THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SYSTEM IN

SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRY: A STUDY OF

MONDI KRAFT INDUSTRY

by

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirely or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signature: _____   Date: _28 March 2006_

DEDICATION

My sincere thanks are due to the following:

1. But first and foremost I would like to thank God, Almighty for giving me strength.

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ABSTRACT

This research attempts to highlight the role of trade unions in industrial relations system in South Africa: A study of Mondi Kraft industry. The identified roles include, resolving conflicts between the management and the employees, improving the remunerations of the employees, creating a conducive forum for mediation and conciliation process in Mondi Kraft industry. This research confirms that lack of finance for workers to sustain themselves in the course of the strike action is one of the major reasons for ending the strike. It was also observed in this research that the ethnic factor influences individual's desire to associate with a particular trade union. Furthermore, this research showed clearly that poor education, lack of co-operation giving to union members and the hostile attitude of management towards the unions are the major problems confronting the growth and development of the trade unions.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACTWSA	Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa
BAWU	Black Allied Workers' Union
CCAWUSA	Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa
CEPPWAWU	Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union
CFLU	Cape Federation of Labour Unions
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CUSA	Council of Unions of South Africa
ESKOM	Electricity Supply Commission
FNETU	South African Federation of Non-European Trade Unions
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions
GAWU	Garment and Allied Workers' Union
GFWBF	General Factory Workers' Benefit Fund
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IC	Industrial Court
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Union
ICWU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa
IWA	Industrial Workers of Africa
MAWU	Metal and Allied Workers' Union
NESAWU	National Employee of South African Workers' Union
NETU	National Employee of Trade Union
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMARWOSA	National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers of South Africa
NUTW	National Union of Textile Workers
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SAAWU	South African Allied Workers' Union
SACLA	South African Confederation of Labour
SACOL	South African Confederation of Labour

SAP	South African Party
SATLC	South African Trades and Labour Council
SATS	South African Transport Services
SATUC	South African Trade Union Council
SFAWU	Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union
TGWU	Transport and General Workers' Union
TUACC	Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinating Council
TUC	Trade Union Council
UAW	United Automobile and Allied Workers' Union
UDF	United Democratic Front
USA	United States of America
WPWAB	Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau
ZAR	Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (Transvaal Republic)

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CHAPTER ONE

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS

Trade unionism may be seen as the social response to the advent of industrialization and capitalism. Prior to the industrial revolution there had been in Britain, trade guilds which, to a limited extent, protected the interests of craftsmen and their apprentices, but these guilds really represented the interests of the so-called employers and did not engage in bargaining. The industrial revolution brought with it a loss of independence and the extreme poor working conditions, as well as the belief in the freedom of contract, the operation of the market forces and the pursuit of self-interest. Although these beliefs might seem harmless or even advantageous, they could and did engender the expectation of the workforce. This necessitated some form of protection for the workers, and at the same time, led to the birth of the "working class".

The achievement of the necessary protection was not easy as society was geared mainly to increase production and to the attainment of the economic goals, usually at the expense of the employees. For example, the British combinations Act of 1799/1800 prohibited coalition of employees for promoting their interests. Strike action was outlawed and was subjected to criminal prosecution. Nevertheless the need to protect their job interest did bring groups of workers together, despite the obstacles encountered (Bendix, 1996:66).

The actual beginnings of trade unionism in Britain are to be found in the so-called Friendly society of the late 18th century. Craftsmen, who contributed a small amount each week and were then entitled to receive benefits in case of sickness,

retirement, unemployment and death, established these. This benefit function is still to be found in many unions today. The friendly societies were much localized and after the passage of the combinations Act, had to operate in secret. Thus they lacked power and failed to make an impression on employers.

A number of unions were established in this era, mostly by skilled workers; but, the Friendly societies before them, the unions were localized, lacked effective organisation on a wider basis and did not engage in collective bargaining. In 1828, the general union of Operative Spinners of Great Britain was established. In 1834, Robert Owen founded the short-lived Grand National Consolidated Trade Union, which was intended to be a union of workers in all industries. Many of the unions formed did not last long, firstly because of poor organisations and secondly because unionism was still generally resisted by the state and by employers. It was only after 1850 that the first real trade unions, as we know them, were established, and those mainly among craftsmen.

Salamon (1987:100) points out that "new" unions, as they were called, had a number of characteristics in common with modern trade unions. They were organised on a centralised, national level; they had national executive as well as branch structures; they employed fulltime organisers, provided benefits and controlled entrance to their crafts by the apprenticeship system. They engaged in collective bargaining with employers, emerging with agreements on specific issues. Furthermore, they formulated joint policies, leading to their involvement in social and political matters and to the first Trade Union Congress in 1868. Organisation among non-craft workers only in the 1880s when the first unions for unskilled and semiskilled workers were established, as well as the first real general unions. The same period saw the emergence of white-collar unions representing for example, the interests of teachers, clerks and municipal employees. The dilution of certain

crafts by technology and the necessity for unions to organise on a wider scale led to the establishment of industrial unions.

This was the picture at the beginning of the 20th century. Trade unions of various kinds had established themselves as a permanent feature on the industrial scene. The next twenty years, marked by accelerated industrialisation, saw trade unionism proliferating in most economically advanced Western societies (Bendix, 1996:166-168).

1.1 TYPES OF TRADE UNIONS

Throughout the world unions have taken various forms, shapes and sizes in their attempt to protect their members' interests. Windmuller states that although collective bargaining is only one of the activities carried on by trade unions, it is usually of such central importance that the prevailing structure of collective bargaining has had a decisive influence on the structure and government of trade unions (Fiorito, Gramm & Hendricks 1991). Most of the early unions were of this type:

1.1.1   INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

Industrial unions aim to organize all workers in a single, well-defined industry, irrespective of the jobs performed by the members. Thus unions may be found in the metal, auto, chemical, construction, textile, mining, paper, transport and food industries. Some of the largest unions in South Africa are industrial unions, for example the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) and the National Union of Metal Workers (NUMSA). The power of these unions is dependent on the extent of their membership, not only at individual companies but also across the industry.

Recruitment of the unorganized workers is a major objective of these unions. The formation of a single union per industry is to prevent competition among its members.

1.1.2   GENERAL UNIONS

General unions aim to organize all workers irrespective of industry or area of interest. The ideology of general unions was developed to help counter the fact that unskilled workers had no significant labour power. In line with Marxist theory, it was proposed that a single general union should unite the working class in a particular country to oppose the capitalist class. In most countries only a few general unions exist. The problem for general unions is that while they may develop a large membership, it may not be sufficiently concentrated in particular company or industry, thus lacking real power base. The diffusion of membership also places a strain on organizational resources. In South Africa several general unions have played a significant role in the history of the union movement.

1.1.3   CRAFT UNIONS

Craft unions' main aims were to organize all workers in a specific skilled occupation, regardless of the industry or area in which the work was performed. Unions were thus formed to represent only plumbers, electricians, boiler makers, and carpenters. The motivation for unionization was the protection of skills and maintenance of status. There was thus a need for such workers to protect themselves not only from employers but also from the unskilled working class. Some of their objectives were as follows:

- To restrain a high standard of training and restrict the entry of new apprentices, thus controlling the supply of workers in the trade and bolstering their bargaining power; and

- To prevent job fragmentation and the taking over of parts of their jobs by less skilled workers at lower rates of pay.

Many of the early craft unions in South Africa achieve their objectives by means of lobbying the government for protective legislation in the form of legalized job reservation and restricting apprenticeship opportunities only to whites. The move towards a non-racial, non-sexist labour relations dispensation together with technological change. Few whites in skilled positions and the growth of industrial unions have resulted in a deteriorating power base. Nevertheless, several influential unions representing skilled workers still exist in South Africa today. In 1995 some of the oldest craft unions in the country, namely the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the South African Boiler makers' Society, the Iron Moulders' and Mining Unions amalgamated to form the national employees' trade union. Von Holdt (1993:107) states that the potential for COSATU to organize such skilled workers is limited *inter alia* by the craft consciousness of artisans. They are set apart from other workers by their special training and higher rates of pay. Their position in the production process and by the fact that they are often monthly-paid rather than weekly-paid. The craft unions promised to protect their members in the workplace (Finnemore, 1997:93-95).

1.2 WHY WORKERS JOIN TRADE UNIONS

The historical record seems to suggest that South African workers form and join unions largely to win higher wages and shorter hours. The difference lies in the fact

that for a worker employed in an already unionized establishment, wages and hours are the same whether he is a union member or not.

Rees (1962:26) revealed that other important factors that influenced the decision to join the industrial union were the radical activities in the workers' family or childhood or previous membership or activity in another union. There are workers who did not have a reason for joining trade unions. But in terms of family background or experience in the plant it is often reported that they joined largely because it was the normal thing to do in the plant. Together with internal factors, such as an employees own value system and needs. Furthermore, in USA, workers in many manufacturing industries chose to unionize after the passage of the 1935, Wagner Act. At that time many of the manufacturing plants were oppressive places of employment. Each morning, men lined up at the gate. If there was no work they were sent home, if they were hired it was for that day only. They never knew when their day ended until the whistle blew. One of the workers recalled that some foremen were so initiating that workers had to do the foremen's yard-work on the weekend and had to bring along their daughters to provide sexual services (Carrel, 1995:635).

The foremen managed by terror and hired prizes fighters to keep control. Workers could not talk during lunch and had to raise their hands to go to the bathroom. Such indignities, as well as poor wages and unsafe working conditions made workers ready to join unions. Today, it is unlikely that many managers would consider using the intimidating tactics. In general, however, when workers today chose to unionize, it is due to frustration with management over issues such as wages, benefits and of fair treatment. The labour union developed as a means by which collective power to accomplish goals that could not be accomplished alone. Whether that power is used to increase take-home wages, to ensure job protection,

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to improve working condition or simply sit across the bargaining table with employer, members believe that in a union there is strength. The most common union mean of demonstrating strengths has been the strikes (Carrel, 1995:63).

1.2.1 THERE ARE VARIOUS EXTERNAL FACTORS THAT MAY FACILITATE THE EMPLOYEES DECISION TO JOIN THE UNION SUCH AS:

- The capacity of the union to assist the employee;
- Encouragement or even pressure from co-workers to join;
- Support the union enjoys in the broader society; and
- Lack of any other alternative available to the employee.

1.2.2 EXTERNAL PRESSURES WHICH MAY INHIBIT THE EMPLOYEE FROM JOINING A UNION, NAMELY:

- The cost of dues;
- Union ineffectiveness, for example poor recruiting methods;
- No co-worker support or intimidation; and
- Employer intimidation.

In South Africa, approximately 40% listed intimidation from employers is the reason for joining a union (Wheeler & McClendon, 1971).

Gallagher and Strauss (1991:117) state that employers generally need to consider a multitude of factors in considering the costs and benefits of joining a union. A decision to leave a union may occur when members perceive that the cost outweigh the benefits, usually when a union has failed to satisfy the needs of its members. The level of union commitment that is an extent to which an individual accepts or

identifies the goals and values of the union. It is a stronger predictor of union turn over than is a member's satisfaction with its specific performance.

Much of the research into reasons why workers join trade unions concludes, "instrumental attitudes to unionism prevail over moral and political commitment" (Hirszowics, 1981:121). The workers' aims are focussed on bread and butter issues and the contents of their pay packet. In a social attitudes survey conducted in South Africa in 1989, 80% of workers gave economic reasons as a very of fairly important reason for joining a union. In the survey conducted by Torres (1995:77), it was found that among 429 black union members, 60% stated a major reason for joining a union was "to improve wages and working conditions". The study also revealed that:

Low-income groups more frequently state that they have joined the union to improve wages and working conditions that do high-income groups. Three out of four low-paid workers say they join unions to improve their wages and working conditions whereas only one out of three with incomes between R2 400 and R3 000 gives this reason for organization. It appears that with keeping Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory as lower order needs for basic economic security are satisfied other needs may become pressing and influence decision making regarding unionization.

1.3 JOB SECURITY AND REGULATION

Many employees join unions as a means of protecting their jobs. In the Social Attitudes Survey cited above, 93 per cent of African workers believed that a primary reason for their joining a trade union was to protect them if problems came up. Insecurity is often a driving force of unionization. Through the collective voice and

muscle of the unions, a member expects to be protected from retrenchment, dismissal and unilateral action by management in changing job descriptions and working conditions. Management can be more readily challenged through the employees' representatives, namely, shop stewards and unions officials. Individual members who wish to protest are protected from exposing themselves to victimization. A major reason for joining a union among 204 new Dutch union members said they had joined to avoid personal problems in interactions with management. This reason was termed "Conflict Insurance" by (Wheeler & McClendon, 1971).

Hirschman (1980:196) referred to the opportunity for individual workers to chose either the collective voice options to air their grievances through direct access by their representatives to management or the existing option that is the choice to leave the organisation. In South Africa, the latter option seldom exists for most employers given the 32,6% rate of unemployment in the country. Over the past five years, approximately 300 000 jobs were shed in the manufacturing sector. This higher rate of retrenchment has undermined employer feelings of security. Research done by Torres (1995:79) in Gauteng showed that among 861 black employees, only 60% reported that their jobs fulfilled their needs for job security.

Many workers with a need for affiliation may join unions for comradeship and community acceptance. Interaction among union members may not only be confined to the work place or formal union meetings but may also take place at shebeens, pubs, sports and other social events. There were members of closely-knit communities that are employed in the same industry or large company. There is a high level of union density, employees who are non-union members or members of a rival union may be deliberately excluded from social events. Peer pressure may play a major role in propelling the individual to union membership. Solidarity is

particularly heightened during strikes. Songs and marches frequently enhance the feeling of belonging to a powerful organisation. Intimidation of reluctant potential supporters may even be resorted to in extreme cases, especially during strikes (Finnemore, 1997:77).

1.4   SELF-FULFILMENT

In the ages, trade unions were in the absence of educational, political or other opportunities of importance; and sometimes, sole vehicle for the advancement of those with ability to negotiate (Salamon, 1987:202). Union activists undergo training and may develop skills that they would not have been able to secure in their ordinary daily jobs. In South Africa, the union movement has provided a school of development for many black activists, who through apartheid were denied education and opportunities in a broader society. Many shop stewards have moved into management positions within their companies while considerable numbers of unionists entered politics and public service after 1994 and some were even appointed to positions in the Cabinet under the new government.

1.5   MAJOR ROLES AND GOALS OF TRADE UNIONS

Members may thus have very different expectations of the union. The challenge for the union is to formulate its goals attempting to satisfy at least the majority of its members that need to access all available sources of power at its disposal and through organizational effectiveness. To implement strategies to achieve its goals of gaining members. However, Ross (1975:253) outline the problems for unions in achieving its aim as follows:

As an institution expands in strength and status, it outgrows its formal purpose. It experiences its own needs, develops its own ambitions and faces its own problems. These become differentiated from the needs, ambitions and problems of its ranks and file. The trade union is no exception. The union is in a constant state of ensuring that needs and aspirations of its individual members are met, while at the same time ensuring that its resources are deployed for the collective good and in a manner which ensures its own survival and growth. A further problem is that:

"The unions also receive contradictory signals from their own members. Workers are divided and contradictory. They are collectively oriented, individual and instrumental in expectations to their own standards of living" (Torres, 1995:79).

In South Africa, many union members, especially in the low-income brackets, have high expectations and in some cases expect their union representatives to perform a miracle. Members do not wish to hear any report-back from their shop stewards that in effect bring bad news. Union representatives may experience a torrid in attempting to meet their members' needs. Members' frustration may be justified and several trade unions are evaluating their performance. Schreiner (1994:91) states that levels of service to members are sorely wanting. Union leadership has tended to apply short-term solutions, which had little impact on the problems at hand. Members have had expectations dashed on many occasions-often in the name of broader anti-apartheid initiatives. In the current period there is likely to be less tolerance of the failure to meet such expectations, and in order to survive, unions will have to prioritize the realization of shop floor bread-and-butter demands.

The major role and goals of trade unions generally fall into three major categories, that is economic gains and improved working conditions for members, procedural controls to ensure job security for employees and freedom from arbitrary action by

employers, as well as political influence to drive state policies and ensure that legislation is labour-friendly. Most trade unions have as their primary goal the negotiation of higher wages and benefits for their members. These goals are usually the most stridently persuaded, as it is generally the most pressing concern of members. During recessional periods, unions have the goal of at least maintaining their member's level of earnings and preventing erosion of income due to inflation or employer policy. But in some cases, through economic crisis, employees and their unions may be compelled into a concessionaire bargaining situation where pay cuts or wage freezes have taken return for job security. Some unions have nevertheless been able to exchange these economic concessions for greater involvement in decision-making. For example, in the United States at the beleaguered Chrysler company in 1979, pay increases were postponed in exchange for the appointment of the President of the UAW (United Automobile Workers) to the broad of directors (Schreiner, 1994:67).

In South Africa, not only unions are considerably and influentially in their goal setting by macro economic factors such as unemployment and the impact of the global market. In companies where they have members, but apartheid and gender discrimination have also resulted in various distortion in the labour market that impact on their members and their wages and benefits.

The campaign that has been ongoing was launched by COSATU in 1987. They demanded a living wage for all, wages automatically linked to price increases, disclosure of financial information by employers, and a shorter working week, that is 40 hours, without loss of pay. One of the major problems in establishing a benchmark living wage is the fact that there are considerable differences in the minimum earnings in various sectors and regions of the economy. A report of NALEDI (National Labour and Economic Development Institute) (Baskin, 1993:107)

notes that million of workers still earn extremely low wages. There are even workers who still earn nothing except their accommodation. Domestic workers and those in farming operations, where union organizing is most difficult, commonly earn less than R500 per month. Women comprise a large proportion of the low-paid workers and a significant number of unionized workers still earn less than R1 000 per month. Low pay associated with the finance, hotel and catering industry as well as the building and construction sector while employees in the petroleum, beverage and bottling and pharmaceutical industry earn over R2 000 per month. In the public sector, black employees were relegated to the lowest grades often with little job security and very low pay. The pressure for compulsory centralized bargaining by the movement in the negotiations over the new Labour Relations Act was an attempt to move towards a system that would lead to homogeneity in wages across regions and sectors.

Union attention in South Africa has also been focussed on reducing the apartheid wage gap. Industry has been characterized by job evaluation systems that provided a large number of grades, with black workers predominant at the lower wages between those at the bottom of the grade structure and those at the top. Due to job reservations and limited education opportunities for the black worker, an artificially shortage if highly skilled, white artisans were created thereby raising wages of these workers, while unemployment, lack of union rights and poor education of black workers served to depress their wages. The National Union Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) initiated a major program to address these issues and tyre industries in obtaining agreements in 1995 that:

- Link wages to inflation rates for the next three years;
- Put mechanisms in place to diminish the gap in earnings between grades;
- Reduce the number of grades;

- Develop skills training and link pay skills acquired; and
- Make provisions for productivity linked group incentive schemes at the work place.

1.6 GENDER EQUITY

It was only in 1997 that gender discrimination was prohibited by the Labour Relations Act and in 1981 the Wage Act was amended to prohibit separate pay structures based on race and sex in wage determination. Gender equity is also focussed on progressive Trade unions in South Africa. This meant that men and women could not be paid different rates of pay for the same work. In many industries not covered by the wage board, differences have continued and some unions have resorted to strike action (Dove, 1993:27).

Moll (1995:60) concluded that women earn anything between 27 and 50 per cent less than equivalently qualified men, after standardizing for commonly measured variables, such as age. In 1995, many married women in the public sector had not yet received housing loans although the constitution promotes equality. A further issue to be tackled by unions is the lower pay associated with female dominated jobs such as nursing, teaching, and social work, secretarial and clerical work.

Pay can be allocated according to grade and without gender bias. Gender equity and equity in pay and benefits remain an important goal for the unions in South Africa, although the low number of women in leadership position in the union movement means that gender issues are often not put to the fore in negotiations (Gunderson, 1994:79).

The unions continuously focus on the improvement for their members in negotiations and as such benefits often secure the loyalty and commitment of members to the union. Presently, unions have focussed on improving training opportunities, moving from pension to provident funds, severance pay and the establishment of a work security fund to cushion retrenchments, maternity leave and benefits, paternity leave, sick leave, health care and medical aid, housing loans, provision of transport and education bursaries.

Employees shift from pension funds to provident funds has occurred in many industries due to various reasons, namely:

- The ability to withdraw a lump sum on retirement from the provident fund, which can be used for housing or business purposes as opposed to a one third withdrawal limit from pension funds;

- The fact that provident fund members who withdraw a lump sum can still qualify for an old-age pension;

- Suspicious of living money invested in institutions with which workers are not familiar; and

- Practical difficulties in receiving a monthly pension where beneficiaries do not have bank accounts (Sephton et al, 1990:100).

Some unions have even taken the initiative in launching financial benefit schemes for their members themselves. For example, a Community Growth Fund (CGF), COSATU and NACTU leaders launched a registered unit trust in 1992. The fund only invest in companies that are successful and give attention to job creation, fair wages, good industrial relations, health and safety as well as training and advancement for black employees.

Maternity leave has been strongly fought for in companies where employees are mostly female. In 1993 the Labour Relations Act prohibited dismissal of women on the basis of pregnancy or any reason attached. There was no real protection for women from discrimination. This agreement is based on guiding principles that men and women have the right to hold a job, to lead a normal family life, to work under healthy and safe conditions and to give their children the necessary care and attention. Women and men should have equal opportunities to combine gainful employment with family life. Under the agreement:

- A mother has eleven months maternity leave, nine of which are paid. Employees receive 75% of wages for three months and 30% for six months. (this is in addition to the 45 per cent provided for six months by the unemployment insurance fund);
- Of these eleven months, parents may save leave for later occasions to be taken before the child's fourth birthday;
- Couples employed by the company can share this leave. Fathers are provided with eight days paternity leave at the time of confinement or adoption;
- During pregnancy, women have one day off per month for the first six months and thereafter one paid day off every two weeks;
- The company will cover medical aid pension contributors while the employee is on parental leave;
- All permanent employees qualify for such leave provided that they have marked for the company for two months prior to accessing the leave benefits; and
- Part-time employees were included in this agreement in 1995 and are entitled to a proportional share of benefits provided (Finnemore, 1997:81-82).

The normal experience of workers is the pressure from employers, managers and directors who force the workers to produce more products under abnormal conditions. According to Hetch (1997:103) the manager and others in the personnel division are concerned with all factors involved in establishing and maintaining an adequate workforce. The relationship between workers and employer is based on a negotiated contract (written or applied) between an individual and the organization (Popens, 1971:156). In recent time managers and their assistants are responsible for recruiting and selecting employees using affirmative action standards. Their duties also include transferring, promoting and discharging employees. They are supposed to maintain labour relations with unions that represent employees and establish wage salary scales.

Trade unions often protect the dignity and job security of its members by reducing management prerogative or unilateral control over various aspects of decision making in an industry.

In the above introductory chapter it is observed that the early trade unions were either formed as a General union or as a Craft union. We intent to find out in this research whether the three unions that exist in the Mondi Kraft Industry, namely, the National Employee Trade Union (NETU), the National Employee of South African Workers Union (NESAWU) and Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union (CEPPWAWU) are organised as Craft union or General Workers Union.

Secondly, this chapter, has also shown that external pressures like cost of dues. Union in effectiveness and the employer's intimidation inhibit the employees' desire to join union. Earlier studies on trade union by Wheeler and McClendon (1971) shows that 40% of the respondents attributed intimidation from employers as a

factor discouraging them from joining the union. The question we would like to ask at this juncture is that, is it possible in the present day for workers not to join unions because of the above factors? This research attempts to investigate this problem in Modi Kraft Industry.

Thirdly, the new Labour Relations Act as shows in this introductory chapter has prohibited gender discrimination and separate pay structure based on race and sex. An attempt will be made in this research to find out how the three unions in this industry under study, namely NETU, NESAWU and CEPPWAWU has helped in eliminating the issue of gender discrimination.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical issues that are relevant to this research. In the same vein an attempt will be made to review past studies on trade unions at both international and national levels. In these theoretical issues, emphasis is placed on the concept of industrial relations and trade unions. The phenomenon of trade unions is rooted in an industrial sector and Capital growth. It is clearly indicated that unions not only aim at improving conditions such as wages and other benefits in the company, but also defend the *status quo* and protect members from dismissal, retrenchment and even cut in pay. The struggle to increase wages is generally more conflictual than other issues. Managements often offer wages that are below the inflation rate and workers have never accepted this. In view of this, Harvey argues that "Wage negotiations and class struggle are not a tea party. If management expects workers to accept a cut in their real wages, they must expect workers to fight back".

On the other hand the protection of workers is not only sought in direct negotiation with the employer. Unions also have an important and broader political role to play in ensuring state support for workers' lives, not only at the workplace but in their communities and in society as a whole. In broad terms, unions in the countries that are based on market economies and multi-party democracies have economic, political and social functions to play.

2.1 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

Salamon (1992:39) suggests that the input-output model regard industrial

relations system as a process of converting conflict into regulation. A system is simply a number of interdependent components that form a whole and work together with a view to attaining a common goal: for example, a person also uses a system for his own rights and come into daily contact with various system:

- When you travel to work in the morning by car or bus or train, you are part of a mechanical system;
- When you are at work, you are in a social system;
- When you come home in the evening, you are in a micro-social economic system that is your family.

According to van Dyk (1987:41), industrial relations literature appears to be more concerned with studying the resolution of industrial conflict than its generation. Barbash argues that in reality "conflict, latent or manifest, is the essence of industrial relations". Equal consideration must thus be given to its nature and development. He sees conflict as being generated by the inherent tensions within the organization: technology, scale, organization, efficiency and uncertainty. In short, the essential features of industrialism which necessarily generate tensions of command and subordination, competitiveness, exploitation, physical deprivation at work and economic security. The latent conflict of interest, which provides the core of industrial relations, can arise from either the micro level of the organization or the macro level of the organization.

The regulatory output of industrial relations emphasizes the fundamental consensus, which must exist between the parties within the organization. There is a need to establish and maintain system (processes and institutions) that should resolve differences and facilitate the need for both sides to reach, and abide by, outcomes from the system (Salamon, 1992:39-42).

Initially Fox (1981) in his analysis on the relationship between management and workers identified three basic approaches to the relationship, that is, the unitary, radical and pluralist. But it is now accepted that a third radical perspective is to be found in the approach of fundamentalist unions and their members.

2.1.1 THE PLURALIST APPROACH

Fox (1981:314) suggests that pluralists do not envisage as the outcome of joint regulation by management and labour any major change in the organisation of labour, or in the fundamental distribution of power and control. There is an implicit acceptance of the status quo or incremental improvements within existing structures, as being desirable. Pluralism, from a radical perspective, despite its ' realism' about conflict and its stated faith in the collective bargaining process, reflects an ideological preference for preserving social institutions and class structures, or the promotion of reformist marginal change to these institutions and structures. Trade unions are supported, but only if they also play a political role, that is, if they act as agencies toward total change. The radical approach believe that there can be no point of common interest between employer and employee since in working towards increased profits and great surplus value, employees would, in effect, be supporting their own exploitation.

According to Bendix (1989:15), the pluralist perspective is based on an acceptance of the conflict of goals and interests between employer and employee. It is possible to achieve some balance of both interest and power between labour and management. Adherents to the pluralist perspective do not see trade unions as a threat, but as necessary machinery to balance the power between employer and employee and give expression to the demands of employees. More importantly, the trade unions right to existence is acknowledged not merely because of their power,

but within the framework of a set of societal values which accepts the right of employees to give expression to their demands on a common basis.

2.1.2 THE UNITARY APPROACH

From a unitary perspective the organisation logic of the enterprise is seen as pointing towards a unified authority and loyalty structure, with managerial prerogatives being legitimized by all members of the organisation. Employee behaviour is only 'rational' to the extent that it follows the 'racial' goals and policies of management. Characteristic of the early human relation's school, this approach presumes a state of 'unity' to be normal in an organisation. Conflict is perceived as an aberration, and the existence of trade unions the product of poor management, sectional greed, poor understanding of economic or the 'national interest', or the existence of subversive elements and 'agitators'.

Consequent policy approaches to dealing with conflict tend to be collaborative in the sense that efforts are made to 'educate' labour into the norms of the management process. Efforts are made to communicate more effectively with employees, and 'negotiate' through problem solving process. Alternatively, or where such efforts fail, the tactics employed may be coercive, characterized by management practice which seeks to provide a justification for the strict maintenance of managerial prerogatives, control and unilateral decision making. Trade unions are not seen as necessary. They are in fact, regarded as an intrusion in that they compete with management for the loyalty of employees and engender distracts between the parties (Fox, 1981:302).

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2.1.3 THE RADICAL APPROACH

The radical approach focuses on the political economy and the interrelationships between political and economic variables. It is based in the critical analysis of class division in the capitalist society by the neo-Marxist or radical school. From this perspective all type of the unitarist human relation and industrial relations policies are perceived as *status quo*-oriented.

From the radical stance efforts to institutionalized conflicts through collective bargaining tend to reveal a normative orientation rather than seeking of power, wealth and opportunity. Marginal, incremental wage gains and improvements in conditions of service within defined parameters, the limits of which are defined by those in power at a given point in time.

Radical approach believe that there can be no profit of common interest between employer and employee since, is working towards increased profit and great surplus value, employees would, in effect, be supporting their own exploitation. The solution is the one proposed by Marx, namely the support of the capitalist system with a system of shared ownership and communal control (Bendix, 1996: 22).

According to Herbst *et al.* (1987:31), as long as man engages in economic activity and sells his labour, there will be disputes between employer and employee. In the labour field bargaining takes place between union and management because both implicitly accept that the other party has power.

Galbraith (1984:87) proposes three types of power, namely, condign, compensatory and conditioned power. Condign power involves imposing an alternative to the preferences of the group that is sufficiently unpleasant, that the

preferences of the group are abandoned thereby wining submission. This would be akin to unions intimidating workers and imposing their will on the workers. The use of intimidatory tactics however has an inherent danger in that the use of force can backfire on the union, especially during an economic recession where job security becomes more of a concern for workers.

Compensatory power can be viewed as a form of bribery in so far as submission is obtained by giving the individual some reward he values in return for his co-operation. Workers join unions and pay their membership fee because they expect the union to improve their economic lot- that is their reward, higher wages. If however, the union is perceived as the cause of loss altogether, then it can be expected that attitudes to the union would deteriorate. Just how far attitudes would deteriorate depends on numerous variables, for example, social norms and group pressure. If an individual can be persuaded that his support of the unions' actions or behaviour is correct, morally right and valuable then he will accept the unions' goal and will follow the unions' lead regardless of his own needs and wants. He will ever forego his wages and ultimately his job if necessary. This is the third type of power, conditional power, where the individual submits to the will of others because he is persuaded that his behaviour is the preferred course of action and that the cause is just.

It is precisely a feeling of solidarity that the Cosatu alliance is trying to foster. As Herbst et al. (1987:32) point out, the Cosatu Workers Diary is full of examples such as the opening preamble to July: "Organised Workers realised that the struggle in the community is part of the struggle on the factory floor. It helps workers little to win wage increases through struggle with the bosses, only to have hard won gains taken away through the actions of government imposed 'Community Councils' and other undemocratic measures". Many other entries stress this solidarity between

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workers and other social groups. This unity and the whole community has been demonstrated in various forms of social and industrial unrest, for example, rent boycotts, sleep- and sit- ins, strikes and stay-aways.

The African National Congress (ANC) openly urges workers to unite under the umbrella of COSATU. Given that, trade unions, now with grass- root support, have organised themselves into umbrella organisations and it is not surprising that unions have tended to become politicized.

Unions with a clearly demarcated political role will also tend to have a strong bias towards socialism in their social and economic philosophy. The extreme socialist stance adopted by COASTU can again be illustrated by the entry which acts as a preamble to October in its Workers Diary: "The Russian Revolution of October 1917 is the most important event in world history. For the fist time the organised working class placed itself at the head of society. Twenty-one imperialist armies invaded the new Workers' State. The Red Army of workers and peasants defeated them all. This heroic spirit of sacrifice turned Russia from an economically backward land, into the world's most powerful industrial country". Herbst et al. (1987:31) draw attention to the stated political resolutions adopted at the inaugural congress under the heading 'National Minimum Wages' where the following resolution is adopted: "Fight to open all the books of every organised company so that workers can see exactly how the wealth they have produced is being wasted and misused by the employers' profit system. On that basis they can demand their full share of the wealth they have produced. Should the wealth not be there, then it will only prove the inefficiency of employer management and strengthen the case for worker control and the management of production".

Considering the implications of the foregoing for workers, unions would do well to

remember that they are only as powerful as the workers allow them to be their power base and that lies in the support they get from the workers. Furthermore, in the final analysis unions must face and negotiate with management, a powerful and capable adversary. Since, it can be expected that workers will be more prepared to negotiate as jobs become scarce trade unions will need to exercise caution lest they be seen as the prime reason for losing jobs and therefore lose support.

On the other hand, employers are faced with an increasingly difficult situation in that political matters, about which they can do little, are drawn into the labour arena, as the stay-aways called by COSATU during the referendum in 1983 and the 1987 elections illustrates. With the recession having made workers more cautious because they fear for the loss of their jobs it is difficult to determine how close the alliances between workers and unions are. It remains necessary for employers, and as has been shown this includes Public Organisations, to give very serious attention to labour relations in general and to accept that the situation has changed. Malherbe (1987:6) puts it this way: "Gone are the days when you could view with dispassion the problems being experienced by your competitor. His problem today is your problem of tomorrow". Employees will also have to show a united front in order to nurture a climate for negotiation. The worker in this survey group earns a salary for the manual labour they perform. Their most pressing needs would be physical survival and their approach to work would be what Goldthorpe (1968:117) would term instrumental, that is, work for what their wages can buy and not for any intrinsic award from the work itself. Furthermore, since wages are low the workers can be expected to have problems in satisfying their needs and as such would seek out the protection and a group, such as trade union, can offer. Also, since promotion possibilities are slim their perception of their environment must of necessity be one of the scarcity and not of opportunity. Consequently they will look

for group control for the insurance that they will receive their fair and equitable dues. It is also expected that young workers, better educated but with little chance of finding employment, will be more militant (Herbst *et al*, 1987:20).

Since the majority of black employees work as part of a group, it is important to be familiar with the problems they experience and also to be aware of their perceptions regarding available channels of communication for problem solving. The problems and grievances experienced by workers will have a dynamic effect on the negotiating process and to a large extent determine the functioning of the labour relations system. Stated differently, the effectiveness of the channels of communications that are available to workers can be expected to contribute to labour stability. Kinikow and McElroy (1975:8) make the assertion that "human relations and communications are inseparable. In fact our communications with our expected audience can be better than our relations with it, for human relations are the feelings attached to communications". Various authors have emphasized the importance and significance of communication. Rodgers (1976:7) states that "communication is the lifeblood of an organization" and Hicks (1967:130) is convinced that "...when communication stops, organized activity ceases to exist. Individual unco-ordinated activity returns".

At this juncture we shall analyse the various studies in trade unions at both international and local levels. At the international level we shall discuss fully trade union activities in Europe and Asia. In Europe, the two countries we shall focus on are Britain, West Germany, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. In the case of Asia, we will discuss trade union activities in Malaysia.

At the local level, we shall focus on African countries, namely, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Zambia and South Africa, which of course is the focus of this research. The

selection of the above countries is based on different historical backgrounds that influenced the early trade unions in the above countries. Undoubtedly, the different ideological backgrounds of the respective countries had much influence on the success and failures of the trade unions' activities and it is for this reason that they are of peculiar interest to us in this research.

In the case of Britain, past studies on industrial relations and trade unionism over the last decade have been characterized by the twin themes of crisis and discontinuity. During the 1980's, British trade unionism had its greatest challenge and because of this, suffered its greatest blow since the inter-period after a decade of rapid growth, at this juncture we shall analyse the various studies on the unions at both international and local levels. At the international level we shall review trade unions' activities in Britain.

2.2 EARLY THEORIES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

In recent years the dearth of systematic theories of union action and behaviour has been lamented. *Trade Unionism under collective Bargaining*, Hugh Clegg not only identifies such a problem but also drew attention to the paradoxical nature of this situation in a period when unions have come to be regarded as among 'the most powerful forces shaping our society and determining our future', although we would in no way wish to dispute the uneven quality of much of contemporary theory. Any universally accepted model of trade union growth, structure and policy has any real prospect of emerging in the near future, at the same time, it is essential to recognize the long-standing tradition of interest in generalizations about trade union and labour movements. In many instances, the germs of contemporary debates may be traced back to accounts of upwards of a century ago.

Early theories of the labour movement and to locate the origins of many of the foremost of present contributions in these classical traditions. For our major categories we have based the analysis upon the classification of Mark Perlman deployed in his seminal contribution, *Labor Union Theories in America*. Although this has been adapted, of course, to take into account the distinctive British cultural context and to incorporate primarily British material. Furthermore, although it is not our view 'that writing a study covering theoretical material after 1933' is 'essentially impossible because the latter period (until now) just simply failed to produce veins of theoretical material rich enough to warrant mining. Equally, the comprehensiveness and impressive stature of the forerunners of modern theory are undoubtedly worthy of emphasis.

But the original attempts at theorizing were far from homogeneous and undoubtedly reflected the severances of discipline, methodology, ethics and political conviction familiar today. In particular, it was possible even in the earlier accounts to discern a major disunity between 'idealist' scholars who placed great weight upon the salience of ethical values in determining union growth. Those who adopted an 'administrative' or 'structuralist' position and who thereby emphasized the conditioning effects of organizational and external environmental variables respectively. Such basic differences of approach were magnified by a number of strident polemical tracts which straddled disciplinary boundaries and academic divisions between, for example, economists and behavioural scientists.

The first approach stressed that the labour market was 'merely of a number of different types of markets, all subject to the same economic law', the institutional analysis of the trade union and the employment relationship fell largely within the province of the behavioural scientists

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Mark Perlman established five basic interpretations of trade unionism each of which was associated in its formation 'with characteristics or premises peculiar to a particular academic discipline or a particular general social movement'. These were the conceptions, respectively, of trade unions as 'moral' institutions, as part of a revolutionary tradition, as a 'psychological' or defensive reaction to early conditions of industrialism, as institutions shaped by economic forces and essentially 'business' or welfare in outlook. Finally, political organizations in the two senses of being part of the democratic process and of reflecting strategic changes in the balance of power between working people, employers and government. Moreover, the five major social movements or academic disciplines encapsulated in each perspective were:

I.   Protestant Christian Socialist and the Roman Catholic Christian social movement

II.   the Marxian social movement

III.   the environmental psychology discipline

IV.   the neo-classical economics discipline and

V.   the legal history or jurisprudential history discipline.

In the first place the ethical-political and disciplinary roots of the main theories are conflated and so are not logically resolved into their principal differences of type. Moreover, a wider set of antecedent disciplines should really be acknowledged (the omission of sociology being of obvious importance); while the ethical and ideological origins of the main controversies on, say, union character are more diverse than is implied in the Perlman classification. In addition, whereas in his original treatise, Perlman explicitly adopted a positivist approach, in the introduction to the 1976 edition he acknowledged a certain sympathy with a normative perspective. Trade union theory of approach is of proven utility and, therefore, with

modifications, it constitutes a valuable point of reference for our own account.

2.2.1 MORAL AND ETHICAL THEORIES OF TRADE UNIONISM

In the first perspective on trade union growth and character, the unions were conceived of as the offspring of advancing ethical and moral values in the nineteenth century and thus as products of evolutionary developments in the wider *culture* of which an emerging opposition to the patent injustices and poverty of the period was an obvious manifestation. This approach to trade unionism focussed attention, therefore, upon a series of independent ethical, idealist and religious factors which were seen as critical to the formation of British trade unions and, in particular, as determinants of aspects of its essential character.

The role of which has been immortalized in the familiar epithet that the trade unions and Labour Party owe far more to Methodism than to Marxism. In the nineteenth century, too, the role of Christian Socialists cannot be ignored, for they expounded a belief in the 'brotherhood of man and the consequent development of mutual obligations'. Indeed, Ludlow, Maurice and Kingsley all called for moral responsibility, the support of trade unions, and the encouragement of the producer co-operative movement (for these form of organizations were seen to permit a more just distribution of wealth), the full realization of the energies and resources of weaker members of the population and the fostering of 'initiative, self-confidence, self-restraint, self-government and the capacity for democracy'.

An essentially 'idealist' view of world history which has underpinned the moral or ethical approach to unionism therefore finds a modern counterpart in the emphasis on justice as a driving force of unionism and as an indispensable bulwark against the extremes of 'business unionism' and of revolutionary socialism respectively.

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Flanders, in particular, thus noted the salience of justice to the long-run capacity of trade unions to survive both hostile public reaction and the indifference of the membership as a whole.

The trade union movement deepened its grip on public life in its aspect as a sword of justice. When it is no longer seen to be this, when it can no longer count on anything but its own power to withstand assault, it becomes extremely vulnerable. The more so since it is as a sword of justice rather than a vested interest that it generates loyalties and induces sacrifices among its own members, and these are important foundations of its strength and vitality.

Flanders was to acknowledge that socialism had traditionally represented the conscience of the British trade union movement but argued that this variety of socialism, which evolved organically from working people's actions, was conceived as 'a set of ideals, as a moral dynamic and not as a blueprint for an economic and social system'. Moreover, his remarks on the significance of the pursuit of justice and on the vulnerability of the union movement when conceived merely as 'a vested interest' would appear in retrospect to have been remarkably prescient in the modern context.

In theoretical terms, the role of Methodism, particularly, in shaping the character of early British trade unionism has been the subject of frequent comment and certainly Halévy, Semmel, Thompson and, more recently, Moore, all emphasized its salience. Thus Halévy pointed out that, in contrast with her continental neighbours, Britain experienced a generally peaceful transition from an agricultural to an industrial society.

The Hammonds, for example, contended that Methodism was less extensive in its

impact than both its supporters and opponents would claim, and above all, they noted that this creed and its moderating influence was largely absent from communities of the urban poor. Hobsbawm took the view that Methodism made only a supplementary contribution to trade union formation, class consciousness and general social outlook in the early part of the nineteenth century and that other forces of a more structural character were ultimately of far greater effect in framing the contours of unionism, such as the changes in the distribution of occupations.

The impact of Methodism and of other ethical values in shaping early union character in Britain, it is clear that as a general theory it is by no means satisfactory as a result of being grounded in a one-sided idealist view of world history.

And yet, as Pelling has observed, this latter factor was undoubtedly paramount in occasioning the fitful development of early trade unions themselves.

The greatest obstacle to the development of trade unionism arose from the hostility of the employers of labour. They were usually well aware that their interests, in the short term at least, were bound to suffer as a result of collective instead of individual wage bargaining ... and early in the nineteenth century it was not uncommon for employers to try to force all their workers to abjure unionism altogether.

Moreover, there were clear indications of an interaction between ethics and action in the various Christian social movements, and so to posit a one-sided causal relationship without reference to the wider social context is inconsistent with evidence on the development of these movements and on their relationship with early union character itself.

2.2.2 THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

But the trade union and labour movement has also of course been a focal point for the Marxist perspective even though considering, as Banks has noted:

> the many thousands of word he wrote about capitalism, it is surprising that Marx never undertook any detailed analysis of the place of trade unions in such a society or the part they would play in the 'tradition to socialism'.

Indeed, Marxist approaches to trade unions are many and diverse although, as Hyman has observed, they may be roughly classified into the so-called 'optimistic' tradition of Marx and Engels, in which a radical potential for unions was recognized, and the 'pessimistic' interpretations of Lenin, Michels, and Trotsky where no such eventualities were foreseen. Equally, however, there remain essential divergencies in Marxist perspectives concerning the relative causal significance of structural variables (such as economic and technical movements) in shaping union development and of the role of consciousness in determining the economic, political and social action of trade union members themselves. Finally, even though in all but the most fundamentalist structuralist models and appreciation of the conditioning effects of both subjective factors (such as attitudes and beliefs) and the distribution of power may be identified, there is still a tendency, in most Marxist positions, for the concept of values as an embodiment of the creative powers of social 'actors' and that of ideologies.

Furthermore, in *Marxist Sociology in Action*, in respect of the British steel industry, Banks argued that the growth in the scale of enterprise and technical advance had indeed facilitated unionism (though not in the form of a single union covering the whole industry) and had encouraged the emergence of a 'revolutionary' class

consciousness in the sense of a demand for nationalization of the industry. However, this reflected an organizational rather than political consciousness in which criticism centred on the *unfitness* of the capitalists to wield power and their *inability* to deal with the problems of large-scale production because of the divisive nature of the competitive systems'.

But the attention of Marxists has turned particularly to the radical or revolutionary potential of trade unions. The so-called 'optimistic' tradition of Marx and Engels can be summarized as follows:

> The evolution of industrial capitalism provides the preconditions of collective organisation by throwing workers together in large numbers, and creates the deprivations which spur them to combination. This unity, by transcending competition in the labour market, in itself threatens the stability of capitalism: it also develops workers' class consciousness and trains them in methods of struggle. The limited economic achievements of their unions lead workers to adopt political forms of action, and ultimately to challenge directly the whole structure of class domination.

It is clear that both Marx and Engles began to entertain doubts about the effectiveness of unions in this respect, partly because of the initial development of trade unionism only amongst the 'labour aristocracy' of skilled workers, but also on account of the character of the leadership and even of the 'embourgeoisement' of the working class associated, during the nineteenth century, with the hegemonic position of Britain in the world economy. Indeed, in a famous passage in *Value, Price and Profit*, Marx observed that unions worked well only as 'centres of resistance against the encroachment of capital' but were not so effective as spearheads of a new economic and political system.

These reservations were reinforced amongst writers of the 'pessimistic' school of which Lenin was the chief exponent: indeed as he noted in 'What is to be done?' Social-Democratic (that is, revolutionary) consciousness could not occur amongst workers themselves and 'would have to be brought to them from without.

The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade-union consciousness, that is, the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical, and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals.

2.2.3 UNIONISM AS A 'PSYCHOLOGICAL' OR DEFENSIVE REACTION TO THE EARLY CONDITIONS OF INDUSTRIALISM

Many other attempts to discern the behaviour of trade unions and indeed some writers have concentrated particularly upon the formative environment of the early industrial revolution in shaping an essentially defensive or protective outlook amongst the membership. These commentators accept many of the arguments of the so-called 'pessimistic' school but draw very different conclusions by emphasizing what they regard as the deleterious effects of intellectuals upon the labour movement and the consequent necessity for 'organic labour' to struggle not just against employers but also against those members of the intelligentsia who seek to distort 'pure and simple' unionism from its 'essential' purposes. Some points of disagreement stem from the differences of degree or of political persuasion, although this third approach adds a further useful historical dimension to the debates and a valuable focus upon the components of trade union consciousness itself. However, it is correspondingly deficient at a structural level and the effects of any prolonged period of 'affluence' upon trade unionists' attitudes have not been satisfactorily assessed, partly because of the conditions of the period when many of the relevant theories were constructed.

It was Selig Perlman who, in *A Theory of the Labour Movement*, argued that three factors were dominant in explaining trade union and labour history: first, the resistance power of capitalism; second, the role of the intellectual who was always impressed upon the labour movement 'tenets characteristic of his own mentality', and third, and most vital, the labour movement itself. Indeed:

> Trade unionism, which is essentially pragmatic, struggles constantly, not only against the employers for an enlarged opportunity measured in income, security, and liberty in the shop and industry, but struggles also, whether consciously or unconsciously, actively or merely passively, against the intellectual who would frame its programs and shape its policies.

The labour movement has also attended to the conditioning impact of the early industrial revolution on the perceptions of rank and file unionists. Hence Hoxie, Parker and Tannenbaum all recognized the 'psychologically' defensive character of trade unions and the last mentioned, in common with Brentano and Howell, sought to establish parallels between trade unions and the medieval guilds. However, in Britain only craft unions really fit this interpretation at all closely, although in their opposition to skill reduction and to labour dilution and in their concern over demarcation and job rights they all reflect a particular form of consciousness of scarcity. Turner, too, in his classic study, *Trade Union Growth Structure and Policy*, noted the long-term consequences for the British labour movement of the early growth of unionism amongst the labour aristocracy of skilled craft workers particularly in respect of their concern over demarcation and 'job rights'.

2.2.4 ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS AND PURPOSE OF TRADE UNIONS

Nonetheless, other explanations for union growth and character have revolved around economic conditions in terms either of their constituting an essential basis for unionism itself and then for determining subsequent fluctuations in overall membership, or of their informing the orientations of rank and file members. Both

structural and subjective influences upon unionism have thus been embodied in this perspective but, particularly with regard to the objectives of union members, the overall focus is narrow and the salience of power in affecting the outcome of conflicts of interest have frequently been overlooked.

The foundations of the 'economic implications' school were systematically laid by the Webbs in their monumental study, *The History of Trade Unionism*. The approach here was primarily structural since they argued forcefully that trade unions depended in the first instance upon a change in economic relationship which brought about a sharp cleavage of interests and function between employer and employee. Moreover, they placed special weight on the salience of economic relationships rather than technology and factory size in shaping the character of modern trade unions and noted that in all cases in which trade unions arose

> the great bulk of workers had ceased to be independent producers, themselves controlling the processes, and owning the materials and the product of their labour, and had passed into the condition of life-long wage-earners, possessing neither the instruments of production nor the commodity in its finished state.

Similarly, in a series of articles Bain and Price have concentrated upon recent economic changes in affecting the overall growth of unionism in Great Britain and have paid particularly close attention to the white collar sector in this regard.

2.2.5 DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF UNIONS

This perspective is an important corrective to cruder versions of structural and subjective determinism and it revolves largely around the critical issue of the power of unions in modern society. However, by the same token, it is often insensitive to the broader conditions of economic and technical change which facilitate the expansion of unions in the first place, and again the narrow compass of union

objectives embraced here is far from satisfactory.

Several labour movement theorists and especially Chamberlain, Commons, Adams, and Flanders have thus focussed upon the political objectives of unions in respect of extending workers' rights by means of industrial and political struggle. Chamberlain, for example, identified two main 'political' activities of trade unions: first in industrial government, and second in industrial management. Thus the 'sharing of industrial sovereignty' involved introducing the rule of law into management-worker relationships in order to obviate the worst elements of power struggle; the managerial focus, by contrast, rested on the principle of 'mutuality', which recognizes the right of all members of a concern to have a voice in decisions which affect them. This belief in the extension of workers' rights through union activities was also developed by Commons who argued that 'bargaining between collective socio-economic groups tended to supersede individual political expression as the sovereign power in the democratic state'. Moreover, for Adams, the genesis of trade unions and their ultimate rationale was dependent on the emergence of capitalism which had swept away all the feudal rights, laws and customs which had reduced competition between employees. It was therefore the main aim of trade unions and the primary aspiration of trade unionists to establish a new set of rights which were relevant to the new forms of society and of social relationships.

In particular, AM Ross, in criticizing Dunlop's economic view of wage determination, advanced a political theory of union wage policy 'based on the view that the union must be considered as essentially a political agency operating in an economic environment, but whose internal decision-making processes could only be understood in political terms'. Moreover, he further asserted that the principal objective of the union leadership was to uphold the union itself as a viable institution and that it served ultimately to maintain the political position of the leadership within it.

Among British theorists of the labour movement there has also been, almost

invariably been a sensitivity to the political aspirations of trade unionism. This was once particularly evident in the work of GDH Cole but the leading advocate of this view was to course Allan Flanders who argued that the basic social purpose of trade unions was 'job regulation', not as an end in itself, but as a means for the free development of the individual worker during the course of working life *per se*. The growth of workplace bargaining was thus viewed as a particularly obvious symptom of this concern, but this was not confined to the boundaries of an industry for it implied regulation at a national level as well in order to influence overall levels of employment, greater economic planning and so forth. The recent interest in industrial democracy, founded upon the existing structure of the British trade union movement, has provided a cogent and interesting example of this development in unionism in the modern era (Poole, 1981:6-18).

Most studies of Britain industrial relations and trade unionism over the last decade have been characterized by the twin theme of crisis and discontinuity.

- During the 1980's British trade unionism faced its greatest challenge, and suffered its greatest reverses since the inter-war period.
- After a decade of rapid growth, for much of which trade unions exercised significant influence in the corridors of power, they experienced a steep decline in their membership, a depleted following and in national political affairs even in the affairs of the labour party itself and at times-virtual marginalization.

Trade unions seemed to have lost confidence in playing any role, indeed they appeared at times to have become increasingly confused over what their role could be, and should be, at that time. Trade union membership reached a peak in 1979 when it stood at 13,289,000. By 1990 it had fallen over by 3 million to 9.9 million, the lowest membership figure since 1961. At the same time trade unions' density fell from over half of the workplace in 1979 too 32 percent in 1990 (Department of Employment, May 1993:189).

Finally, from active partnership in national tripartite institution, the trade union leadership found itself ignored by government, while a series of major legislative acts were passed to curb strikes and to make recruitment more difficult.

At the very least, the historical record on union influence in Britain suggests that any such prediction should be carefully qualified. The experience of the inter-war years should not be over looked. Although the decline of British trade unionism in the 1920's and 1930's was massive and long lasting, and the cause of demoralization in the part of the labour movement, it had later been viewed in significant part as cyclical and contingent, above all as an outcome of the structural change recurrent of economic recession of the inter-war years (Gallie, 1961:2).

Employers began to move away from a policy of by passing them in favour of direct links between management and employees. A particular clear statement of this view was advanced by Beaumont in 1987 in a book titled "The decline of trade union Organization". Beaumont argued that a major change in management could be held to constitute the major threat to union density in UK, given the existing recognition arrangements are generally viewed to be largely the result of management policies and practices. His argument was based on the sharp increase of union mark-up on pay although it had been facilitated by a move from centralized bargaining arrangement. The growth of a secondary workforce of workers on fixed-term contracts or working for sub-contractors and industrial relations legislation was designed to weaken the unions.

Other factors that have been viewed, as altering employer attitude to trade unions in Britain was the rapidly changing technology and product market environment of the 1980's. Employers had been faced by sharp increase in competition in the product market and one of their principal responses to this was to accelerate the introduction of new technology. A trade union movement still profoundly influenced by historic craft traditions; the achievement of such flexibility requires a market reduction in union influence. The 1980's saw the advocacy of a new philosophy

of employee relations-human resource management. This conflicted in many ways with the latter being the assumption of the traditional industrial relations models. Later the employee commitment was to be secured through the process of collective bargaining. Human resource management, on the other hand, advocated a sharply individualistic approach to the relationship between employer and employee. Employee motivation was seen as depending upon the development of better direct communications with individual employer. The closer monitoring and evaluation of performance, the development towards the recognized individual effort and performance for personal development and for advancement within the organization (Gallie, 1996:14).

The unions were seen as helping to ensure effective communications in the workplace, as making it possible to build up higher levels of trust and as permitting more rational forms of negotiation. There was no evidence of widespread anti-unionism among employers and those employers that had union's present emphasis on the continuity rather than change in their policies. Daniel (1987:22) argued that the trade union was not a significant obstacle to technical change but only reinforced by the finding that workplaces which recognized manual trade unions were consistently more likely to introduce change affecting manual workers.

According to Batstone (1988:67) collective bargaining was recognized as the most effective way of winning consent and co-operation to workplace rules, institutionalized relationships. Trade unions prevented the irruption of wild cat strikes that had devastating effects in the production. In any event of negotiations there was a realistic response to employers awareness of the coercive power of strong trade union movement.

According to Gallie (1996:33) employers are more favourable to the union in larger establishments, where there is a greater need to ensure formal communication with the workforce and negotiate agreements about employment conditions. The direction of change in the 1980's had been for growth of smaller, and the relative

decline of larger establishments. Secondly, it was a period of technological change. Arguable employers were encouraged to reduce union influence by a desire to implement change more rapidly, without over pay and work organization. Thirdly, changes in the labour market, particularly the high level of unemployment in some local labour markets, might have given employers a sense that cheap labour would be available if trade unions influence could be reduced, while giving them an increased confidence in their power to curb the unions in the context of employee insecurity. Fourthly, sharpening national and international product market competition might have led to much greater emphasis being placed on the efficiency of working practices being placed on the efficiency of working practices and reduction of costs, thereby increasing anti-union feeling among the employers most affected. Finally, the 1980's saw an ambitious legislative programme designed to weaken trade union power and this may have both encouraged employers, and given then the means, to vote back union controls in the workplace.

The nature of managerial attitudes to unions' organization in the mid-1980's and with assessing the extent to which effective union influence had changed within the workplace. It provides the essential context both for the analysis of employee's involvement in unionism and for the intensive case studies of management union relations. This research will also explore the major contextual influences on managerial policies and union influence and will consider whether or not the spread of new types of managerial policy for communication with the workforce posed a fundamental threat to the traditional influence of the unions or not.

The growth and decline in trade union membership ranging from changes in the legislative environment, facilitating or impeding the ability of union to recruit members. The changes in the industrial and occupational composition of the labour force more recently away from sectors and jobs which have only ever been weakly organized, to business cycle's explanations which rely upon arguments about the perceived benefits of membership in times of high inflation or the ability of employers to oppose collectively organize labour in times of high level of

unemployment (Gallie, 1996:172).

At present an alternative view of the dynamics of trade union membership, using a unique source of information on membership changes, the life and work history information collected from over 6,000 people in six localities in England and Scotland in the SCELI work histories/attitudes survey. The role of secular influences on trends in membership, particularly those, which are associated with underlying changes in the composition of labour force or the propensity of younger workers to join and leave unions, compared with their older counterparts. These will be contrasted with the business cycle "explanations", particularly, the role of inflation or unemployment as possible courses of membership growth decline.

The ability of trade unions to influence the wages of its members has long been a subject of interest to social scientist. Trade union could exert any appreciable influence at all, but gradually with the development of theory and the accumulation of empirical evidence attention switched to a discussion of what is sometimes called the trade union mark-up on wages. The empirical magnitude of this effect has an important bearing on certain explanations of Britain's current high level of unemployment and on recent government policy towards trade unions. The social change and economic life initiative to produce estimate for 1986 of the union-non-union differences of wages gap in Britain.

Early commentators were handicapped by inadequate theoretical models of wages determination, such as the wages fund, and saw little prospect of unions securing any long term gains for their members. This pessimistic outlook was enforced by the social and political considerations of the day, which gave much power to the employers and little to the workers or their combinations (Smith, 1976:74-75).

The Combinations Law Repeal Act of 1824 marked the beginning of a slow change in the balance of industrial power. During late nineteenth century, the emergence of the marginalist revolution in economic thought permitted Marshal (1920) to

produce the first modern analysis of the effects of trade unions in his laws of derived demand. In terms of demand and supply elasticity of the employment effects of any union-induced wage premium retains much of its validity and relevance to this day.

In 1932 Hicks went on to provide a full integration of the trade union into the neoclassical analysis of wages, but it was the work of Dunlop (1944) and Ross (1948) that provided the stepping-off point for much of the subsequent empirical analysis of trade unions. Both Dunlop and Ross placed the trade unions at the centre of their analysis, with Ross laying emphasis on the social and political forces that circumscribe the actions of trade unions leaders. Dunlop projected the union as a rational economic entity. A very large union-non-union wage gap suggests that from society's point of view, a transfer of labour from the non-union into the union sector could improve welfare. Other difficulties exist in the treatment of fringe benefits, stability of employment, hours of employment (rationing), and the union membership-collective coverage issue (Gallie, 1996:217).

From the above discussions, of particular interest in this research is the analysis of John T Dunlop. We shall use Dunlop analysis to study Mondi Kraft industry. According to Dunlop, an industrial-relations system at any one time in its development is regarded as comprised of certain actors, certain contexts, an ideology which binds the industrial-relations system together, and a body of rules created to govern the actors at the work place and community. However in this study, we are only interested in the actors, we are not interested in the context and ideology because these have no direct relationship with the focus of this research.

The actors in Industrial Relations System
The actors are (1) a hierarchy of managers and their representatives in supervision, (2) a hierarchy of workers (non managerial) and (3) a specialised governmental agencies. Although three actors are involved in the system, we are again only interested in the action between two of the actors, namely the management and

workers.

We shall find out from this research how management and workers influence union activities in Mondi Kraft Industry. The role of trade unions in maintaining a cordial relationship between management and workers in Mondi Kraft Industry will be discussed in chapter five of this dissertation.

2.3 TRADE UNIONS AND ITS DEVELOPMENT - MACRO AND MICRO ANALYSIS

In terms of Macro analysis, we shall discuss the development of trade unions in Europe and Asia continent while in Micro analysis we shall focus on the development of trade unions in Africa.

MACRO ANALYSIS

2.3.1 The West Germany experience

In West Germany, Mommsen(1985:201), stated that the German trade unions experienced at least four decades of changing fortunes and dogged struggle for the survival of the organization before the demise of the *Sozialistengesetz* (Anti-Socialist Law), allowed them within a matter of months to arrive at lasting organizational structure. *Opposition to the organized expression of trade unions interest stemmed* not solely from uncompromising industrialists but also from the ranks of the bureaucratic authorities. The primacy of a structural nature and resulted from the extremely varied experiences of wide sectors of the population, and in particular the working classes during the industrial revolution.

The most conflicting experience confronted one another: for some, big business confirmed developments already signalized within the introduction of freedom of trade and ensuring over crowding of individual trade. Also there is a falling of family income, falling expectations of adequate opportunities for self-employment, downward social mobility and improvement. Cobblers and tailors were among the most even where they were able to survive in the long run, had to cope with far-reaching structural changes in methods of production and marketing as a result of

pressure from growing factory competition. For example, the supply trades, benefited from rapid population growth and the development of mass corruption, as a rule this group was actually able to expand its share of the market. Finally for one last group of traditional trades including, for example, the building trade, the extraordinary investment boom led to an unparalleled economic upswing. In this connection those new trades should not be overlooked which owed their existence to new opportunities as suppliers and repairers to prospering factories and large scales industry.

By viewing the process of trade unions formation in Germany from the perspective of such varying and conflicting experience and patterns of conflict regulation, it is therefore hardly surprising that the development of stable trade union structure took at least three decades. It was by no means completed even by mid 1870's on account of renewed authorization and administrative repression. On the other hand, in comparison with Britain and in view of the difficult circumstances this was actually a relatively rapid process, which depended on the specific, forms of the later and therefore more rapid industrialization in Germany. It was not only the middle-class German social reformers at the forefront in the *Verein für Socialpolitile* (Association for Social Policy). They closely observed the course of events in Britain *but also in particular the early trade unions central association, and in this way they* prepared the German public for the acceptance in principle of the inevitability of open conflict between capital and labour.

Although strikes had been known for centuries as a form of protest on the part of journeymen within the guilds, their increasingly frequent occurrence since the onset of industrialization was met at best within an attitude of sharpest condemnation. The fact that the emerging labour force first had to make this method of conflicting resolution its own, as they had yet to learn the most appropriate method of realizing their interest. For the workers not incorporated in traditions of internal trade and guild bonds the primary means of expressing their interest, beyond petitioning the authorities were generally riots and relatively disorderly demonstrations.

Furthermore, one should not overlook the fact that at the onset of social change early phases of industrialization threw up a wide range of new problems of adaptation which could not, or at least not primarily, identify the work process and the capitalist economic order as the primary cause of conflict. The strikes therefore emerged only gradually and by a roundabout route as the appropriate method of resolving conflicts from amongst a host of diversely motivated and quite varying forms of protest. On the other hand, Germany had a long tradition of authorization law against the Journeymen's movement at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

The role of the uncompromising authoritarian Herr-im-house attitude to any kind of workers' movement which was prevalent amongst employers in heavy industry. As far as the state and industrial conflict is concerned, there is a further point: the traditionally repressive patterns of thought and behaviour, which found expression in the actions of the state. Which disrupted the process of trade unions formation at its most vulnerable point, as they were "Natural" relationship between conflict and organization.

If the constitutive character of social conflict in the development of the trade unions was taken as a serious factor, an endless array of examples from early trade unions history must be considered. Which without exception demonstrate the extent to which contemporary conflicts aroused and stimulated the establishment of stable organizational structures. The trade union, however, founded on the legally required approbation of the statutes by the responsible authorities, the royal regional government in Düsseldory. In particular, the strike movement of the 1850's, which culminated in the currently still insufficiently researched 1857 wave of strikes, provides clear examples of the prevention of trade union organization by means of police opposition at the earliest possible point of conflict. It was even more the case during the years of the *Sozialistengesetz*, 1878-90, when the mainly confessional workers' association, committed to articulating their views within the system, flourished and gave birth to great petition movements, and even those

workers of trade union persuasion also saw themselves thrown back on petition (Mommsen, 1985:208).

According to Schönhoven (1985:219) a trade union constitution developed. It remained valid during the Weimar Republic and, in its essential features also determined the recognition of trade union movement after 1945. The centralization of the trade union organizations in Germany began comparatively early. Therefore, this analysis has to start with a brief review of the phase in which the trade union movement was reconstructed during the special legal situation created by the Sozialistengsetz. Then we will deal with the internal debates and the organization and concentration of trade union organizational structures. The free trade unions are main subjects of the essay. Their membership and importance was not evenly nearly matched by the other two German trade union organizations, the Hirshch-Duncker Trades Association and the Christian Trade Unions. But over concentration on the social democratic trade union movement is also justified because the non-socialist union association did not experience any comparable internal controversies, nor did they face decisions of such fundamental importance for the shape and structure of their organization.

The statistical data available for the period show that the craft predominated among the trade union organization in the 1880's at the end of 1882 in Hamburg, for example. There were independent craft association for engravers, brush-makers, basket-makers, cart-wrights, masons, ships' carpenters, blacksmiths, shoe-makers, rope-makers and twisters, decorators, goldplaters, dockers, cigar and cigarette makers. These were clubs that concentrated their organization on narrowly defined, specific crafts formed the new local cores for the reconstruction of the trade union movement. They also continued to traditions interrupted by the Sozialistengesetz when it came into force in the autumn of 1878.

It was already obvious at this time that the trade union movement was shifting towards previously unorganized industrial branches and occupations. But the

majority of union members still came from small and medium sized firms, in which the employees had been through an apprenticeship for several years. These highly skilled workers had scarcely been affected by industrialization, they worked mainly in branches of production hardly touched by mechanization and in which manual skills were in particular demand. Despite the fact that industrial reality with its deskilling effects had not yet reached them personally, they decided to break with old guild traditions and journeymen's association and opted for unionization. This is particularly true of the urban workers, who were the backbone of the union movement and showed much greater interest in union organization than colleagues are in rural areas. These urban groups had quickly recognized the dynamism of industrial development and social and economic changes deriving from it, and their consciousness changed. This was shown by the fact that they turned away from guild-oriented behaviour and organization and accepted the principle of union representation.

The future of the craft unions and the possibility of industrialized cooperation between central union organization of similar occupations were discussed. An argument also developed over the principle of centralization and whether it actually could provide a working basis for the German trade union movement. The independent local unions could exist beside the centralized trade unions without being strictly organized and without centralized bureaucracies and decision-making structures. But behind the argument about centralization a localism lay far-reaching differences about the ideology, the concept, the character and the tracks of trade unions. These debates were suspended by the controversy about organization. A decision had to be taken on the extent of the representative principle within the unions, that is, an internal union democracy, and also on the role of trade union interest-politics with regard to the emancipation of working class.

The local clubs, which had been formed during the first years of the Sozialistengesetz, had often functioned both as trade unions offices and as secret

meeting places for outlawed socialists. This double role of economic and political centres of the labour movement went unchallenged where neither the party nor the unions had superior local channels of communication or organizational structures. But from mid 1880's the local clubs gradually lost this unrivalled key position. Since by then, numerous national trade union organizations had to been set up which incorporated existing craft association and, at the same time, tried to restrict the autonomous tendencies of local groups. The continued existence of an independent local movement was even more threatened when the *Sozialistengsetz* expired and the social democratic Party was able to rebuild its own local organization in the autumn of 1890 (Mommsen, 1985:222-223).

The German trade union movement has played a decisive role in the shaping of the social and industrial relations systems. Since after the war there had been a highly unified body, with eighty percent of all unions resorting under the *Deutsche Gewertschäftsbund*. From the beginning the unions had, according to Hetzler and Schienstock, a townfold task. The union movement regarded itself firstly, as cooperative enterprise, the duty of which was to protect members from economic and social inequality by bargaining and participation at the work place. Secondly, it was itself a political movement, aimed at abolishing the sociopolitical conditions, which created dependence and under-privilege among the working class. The trade unions were among the first to propose a plan for a new form of economic democracy. To these ends they demanded nationalization of basic industries, centralized planning of the economy and comprehensive co-determination. A compromise was eventually achieved in that the free market continued to operate, but unions could use their bargaining power to promote worker interests and could ensure protection of employees by participating and join decision-making. In the trade union movement and the practice of workers' participation at work place, collective bargaining occurs at either national or regional level. The result has been a more ordered system than in many other societies and less industrial unrest than in countries such as Britain and the United States of America (Bendix, 1996:62).

2.3.2 The Yugoslavia experience

According to Bendix (1996:66) Yugoslavia could best be described as a socialist state in which communism, as it was originally instituted, was partially reformed. The needs of the society took priority over individual and the acquisition of private property, in the form of capital accumulation. Although it was not encouraged in the agricultural sector, private ownership existed and small private enterprises, employing up to seven persons. This ideology is common to all communist states. Where Yugoslavia differed was in its devolution of power from state machinery to communities and worker groups and in the encouragement of competitive enterprise, whereas in a purely communist system bureaucrats and technocrats control enterprise labour and finances. The Yugoslavian system allowed for the free association of work groups, for worker control of the enterprise and its finances and for competition between different association of labour. In the industrial relation sphere, democratic decision-making process was introduced through the system of workers' committees. Trade unions had no collective bargaining function, as there was no employer with whom bargaining could be conducted, but they did act as watchdogs over the interest of members.

In Yugoslavia there was no collective bargaining as workers jointly decided on wages, hiring and firing and disciplinary practices. The term "labour relationship" was used to refer to the contact of tenure of employment of an individual employee. Despite the absence of collective bargaining, strike action did occur as a result of particular practices, but it was usually a short duration. Trade unions played an ancillary role to the workers' council and an official of a trade union could not be elected to such a council, although this did not preclude council members from belonging to trade unions. The trade unions acted mainly as educator and opinion shaper. Its duty was to interest workers in the functions of the enterprise, to liaise between the enterprise and the community and to take care of housing and other social needs. In other words, it represented interest wider than those of the Workers' Council.

2.3.2.1   Worker's participation and councils in Yugoslavia

The practice of industrial democracy in Yugoslavia was based on an extremely complicated system of labour associations, divided into basic organizations of associated labour, work organizations and composite organizations of associated labour. These embraced entire communities but relied on the free association of basic work groups, which cooperated with the community to establish their own social infrastructures and which played a competitive role in the market place. In labour relation's terms, the core structure was system of worker management centering in the establishment of workers' council, which in essence, controlled all these organization.

Worker collectives first formulated the concept of workers' council in 1950 by basic law on the management of the enterprise. The law provided that rank-and-file workers of all grades in a particular enterprise might elect a council from among their own ranks with real power to decide on the management and allocation policies of their investment and allocation policies of their undertaking. In the enterprise where there were less than thirty employees, the entire staff constituted the workers' council. In others the size varied from 15 to 20 members, depending on the size of the undertaking. It was common practice to elect members equally from various staff categories. Council members were elected for a term of office not exceeding two years, and could not be elected for more than two consecutive terms. This prevented council members from becoming entrenched in position of power, which would be contrary to the socialist system. In practice the majority of council members were elected from the more experienced or more highly educated employees, and reliable employees were usually re-elected after their lay off term had expired. Experience proved that council renewed themselves by one third with every election.

According to Bendix (1996:97), in the Yugoslavia model, elected representatives on the worker's council were accountable to their constituents and might be

removed by the latter if their performance were not satisfactory. Selection of management took place on the basis of a public competition and was effected by the worker's council, in conjunction with trade unions and community representatives. Managers and management bodied were appointed for a term of four years, but might be re-appointed after the expiry of each term.

2.3.3 The soviet union experience

One of the striking features of the Russian Labour movement before the revolution of 1919 was the relative insignificance of the trade unions. This was due to the fact that Russian industry was still very young and that the mass of industrial workers consisted of recently proletarianized peasants. The trade unions of western Europe had behind them the long tradition of medieval guilds, whose descendants in a sense they were. No such tradition existed in Russia. More important still, up to the beginning of this century trade union organization was as strictly prohibited and persecuted by tsardom as was any form of political organization. Only the most politically-minded workers, those prepared to pay for their conviction with prison and exile, could be willing to join trade unions in these circumstances. But those who were already so politically-minded were naturally enough more attracted by political organizations. The broader and more inert mass of workers, who were inclined to shun politics but would have readily joined trade unions, were not only prevented from forming unions but were also gradually accustomed to look for leadership to the clandestine political parties. "The most characteristic feature in the history of our Trade Unions", says Stalin, "is that they have emerged, developed and grown strong only after party, around the party and in friendship with the party. This view somewhat over-simple, is nevertheless essentially correct. Whereas in Britain the Labour Party was created by the trade unions, the Russian trade unions from their beginning led their essence in the shadow of the political movement. Although sporadic economic associations of workers occurred as early as in the eighties and even seventies of the last century, it is broadly speaking, true that the political organisation, more specifically the

Russian Social Democratic Worker's Party, and not the trade unions held the birthright in the Russian Labour movement (Deutscher, 1950:1-2).

2.3.3.1   Lenin on trade union

In 1903 it was when the social Democratic Party held its second Congress, at which it split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the influence of the 'Economists' had already waned.   Among the social democrats who peached the primacy of revolutionary politics, the young Lenin played a very prominent role.   In his polemical writings against the Economists' he first developed his views on trade unionism, views which he was to hold, in almost unmodified form up to 1917. Even after 1917 his approach to trade unions was in the main governed by the broad view of the inter-relationship of economics and politics, class, party and trade unions, which he had expressed in those early polemics.   Lenin's ideas were based on the following subject:

> "the first international was formed, the question of the significance of the Trade Unions and of the workers' economic struggle was raised at its first Congress in Geneva in 1866. The revolution of that Congress underlined with precision the significance of the economic struggle, warning socialists and workers, on the other hand against overrating its importance.   The revolution also stated that Trade Unions ought not to pay their attention exclusively to 'the direct struggle against capital', that they ought not to keep aloof from the political and social movement of the working class. They ought not to pursue 'narrow' objectives, but they ought to strive for the general emancipation of the oppressed millions of the working people".

The entire Leninist conception of proletarian class struggle was implied in this deliberately paradoxical epigram. Lenin saw the working class as a heterogeneous mass consisting of the most diverse elements and representing the diverse levels

of 'class-consciousness'. Various groups of workers are immediately interested merely in securing their own, narrow, material advantage. They may try to secure it against the interests of other groups of workers, an attitude characteristic of craft trade unionism. Other groups may try to secure immediate advantages at the expense even of their own long term interests. Sections of the working class thus try to assert themselves against the rest of the class, and at times even the whole working class sacrifice its collective and permanent interests for the sake of meretricious and transitory benefits. It was true in Lenin's view, as Marx had pointed out, that modern industry tended to organize the proletariat for class struggle, to shape its collective mind and to discipline its will. It was also true that the unity of the working class was being constantly disrupted by centrifugal forces, that its consciousness was constantly disintegrating, and that its collective will was being dissipated in the pursuit of the most diverse and contradictory objectives.

The dialectical contradiction between the unifying and the disruptive tendencies formed the background against which Lenin viewed the respective role of various labour organizations, and analysed the relative antagonism between trade unionism and political socialism. In this same polemic Lenin-emphasized another crucial difference between party and trade unions. The trade union is strictly a worker's organization, whereas the party concerns itself with the condition of all social classes (Deutscher, 1950:8). The Russian Miners' Union recently provided holidays on the Black Sea for families of striking miners, and contributed to the hardship fund (South African Labour Bulletin, vol. 10(1), p.10).

2.3.3.2   Trade unions in the 1905 revolution and after

According to Deutscher, (1950:8) the supremacy of revolutionary politics over trade unionism became apparent in the first Russian revolution of 1905. The trade unions for the first time enjoying full freedom of organization, gained considerable membership. The auxiliary role of the trade unions was emphasized in a resolution adopted by the fourth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party

(April and May 1906), at which Bolsheviks and Mensheviks reunited into a single party. The resolution stated that in the atmosphere of a revolutionary epoch the trade unions, apart from defending the economic interests of the workers, draw the working class into direct political struggle and assist in its broad organization and political unification. The congress obliged all members of the party to join trade unions and participate in their work, but, curiously enough, it pronounced itself in favour of setting up 'non-party' trade unions. At the same time the congress rejected any notion of political neutrality of the unions.

The trade union ought to embrace workers regardless of nationality, creed and race. The difficulty which was to split the trade union movement in the Austro-Hungarian empire along the lines of nationality was from the beginning solved in an internationalist spirit in Russia. The relationship between party and trade unions underwent some change after 1906, in the years of counter-revolution under the so-called regime of the 3 June. The regime of 3 June did not spare the trade unions either. Many unions were banned and their members were severely punished for participation in strikes or either economic activity. But some trade unions were allowed to exist under close police supervision. The so-called 'liquidators' among the Mensheviks were inclined to confine themselves to such forms of activity as were tolerated by the government. They were consequently ready to accept virtually non-political trade unions.

The idea of neutral trade unions was once again ruled out of court. The party was on the other hand, warned that it should not try to impose itself upon the unions. It should rather secure its influence by way of solid propaganda and organization and it should exercise that influence so as not to weaken the unity of the trade unionists in their economic struggle. Acknowledging that the government of the 3 June had seceded in routing many or most of the trade unions, the central committee pointed out that this was due to the fact that the unions had failed to build up strong nuclei within the factories and the workshops.

At the bottom of the organizational pyramid there is the broad mass of workers, many of them inert or backward, the more advanced or active part of that mass is organized in trade unions and leads the rest, especially in times of economic conflict with employers and or the government. Within the trade union those who have the most politically-minded and organized elements form the party cell, which should, thanks to its moral authority, superior experience and skill, guide the trade unions directly or indirectly, the activities of the party cells in their turn are guided and co-ordinated, directly or indirectly by the leadership of the party. The labour movement was in a state of depression until roughly 1912, when a political revival manifested itself in many strikes. This revival was for a time interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War.

2.3.4 The Malaysian experience

There are two main stages in Malaysian trade unions called by the dominant union structure: general unionism from the 1920's to the defeat of the communist trade union movement in 1947 to 1948 and industrial unionism from 1948 until the present, replaced by the enterprise unionism. {The historical development of trade unionism in Malaysia, the government's New Economic Policy (NEP) from 1971 to 1990}.

In the case of Malaysia, it was the Chinese Labour, which was largely responsible for the initial development of collective organization amongst workers in colonial Malaysia, in particular under the aegis of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1926 the CCP and the International Communist Confederation of Trade unions (Profintern) organized the Nanyang Federation of Labour (NFL) in Singapore to cover the whole of South East Asia. The suppression by the Nationalist of the CCP in China was matched by the prohibition of the Singapore based NFL, after which a local Communist Party took care of union tasks. New waves of repression followed, but the communist succeeded in re-organizing their labour movement into the Malaysian General Labour Union (MGLU) in the early 1930's.

The expansion and development of the Malaysian General Labour Union (MGLU) was severely hindered by four factors:

- In 1930's depression resulted in the massive repatriation of Chinese migrant labour;
- The Malaysian General Labour Union groups were suppressed by the British authorities;
- A craft-oriented movement of mutual aid societies expanded in size and scope developing into union like organization;
- Chinese dominance of the unions inhibited unionization amongst culturally different Indian workers.

Although British pressure upon the Malaysian General Labour Union was replaced by cooperation when war broke out between Germany and the USSR, the Japanese occupation again resulted in Fierce campaign against the communists. Despite initial Indian and Malaysian collaboration with the Japanese against British imperialism and Chinese economic influence, the Malaysian Communist Party (MCP) became the leading liberation force against the Japanese. Coordinated from the top by the officials, its unionization drive merged with spontaneous worker activity which sprang up in the conjuncture to renewed economic growth, a tighter labour market, colonial exploitation and the demystification wrought by the Japanese. The new labour law followed by the criminalization of MCP unions, mass arrests, retrenchment of union militant, violent suppression of strikes and so on. The new rational unions were finally combined into the MTUC (Malayan-Later Malaysian Trade Unions Congress), alongside which a British promoted Labour Party developed considerable support among the Indian population (Southall, 1988:212).

During the time of independence, several national industrial unions had been created in key economic sectors, notable in the plantations, banking, commerce, mining and manufacturing. In 1957 federations of unions in federal and state

government services were formed, the Congress of Unions of Employees in Public and Civil services (CUEPACS).

The trade union movement has made little progress beyond this point in terms of further unionization and centralization (amalgamation) if anything the contrary, although union membership has risen from 220,000 in 1957 to 500,000 in 1980. The level of unionization has remained at around 20 percent of the work force. The formation of Malaysia in 1963 by the confederation of Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah and Singapore did not enlarge the scope for unionization at the confederal level. Meanwhile the number of trade unions has increased from 249 in 1958 to 276 in1980, just over a third of these being located in the private sector. A major factor in the trade union movement's stagnation, for as a result, there now exist a jumble of union types (regional/national; craft; occupation; industrial; enterprises, and department).

Industrial relations geared to centralized wage bargaining and collective agreements, the Malaysian government has sought to destroy the momentum towards working class unity. Such industrial unionism might bring in its train by promoting the desegregation of the union movement in its stead. Meanwhile industrial unions in manufacturing have been controlled within narrowly but arbitrarily defined occupational sectors. The rationale for the government's anti-labour line is three-fold.

- Unions are seen as obstacles to the pursuit of a low wage strategy of national capital accumulation;
- Unions have consistently supported opposition parties; and
- Unions have organized across ethnic lines in contradiction to the ethno-political compartmentalization of the Malaysian policy (Southall, 1988:215).

According to Southall (1988:223) an early survey demonstrated that the personnel policies of Japanese TNC's were generally not centralized. Allowing local

subsidiaries management less room for manoeuver than those of their US and UK counterparts. Japanese management has made determined efforts to transplant such integral components of the Japanese industrial relations system to Malaysian subsidiaries as the notion of the company family. The productivity drives via quality control circles and suggestion boxes, cost reduction campaign, morning exercises, company songs and company principles, all of which are designed to promote vertical solidarity and eliminate conflict between the company and workers.

The sharp differentiation of workers into permanent and temporary staff, which is a principle feature of the industrial relations system, I Japan does not accord to Malaysian law. After six months on the job a probationary employee acquires normal rights and duties which extend not to life-long guarantees of employment but to an indefinite period which may be terminated subject to benefits. The Malaysian Labour market is much more mobile than the Japanese, life-long employment guarantees are regarded as inappropriate. The wage system on the private system is not based on seniority as much as on job ratings and qualifications.

The company world is divided into two halves:

One culture for Japanese management and another for the (often multi-ethnic) employees. Necessarily, such divided world companies severely have the development of Japanese style company norms, thereby impeding the evolution of enterprise community consciousness, the primacy of vertical relationships and reciprocal obligations, and a consensual system of decision-making. The achievement of Japanese welfare corporatism is rendered extremely difficult by a relatively high rate of labour turn over, the very different lifestyles of management and workers and a number of legal restrictions of foreign companies (such as the prohibition of company house for employees more problematic than it might otherwise be).

The relationship between management and the shop floor, besides being structured very largely through industrial unions, is filtered through a very difficult context in Malaysia than obtains in Japan. The Japanization of the Malaysia industrial relations system, as far as Japanese TNC's are concerned, is clearly only a partial, not wholesale process whose implementation is subject to considerations of local cost and practicality.

2.4 TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

One of the difficulties in reviewing industrial relations and union activities in Africa is that, in most instances, countries have not succeeded in their aim of post-colonial development and industrialization. This lack of development is reflected in the shortcomings of trade unions in Africa as well as in the fact that the concept of the worker is still emerging. For those who are part of the wage economy, a large proportion is employed in the government bureaucracies.

Some of the blame for this lack of development may be due to an importance of a different nature. It has been consistent aim in Africa to keep the earnings level of workers low, often on the advice of foreign advisors. The rationale has been that this would ensure that the products of Africa would remain competitive on world markets. The actual result has been that Africa has grown more dependent on foreign aid for its survival, whilst exports are still largely raw materials at progressively lower real prices. Such a strategy requires that the efforts of conventional trade unionism should be thwarted. In this area, at least, governments have succeeded to their own countries' disadvantage. The notable exception in Africa in terms of successful industrialization has been South Africa. In order for this success to be consolidated in the future it is suggested that effective trade unionism be recognised as synergistic with industrial development and that co-optation and subversion of trade unions is associated with retarded development.

Damachi, Seibel and Trachtman (1979:1) consider the following to be some of the major factors influencing the development of trade unions in Africa:

- Opposition to colonialism
- Differences in colonial policy
- International aid
- Legal recognition of trade unions
- Labour and income conditions.

These factors suggest some of the differences in the development in industrial relations in Africa compared to Europe. A common factor, however, which has led to the development of trade unions in Africa as well as in Europe are sudden rises in prices and a fall in real earnings (Damachi et al,. 1979:1).

MICRO ANALYSIS

2.4.1 The Nigerian experience

According to Diejomaoh (1969:170) it was the poor working conditions in the early colonial period which stimulated the formation of trade unions in Nigeria. Strikes were a common feature among workers even before the beginning of the century. This early protest action took pace before trade unions were established. A militant secretary of the Nigerian Railway Worker's Union said that: we did not have an effective trade union organization in the 1920's, but we had a lot of Nigerian workers who thought and acted like trade unionists (Diejomaoh, 1969:171).

According to Damachi et al. (1979:2), this early trade union development slowed down as the depression of the late nineteen-twenties ended. In the period following independence, there was no compulsion on employers to recognize a trade union and the ultimate responsibility and approval of collective agreements rests with a government body. The general tone of industrial relations is one of antipathy towards organized labour. Unions tend to be small and in-house. As a result union leaders can earn more by becoming union entrepreneurs. Cohen

(1974:120) reports a case of a leader who led twenty eight unions at the same time. Diejomaoh (1979:183) describes a strategy used by the trade unions in wage bargaining which indicates the primacy of employment in the public sector. The government will establish a commission to set wages in the public service in response to set wages in the public services in response to political activities of the unions. The trade unions then attempt to obtain equivalent improvements for their members in the private sector. Some idea of the extent of the industrial process in Nigeria is given by the estimate in the Third National Development Plan 1975-1980 that in 1980 less than ten percent of the labour force would be in wage employment, a figure of less than three million (Diejomaoh, 1969:170). In 1975 the same author reports that about 28 million people were in 'gainful employment', whilst only one and a half million were employed in the modern (industrialized) sector of the economy.

The year 1956 is a momentous one in Nigerian labour history. At the Founding Conference of the Third National Trade Union Centre in 1953 Nigerian trade union leaders decided not to affiliate the All-Nigerian Trade Union Federation (ANTUF) to any international trade union organization. At the First General Council Meeting following the conference, ANTUF General Secretary, Gogo Chu Nzeribe, a member of one of the Marxist Groups in the country, interpreted the result of the motion on affiliation to the ICFTU as a decision in favour of affiliation to the WFTU. The stage was thus set for another split which occurred in 1957. Although unity was achieved again in 1959, it proved to be short-lived because another Marxist, Samuel U Bassey, lost the election to the post of General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) founded that year (Ananaba, 1979:14).

A split also occurred in 1960, a few months before Nigeria attained independence. The split was masterminded by external influences, but the dissidents in the Nigerian trade union movement claimed that the main cause of the split was the decision to affiliate the TUCN to the ICFTU. The split of 1960 was healed in 1962 but not until after a protracted negotiation in which the special committee of the

All-Nigeria People's Conference played a leading role. Before the unity conference in May, the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) and the die-hard ANTUF group which called itself Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC) signed another agreement which provided, among other things, that both the TUCN and the NTUC are quite prepared to accept the verdict of the Nigerian workers on the issue of international affiliation.

The Ibadan conference actually became a conference of all registered trade unions willing to participate, and that modification of the merger agreement was made on NTUC insistence. Yet when the conference voted by 659 to 407 in favour of affiliation to the ICFTU and the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC), NTUC leaders and their supporters felt they were not bound by the undertaking to respect the verdict of Nigerian workers.

Within one year of the IULC split into two the following year the splinter groups had increased to three. At this stage the IULC changed its name back to the NTUC. By the end of 1964 there were four national centres in the country: the United Labour Congress (ULC), the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, the Nigerian Workers Council and the Labour Unity Front (an amorphous grouping of individual union leaders who believed that they could promote labour unity by their unions remaining unaffiliated to any of the other national centres). The unity promoters eventually became a national centre and were recognised as such by the Federal Ministry of Labour.

During 1974 Nigerian Government refused to register the Nigerian Labour Congress or accord its recognition, arguing that it was undemocratically set up and worker's representatives were not given the opportunity to elect its leaders. In a swift move the Government banned international affiliation by Nigerian trade unions, prohibited international trade union organisations from operating in Nigeria. The organisation of African Trade Union unity and the ILO - which is not strictly a trade union organisation and set up a commission of inquiry into the activities of Nigerian trade unions.

In January 1976 Nigeria had a total of 983 registered trade unions representing a membership of about 800 000. The number of registered unions was arrived at apparently after the registrar of trade unions had taken action in keeping with the provisions of the Trade Union Decree No. 31 of 1973 to ensure that his register was a record of *bona fide* trade unions. The former trade union law authorised the registration of all sorts of groupings in so far as they satisfied the definition of a trade union as specified in the law. The definition was loose and broadly based, and covered organisations of wage earners, self-employed craftsmen, employers' organisations and even petty traders. At the end of 1972 there were 1 032 registered 'trade unions' in the country which 783 representing 665 615 members could be said to be genuine trade unions. The majority of them, however, were ineffectual plant unions whose membership was limited to the employees of a particular company, government ministry or public corporation. The reason for this is partly historical and partly the failure of union leaders to evolve an organising pattern which would achieve strength.

According to Ananaba (1979:16), the perennial divisions which had seriously sapped the energy of the Nigerian trade union movement, the unions occasionally displayed some strength and unity. For example, the Joint Action Committee (JAC) set up in the 1963 to prosecute the claims for wage increase. The JAC organised the general strike of June 1964 which paralysed the economy for thirteen days. In 1971 the four national centres formed the United Committee of Central Labour Organisations (UCCLO) which pressed the claim leading to general wage increase for workers following the recommendations of a commission of inquiry headed by Chief Adebo, a former Nigerian representative at the United Nations. A new national centre, the Nigeria Labour Congress, was inaugurated at Ibadan on 28 February 1978. Hassan Sunnonu was elected as President, and Aliya Musa Dangiwa was appointed as General-Secretary.

2.4.2 The Zimbabwe experience

During the early colonial period, compulsory labour was introduced as a result of pressure from settlers, and was used in agriculture and the public service.

"The natives here seem much more willing to work this year than they were last year (1986). The chastisement meted out to other kraals of which they were certain to have heard, has no doubt greatly tended to make them better in this respect (Phimister, 1978:58).

Such policies were not really effective in satisfying the need for workers, especially on the mines, and so other methods were used to draw people away from their traditional way of life.

According to Wood (1987:48), there are relatively more people in the wage economy in Zimbabwe than in any other country in Sub-Saharan Africa, with the exceptions of South Africa and Namibia. Despite this, the level of worker organization is considered low. Reasons for the low level include the poverty of the urbanized population, high rates of unemployment, the pattern of employment and discouragement by the authorities. At the time of independence about 29% of all workers in the industrial and commercial sector were union members. There was a clear racial differentiation in that whites were concentrated in relatively few organizations. More than a third of the white labour force was employed by the government, municipalities and parastatal bodies such as the railways.

The majority of white-dominated union tended to be parastatal unions catering for the higher grades. Other strategic sectors for white dominated unionism were mining, iron and steel, engineering, and printing. The form of unionism in each case varied according to how best to preserve the aristocratic stratum. Numerous other staff associations served the same purpose. Sometimes unions were even barred completely from an industry such as motor and vehicle assembly, where this

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would keep a *bona fide* black union out (Wood, 1987:54).

Black workers were generally employed in more diverse situations and frequently had "to battle against both white employers and white unionists" (Wood, 1987:54). Another consideration was that the white unions were informally run and closely knit organisations which tended to 'dominate and atomize' the trade unions for blacks.

The period since independence is described by Wood (1987:57) as a period of 'trade union weakness'. In an interview with eight workers in Zimbabwe - July 8th, 1986 (Kaplan, 1987:26), there is an indication that the position of the workers has improved in areas such as discrimination and possibilities for advancement. However, the respondents stated their real earnings had been higher and their union more able to act on their behalf in the period before independence. Wood (1987:81), illustrates this by showing that membership of what he calls 'non-racial independent' (in effect black) trade unions has increased sixfold in South Africa in the period since Zimbabwe's independence, whilst the trade unions in that country have increased their membership only by a factor of three. This author states that "union organizational depth, unity and ideological coherence generally remained weak" in the period since independence.

2.4.3 The Zambia experience

The first indication of the sort of collective action usually associated with trade unions is found in a strike which took place in 1935. The strike was led by members of an urban association. In 1940 urban workers were led by a committee of seventeen, composed of supervisors and educated employees (boss boy and the intelligentsia) (Gertzel, 1979:310). Membership of the committee was on the basis of leadership ability rather than ethnic affiliation, and on identification of common interests of industrial labour.

A number of strikes in the 1940's, the colonial government still considered that

"African trade unions were premature" (Gertzel, 1979:312-314) and opted for a system of workers committees. The first trade union was the European Mineworkers Union formed in 1936, whose militance entrenched the position of white workers and "determined the development of trade unionism on a racial basis". Although a labour officer, sent from Britain in 1947, influenced and promoted trade unionism, "the formation of African trade unions was ultimately the reaction of a new African urban society against economic conditions and the determination to challenge racial privilege". Mwewa (1958:10), interviewed members of a union who intimated that membership of the union was closely associated with their feelings of allegiance to the urban community in which they lived. Mwewa's (1958), research indicated that more recently organized workers were less likely to join the union than those with long residence. This author points out, however, that workers with longer urban residence also had longer service and were more protective of their jobs. Presumably, such workers considered trade union membership of greater value than other workers. For this group of workers, membership of the union was of more value to them. At first the unions were led by educated workers such as clerks and messenger-interpreters on the railways.

The initial problems faced by trade unions related to internal dissension, organization, finance, and employer recognition. They were small organizations, for example seven of the fourteen unions in 1954 had less than a thousand members. A series of strikes in 1956 resulted in the government introducing legislation which gave it more control over trade union activities. There was pressure on the unions to become more politically involved. Gertzel (1979:320), reports a Branch Chairman as saying that politicians had responsibility to the country but that trade unionists are responsible for the workers' cause.

Pressure continued on the unions, one tactic being that the political party persuaded union leaders to leave the trade union and take up government posts. The African mining union was better organized than the political party in the most important region of the country, and had a loyal membership. Thus the political

party needed control of the union in order to control the region, and so avoid a future threat to its authority. In the process, however, the threat represented by the trade union was probably increased rather than reduced as the trade union memberships had become more politicised.

After independence, government control increased. New regulations stipulated that trade union officials were to have had three years employment in the industry in which the trade union was active. Regulations were more strict for smaller trade unions, if a trade union had fewer than 500 members, then officials had to be actually employed in the industry. This prevented the development of trade unions by the 'union entrepreneur', as well as resulting in the loss of a number of trade unions. To reduce industrial unrest and presumably to subvert independent trade unions, the government proposed that workers should participate in Work Councils. Some of these council replaced the functions of the trade unions for a number of reasons, some being: a loss of leadership as leaders became "upwardly mobile"; poor management, a growing gap between the membership and officials; and the detention of leadership.

2.4.4 Trade unions in South Africa

Mdhluli (1933:23), in an essay titled 'The Development of the African' indicates the success of Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union founded in 1919 which, like a vast conflagration spreading all over the union. He also points out that its shortcomings resulted in its split into two divisions. According to Bonner (1978:115) "by 1931 it was more or less a spent force". This is the first example of the splitting and demise of a trade union for black workers in South Africa. When discussing the trade union movement in South Africa both then and now, "one is compelled to speak of either black or white trade unions instead of the trade union movement generally" (Ncube, 1985:XIV).

The largest grouping of trade unions the Congress of South African Trade Unions, has a non-racial constitution but very few non-black members, whilst the other federations are racially exclusive. Thus the trade union movement still essentially reflects the racial composition of the country.

2.4.4.1   The first black trade unions

Although the first unions in South Africa were craft unions in the British mould, which became ethno-centric, the first union for blacks was the industrial workers of Africa, founded in 1917. This was modelled on the American Movement Industrial Workers of the World, known as the Wobblies. Two years later the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, for black and coloured dockworkers was established in Cape Town. Its development was promoted by a white socialist politician, AF Batty, and led by a Malawian, Clements Kadalie (Ncube, 1985:28). Until the recent growth of the National Union of Mineworkers, it was "the largest union ever to have taken root on the African continent" (Bonner, 1978:114). With the exception of mine workers its membership came to include workers from all trades and industries. As it developed, it was subject to (often brutal) opposition from the authorities and white trade unions (Ncube, 1985:87). Despite having eventually nearly a quarter of a million members, it failed to establish a political voice externally. Internally it suffered from divergence of left wing and right wing politics and "financial instability, personal conflicts, weakness of central organization and so on" (Bonner, 1978:115).

A Scottish trade unionist was brought in to re-organise the industrial and commercial workers union such that it would conform to acceptable trade union practice. By then it was totally mismanaged. Corruption and the abuse of power were rife amongst officials and leaders alike (Ncube, 1985:48). Eventually, Kadalie split from the union to another union, leaving the Scottish unionist to sort out the union's debts. Roux (1964:196) concludes that "persecution helped to kill it; but the force of internal disruptions were a more fundamental cause of its collapse".

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An observation by Bonner (1978:118) that may be relevant to the union's demise, is that it was led by outside middle class leaders who relied on charismatic leadership, rather than, as in the European tradition, developing out of the class itself. Given that the concept of a working class is probably inapplicable in Africa, there must be some other mechanism by which trade unionism could emerge in Africa.

The value of this brief introduction to the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union is that it illustrates the importance of basic managerial activities within a trade union and the consequences of the inadequate management of its affairs. The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, although it disappeared, served as an important stimulus to further trade union development and as a training ground for trade unionists.

Since South Africa is so much more industrialized than other countries in Africa, many writers on trade unions in South Africa have tended to look to the experiences and literature, which have come out of the more developed nations. This was perhaps explicable, and tenable, only for so long as South Africa was aligned in its development to the needs of its trading partnership in the West, which is no longer the case.

In the early years of this century many white unionists encouraged close contact between black and white unions. In 1929 the South African Trade Union Council recommended that affiliates should recruit all workers regardless of race or colour, or should develop (racial separate) parallel branches in the same union. However, prevailing economic conditions were such that trade union development went into reverse. Not all the non-black promotion of trade unions for blacks relied on charisma. Max Gordon was the secretary of a federation of seven black trade unions in the late nineteen-thirties. He was able to promote union organization for blacks, mainly in industries, which already had successful registered unions, by effectively satisfying some of the workers' needs. Gordon worked within the wage

determination system by making representations on behalf of the members, and was only able to succeed because of the cooperation he received from the Department of Labour (Stein, 1978:144).

However, even this success must be seen in the light of a black trade union membership on the Witwatersrand of only about 20 thousand. The support received by Gordon from the Department of Labour was in keeping with the vision of industrial relations expressed by the Secretary of Labour in 1929

"we have madly gone out of our way to unsettle and alienate a people without whose goodwill our future is dark indeed (in Stein, 1978:144)".

In addition, the Government had a policy of increasing wages for unskilled work in order to persuade whites to perform unskilled work. Thus black trade union members benefited from higher wages partly as a result of their trade union membership. The reasons, which had retarded the trade union movement during the depression, were reversed in the more active economy of the war years of the nineteen-forties. The movement of blacks into industry was further enhanced by the need to replace those whites serving in the armed services. Although trade union membership increased in the war, industrial relations were generally conducted in a cooperative manner.

With the end of the Second World war much changed. Trade union activism increased, provoking the authorities to declare striking by black workers illegal in terms of work time regulations. Concomitantly, circumstances changed; whites returned to the labour market, boom turned to recession, black membership of unions decreased and a pool of unemployed industrial workers was created. The result was the virtual demise of the African Trade Union Movement in the early nineteen-fifties.

The Botha Commission of Inquiry on Industrial Legislation was set up in 1948 and reported in 1951. Its recommendations were aimed at, containing and controlling the power of African trade unions by means of limited recognition and severe controls (Ncube, 1985:78).

Until the 1973 strikes in Durban, black trade unionism themselves were notable for their spontaneity, effectiveness, peace and absence of trade union involvement, they presaged a new era in South African industrial relations and trade union development. An alternative to trade unions was established in 1953 by the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill which, the Minister of Labour claimed would provide a way for the grievances of blacks to be handled and so diminish the appeal of trade unions for black workers.

It should be noted that, although the Minister thought that they would die a natural death, trade unions for blacks were not banned. Ncube (1985:84) stated that black trade unions were progressively destroyed by government and employer moves, although perceptions on this subject vary. In more recent times, Green (1986) states that:

> Although the authorities have stated that no one has been detained
> for union activities, there are many workers and trade unionists who
> are sceptical of this claim (p.75).

The modern era in industrial relations in South Africa started in 1973, when the wave of spontaneous strikes in Natal prompted the appointment of yet another commission, the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, under the chairmanship of Professor N Wiehahn. The results of this commission were to have far reaching consequences for the relationship between employees and employers in this country. For the first time there was an unequivocal understanding that the institutionalization of collective bargaining for all workers is in the best interest of the economy as a whole.

The impact of the 'new Labour dispensation' has yet to be fully evaluated. In view of the fact that South Africa is still developing its industrial relations system, no final evaluation can be undertaken. One form of analysis could be to look at the way the reactions of the business community and managers to the changes have developed over time. The initial impact of the changes was that managers could no longer hide behind the government in their rejection of trade unions for black workers. As mentioned above, trade unions for black workers were at no time prohibited, yet they were almost totally rejected by managers. Within a short time of the new labour dispensation by newly pragmatic managers who matured rapidly in the new industrial relations environment.

The demise of the formerly dominant federation, the white led Trade Union Council of South Africa, virtually coincided with the emergence of the black led congress of South African Trade Unions, probably the largest trade union federation in Africa. This federation has a policy of a single union for each industry. In order to implement this policy a number of unions, which affiliated with it agreed to merge themselves into new trade unions. The difficulties involved in these amalgamations are, in some cases, presenting a threat to progress in the industrial relations system. Some trade unions have dissipated a great deal of their energy in attempting to determine the nature of the new union. This has been more likely to occur in unions whose constituent parts were geographically spread out or whose leadership was undermined.

The political nature of trade unions in which it is impossible to separate the leader from the led is frequently not appreciated by writers on African industrial relations. Sandbrook and Cohen (1975:199) suggest that there are three modes of union political activities:

- Self-seeking union leaders or a membership which expects the union to satisfy their needs and not act as an agent for societal change.
- The union functioning as on the segments in society which pressure

governments to act to its (the unions) benefit.

* *Unions acting as a movement to transform the social order.*

The experience in South Africa does not fit into any one of these (unidimensional) modes. Ncube (1985:92) discusses the manner in which black trade unions were excluded from the Trade Union Council of South Africa and as a result formed the overtly political South African Congress of Trade Unions. This federation wanted to increase the involvement of black workers in trade union activities as well as to establish additional trade unions for black workers. Due to a lack of experienced people and funds to organize at the grass roots level, its strategy was to create unions out of the strike process. The policy had collapsed by 1963 because of the enforced absence of its remaining leaders. Warmington (in Onyelemukwe, 1973:157), integrates the multidimensional mode of trade union behaviour which involves both political and materialistic activities. This author suggests that there is a rationale for a trade union to act on behalf of workers (by implication at the same time satisfying its own political agenda), hence it does not matter whether or not the union was motivated by workers or by someone representing their interests.

White unions in South Africa still retained a degree of autonomy from the state and never entered into social accord with the state. The white trade unions were treated preferentially by the state. They were given access to a legislative framework for industrial relations that were denied to African workers. This allowed them to participate in industrial councils and secure benefits at the expense of African workers, which resulted in the compliance of white workers, and very stable labour relations. Trade unions for African workers were not only excluded from this industrial relations framework but were subjected to state harassment. The officials and leaders were banned and industrial action by African workers was often ruthlessly suppressed.

Also the rapid growth of independent trade unions from African workers after 1973, forced the State to reform the industrial relations regime in the country. In 1979,

in terms of the Labour Relations Act, trade unions with African worker membership were permitted to register and participate in industrial councils. But any ideas that the state had of incorporating and subduing these unions through their inclusion in the statutory industrial relations system proved to be an illusion. They were to maintain a vigorous independence from, and opposition to the state. In 1985, the independent trade unions participated in the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and have continued to growth and increase their influence in the South African political economy (McKay, 1995:89).

A key aspect of the legislation was the exclusion of pass-bearing African workers from the definition of 'employee' and therefore from membership of registered trade unions and representation on industrial councils. This meant that African workers were denied access to a legal framework for collective bargaining, and access to a formal conciliation procedure that allowed workers to strike legally. It was only in 1953, with the passing of the Native (later Black) Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act that the state was to provide African workers with a semblance of a legal framework for industrial relations. This took the form of plant-based, statutory works committees made up of elected African workers, who could make representations to their employer regarding issues of dissatisfaction. There was no provision for direct negotiations with employees. The Act further undermined any possible relevance the workers committees could have by continuing to outlaw striking by African workers. The statutory works committees were rejected by the vast majority of African workers, and in 1973 when the strikes in Durban broke out there were only 24 committees in existence throughout the country (Maree, 1986:113).

In the end of this segregated system of industrial relations was heralded by the strikes by large numbers of African workers that broke out in 1973 in industries throughout the Durban region. The textile industry was at the centre of these strikes, particularly the giant frame group of companies, and was affected by the largest number of strikes that is 26. It was also the only industrial sector in which

a registered trade union was to intervene to assist strikes (IIE, 1974:16-29). This was the Natal branch of the Textile Workers Industrial Union (TWIU) which, through the initiative of its secretary, Harriet Bolton, had initiated some African worker organization prior to 1973. Although the strikes in Durban were largely spontaneous and unorganized, there had been some incipient organization of African workers in the region, particularly in the textile industry (Friedman, 1987:41-43). The independent trade unions representing African workers were already playing a significant role in defining the rules and parameters that were to characterize the new era of industrial relations. It was this path breaking role that motivated the state to re-examine the existing industrial relations regime in order to devise ways of containing the growth and militancy of these new unions. In 1977, the rapid unionization of African workers into unregistered unions that operated beyond the reach of industrial relations legislation prompted the state to appoint the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation. Two years later the government, in response to the recommendations of this Commission, made amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act. The major change was that African workers were no longer excluded from the definition of 'employee'. They were therefore able to belong to registered trade unions and could be represented directly on industrial councils.

The growth of trade union, and the human and organizational resources needed to sustain the plant-based organizational strategy in the face of the kind of resistance offered by the Frame Group, began to tax the capacity of the NUTW. Following a re-evaluation of industrial council participation by the independent trade unions at the end of 1982. The NUTW started changing its attitude towards these centralized bargaining structures. It became a party to the Industrial Council for the knitting Industrial (Transvaal). Towards the end of 1983 it applied to become a party to the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Natal). The NUTW had by this time started to organize workers in the clothing and knitting industry in Natal and the Transvaal. Thereafter it was to apply for membership of the National Industrial Council for the Textile Industry (NICTEX) and the Industrial Council for the Cotton

Textile Industry (Cape) (Graduate School of Business, 1989:23-37).

Godfrey (1992:134) stated that IWIU was losing ground and preparations were made for a merger between the two unions, as well as the National Union of Garment Workers (SA). This took place in 1987. The new union was called the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Worker's Union of South Africa (ACTWSA). It immediately affiliated to the progressive trade union federation, COSATU. The Garment Workers Union of the Western Province and the Garment Workers Industrial Union (Natal) merged to form the Garment and Allied Workers Union (GAWU). There were now only two trade unions in the textile and clothing industries, namely ACTWUSA and GAWU. Then in September 1989 these two unions finalized their merger process to form a giant new union, the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (SACTWU).

According to Godfrey (1992:136-278) the move by the progressive trade unions towards centralized bargaining and Industrial councils had gained momentum in the latter half of the 1980's. It was given impetus by the formation of COSATU in 1985 and the promotion of its policy that its affiliates amalgamated to establish one union in each major industrial sector. With the growth of the COSATU unions came the perception that members should be united nationally behind a common set of demands. SACTWU becoming the sole trade union party of the three industrial councils in the textile industry. SACTWU is one of the trade unions that have been at the forefront of the struggle to secure national, centralized bargaining institutions. Such institutions emerged as key platforms for the attempt by SACTWU and other COSATU unions to intervene in the formulation of industrial strategies for sectors.

During the 1973 Durban strikes, African workers in the region were rapidly organized, particularly in the textile industry, where the registered TWIU was able to provide support. Towards the end of 1973, organization had advanced to the extent that a new union for African textile workers, the National Union of Textile

Workers (NUTW), had been formed to operate alongside the TWIU (Hirsch, 1979:36). Within a few months of its formation, the NUTW was to achieve a major victory in having the textile firm. This victory was significant for two reasons:

- It was the first time that an unregistered African trade union had been formally recognized by an employer. This showed that the legal framework created by the Industrial Conciliation Act was not necessary to establish bargaining rights at individual factories.

- Also lay the foundations for a particular organizational strategy that the NUTW was to pioneer, namely the development of strong plant-level organization and their signing of recognitional structures, in particular shop steward structures (Maree, 1986:156-165).

In the analyses of Wiehahn, reforms the NUTW initially rejected participation on the three industrial councils that existed in the textile industry, and continued their strategy of organizing plant by plant. As an indication of the success of this policy, by the end of 1981 the union had 164 elected shop stewards formally recognized in 16 factories in the Natal region. However, resistance by employers to the gains being made at plant level was growing. They increasingly countered NUTW demands for plant level bargaining rights with the argument that they were prepared to bargain at a central level only (NUTW, 1982:95-101). In addition, the cooperation that had marked the early years of the relationship between the TWIY and NUTW had broken down and the two unions were locked in a bitter struggle for members. After 1979 both unions were open to membership by workers of all race groups.

NUTW therefore had to fight both employers and the TWIU, usually favoured by employers to gain recognition at individual firms. This struggle was epitomized by the NUTW's experience with the giant Fame Group. Organization began at the Group in 1973, but it was not until August 1985, after numerous work stoppage and almost continual Industrial Court and Supreme Court litigation, that the union

was finally granted recognition at some of the Group's mills. This was an important victory, both because of the size of the Frame Group and because the Group had symbolized employer resistance in the textile industry to the NUW's battle for plant level recognition.

In the analyses of Gill (1985:17), stated that the history of trade unions is a history of adaptation to technological process. A particular union's response is influenced by several considerations, including management style (and the union's perception of it), the union structure and government, the product and labour market, the type of technological change and the stage of the innovation process. Currently, trade unions in South Africa are caught between political and economic agendas, that is, between class and wage issues. In the South African context, the implementation of new technology will continue to be a source of class struggle, because of its normative and inherently political character. The issue continues to be embroiled in emotional rhetoric, reflecting worker opposition to the threat of further loss of union control over the determination of the labour process, and a possible increase in the number of the unemployed.

The trade union's control over changes in the work process represents a challenge to management's wish to control. South African Unions, despite their resistance to management-initiated changes in the work process, have failed to halt technological advancement and the associated transformation of job and organizational design. This reflects the situation of trade unions internationally. The advanced technology in South Africa affected mainly the non-unionized white-collar sector. The changes therefore occurred in the absence of significant organized opposition. Where technology has advanced in the manufacturing sector, unionized manual workers have objected as a response to the threat of redundancy rather than to loss of control. As early as 1984, the progressive union movement expressed concern about the negative consequences of encroaching technological deployment. For example, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) demanded that companies notify the union when they intended to introduce new

machines, the alternative being labour unrest. In the same year a similar concern was expressed by the Banking and Building Society with regard to automated tellers (Rajah 1987). Furthermore, having restricted access to company information, and limited expertise to research the impact of technological change, unions have been unable to act proactively.

During the past decade the unions have been confronted by the demands of a competitive global economy and threatened with an undermining of their economic and political position. Notwithstanding these problems, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), now find themselves in a more favourable position to address skill changes. Nevertheless, these new skill requirements impinge on traditional lici (positions, points and places) of worker power and industrial union demarcation lines by changing traditional worker-management distinctions, issues on human relations concern, and the mechanisms of relationship management. This means that the new technology remains a source of class struggle (Van der Merwe, 1995:133).

The trade union movement's major concern is with working hours, employment levels and other instrumental issues. This does not negate the political nature of technological change. Technology is not neutral. It is the product of the dominant ethos that produced it for specific purposes. Advances in technology have changed the division of labour in society. There is the simultaneous creation of qualified jobs requiring worker training and re-training, together with a de-skilling of jobs and skills redundancy. This places a high premium on the trade unions' involvement in worker education and training (Webb, 1983:23).

The role of women in the labour movement shows that there is a significant number of problems facing women who work, and who become involved in trade unionism. These problems intensify when they assume leadership positions in the movement. Analysis reveals that despite the continued pressure by women to assert their rights for power are assume a position equal to that of men in the labour movement.

Traditional power relations continue to dominate such structures and concerns. Although in some areas significant gains have been made leadership and grassroots sentiment continues to mirror the dominant power relations of society going little further than rhetoric in its collective commitment to a non-sexist society.

The important role that dedicated women have played in South Africa's labour history and in its political struggle. They continue to be under-represented in positions of authority in the union movement, even in unions where there is a significant number of female members. This is a common problem internationally and consequently, if you look at their representation on the structures of their trade unions and federations across the world they shine in their absence (Visser, 1992:78).

Recently in South Africa, there has been a moderate increase of women in union structures. Nevertheless, as a proportion of the unionized workforce, they continue to remain significantly under-represented. This was acknowledged by Naidoo, the past general secretary of the Congress of Unions of South Africa (COSATU), when he conceded that, 'there is a vacuum of women leadership in our organisation' (SA Outlook, 1989:18). There was not a single woman on the COSATU National Executive Committee until the election of Connie September as first vice-president in 1993. However, Barrett (1993) warns that there is a real danger that this appointment could lead to complacency over the advancement of women in the union movement. Research conducted by the National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) (Baskin 1994), indicates that while 36% of COSATU members are women, only 13% of regional and national posts respectively are held by women. If the South African Domestic Workers' Union is excluded this figure drops to 8%. The position of women is similar in the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). In spite of the fact that they too have committed themselves to gender equality, a survey conducted on the position of women office bearers in the unions affiliated to NACTU, found that in 1993 there were only two general secretaries, two presidents and three vice-presidents who are women.

Due to the lack of representation of females in senior positions, gender issues are often not considered as a priority. Since COSATU's inception, even national meeting and congress has included an examination and debate on issues specific to the struggle of women. COSATU has taken a number of resolutions against gender oppression but in substantive negotiations, gender issues have often taken a back seat to other campaigns. Makgalo (1992:64) maintains that the rights of women cannot be secured solely through collective bargaining strategies. Rather, the demand of the working-class women must be protected in the Women's Charter and in the new Constitution of South Africa. Furthermore, women need to take the initiative in transforming their position.

Some male unionists see women as temporary jobholders rather than serious, career-orientated employees. This attitude reinforces their secondary status in the union movement, workplace and society. As a result women remain ignorant of unionism, as males fail to motivate women to involve themselves in unionist activities. Women also fail to challenge the dominant role of men in union organizations and do not consider seriously transforming gender power relations. SACCAWU at its gender seminar in 1992, recommended that all trade unions should implement an education campaign with aims to rid the movement of its sexist mentality (Sethema 1992). Visser (1992), expanding on these problems, writes of the constant struggle of many women to be twice as good as men in order to prove they can do the work. In addition, numerous allegations have been made that male union leaders sexually harass and undermine female union members. De Vries of South African Domestic Workers' Union states that:

> "even as a married woman – they (men) ignore these rings. It's a sickness. When they see a woman, they sea a blanket to cover themselves – to sleep with" and COSATU Wits Women's".

Mofokeng and Tshabalala (1993) advocate a code of conduct for the protection of women against sexual harassment by their own comrades.

Against this background of internal struggle for non-sexism in the labour movement, unions have taken up women's issues and significant victories have been won. Advances have been made in securing maternity and child-care rights, protection from sexual harassment and greater protection in the conditions of employment.

Unions in the commercial, clothing, catering and to a lesser degree in the auto industry, have been in the forefront of the challenge to improve the position of women. Their demands for women's rights in the workplace have been echoed by those made in society. The result has been the institution of affirmative action policies internal to the union movement, the workplace and society as a whole.

Mofokeng and Tshabalala argue that unions need to embark on affirmative action programmes to encourage the participation of women, considering that more than 40% of NACTU's members are women.

Further recommendations are that trade unions need to embark on affirmative action programmes to develop and encourage the participation of women, and to look at the possibility of a 'quota system', whereby unions would include in their constitutions reserved seats for women in decision-making structures. Others dispute the quota system believing that if the trade union implemented democracy, a proper gender balance in the leadership would result, thereby negating the need for such a system. September (1992:83) proposes that the rectification of the gender imbalance in COSATU is linked to the overall elimination of discrimination.

Having analysed the historical background of the development of trade unions in Western society and Africa, an attempt will be made in chapter five of the research to discuss the development of trade union in Mondi Kraft Industry. From the historical discussion above, we observed that women's participation in trade union movement was a gradual process. In view of this we would like to find out in Mondi Kraft Industry whether women were encouraged to join the three different unions, namely, Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union (CEPPWAWU),

National Employee Trade Union (NETU), and National Employee of South African Workers' Union (NESAWU) or they reluctantly joined the unions.

It was also observed in this chapter that as the Western society moved towards democracy, more unions emerged and much freedom was given to the union members. This of course happened in the case of Sweden, Germany, Malasia and Nigeria during her early days of independence. In light of this, this research attempts to examine this situation in Mondi Kraft Industry the position of trade unions within the organization as South Africa moved toward democracy. The question we would like to investigate in this perspective is: did the member of workers willing to join union in Mondi Kraft Industry increased a result of the transformation process and the practice of democratic principles in South Africa.

This historical background of trade union movement also revealed to us that as soon as the Western society became more democratic, union leaders became fearless and because of this, the leaders were able to organise the workers. In Mondi Kraft Industry, we will also investigate the attitude of union leaders in terms of the recent transformation and democratic process set in motion by the present South African constitution. In addition to the present constitution, the South African Government has also introduced the Labour Relations Act of 1995 where managements have been encouraged to recognize unions. In the light of this, we intent to examine in chapter five to what extent have union leaders in Mondi Kraft Industry utilized the constitution and the Labour Relations Act as an instrument to fight for their freedom and well-being within the industry.

The central issue that cut across the various trade union movement in the countries analysed above, is that of wage increase. Most of the unions in these countries seems to see their main objective as to increase wages for the worker. Considering the issue of wage increase as one of the main task of trade unions, an attempt will be made in chapter five to analyse to what extent trade unions here helped to increase the wages of workers in Mondi Kraft Industry.

2.5   HYPOTHESIS

In the light of the aims of this research, the hypotheses are as follows:

(a)   There is a significant role which trade unions can play in industrial relations
      system in South African Industry.

(b)   Trade union members will only maintain their strike actions when there is
      sufficient fund to sustain their livelihood.

(c)   Trade unions play a vital role in conflict resolution.

(d)   Trade union association is likely to be influenced by ethnic factors.

2.6   CONCEPTIONS USED IN THIS RESEARCH - OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

Conceptualization is necessary to enable the researcher to study, organize and
differentiate the variables of the study. It is the process during which specifications
are constricted for certain terms. According to Fitrelt and Robenson (1988:121),
they argued that it is necessary to explain the concept used fully because our
everyday language is sometimes vague and only general agreement exists about the
meanings of terms being used.

2.6.1 Trade unions

It is an organization, whose membership consists of employees, which seeks to
organize and represent their interests both in the workplace and society, and in
particular, seeks to regulate their employment relationship through the direct
process of collective bargaining with management (Bendix, 1996:164). A trade
union is a body of people set up to represent workers' interests in an industrial
setting (Giddens, 1993:164).

2.6.2 Union density

It is measured by the member of the trade union, as a proportion of a total member of employees in the country eligible for the particular unions membership (McKay, 1995:115).

2.6.3 Affirmative action

Recruitment and employment designed to equalize hiring and promoting opportunities for historical disadvantaged groups (that is blacks which include Africans, Coloureds and Indian-women) by taking into consideration those very characteristics which were traditionally used to deny them equal treatment (McKay, 1995:173).

In South Africa, affirmative action carries both narrow and wide connotations. At both levels, there is a great deal of confusion. The narrow conception involves the recruitment of groups, previously discriminated against, into positions of affirmative action. Traditionally, narrow affirmative action seldom rises beyond tinkering (Maphai, 1993:6).

Affirmative action means a concerted effort on the part of companies to employ and place blacks in positions of operational power. Makhaya (1991) points out that affirmative action refers to a programme where blacks: "are replaced on definite cancer paths and given full managerial responsibilities. It is meant to involve visible progress in the process of empowering black managers and this process is meant to be gradual and continuous (Van der Merwe, 1995:158)".

My definition of affirmative action in the workplace is adopting management style conducive to racial integration, and racial coexistence, racial tolerance and racial acceptance.

2.6.4 **Human resources management**

Hall and Goodale (1986:6) define human resources management as the process through which an optimal fit is achieved among the employees, job, organization and environment so that employees reach their described level of satisfaction and performance and the organization meets its goals. Holley and Jennings (1987:6) provide a general definition of the concept of human resources management in the following words: Human resources management refers to activities, policies, beliefs and the general function that relates to employees or the personnel department.

2.6.5 **Industrial relations**

According to Bendix (1984:10) the general definition of industrial relations most readily accepted in South Africa conceives of industrial relations as the system of social relations in production, covering all forms of economic activity or production and all forms of industrial relations regardless of the presence, absence or variety of formal organizations.

The department of Manpower defines industrial relations in the Manpower Training Act (No. 56 of 1981:xxi). All aspects and matters connected with the relationship between employer and employee, including matters relating to negotiations in respect of remuneration and other conditions of employment of the employee. The prevention and settlement of disputes between employer and employee, the application, interpretation and effect of laws administered by the department and the management of the trade unions, employer's organization, federations and industrial councils.

Each definition of industrial relations varies according to whether a country has a free market, socialist or command economy. In addition employees, employers, the state, trade unions, political parties, employer's associations, and so on, all have an influence on the industrial relations.

2.6.6 Management

It is a process which refers to those roles where holders or actors are expected by others in the organization to a formal role and authority to make decision which can be regarded as binding to the organization (Salamon, 1992:213).

2.6.7 Collective bargaining

The process of institutionalized negotiation over wages and conditions of employment (McKay, 1995:85). Collective bargaining, more than any other aspect of the labour relationship, demonstrate the dynamic nature of industrial relations. The collective bargaining process is conducted by two essentially antagonistic yet co-operative parties, subject to a continual interplay of sometimes-contradictory forces and to numerous interacting environmental influences. The process is of a continually shifting nature, moving from agreement, the shelving of coercive methods and even co-operation to disputes and the re-emergence of coercion (Bendix, 1989:108).

2.6.8 Shop steward

McKay (1995:24) stated that the emerged of workplace, workers have elected shop stewards to represent them and negotiate with management on their behalf. Where there is a number of shop stewards, they form a shop steward committee to co-ordinate their activities. Where there is strong shop steward presence, management tends to consult with the shop stewards committee before taking any major decisions affecting employees, if only to prevent repercussions from the union.

Another definition, but much less comprehensive, is that of Marsh and Evans (1973:284). "A representative who is accredited by the trade union and who acts on behalf of trade union members in the enterprise where he works".

2.6.9 Negotiation

Salamon (1992:509) defined negotiation as the interpersonal process used by representatives of management and employees / union within the various institutional arrangements of collective bargaining, in order to resolve differences and reach agreement. Salamon also distinguish negotiation from negotiation from the collective bargaining concept. The following facts are the characteristics of negotiation:

(a)   It is an explicit and deliberate event.

(b)   It is concluded by representatives on behalf of their principals.

(c)   The process is designed to reconcile differences between the parties involved.

(d)   The outcome is dependent, at least in part, of the perceived relative power relationship between the principals.

2.6.10   Strike action

A strike may be defined as a temporary, collective withholding of labour, its objective being to stop production and thereby to oblige the employer to take cognizance of the demands of employees (Bendix, 1992:240).

My understanding of strikes is a concerted and temporary withholding of employee services from the employer for the purpose of extracting greater concessions in the employment relationship than the employer is willing to grant at the bargaining table.

2.6.11   Industrial action

It is synonymous with labour unrest which indicates a breakdown of healthy labour relations. It refers to any form of suspension of normal working arrangements

which is initiated unilaterally by employees either through a trade union or not, for example, go slow, work to rule, sit-ins, protest marches with placard displays and strike action. It may also be used by management in the form of lock-outs. The aim of industrial action is to exert pressure on an opposing party in collective bargaining (Finnemore & Van der Merwe, 1992:191).

CHAPTER THREE

3. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE MONDI KRAFT INDUSTRY UNDER THE STUDY

Mondi industry at Felixton is located 14km from Empangeni, 18km from Esikhawini and 22km south of Richards Bay. Geographically it is located in the centre of the three areas (see Appendix B).

It was the first paper mill in South Africa to process bagasse fibre, a byproduct of sugar cane, together with waste paper to produce fluting.

A recent rebuild has increased the mill's annual capacity to 100 000 tons of fluting and has boosted fluting quality by improving pulp quality, upgrading sheet strength and ensuring a more consistent product that compete very favourably with that of it's competitors. The equipment selected for the upgrade will be suitable for a future second-phase expansion to 130 000 per year. While corrugating quality requirements have increased, as modern technology allows for faster machines and the industry is able to provide its customers good services.

All Mondi Kraft mills, at Richards Bay, Felixton, and SilvaCel in northern KwaZulu-Natal, and at Piet Retief in Mpumalanga, are accredited to ISO 9002 standards in Quality Management Systems. To ensure that the products you receive from these mills match the finest in the world, the industry maintain stringent quality control through every stage of the manufacturing process, from raw materials to processing and dispatch.

Mondi Kraft, in 1963 was called Ngoye Mills and the product was Hullets paper.

In 1982 Ngoye Board Mills changed to Mondi Kraft. Figure 3 represents a broad structure of the Mondi industrial sector. Mondi limited company is served as the mother body of the following structures: Mondi paper, Forests, Timber, Recycling, Kraft and Mondi Pak.

Much of the concentration will be based on Mondi Kraft at Felixton.

3.1 THE HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF MONDI KRAFT INDUSTRY

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  Managing Director  │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              ↓
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     Directors       │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              ↓
             ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
             │  Senior Human Resources Officer   │
             └──────────────────────────────────┘
                              ↓
             ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
             │ Assistant Human Resources Officer │
             └──────────────────────────────────┘
                              ↓
               ┌────────────────────────────┐
               │  Human Resources Officer    │
               └────────────────────────────┘
                          ↙     ↘
   ┌──────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────┐
   │ Technical Superintendent │   │ Production Superintendent │
   └──────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────┘
                          ↘     ↙
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │ Training Co-ordinator│
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              ↓
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   Plant Trainers    │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              ↓
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     Paymaster       │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              ↓
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │    Receptionist     │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              ↓
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     Messenger       │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              ↓
                      ┌──────────────┐
                      │   Security   │
                      └──────────────┘
                              ↓
                      ┌──────────────┐
                      │   Cleaners   │
                      └──────────────┘
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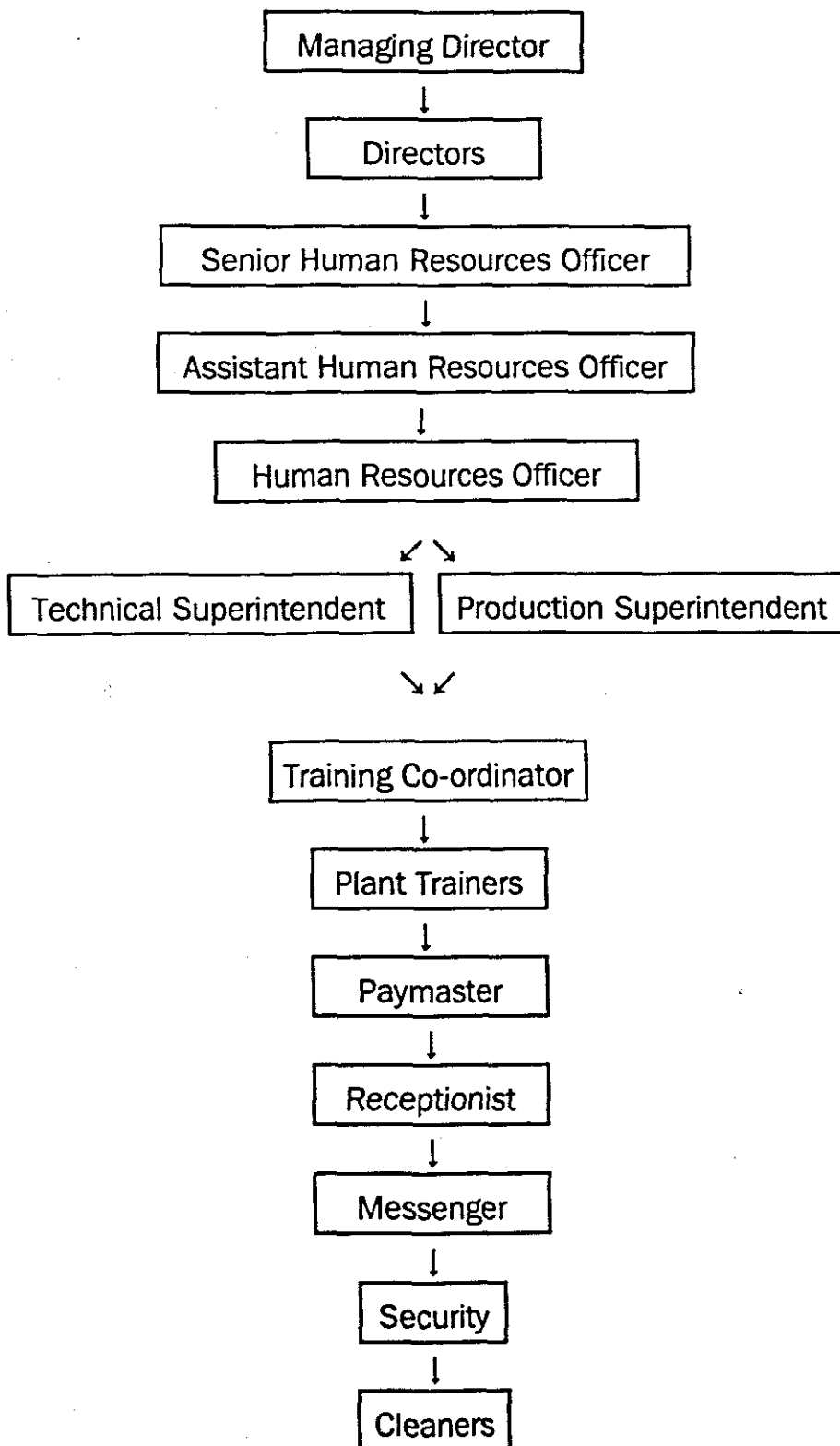
The role and functions of each portfolio are discussed below. Each position plays a vital role in the industry as shown below.

There are five functions of the Directors and these are:

1. Supreme decision centre by establishing objectives, approving goals, formulating and adapting policies, selecting the manager and controlling the organization.

2. Advisory both for the management and for the members or shareholders. Members expect the director to advise them in areas of law or ways the organization can be run more effectively. The manager expects the director to be a sounding board where ideas can be tested. It is the manager's responsibility to seek this advice and to accept, modify or reject it accordingly.

3. Trustees for members, stockholders, creditors, and the general public by assuming responsibility for the management. This function is carried out by auditing and appraising the performance of the association.

4. Perpetuating the organization, making sure it continues. The director accomplishes this by:
    (a) providing a good manager
    (b) electing a good president and other executives
    (c) guiding the executives
    (d) assuring a good board is elected
    (e) reviewing the service and products of the organization, and
    (f) providing for the future by appraising their own performance.

5. Symbolic of strength and leadership, capable of motivating people toward the achievement of goals. The director uses persuasion instead of force and effectively and responsibly uses its power to change attitudes and expectations.

    The director must legally report at least once a year, within four months of the year ending, to an assembly of the members about which each member has been notified, usually by mail, stating the time, date, place and hour of the meeting. Any specific information regarding changes in bylaws, major changes in direction or other extraordinary circumstances are listed on the notice as well.

With the dramatic increase of size and complexity of the organizations in recent years many members feel that their organizations are not as responsive as they once were. While the extra time required to run organizations effectively often leaves little time to inform the organization's activities, board members must recognize the need to communicate with the membership.

As organizations become larger and more sophisticated in their business techniques, it becomes difficult for members to understand their organizations and even more difficult to communicate this information.

Many directors recognize the need to further their education. New techniques for effectively controlling organizations are now available for non-professional members who become Directors.

It was observed in this research that managerial role is an organized set of behaviours. The roles are divided into three groups: interpersonal, informational,

and decisional. The *informational roles* link all managerial work together. The *interpersonal roles* ensure that information is provided. The *decisional roles* make significant use of the information. This performance of managerial roles and the requirements of these roles can be played at different times by the same manager and to different degrees depending on the level and function of management. The roles are described individually, but they form an integrated whole.

The Managerial Roles

Interpersonal • Figurehead • Leader • Liaison	Provide Information
Informational • Monitor • Disseminator • Spokesperson	Process Information
Decisional • Entrepreneur • Disturbance Handler • Resource Allocator • Negotiator	Use Information

Feedback
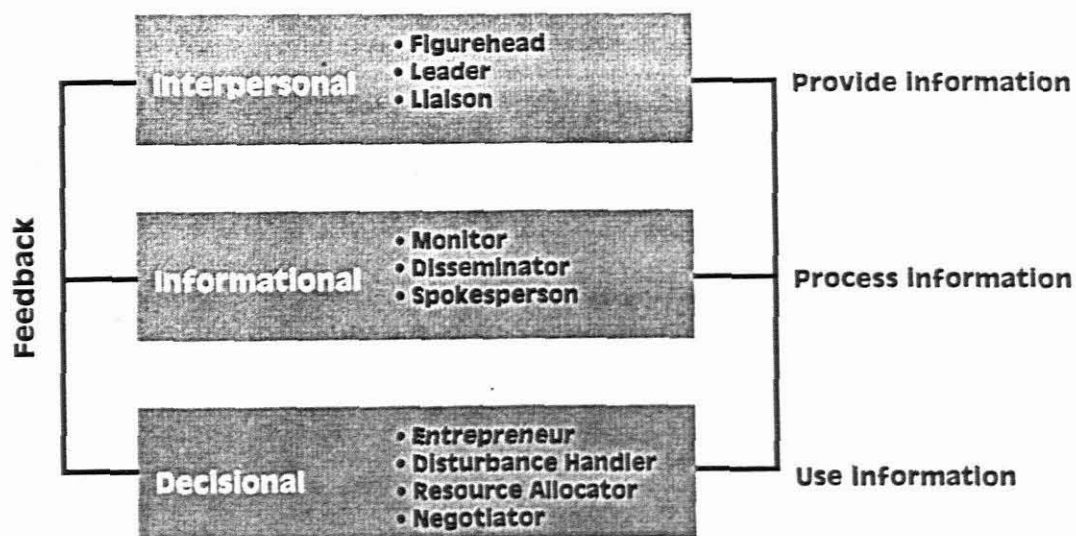
The three interpersonal roles are primarily concerned with interpersonal relationships. In the figurehead role, the manager represents the organization in all matters of formality. The top level manager represents the company legally and socially to those outside of the organization. The supervisor represents the work group to higher management and higher management to the work group. In the liaison role, the manager interacts with peers and people outside the organization. The top manager uses the liaison to gain favours and information, while the supervisor uses it to maintain the routine flow of work. The leader role defines the relationships between the managers and employees.

The direct relationship with people in the interpersonal roles places the manager

in a unique position to get information. Thus, the three informational roles are primarily concerned with the information aspects of managerial work. In the monitor role, the manager receives and collects information. In the role of disseminator, the manager transmits special information into the organization. The top level manger receives and transmits more information into the environment. Thus, the top manager is seen as an industry expert, while the supervisor is seen as a unit or department expert.

The unique access to information places the manager at the centre of organizational decision making. There are four decisional roles. In the entrepreneur role, the manager initiates change. In the disturbance handler role, the manager deals with threats to the organization. In the resource allocator role, the manager chooses where the organization will expand its efforts. In the negotiator role, the manager makes the decisions about the organization as a whole, while the supervisor makes decisions about his or her particular work unit.

The supervisor performs these managerial roles but with different emphasis than higher managers. Supervisory management is more focussed and short-term in outlook. Thus, the figurehead role becomes less significant and the disturbance handler and negotiator roles increase in importance for the supervisor. Since leadership permeates all activities, the leader role is among the most important of all roles at all levels of management.

CONTENT GOALS

Decisional roles are the managerial roles of entrepreneur, disturbance handler, resource allocator, and negotiator that make significant use of information.

Informational roles are the managerial roles of monitor, disseminator, and spokesperson that link all managerial work together.

Interpersonal roles are the managerial roles of figurehead, liaison, and leader that ensure that information is provided.

Managerial role is an organized set of behaviours common to the work of all managers.

The Senior Human Resources Officer, Assistant Human Resources Officer and Human Resources Officer fall under one department and perform the following functions, namely, recruitment programs; assist in employment activities; participate in and direct some line functions for the operating department; supervise employees engaged in such work; and perform other related duties.

An employee in this class serves as the liaison between the operating department and Classified Personnel responsible for ensuring that program personnel needs are met in accordance with personnel commission rules, state law, board policies, procedures and contracts. As such, the incumbent reports the Director, Classified Personnel and administers personnel programs under such auspices however, the incumbent receives direction from the operating unit on priorities and needs. Also, promotes the interest of the department in meeting its mission and goals. The purpose of the position is to develop a comprehensive knowledge of a particular department and with his/her understanding of personnel systems/laws, to consult with management in developing programs and goals. The class of Human Resources Analyst is that the latter is a specialist in one or more of the personnel specialities whereas the former must have expertise in all areas of personnel and have management expertise to properly advise management in achieving

organizational objectives and functions.

The other functions performed by the Human Resources department includes the following:

- ✧ Job evaluation system development, implementation and management
- ✧ Job analysis and evaluation
- ✧ Job description
- ✧ Job evaluation communication
- ✧ System support
- ✧ User training
- ✧ Human Resources and Payroll System (HRPS) development and implementation
- ✧ Decision Support System (DSS) development
- ✧ Formulate, review and implement policies and strategies on employment terms and conditions
- ✧ Enhance and manage provision of staff benefits to cultivate and promote staff's sense of belonging
- ✧ Develop and promote a Performance-Related Remuneration Culture
- ✧ Keep abreast of the latest market development in remuneration and benefits practices
- ✧ Formulate and review policy on remuneration packages
- ✧ Review Incremental Credit Policy
- ✧ Formulate and review policy on Flexible Employment Packages
- ✧ Working Hours and Overtime Policy
- ✧ Prevention of Double Benefits Rule Policies and Procedures Formulation

THE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

The engineering department in the industry under investigation are involved with the following activities:

✧ Design engineering

✧ Applications engineering

✧ Project engineering

✧ Plant engineering

✧ Testing engineering

✧ Management

✧ Marketing / Sales

The Pulp and Paper Project Engineer working on capital projects help to improve Paper Machines, Pulp and Utilities Areas. Coordinate planning and execution of projects and supervise any outside contractors related to that project. Provide engineering and management services to the mill to maximize quality and safety performance, and reduce costs over the long term. Mechanical engineer have computer literacy, good interpersonal skills and able to relate/work with all levels of personnel.

The technical Services is responsible for the Department's technical and support functions. These diverse responsibilities involve building machines and equipment, internal communications systems, including telephones, faxes and document processing, evidence and recovered property, some crime laboratory functions, auto pound, and detention and transportation of arrestees.

Security duties is to welcome visitors with a permission of the employer and protect the goods of the industry. Security ensure that every vehicle is thoroughly checked

and workers produce their job cards. Security is also referred to as a gate-man because he/she controls everything from the entrance of the industry.

Electrical engineer is a person who make sure that the company are always supplied with electrical power and the engine is ready to backup if there is fault. Expertise in delivery technical training specifically in the are of electrical controls relating to the assembly, repair and service of automation machines and equipment is an essential part of their job.

Production superintendent is a person who is responsible to control the production and storage. Production superintendent supervises engineers, technicians, supervisors, plant operators, skilled and semiskilled mechanics, and labourers who keep the production system in continuous operation.

Cleaners keep buildings in clean and orderly condition. They perform heavy cleaning duties, such as operating motor-driven cleaning equipment, mopping floors, washing walls and glass, and remove rubbish. They have additional duties and responsibilities, such as tending furnace and boiler, performing routine maintenance activities, notifying management of need for repairs and additions and cleaning snow or debris from sidewalks.

Other structures reported in a doted line to the head krafts of all branches at Richards Bay. As from 1963 the production is still Hullets paper. The number of workers that is involved in trade unions is more than 1 987. Mondi Kraft was dominated by whites and also believed in mass-production. Mass-production goes hand in hand with the exploitation of workers. It was due to this exploitation that PWAWU intervened as Negotiator, Arbitrator, Conciliator and Mediator. Therefore, PWAWU changes to CEPPWAWU (Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and

Allied Union). Each year the industry employs approximately 285 people. The ethnic group that mostly existed in the industry are Zulu's. The industry is situated in KwaZulu-Natal. It is not easy for Mondi Kraft to experience a down-fall because of strong ties with Anglo-American directors since some of them are from Mondi Kraft.

3.2 THE AIM, VISION AND THE PRODUCTION SYSTEM OF MONDI KRAFT INDUSTRY

There are two white unions that exist at Mondi Kraft which are National Employee Trade Union (NETU) and National Employee of South African Worker's Union (NESAWU). There are a few members of the white unions compared to blacks - CEPPWAWU. Each union operates differently from each other, but for common purpose they all work together because they are all affiliated to COSATU. Normally the unions for whites engage in negotiations and are also seriously attended by the employers. But unions for blacks participate in negotiations and are also seriously attended too, that means unions are the same. CEPPWAWU consists of 856 members, while NETU has got 621 members, and NESAWU consists of 510 member.

In historical terms the formation of the unions was influenced by the socio-economic and political situation at the point in time. History also shows that the three unions were not formed at the same time.

Mondi Kraft is a division of the fully-integrated forests products enterprise, Mondi Limited, which employs over 20 000 people and has total assets to the value of R6 billion. The division has four mills at Richards Bay, Piet Retief, Felixton and SilvaCel. Of the 730 000 tons of world-class pulp, paper and board produced by

Mondi Kraft each year, approximately 50 percent is exported. SilvaCel mill produces in excess of 850 000 tons of wood chips per annum, which is exported to the Pacific Rim. The group owns and manages extensive eucalyptus, pine and wattle plantations covering 440 000 ha, offering long term security of raw material supply.

In an endeavour to meet the changing needs of its customers world-wide, Mondi Kraft constantly strives to improve its products. Accredited to the ISO 9002 quality management system and meeting the requirements of BS 5750 Part 2 and EN2 9002 quality standards, Mondi Kraft ensures that innovation never compromises quality.

Mondi Kraft was established to meet the needs of woodchip, pulp and paper packaging users by providing quality products from the optimum use of world class production facilities, supported by effective logistics, technical support, administration and information for the benefit of our customers, employees, shareholders, suppliers and the community at large, whilst recognising their responsibilities towards the environment.

The main objective of Mondi Kraft is to work for profit and be competitive with other industries.

3.2.1 Working together

Working together is more than just an expression at Mondi Kraft. It is the reason why the industry is centred on meeting the customers' needs, through effective partnership. Mondi Kraft is dedicated to providing realistic pricing, consistent product quality, direct and responsive communication channels, and total technical

support.

At Mondi Kraft, our customers' needs are paramount, for example, the industry offer even more than a complete range of high-quality linerboard and corrugating medium, specifically developed to provide specialist solutions to the customer's packaging needs.

The industry offers competitive pricing, ISO 9002 standards in Quality Management and excellent distribution throughout the world, with warehousing facilities close to all major markets. The expertise of our technical support professionals is available to all customers of Mondi Kraft, wherever they are.

3.2.2 Products

The major furnish in Bayflute is bagasse, the fibrous by-product of the sugar processing industry, which is a cost effective alternative to other virgin fibre options in fluting. This material is produced at Mondi Kraft's Felixton Mill and offers excellent corrugating properties, with good porosity and absorbency for optimum conversion, as well as superior flat crush properties.

Unfortunately, I am unable to show the diagram of the production process in this research. The reason for this is that management was not willing to discuss this with me because it was considered to be a confidential document of the industry. Perhaps the reason for this confidentiality can be attributed to fear of competition from other similar industries.

In this research it was observed that there is a quasi-co-operation among the three unions. Since the two unions that exist at Mondi Kraft industry, namely National

Employee Trade Union (NETU), National Employee of South African Workers' Union (NESAWU) is dominated by whites and Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union (CEPPWAWU) is dominated by blacks. NETU and NESAWU is dominated by the white elements.

In terms of the three union demanding a particular benefit from the management the NETU and NESAWU are more successful in getting their demand ruther than CEPPWAWU which is dominated by blacks. This is not surprising because the top management in Mondi Kraft industry is still dominated by whites who often sympathizing with the white colleagues. It was observed that although the three unions affiliate the COSATU, COSATU has no control over their activities.

The management play a vital role when the differences of unions are exposed, by capitalizing on the exploitation of labour for their own benefits (production). The management as structure of high working class that have power to detect subordinates to do what is required, and this structure normally abuse the power by forgetting worker's conditions. The management pays much focus on production and competition to other surrounding industries. Union is served as the structure that can possess power to fight with management. The existence of unions in Mondi Kraft industry play a vital role in solving worker's problems.

The organizational structure of the three unions -

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        ┌─────────────────┐
        │   President      │
        └─────────────────┘
                 ↓
        ┌─────────────────┐
        │ Deputy-President │
        └─────────────────┘
                 ↓
        ┌─────────────────┐
        │   Secretary      │
        └─────────────────┘
                 ↓
        ┌─────────────────┐
        │   Treasurer      │
        └─────────────────┘
                 ↓
        ┌─────────────────┐
        │  Clerk / Typist  │
        └─────────────────┘
                 ↓
        ┌─────────────────┐
        │  Shop steward    │
        └─────────────────┘
                 ↓
        ┌─────────────────┐
        │  Union members   │
        └─────────────────┘
```
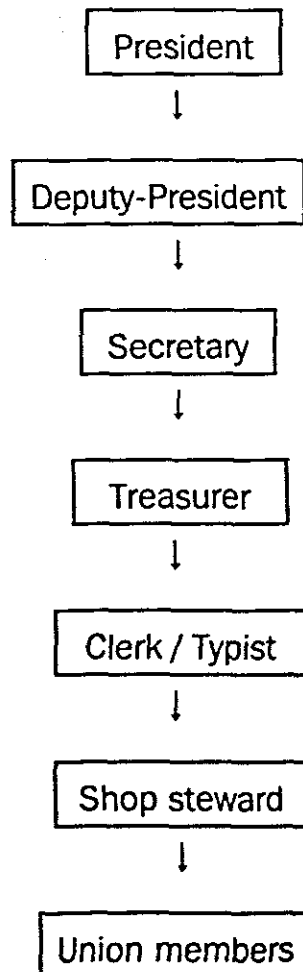
From this above structure, the three unions here have similar organisation structures. Each of the unions has a president, Deputy-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Clerk, Typist, Shop steward and union members.

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This show that they have the same hierarchical structure. But in terms of membership, CEPPWAWU has a larger number of members and they are predominantly blacks.

In terms of financial position, NETU and NESAWU are more buoyant than CEPPWAWU. Perhaps the reason for this is that NETU and NESAWU members are better paid in terms of the remuneration than members of CEPPWAWU whose members are mainly employed on menial jobs in the industry.

Having discussed the structure of the three trade unions we shall discuss the research methodology in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the research design, instrument, units of analysis and ethical consideration will be discussed. The aim of this study is to show clearly the role of trade unions in industrial relations system in Mondi Kraft industry. In the context of this investigation, "employees" are defined as those workers who are appointed to a salary scale with a maximum salary notch equal to or less than R20 154.00 (before the 1st of July 1993 general adjustment). The aim of the study is to present an exhaustive catalogue of the role of trade unions in industrial relations in South African industry by investigating their perceptions regarding:

(a)   The need for an organisation to protect their interest.

(b)   The problem-solving process.

(c)   Strikes as a medium of fulfilment.

(d)   Trade union membership and the functions of the unions.

4.1 SURVEY PROCEDURE

The field survey method was used to collect the necessary data during June, July and August 1999. Respondents were randomly selected from the industry (Human Resources, Personnel, Administrative Officer and plant-staff). Samples were taken from Felixton Branch of the industry, namely Mondi Kraft.

4.2 THE POPULATION STUDY

The population covered in this study includes both management and the workers.

With regard to sex distribution, both males and females were interviewed. The total number of respondents interviewed is 80. A stratified sampling technique was used in dividing the respondents into different stratum - departments. In each of the departments we used a simple random technique to select respondents. The number of respondents selected from each stratum (department) is a function of the total number of employees available in that particular department. This confirms that we also applied disproportionate sampling techniques in selecting our final respondents. This is out f the 120 employees in the Mondi Kraft Industry.

A total number of fifty respondents were selected across the various departments.

4.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aims of this research are as follows:

(a) To investigate the role of trade unions in industrial relations system in South African Industry.

(b) To analyse how trade unions help in the development and growth of the industry.

(c) To critically evaluate the strategies by which trade unions resolve conflicts.

(d) To examine critically the socio-economic factors that influence the structure of trade unions in the South African Industry with emphasis on ethnicity.

4.4 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

In analysing the research findings, we shall make use of. Statistical tools among which is included, simple percentages and Chi-square analysis and contingency coefficient.

The responses are, of course, all independent of one another, so we used Pearson Chi-square to determine significant differences. This test does not identify where the actual significance lies, as the minimum size table is a 2x3. However, it was believed that in most cases that indicated a significant difference, inspection would show where the differences are.

In this research both quantitative and qualitative research techniques were used. In terms of quantitative techniques, questionnaires were used to solicit the necessary information from the respondents. With regard to the qualitative technique the researcher also used oral interviews with experts in trade union studies. In addition to these experts, we also discussed with top management staff of the industry under research. Much of the oral interview focussed on the prospects and problems associated with trade unions in the industry. The questionnaire consists of both open-ended and close-ended questions.

From the analysis, the researcher will be able to draw out inference about the research findings. Apart from this quantitative research technique, the researcher also makes use of the official records of the unions. From that, it was easy to know the numerical strength of the union both in the past years and the present time.

4.5 QUESTIONNAIRE - ONE OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The object of any questionnaire, whether administered by an interviewer through the post, is simply to obtain sufficient valid and reliable data that can be transformed into information which will prove or disprove the hypotheses. This apparently simple process is reached with pitfalls, and many books and articles warn the questionnaire constructor of these pitfalls. It is not intended to review these at length, but to deal more with the reasons for the questions in this

questionnaire and what they expect to achieve.

The questionnaire construction in this research can be divided into the following sections:

(i)   Biological information: questions 1 - 4.

(ii)   The need for an organisation to protect their interests: questions 5 - 9.

(iii)   Union membership and functions of a union: questions 7 and 10.

(iv)   Strikes as medium of fulfilment: questions 12 - 20.

(v)   Problem solving process: questions 16, 21 - 25.

4.6   DATA COLLECTION

The method of collection was by means of personal interviews, following a structured questionnaire (Appendix A), which was presented most of the time in English but on a few occasions in Afrikaans. Those interviewed were assured of the complete anonymity of the whole procedure and were also assured that neither their names, nor their union's name would appear in the final reporting, only the organizations' name. Without this; it is certain that even fewer would have been willing to participate.

In addition, it is obvious that the labourers are all fluent in English or Afrikaans, and although the questionnaire could have been translated into Zulu, it was thought advisable to present it to each respondent via a personal interview. Naturally the respondents were not led in any of their responses, although minor clarification of some questions was occasionally requested, thus underlining the desirability of the interview method. In addition, interviewer bias was eliminated.

A disadvantage of the interview method of data collection can be noted here, and that is the time restriction. The respondents felt compelled to reply in as short a time as possible and might miss some answers, whereas with a postal questionnaire the interviewee is possibly able to consider more answers. However, an advantage of the interview method is also in evidence here, in that a larger number of employers and employees replied "Elected" to question 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 15.

"Do you think that lack of finance is responsible for you to call-off your strikes?"
"If yes, how does it affect your strike action?"
"What is the most important interest of the worker that must be protected?"
"Do you think that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the workers?" "Do you think trade unions have been able to resolve conflicts within this organisation?" "Do you belong to a trade union?"

Encouragement was needed in many cases to get responses as to why they thought they were elected, which would have been far more difficult with a postal questionnaire.

4.7   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

(a)   It was not easy to enter the main gate due to the security system. It was also not easy to gather information together as you wish due to the work schedule (shifts, offs, leaves and replacement) in the industry.

(b)   The respondents did not always answer all the questions in the questionnaire as expected.

(c)   Some respondents gave more than one reason or answer to an open-ended question and consequently both responses were recorded.

(d)   The researcher decided to limit the research to one firm at Felixton - Mondi Kraft because of financial and time restrictions.

(e)   In addition the researcher decided to restrict the research further, by dealing only with a manufacturing industry and not investigating other industries like the building industry or the distributive trade.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the research findings. In terms of trade union activities at the Mondi Kraft Industry, it was observed that the various unions that exist at the micro level in the industry are all affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Generally, there are three unions in the industry, namely Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union (CEPPWAWU), the National Employee of South African Workers Union (NESAWU) and the National Employee of Trade Union (NETU). Although the various unions have similar structures in terms of their composition, they hold different ideological beliefs. But however, the different beliefs notwithstanding, they have similar goals. They are also influenced and controlled by the goals and objectives of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). In view of this control and influence, all the minute unions will be considered in this research as one unit in terms of their roles in influencing the Industrial Relations System especially in terms of negotiation of wages for the workers. All the unions speak with one voice in the various negotiation processes. This collective behaviour of the unions has helped to improve the general working conditions for the workers and this will be discussed later in this chapter.

The characteristics of the respondents interviewed in this research will be discussed in the following terms.

5.1 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SEX

Table 5.1

Sex	Number	Percentage
Male	41	82
Female	9	18
Total	**50**	**100**

The above table 5.1 shows that 41 (82%) of the respondents are males while 9 (18%) are females. Both males and females are represented in the study, although males are in the majority.

It can also be confirmed from the above table that females are not well represented in Mondi Kraft industry. The numbers of male employees outnumber the female employees. This can be attributed to the discrimination against female employees in the past years. However, a critical observation of the statistical distribution of sex and race, shows that more white females are employed than black females. This on the other hand can be attributed to the apartheid policy in the past. Most of the black females are only employed to do menial jobs like sweeping and preparing tea for senior members of the management. This is contrary to the white females, most of them are in the managerial class. This inference we can draw about this analysis is that the management of Mondi Kraft industry has not fully implemented the new Labour Relation Act of 1995, where racial discrimination has been vehemently rejected. It also appear that the affirmative action has not been implemented in this industry. In view of the above situation, it could be argued that the above problem can be solved by government monitoring the staff strength of company from time to time. However the main reason why many industries are still reluctant to implement the Industry Relation Act in terms of equal employment

opportunity is not within the scope of this study. Further research is needed to investigate the above problem. It should be noted that we were able to interview only 50 respondents out of the initial number of 80 respondents. This was as a result of the non co-operative attitude of 30 of the respondents who were not prepared to be interviewed. All the respondents interviewed are members of the existing trade unions.

5.2 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS AND THEIR INTEREST TO PARTICIPATE IN TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

Table 5.2

Age of Respondents	Interest to participate in trade union activities	Percentage
21 - 26	4	8
26 - 35	6	12
35 - 45	13	26
45 - 55	19	36
55 - 65	7	14
65 over	1	2
Total	**50**	**100**

Table 5.2 above shows that 19 out of 50 respondents that participated fully in trade union activities were between 45–55 age category at the time of this study. 13 were aged between 35–45 years while 7 are between 55–65 age category. 6 of the respondents are between 26–35 age category, 4 are between 21–26 and 1 respondents in the age category of 65 and above.

The inference we can draw from the above table is that individuals in their forty's

and fifty's are more likely to participate in trade union activities. As individuals move towards their sixty's and above, their interest in union activities decline. Perhaps the reason we can attribute to this is that they are moving towards their retirement and they are only counting their days to leave the organization.

With regard to those in their twenty's and thirty's their interest to participate in trade union activities is also not high. This could be attributed to the fact that they have not really made up their minds on whether or not they would remain in the industry. Many of them are still looking forward to furthering their education and this means they may leave the industry any time.

5.3   THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Table 5.3

Level of Education Attained	Number	Percentage
University degree holder	7	14
Diploma	10	20
Secondary school	25	50
Primary school	8	16
No school	0	0
Total	**50**	**100**

Table 5.3 above shows that the majority of the respondents interviewed who are also members of the trade unions are secondary school certificate holders. This shows that the level of education of the union members is not very high. This must have been responsible for the poor organization of the unions. In the same vein, this must also have contributed to the inability of the union members to negotiate for their demands with the management of the industry. However this low level of

education can be solved by encouraging the union members to further their education. This will then enable them to understand fully how to organize union activities and at the same time be able to negotiate with management without resulting into conflict situation.

5.4 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO RACE

Table 5.4

Race of Respondents	Number	Percentage
African	25	50
Coloured	1	2
Indian	2	4
White	22	44
Total	50	100

Table 5.4 above reflects that the majority of the respondents, that is, 25 (50%) are Africans, 22 (44%) are whites, 2(4%) are Coloured and 1 (2%) are Indian.

The above finding reveals that most of the respondents are Africans and followed by white. It reflects that Mondi-Kraft is dominated by blacks. Whereas Africans are in large numbers but they play very little role in union activities.

A careful observation of the main reason why Africans do not participate in large numbers as compared to their white counterparts can be attributed to the following reasons.

Sociologically speaking, Africans have been placed under the apartheid policy where many of them have been marginalised, ill-treated and dishumanized. For

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this reason many of them are still afraid to join trade unions and fight for their rights.

Secondly, the other factors why Africans play very little role is the fact that many of them are not well educated and because of this, they do not know their rights in terms of the new Labour Relations Act.

Thirdly, many of them are still employed as temporary staff even after spending three to four years in the industry. For the fact that they are still temporary staff, it is not expected of them to be actively involved in trade union activities.

Fourthly, the felt they might be stigmatized as reactionary or destructive elements within the organization.

But however, one is optimistic that as the elements of democracy flourish, Africans will be able to understand the rights better in no future distance. This might not make them participate more in trade union activities, but it might make them to be more vocal in trade union activities.

5.5   Distribution of respondents according to the various unions
Pie graph 5.5
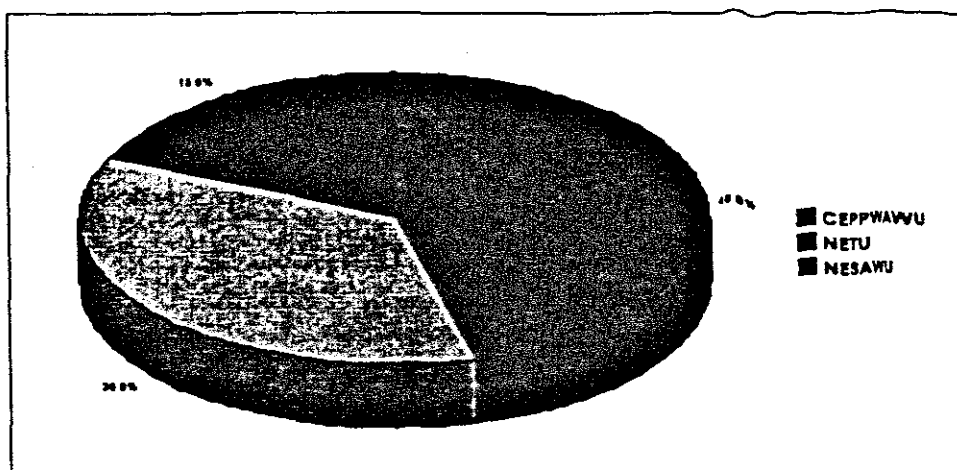
Figure 5.5 above shows that the majority of the respondents, that is, 46% belongs to the Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union (CEPPWAWU), 36% of the respondents belong to the National Employee Trade Union (NETU) while 18% of the respondents belong to the National Employee of South African Trade Union (NESAWU).

In terms of race distribution among the various unions, most of the blacks belong to CEPPWAWU while the majority of the other race groups, namely Coloured, Indian and White belong to NETU and NESAWU respectively. In this research it was observed that although differences exist among the different ethnic groups in terms of their affiliation with the unions, they all speak with one voice on common issues affecting them. This will be illustrated when it comes to union members demand for increase in wages and other fringe benefits.

A historical background of the three trade unions shows that NETU is the oldest, followed by NESAWU and CEPPWAWU which was recently formed. NETU which is the oldest union was formed few years after the industry was established. During this time, blacks were totally excluded from trade union activities. In our literature review, we have earlier show how blacks in South Africa were totally excluded from the early trade union movement. This phenomenon is also observed in Mondi Kraft industry. Blacks or Africans in the early part of the establishment of this industry, were not encouraged to join or participate in union activities. As a matter of fact, the few opportunity given to blacks to form trade unions was like the case of "a reluctant Godfather leading a reluctant Son into a reluctant manhood."

It should be noted that we also observed in Mondi Kraft industry that the unions are general unions. Any employee of the industry is allowed to join any of the unions.

5.6 THE EFFECTS OF FINANCE IN STRIKE ACTION

Hypotheses 1

H_1: Lack of finance to sustain the employee is not responsible for them to call off their strike action.

H_0: Lack of finance to sustain the employee is responsible for them to call off their strike action.

Table 5.6

Respondents	Male	Female	Total
Yes	21 (17.98)	8 (11.02)	29
No	10 (13.02)	11 (7.98)	21
Total	31	19	50

Observed X^2 = 3.178

Critical value   = 3.841

Df   = 1

Level of significance α = 0.05

Therefore H^0 is not accepted.

This confirms that lack of finance to sustain the employee is responsible for them to call off their strike action.

The contingency coefficient "C" = 0.03

This therefore shows that there is a weak relationship between lack of finance and strike action.

This analysis confirm Scheiner's (1994) research findings on the relationship between finance and the ability of employees to maintain strike action. The majority of the respondents confirm that if they continue with any prolonged strike

action they may loose their monthly remuneration.

The sociological explanation of why workers have to call off the strike in fear of financial hardship can be attributed to their family responsibility. It is not unlikely that majority of the African would agitate for the strike to be called off in view of their family responsibility when with their white counterparts. In addition to this, Africans unlike their white counterparts do not have access to banking loans or even draft facilities to sustain them during the strike action. For this reasons, Africans are not likely to support a prolonged strike. However the other reason why Africans would like to call of a strike is beyond the scope of this research.

5.7 ETHNICITY AND TRADE UNION AFFILIATIONS AMONG THE BLACK EMPLOYEES

Table 5.7

Ethnic groups	Trade Unions				Percentage
	CEPPWAWU	NETU	NESAWU	TOTAL	
Shangaan	1	1	1	3	12
Zulu	15	0	0	15	60
Xhosa	1	0	0	1	4
Swazi	3	0	1	4	16
Sotho	2	0	0	2	8
Total	**22**	**1**	**2**	**25**	**100**

Table 5.7 confirms that there is a relationship between ethnicity and trade union affiliation. This research shows that among the Zulu speaking employees they all belong to the Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union (CEPPWAWU). It is surprising that among the respondents interviewed there was no single Zulu speaking employee in NETU and NESAWU in Mondi Kraft industry.

All Zulu speaking employees affiliated with CEPPWAWU. The basic question we would like to ask at this juncture is, what could be responsible for this? Perhaps this could be attributed to their social networks and the historical background of the employees.

The historical background and the past experiences of the employees provide the basis for collective mobilization and associate themselves with one trade union so as to achieve their goals. This is part of cultural formation which has earlier been analysed by Eddie Webster on his discussion on labour process in South Africa (1995).

According to Eddie Webster (1985) in this study of the Metal Industry, he observed that Black workers in general joined trade unions because they feel that they are not well treated like human beings. The key point that emerged from his study of this Metal Industry is that *men who joined the same union* came from a similar district in Zululand. They all lived together in Vosloorus hostel and consequently *shared a common set of grievances. They were in other words noted in network of mutual support.*

In this research we also observed that most if not all the Zulus who joined the CEPPWAWU live in Esikhawini hostel where they share common beliefs and values. This close association is likely to have influenced to join the same union. In view of this, this research has contributed greatly to our understanding of how cultural determines individual to join the same trade union as a result of living together in the same environment.

According to Ari Sitas (1984), he is also of the view that people from the same region or clan will always organize their lives in group lines. He called this cultural

formation with defensive combinations, as it was these informal social networks that members had to rely upon.

This therefore confirms that trade unions association is influenced by ethnic factors. The above analysis has also helped us to understand the effects of ethnicity on industrial relations system. Ethnic factors should be considered as one of the aspects of industrial relation dynamics. This again buttressed the fact that for us to understand the relationship between employees and management it is necessary for us to consider the various ethnic groups within the organization in terms of trade union activities.

5.8 STRIKE ACTION AND MANAGEMENT

Hypotheses 3

H_1: There is no relationship between strike action and management desire to meet workers demands.

H_0: There is a relationship between strike action and management desire to meet workers demands.

Table 5.8

Respondents	Male	Female	Total
Yes	16 (19.98)	11 (7.02)	27
No	21 (17.02)	2 (5.98)	23
Total	**37**	**13**	**50**

Observed X^2 = 6.628

Critical value   = 10.827

Level of significance = 0.001

Since X^2 is < than the critical value

H^1 is accepted

This therefore confirms that there is a relationship between strike action and management desire to meet workers' demands.

The contingency coefficient "C" = 0.05.

This therefore shows that although there is a relationship, the relationship is a weak relationship.

The above discussion on the management desire to respond to workers demand as a result of strike action confirm the issue of general strike action in Nigeria in 1964 which we have earlier discussed in our literature review. It was shows clearly in our literature review that the general strike of 1964 in Nigeria paralysed the economy. History show that not until the strike action was carried out that the management met with the various demands of the workers.

Similar occurrence was also observed during my field trip to Mondi Kraft industry. From the respondents we also gathered that most of the worker's demands wee not met until strike action. One of the basic questions we would like to ask is why is management in most organizations reluctant to meet workers demand when there is no strike action. Perhaps the reason why management only respond to workers demands during strike action could be associated to huge loss in profit to the organisation during the strike action. If profit made by management could be adversely affected by strike action, why does management not avoid such action through peaceful negotiation before it rekindles. Our suggestion is that management should also learn to negotiate with workers and show concern about

the well being of workers so that strike actions could be minimized or totally eliminated if possible.

5.9 TRADE UNIONS AND WAGES

Hypotheses 4

H_1: Trade unions have not helped in increasing the wages of the workers.

H_0: Trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the workers.

Table 5.9

Respondents	Male	Female	Total
Yes	30 (31.2)	10 (10.4)	40
No	9 (7.8)	11 (2.6)	10
Total	39	13	50

Observed X^2 = 0.175

Critical value = 10.827

Df = 0.001

Since X^2 is < than the critical value

H^1 is accepted

This therefore confirms that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the workers.

The contingency coefficient "C" = 0.001.

The above table 5.9 reveals that 39 (male) respondents out of the 50 respondents are of the view that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the

the well being of workers so that strike actions could be minimized or totally eliminated if possible.

5.9 TRADE UNIONS AND WAGES

Hypotheses 4

H_1: Trade unions have not helped in increasing the wages of the workers.

H_0: Trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the workers.

Table 5.9

Respondents	Male	Female	Total
Yes	30 (31.2)	10 (10.4)	40
No	9 (7.8)	11 (2.6)	10
Total	39	13	50

Observed X^2 = 0.175

Critical value   = 10.827

Df = 0.001

Since X^2 is < than the critical value

H^1 is accepted

This therefore confirms that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the workers.

The contingency coefficient "C" = 0.001.

The above table 5.9 reveals that 39 (male) respondents out of the 50 respondents are of the view that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the

workers. Only 13 (female) respondents are of the view that trade unions have not helped in increasing the wages of the workers.

This research confirms the analysis of Carrel (1995:63) that power is used to increase take-home wages, to ensure job protection, to improve working conditions or simply sit across the bargaining table with employer, members believe that in a union there is strength. The most common union means of demonstrating strengths has been the strikes. Also in the survey conducted by Torres (1995:77), it was found that among 429 black union members, 60% stated that a major reason for joining a union was "to improve wages and working conditions". In a social attitude survey conducted in South Africa in 1959, 80% of workers gave economic reasons as the major reason for joining trade unions.

In addition to the above discussion, the issue of wage increase is central to trade unions objective in all countries of the world. For example, in our literature review, the issue of increase in wages cut across the various demand in all the countries in terms of workers demand and trade union activities. In South Africa for example, periodization of union activity is closely associated to increase in wages. When workers were poorly paid in the early industrialization period in South Africa (during the time gold and other valuable minerals were discovered) trade unions were at the forefront to fight for wage increase for the workers. Even today we still witness the activity of COSATU in terms of better pay and working conditions to the worker. This has therefore confirm that one of the principal role or roles of trade union is to fight or agitate for better pay (increase in wages) for the worker.

5.10 TRADE UNIONS AND THE DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATION SYSTEM

Hypotheses 5

H_1: Trade unions are not capable of influencing industrial relations system.

H_0: Trade unions are capable of influencing industrial relations system.

Table 5.10

Respondents	Male	Female	Total
Yes	44 (42.24)	4 (5.76)	48
No	0 (1.76)	2 (0.24)	2
Total	44	6	50

Observed X^2 = 0.305

Critical value = 10.827

Df = 1

Since X^2 is < than the critical value

H_1 is accepted

This therefore confirms that there is a relationship between trade unions and industrial relations system.

The contingency coefficient "C" = 0.01.

The above table 5.10 shows that 48 of the respondents (males and females) out of the 50 respondents agreed that trade unions are capable of influencing industrial relations system. Only 2 of the respondents (females) are of the view that trade unions are not capable of influencing industrial relations system.

Hyman (1975:253) suggest that trade unions play a major role and generally fall into three major categories, that is, economic gains and improved working conditions for members, procedural control to ensure job security for employees and freedom from arbitrary action by employers, as well as political influence to drive state policies and ensure that legislation is labor-friendly. Most trade unions helped in the negotiation of higher wages and benefits for their members.

5.11 THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

In our research findings, we observed on the field that trade unions in the industry have helped time without number to resolve the conflict between the workers and management. The most common methods used in conflict resolution are mediation and conciliation. The unions never get involved in the arbitration process. All the cases that involve arbitration process are referred to the Commission of Conciliations, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA). The trade unions have been very useful in implementing the following:

(a)   Organisational rights of the employees.

(b)   Collective agreements where the agreement does not provide for a procedure or the procedure is inoperative or any party frustrates the resolution of dispute.

(c)   Promoting proposals that are the subject of joint-decision making in work place forums.

(d)   Disclosure of information to workplace forums.

(e)   Agency shop and closed shop.

(f)   Negotiation process.

We observed that in implementing the above functions, the trade unions, namely;

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Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Union (CEPPWAWU), the National Employee of South African Workers Union (NESAWU) and the National Employee of Trade Union (NETU) have not been very successful mainly because of the hostile attitude by the management towards the trade unions and partly because of the quasi-co-operation of the union members.

One of the union leaders we interviewed had this to say:

> "You see, when we invite members to attend meetings, they hardly show up. Only few members do attend our meetings and this is not encouraging. We are not united to be able to speak with one voice and this is adversely affecting us in achieving our goals".

CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This research shows that trade unions may be viewed in the context of the material conditions existing at the time and in the conduct of economic and political elites. Throughout the world unions have taken various forms, shapes and sizes in their attempt to protect their members' interests. In terms of the functions we observed that collective bargaining is one of the activities used by trade unions. It is usually of such central importance that the prevailing structure of collective bargaining has had a decisive influence on the structure and government of trade unions.

The research also buttressed the fact that industrial unions aim to organize all workers in a single, well-defined industry, irrespective of the jobs performed by members. The largest unions in South Africa include, among others, the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) and the National Union of Metal Workers (NUMSA). The power of these unions from our literature review confirms that it is dependent on the extent of their membership, not only at individual companies but also across the industry. Recruitment of the unorganized workers is a major objective of these unions.

From our analysis on the organizational structure of the Mondi Kraft Industry, we found that the hierarchical nature of the industry has more elements of bureaucracy and this we observed has created a high degree of division of labour, the fragmentation and specialization of tasks, and explicit rules governing both relations and tasks. Our inference from this analysis is that the hierarchical structure may help to facilitate the speedy, precise, calculable, predictable, impersonal and purposive pursuit of given

ends. However, the above advantages should not be over emphasized because the same hierarchical structure can also destroy individual initiative thus bringing about conflict of interest between the employees and the management.

In our data analysis, we observed that the majority of those who participated in union activities are between 45 to 55 years of age. The possible reason we attributed to this is that at that age individual's want to achieve much in their lives and are very ambitious.

This research also confirms that the individual's interest to join a particular union is influenced by his ethnic background. This was a common feature among all the races.

This is a problem which needs urgent attention. One of the possible solutions to this problem is to disabuse individual minds from been influenced by their ethnic group. Employee should be encouraged to be objective in assessing the performance and goals of a particular trade union.

This research reveals that low level of education among union members affects the unions. The union leaders are not well educated and because of this they find it difficult to understand how the new Labour Relations Act of 1995 affects both the management and the employees. This problem can be solved by encouraging union leaders to attend seminars and workshops on Labour Relations Act and other labour conferences. This will help to increase the skills of the union leaders especially in the field of negotiation with the employers. There is an urgent need on the part of the government to create awareness on the rights of employees in their work environment.

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Unfortunately, employers are aware that most employees do not know what their rights are and because of this the employees are not given all their due benefits. Apart from benefits, employees are also not treated as they should be treated especially in the case of unfair dismissal. There is a lot to be done by both the central and provincial government to arrest this repulsive situation. In this research we found that trade unions have been able to resolve conflict in the industry. This fact was acknowledged by both the employer and employees in the industry.

In addition to this, we also found that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of employees from time to time. As a matter of fact, the only instrument which employees could use to fight for increment of their wages or pay was the medium of trade union negotiation forum. This has progressively helped the employees. Furthermore, it was clearly shown in this research that trade union activities have helped to improve the industrial relation system in South Africa.

Finally, our submission is that the government should take all necessary measures to encourage employees to participate in trade union activities in their work environment. In the same vein there is need to encourage employers to accept trade unions in their work environment. Both the employer and the employee need mutual understanding and reciprocal relationship for there to be peace and harmony in the industry. Management must be discouraged from its hostile attitude towards trade unions.

This research totally disagree with the early ideas of Fredrick Taylor's scientific management approach to the understanding of organisations. It can still be recalled that Taylor was of the idea that when we discover the natural laws governing organisation there will be no need for trade unions. In our view, this is a utopian idea which cannot come to reality. The existence of trade unions as far as this research is concerned is a necessary condition for the survival of any industrial organization.

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Ref./Verw

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

18 June 1999

Dear Respondent

The aim of this study is to gather information about the role of trade unions in industrial relations in South African industry.

This survey is conducted by the undersigned Masters degree student presently enrolled for Industrial Sociology at the University of Zululand.

Please respond to all questions on this questionnaire. There is no wrong or write answer. Please do not write your name. Information given will be treated confidentially and you are assured of remaining anonymous (unknown).

Thanking in anticipation.

Yours Faithfully

Mlwala

M.A Twala

QUESTIONNAIRE:

The role of trade unions in industrial relations in South African industry

SECTION A

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Gender?

Male	
Female	

2. Age group?

21-26	
26-35	
35-45	
45-55	
55-65	
65-over	

3. Educational Qualification?

Primary Schooling	
Secondary Schooling	
Tertiary Schooling	

4. Race group?

African	
Coloured	
Indian	
White	

SECTION B

5. Do you think workers should come together and form an organisation to protect their interests (for example a trade union)?-

----

--.

6. Why do you say so? ---

----------------------------.

7. If an organisation is formed to protect worker's interests, how should it function. Here are some statements about how the organization could function. Say if you agree or disagree with the statement by placing an "X" circle around the appropriate answers.

7.1 Only workers should be members of the organization.
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7.2 Workers must be free to join the organization   '
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7.3 Management must start the organization
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7.4 Members of management should be allowed to joint the organization.

   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7.5 A worker who is a member of the organization should be allowed to leave the organization if he/she wants to.

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7.6 The organization must be allowed to organize strikes.

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7.7 Before the leaders of the organization ask workers to strike, they must make sure that the majority of the workers want to join strike.

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7.8 Do you think that lack of finance is responsible for you to call-off your strike?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If yes, how does it affect your strike action? --------------------------
----

8. What is the most important interest of the worker that must be protected?

....
....

9. Do you think that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages of the workers

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If yes, to question 9, in what way do you think that trade unions have helped in increasing the wages for the workers?------------------

----

10. Do you think the trade unions have been able to resolve conflicts within this organisation?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If yes, to question 10, which of the following method is used in resolving conflict?

a) Mediation	
b) Negotiation	
c) Conciliation	
d) Arbitration	

11. Do you belong to a trade union?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

11.1 If so which one? ....

11.2 Do you know if it is registered?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

11.3 Does your employer have a recognition agreement with the union?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

12. Would you like to belong to a union?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Why do you say so? ....
....

13. Are you in favour of people going to strike?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Why do you say so? ....
....

14. Have you taken part in a strike?

Yes ☐   No ☐

15. Do you think trade unions association is likely to be influenced by ethnic factor?

Yes ☐   No ☐

16. If yes, how does ethnic factor affects trade union activity?----------
----

17. Can people loose their jobs by striking?

Yes ☐   No ☐

18. Can workers get what they want without striking?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Why do you say so? ....
....

19. How easy it is to get a job these days?

Easy	
Not easy	
Difficult	
Very difficult	

Why do you say so? ....

....

20. Do you agree with the following statements:

20.1 Striking can help people to get more jobs.

Yes ☐   No ☐

20.2 If workers strike a lot, employers will get machines that do most of the work.

Yes ☐   No ☐

21. Are there any problems at work that bother you?

Yes ☐   No ☐

21.1 If yes, what are those problems? ....

....

21.2 Have you discussed them with anybody?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If yes, with whom have you discussed them? ....

....

22. Discussing your problems with other person(s) did any good?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Why do you say so? ....

....

23. Do you think management is aware of the problems that bother Workers?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Why do you say so? ....

....

24. Do you think that management takes enough trouble to listen to the workers' problems and the things that bother them?

Yes ☐   No ☐

25. Do you think that unions should combine to form bigger unions?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If so, why should they? ....

....

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195
Kamvoorhoogte
Thaka
Nhlazatshe
Nkonjeni
kwaPhindagene
(Chief Buthelezi's Residence)
23
Nhlazatshe
uMfolozi Mission Hospital
eQwashu
Mahlabatini
Mpungamhlophe
Dennydalton
KwaMahlathi
Mpande's Grave
Mkhazane
Ulundi 1879
ULUNDI
Makosei
Zihlabeni
Ordini
Royal Residence
iNtshamanzi
Empchosini Valley
Piet Retief's Grave 1838
Mgungundlovu
Mtonjaneni
uMgungundlovu 1838
Fort Evelyn
28
Fort Prospect
uMunywana
APPENDIX B
Melmoth
Nkandla
KwaMagwaza
Tea Estate
Tatalazaa
NKANDLA FOREST RESERVE
Ekutuleni
Ndundulu
Heatonville
Mtimona
Nkwalini
ENTUMENI NATURE RESERVE
Mnqampondo
Mevamhlope
Bashise
Ngwelezana
Chaka's Bulawayo Kraal
EMPANGENI
Cetchwayo's Grave
Goedetrou
Ntumeni
Eshowe
Fort Eshowe
Obanjeni
University of Zululand
Nkonjane
Fort Nongqayi
Mpushini Falls
Blackburne
Mialazi
Fort Napoleon
Nsingweni
Inyezane
Ginginlovu 1879
Ginginlovu
Nyezane
Hudley
Fairbreeze
aMatikulu
First American Mission 1836
iSithebe
Nyoni
Fort Crealock
Magnolia
108
Sundumbili
Mandini
Tugela
AMATIKULU NATURE RESERVE

HLUHLUWE GAME RESERVE
Memorial Gate
Hilltop
Ncema
Hluhluwe
Hlabisa
Thiyeni
Mfeka
CORRIDOR NATURE RESERVE
Sentuli
Gqoyeni
Nselweni
Mpila
Masinda
Mnindini
Mphate
Ncolothi
UMFOLOZI GAME RESERVE
KwaMsane
River View
Nkiya
Lakeview
Makwezini
Makwezin
Dondotsha
Penicuik
Nhlabane
KwaMbonambi
Mposa
Nseleni
Nseleni
Dawson's Rocks
Mbonambi Beach
Velebandhla
Ngogodo
Ngwelevu Siding
Nqutu
Mandlazini
Mzingazi
Arboretum
Meerensee
Richards Bay
RICHARDS BAY NATURE RESERVE
Esikhawini
Durnford Point
Toll Plaza
UMLALAZI NATURE RESERVE

Hell's Gate
Bird Island
Huhluwe
ST LUCIA GAME RESERVE
(TEWATI WILDERNESS AREA)
CAPE VIDAL STATE FOREST
Cape Vidal
Banghazi
NYALAZI STATE FOREST
EASTERN SHORES STATE FOREST
Nyalazi River
Mitchell Island
Mission Rocks
First Rocks
Fernwood
Hippo Pool
ST LUCIA PARK
St Lucia Estuary
Dukuduku
DUKUDUKU STATE FOREST
Mtubatuba
MHLATUZE STATE FOREST
MAPELANE NATURE RESERVE
Teza
Mfolozi
LAKE TEZA NAT. RES.
UMFOLOZI SWAMP FOREST
Capa St Lucia

INDIAN OCEAN

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THIS AREA CONTINUED OVERLEAF