Medical Assciations; All SADCC English speaking countries except Malawi.
SAMWU	PSI NAPWU NAGWU Deputy President sits on SACISC	WSSA –British Water Company SWESS – French Water Company	Union to union contacts; eg have close relations with two unions from Botswana and Mozambique member to member contacts
SASFU	The union has initiated the opening up of links for all Security Clusters Unions in Southern Africa though challenges remain due to lack of formal meetings	N/A	N/A
SASBO	UNI Finance (Our President is one of the Vice Presidents) UNI Africa (Our President is the President here)	Barclays Bank	We have established a Barclays Forum for Africa
SATAWU	ITF SG is the President of the ITF, VP for Africa, and member of the Executive Board; UNI	CHUBB, Group 4 Securicor, ADT, Bidvest Executive Security; Prestige, Fidelity Supercare; Mr. Clean; Measrk Shipping Lines; Steinhoff Group; Imperial Holding; Unitrans; United Bulk	Good relations with Southern African Region (Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Namibia, Lesotho Use GUF networks to facilitate solidarity. SATAWU responsible for coordinating ITF work in Southern African region

Appendix 3: Additional Tables

Table 18: Membership by gender for 2008

Union	Male	Female
CWU	17545	10118
CEPPWAWU	52586	13244
SAFPW		
CWUSA	785	565
SATAWU	106314	21396
SASFU		
SASBO	20138	35115
SASAWU	5324	4565
SAMWU		
SAMA	11509	5541
SADTU	40%	60%
SADNU	1401	7843
SACTWU		
SACCAWU	45%	55%
POPCRU	37306	87621
PAWUSA	38%	62%
NUMSA		
NUM	277795	30870
NEHAWU	86032	133603
FAWU		
DENOSA	5259	60920

Table 12: Membership by age

Union	Share of members aged under 30 yrs (%)	Share of workers in industry aged under 30 yrs (%)
CWU		
CEPPWAWU	2.87	±5
SAFPW	75	
CWUSA	50	75
SATAWU	33	50
SASFU	10	
SASBO	33	75
SASAWU		
SAMWU		
SAMA	18	20
SADTU	10	10
SADNU	33	10
SACTWU	10	10
SACCAWU	33	33
POPCRU	33	33
PAWUSA	20	
NUMSA	75	10
NUM	10	33
NEHAWU	33	50
FAWU	33	33
DENOSA	6.6	

Table 13: Education levels of membership as a percentage

Union	Share of members with tertiary education (%)
CWU	30
CEPPWAWU	15
SAFPW	30
CWUSA	30
SATAWU	75
SASFU	30
SASBO	75
SASAWU	30
SAMWU	10
SAMA	100
SADTU	75
SADNU	75
SACTWU	10
SACCAWU	10
POPCRU	10
PAWUSA	50
NUMSA	10
NUM	10
NEHAWU	30
FAWU	30
DENOSA	50

Membership by sector/year for SADTU

Year	Public Sector (%)	Private Sector (%)
2004	99.8	<0.2
2005	99.8	<0.2
2006	99.8	<0.2
2007	99.8	<0.2
2008	99.8	<0.2

Membership by sector/year for PAWUSA

Sector	GPSSBC	Health	Education	Private
2004				
2005	11161	6947	185	823
2006				
2007				
2008	10778	5392	128	1120

Membership by sector/year for CEPPWAWU

Sector	September 2007
Petroleum	2255
Pulp and paper	4769
Pharmaceutical	2569
Paper and packaging	6147
Fast moving consumer goods	6776
Tissue and allied	?
Glass	2792
Industrial Chemical	6891
Sawmilling (including forestry)	5403
Plastics and rubber	5237
Furniture (only manufacturers)	3724

Printing	2195
Sasol coal mines	6832

Membership by sector/year for CWU

Sector	Telecomms, broadcasting & media	Postal & courier services
2008	12976	14696

Membership by sector/year for POPCRU

Sector	SAPS	DCS	Traffic
2004	55704	22202	3008
2005	61454	22543	3165
2006	67906	24685	3502
2007	74158	27639	3293
2008	81144	29376	6233

Membership by sector/year for DENOSA

Sector	Government	Private
2004	43144	13887
2005	44859	12477
2006	46842	12630
2007	51403	13265
2008	51939	13508

Membership by sector/year for SAMWU

Sector	Municipality
2004	±114127
2005	±114127
2006	±114127
2007	±118973

2008	±118973
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Membership by sector/year for SADNU

Sector	Public health	Private health
2004	9105	67
2005	9189	98
2006	9147	118
2007	9294	44
2008		

Membership by sector/year for FAWU

Sector	2008
Agriculture	12822
Forestry	4201
Fishing	7234
Food processing	81181
Beverage manufacturing	12152

Membership by sector/year for CWUSA

Sector	2008
Actors	280
Technicians	70
Musicians	740

Membership by sector/year for SASAWU

Sector	Health	General Admin	State Inst
2004	3211	8335	225
2005	2665	6541	230
2006	2048	6370	79

2007	2131	5844	207
2008	1873	5734	228

Membership by sector/year for NEHAWU

Sectors	State Admin	Public health	Private health	Private welfare	Tertiary Educ	Public welfare
2006	104930	73617	7011	6347	9816	7217
2007	105734	78185	8461	5826	10058	7899
2008	106949	78603	8947	6118	10774	8222

Membership by sector/year for SACCAWU

Sector	Wholesale and retail	Hospitality	Financial services	Other
2004	70000	25000	2000	10000
2005	70000	25000	2000	10000
2006	85000	28000	2500	12500
2007	85000	28000	25000	12500
2008	98000	32000	3000	15000

Membership by sector/year for SAMA

Sector	Public	Private	Students, Retried, Overseas	Total
2004	5629	8043	2415	16087
2005	6057	7797	2397	16251
2006	6200	7889	2288	16377
2007	6605	7728	2285	16618
2008	7537	7235	2278	17050

Membership by sector/year for NUM

Sector	Mining	Energy	Construction
2004	211962	10242	40642
2005	217595	10514	41722
2006	219885	10273	40378
2007	244123	11894	49047
2008	244356	12257	52052