AORG351

Master's Thesis in Administration and Organizational Theory

THE TRANSFORMATION OF UNION POWER AND POLITICS: A CASE OF COSATU AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH AFRICA's POST-APARTHEID REGIME.

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Abstract

This research explores the transformation of union power and politics using COSATU in South Africa as a case Study. The argument is that, the political, economic and global conditions under which COSATU operated in erstwhile apartheid regime has changed and these have transformed the power and politics of the federation. It identifies various political, economic and global changes in South Africa since the transition from apartheid to democratic regime and explores, using various sources of labour power, how these changes have weakened the trade unions power. The paper also examines the textile industries and argues that the industry has been weakened by the free trade agreements and global environment and this has further weakened trade unions' structural and associational power that counts on the industries' workers for members. It suggests that the internationalization of South Africa´s economy weakens unions' power and this affects the power structure that is holding the current regime. The research is a departure from the 'end of labour movement' paradigm by Castells, (2011) and Guy Standing (2010) and argues that the changes in post-apartheid South Africa have come along with new opportunities and trends such as growing informal sector, increased public sector membership and rapidly expanding service sector employment etc. If these new trends and opportunities are well explored and harnessed by organizing them collectively into the trade union membership and leadership structure, it could provide a new path for revitalization and power expansion in post-apartheid South Africa trade unions.

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It is a great joy to research on issues that are intellectually important and politically relevant for sustainability of trade unions in a fast-changing and competitive world. I am humbled by the level of support and direction by the Almighty God throughout this period. I am also deeply grateful to the University of Bergen and the Department of administration and Organization for the privilege to take a master degree in Public Administration.

A special thank you to my supervisor, Professor Tor Halvorsen (Department of Administration and Organization Theory), for his assistance throughout the process of this project. Sharing theoretical, historical, methodological and political discussions has been very inspiring for a successful completion of this project.

I am forever grateful to my family, colleagues at work and friends for their love, support and encouragement.

Bergen, 19th November 2018
Asante Oduro Michael

Declaration

I, Asante Oduro Michael, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Abbreviations

COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Unions

HSRC - Human Sciences Research Council

IFI - International financial institutions

ICU - Industrial and Commercial Workers Union

ICFTU - International Congress of Free Trade Unions

IMF - International Monetary Fund

ILO - International Labour Organization

ITUC- International Trade Union Confederation

MAI Multilateral Agreement on Investments

MIGA - Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency

MFA - Multi-Fibre Agreement

NALEDI - National Labour &Economic Development Institute

NUM - National Union of Mineworkers

OATUU - Organization of African Trade Union Unity

FOSATU - South African Trade Union

SALRI - South Africa Research institute

SACTWU - Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union

SATUCC - Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council

TIPS - Trade and Industrial Policy Strategy

OECD - The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

TUCSA - Trade Union Council of South Africa

UIF - Unemployment Insurance Fund

WFTU - World Federation of Trade Unions

WTO - World Trade Organization

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the transformation of union power and politics of Africa's trade union federations that have transited from many years of harassment and discrimination under colonial and apartheid regimes to democratic regime. The thesis provides a case study of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the textile industry with focus on how the federation's power and politics have changed as a consequence of economic, political and global changes in South Africa that emerged with the transition from apartheid regime to democratic dispensation. South Africa provides an interesting case on how political and economic changes transform power and politics of labour unions. During the apartheid regime, the trade unions adopted different strategies, both violent and non-violent, to press home their demands and sought regime change. The unions were the mouthpiece of the people and opposition to the apartheid regime. Their activities and activism yielded economic and political change in the early 1990s.

On 27th April 1994 South Africa's political, economic and social history began a new chapter, a chapter that ended the hitherto apartheid regime and began the entering into the corridors of democratic political power by anti-apartheid movements who had suffered years of exile, alienation and harassment. It marked the beginning of significant strides towards economic liberalization after years of international sanctions and isolation from the global market. The pre-democratic period was a period of very little free trade or globalization. Apartheid government experienced sanctioned from the international community and developed more undemocratic and protectionist policies. This can be contrasted with post-apartheid period that is characterized by democratic and neoliberal economic policies (Roberts & Thoburn, 2002). As has happened in many liberated African countries, the euphoria of political transition to a government that the trade unions have helped to create led many to expect that the harassment struggle with the state has come to an end. However, the industries began to face new domestic political changes and competitive trade environment while Trade unions like the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) began to face new domestic and global political and economic challenges.

The challenges began to impact on the power and politics of the unions. The profile of trade unions' membership began to change as the new domestic and global changes led to new and professional members who were very insignificant leading to the end of the apartheid

government. The changes were also noticeable in COSATU's strategic involvement in alliance politics, participation in NEDLAC, participation in parliamentary activities and general trade union activities in the post-apartheid regime to influence governmental policies and decisions. Although these varieties of strategies have made some achievements, they have not consistently been effective in influencing policy-making process and to push forward their interest. The inconsistency in the effectiveness of COSATU strategies can be linked to the new political and global environment South Africa finds itself. The new global environment, the political changes, the tripartite alliance and the changing balance of power as a result of domestic economic policies have all combined to transform the power and politics of unions in post-apartheid South Africa.

An important aspect of this study is the declining clothing and textiles industries in South Africa. South Africa was readmitted into the international community after the successful election in 1994. The new government entered into international agreements, which compelled South Africa to revamp its economy through competition. Most industries in South Africa like the steel industry, the textile industry, the mining industry and the banking system, after World Trade entrance have been more or less conquered or weakened by competitors. The domestic industries in these sectors have suffered job loss, low productivity, collapsing and poor market (Roberts & Thoburn, 2002). The question being posed is, using the textile industries as a case study; in what ways has the opening up of South Africa´s economy weakens or undermines the unions' power and influence on domestic politics.

The argument is that, the textile industry has been weakened by free trade agreements that South Africa has entered into with World Trade Organization (WTO), The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), BRICKS and other international, regional or sub-regional agreements. Moreover, the political environment and the global relations for trade unions to operate as was done in the apartheid period has changed. The diminishing growth of the textiles industry and political and global environmental changes have affected the trade union because the textile industry used to be a big industry that supported the union with great numbers of membership to influence domestic politics. This means that the weakened textile industry undermines the unions' power and COSATU influence on domestic politics.

The study of the internationalization of the South Africa´s economy and the effects on labour unions power is more or less the study of how the power of South Africa´s post-apartheid

government is changing. This is because South Africa´s post-apartheid regime is based on coalitions between the trade unions, the communist party and the ANC. This constellation of alliances, also known as 'the tripartite alliance', forms the power block of South Africa's post-apartheid regime. The strength of the trade union within the alliance has been systematically undermined by the domestic political, economic changes and the current global economy that South Africa has entered into. If the labour unions loose power and influence as a result of the changes then the power structure that is holding the current regime is changing.

Theoretically, the study uses the various sources of labour unions' power to examine how trade unions lose power as a result of political, economic and global changes of South Africa´s economy that have had damming effects on the core beliefs of the unions. By trade unions, I am referring to the domestic organizations and business interest. However, the research specifically focuses on COSATU. The argument is that, the associational, structural, institutional and societal power of post-apartheid COSATU has been weakened by the transition from apartheid to democratic regime and the global environment South Africa finds itself. The paper also argues that, although unions' power has been weakened by the transitions, there are also opportunities that have emerged with the transitions and these provide new sources power for revitalization by unions.

The paper is a departure from 'end of labour' paradigm by Castells, (2011) and Guy Standing (2010) who have argued that the days of organized labour movements are numbered and that trade unions would be crushed by the effects of globalization. I argued that although, globalization has weakened the power of unions in post-apartheid South Africa, it has also come along with new opportunities and trends such as growing informal sector, increased public sector membership and rapidly expanding service sector employment etc. If the trade unions are able to adopt mobilization strategies to expand their membership to embrace these sectors, the unions associational, structural, institutional and societal power would be revitalized and expanded.

The research also highlights and support organizational theories in public administration and public policy that states that organizations change over time as a result of the changes that occur within the environment where they find themselves. It is argued that, for organizations to survive within the operational environment, it is important they adopt to political, economic and social changes within their environment (National Research Council, 1997).

Organizations adjust to the working environment or risk been crushed or assimilated into other organizations.

I chose South Africa and the labour unions because South Africa is one of the most industrious countries and the labour unions have a strong tradition in South Africa as part of the resistance movements that brought the current regime to power. The framing of South Africa after 1994 was set with the strong hold of the labour unions and anything that affects the labour union may also affect the power structure of the post-apartheid regime. Moreover, South Africa experienced many years of protectionism under the erstwhile apartheid regime and has stridden towards trade liberalization since the dawn of democracy. This presents an interesting case for comparative research to understand how trade unions can transform under different political and economic dispensations.

1.1 Research Problem

After many years of apartheid regime, economic isolation and diplomatic sanctions, South Africa, since its adoption into the international community in 1994, has been driven by trade liberalization. The restructuring of firms and industries has experienced substantial falls in total textile employment while production has stagnated (Roberts & Thoburn, 2002). South Africa's international trade policy is driven by multilateral arrangements, bilateral and regional agreements. Its agreement with other countries, WTO, BRICKS, EU and other multilateral institutions both global and regional organization has compelled South Africa to open up its economy with other parts of the world to compete with the domestic industries.

Scholars, politicians and human right activists alike have criticized South Africa´s international trade policies that has crippled most of the domestic industries such as the clothing and textile, banking, mining, the steel industry etc. Driven by trade liberalization policies at the expense of South Africa´s own development and domestic industries interests, South Africa's bilateral and multilateral trade agreements with countries and multilateral companies have weakened the domestic industries. For instance, being a member of BRICKS and by its bilateral agreements with China, China´s clothing, textile industries and manufactured goods have stormed South Africa´s market and bully the domestic industries. China´s clothing and textile products for instance, have threatened the viability of the countries domestic textile industries since the ending of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) that regulated the textile and clothing trade (Morris & Einhorn, 2008).

In South Africa, there is a growing negative concern over South Africa´s economic engagements in the manufacturing sector especially the clothing and textile industry. In the debate of South Africa´s trade engagements with the international community both amongst scholars and practitioners, it has been argued that South Africa`s capital-intensive industries for example exports natural resources for countries like China to use in labor-intensive manufacturing industries in China while China export their products back in South Africa for a big profit and threatening the domestic South African textile industries. That is, the decline in South Africa´s textile industry is linked to the influx of cheaper clothing from foreign textile companies especially China that has increased competition over the products. The IndustriALL Global Union, an affiliate of Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) in a press statement released on 4th of December 2015 lamented over the dramatic decline of the textile industry that has led to the loss of an estimated 150000 jobs in the industry over the last 15 years [1](SACTWU, 2015).

One key question in relation to public policy and administration is the type of policies that are adopted by the government and the challenges of trade unions that represent the domestic industries in policymaking. Secondly, how the policies affects South Africa´s own domestic politics and power relations between the various actors of South Africa´s policies, which is the government, the trade unions and the other interest groups. This is a very complex issue because each of the actors in policymaking has its interest and operate in an interdependent political environment where there exist some form of uneven power relations among the actors (Weible, Sabatier, & McQueen, 2009). This inherent complexity in policymaking requires conceptual simplification to provide the theoretical understanding of the key actors, power relations and how post-apartheid trade unions' power and politics have been weakened by the political, economic and global changes in South Africa. The paper uses the various theories of power to explore how the trade union which is a key actor in policymaking, loses power and political influence in South Africa´s post-apartheid government.

To achieve this objective, the study specifically explores the power of trade unions in South Africa´s policymaking structure and process and how it has transformed. In policymaking

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[1] For reference to the press release, refer http://www.industriall-union.org/a-turnaround-for-south-africas-textile-industry

Knill & Tosun (2012) have identified three main ways by which trade unions can influence policymaking. These according to Knill & Tosun include, first policy actors can influence policies directly as participants during the early stages of policy formulation, secondly actors can act as advocacy for a policy and thirdly, actors can indirectly influence the choices made by political actors who are directly involve in formulating the policies (Knill & Tosun, 2012). In addition, since policy process involves key process of agenda setting, formulation, implementation and evaluation, the research examines the role of unions in various aspects South Africa's policies and how it has been undermined over time.

The study focuses on COSATU, which is a non-governmental and represent the interest of domestic workers by advocating for democratic, equitable and sustainable economic development of workers, promote respect for trade unions and all workers within the sector and defend its members against government attacks[2]. My preliminary research shows that this federation, which provide platform for articulating the views of domestic industries and workers have also been active and visible in policy issues about how domestic industries should be protected and managed against foreign industries. Given that the activities of this federation are outside formal governmental structure, this research explores how they are able to directly or indirectly affect policies and the transformation in terms of power and politics.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The dramatic decline of the textile industry in South Africa and its subsequent loss of jobs and the weakening of the trade union's power in post 1994 democratic regime have developed a thrust to conduct a research into finding how political and economic transformations affect trade unions power and politics in South Africa. Even though, the declined of the clothing and textile industry in South Africa has led to huge unemployment and precarious human conditions not much academic work has been conducted into the topic.

I do appreciate the scholarly work by Edward Webster (Professor Emeritus, Faculty of Commerce, Law & Management, Wits University Johannesburg)[3], Andries Bezuidenhout

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[2] Aims of The IndustriALL Global Union and Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) http://www.industriall-union.org/about-us/statutes-of-industriall-global-union
http://www.sactwu.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=115
[3] His work 'Labour after Globalisation' (2015), explores sources of labour power.

(Professor of Development Studies, University of Fort Hare)[4], Sakhela Buhlungu (Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Wits University)[5], Grace Khunou (Associate Professor in the Sociology Department and Vice-Dean at the University of Johannesburg)[6], Aalen Lovise (Research Director, CMI) & Professor Ragnhild Louise Muriaas (Deputy Dean (Research) Department of Comparative Politics, UiB)[7] who have also explored issues relating to labour movements in post-apartheid South Africa as well as the effects of globalization. Building on the works of these scholars, the research specifically explores the transformation of COSATU's power and politics as a result of the transition from apartheid to democratic regime. The research also explores the effects of South Africa´s economic policies on the domestic textile industry and finally the implications for the domestic power structure and politics.

The experiences drawn from the study can provide understanding and lessons to policy makers, trade unions and civil society organizations especially in the developing countries on the essence of unions in policymaking and the need for their inclusion in policies relating to their sector. Moreover, the study helps to broaden the understanding on the transformation of union power and politics as a result of regime and economic change and how unions can expand and revitalize their sources of power in face of globalization.

In the academic sphere, this research is important for the study of public administration in general and public policy in particular. It provides useful understanding on the formulation and implementation of policy reforms to deal with the menace of globalization in the developing world and South Africa to be specific. That is, this study can contribute to the existing knowledge on the effects of globalization on labour unions. Moreover, the use of various sources of power for the research helps to highlight the importance of power as located in agents when researching on issues in Africa where the theory has rarely been used. The research also provides critical understanding that supports theories of organizational

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[4] His Towards Global Social Movement Unionism? (2000) explores extensively on globalization in Africa.
[5] His work 'Union-party alliances in the era of market regulation' (2005) has written extensively on trade unions history in South Africa.
[6] She has written extensively on COSATU's influence on policy-making in post-apartheid South Africa; 'COSATU's influence on policy-making in post-apartheid South Africa' (2012)
[7] Aalen, L., & Muriaas, R. L. (2015) research entitled 'Power calculations and political decentralisation in African post-conflict states', provides an interesting case of how post-apartheid regime controls and consolidate power.

change that posits that organizations change overtime due to the changes in their operational environment.

Another important contribution of this paper to the academic sphere is that it contributes to the emerging paradigm that challenges the controversial 'end of labour' thesis that is championed by Manuel Castells (1996, 2011) and Guy Standing (2010). The paper argues that, globalization, political and economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa, although have weakened unions' power and politics, they have also created new opportunities such as increased informal sector, increased public sector membership and rapid growth of service sector. If trade unions are able to harness these opportunities that have emerged as consequences of globalization and post-apartheid political and economic changes, they can expand union membership, which is a key source of structural and associational power of unions.

1.3 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the transformation of union power and politics in post-apartheid South Africa by specifically looking at COSATU as a trade union federation and how it is losing power and influence. The study is narrowed to the clothing and textile industries in South Africa that have been affected by the influx of cheaper clothing and textiles as a consequence of South Africa's economic policies. The study also explores how the labour unions lose power and the implication for the domestic South African politics and power structure.

In terms of setting, the research explores the post 1994 democratic regime and juxtaposition with the apartheid regime. It looks into the how the power and role of trade unions have transformed under different political and economic regimes. Much of the discussions will revolve around post-apartheid era of democratic and economic liberalization while lessons shall be drawn from the apartheid era of undemocratic and economic protectionism.

1.4 Research Objective

The study explores the transformation of unions' power and politics as a result of the declining domestic textile industries, political and economic changes and new global relations in South Africa. More specifically, the study aims at accomplishing the following objectives:

a) Explore how the transition of South Africa from apartheid to post-apartheid regime changed the country politically, economically and globally.

b) Examine how political and economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa transform trade unions power and politics.

c) Identify how the opening up of South Africa´s economy affects the domestic textile industries.

d) Explore ways by which the falling textile industries affect the power and politics of trade unions in post-apartheid regime.

e) Explore how the declining powers of labour unions affect the domestic power structure of the post-apartheid democratic regime and South Africa's democracy.

Indeed, this study represents an effort to simplify the complexity in the role of public policy in South Africa´s textile industry by examining the actors such as the trade unions in shaping South Africa´s trade policies. I employ the various sources of labour power as the theoretical framework to facilitate understanding of the power dynamics as effects of political and economic changes.

1.5 Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following research questions:

Main Research Question

In what ways has the attainment of democracy and the opening up of South Africa´s economy weakens or undermines the trade unions' power and politics and how does this affects the power structure of the post-apartheid democratic regime?

Sub Questions:

➤ In what ways has the transition of South Africa from apartheid to post-apartheid regime changed the country politically, economically and globally?

➤ In what ways do changes in political and economic systems of post-apartheid South Africa transform trade union power and politics?

➤ How does the opening up of South Africa´s economy affect the textile industries?

➤ In what ways does the falling textile industries transforms the labour unions' power and influence?

➤ In what ways does the declining power of labour unions affect the domestic power structure of the post-apartheid democratic regime and South Africa's democracy?

1.6 Limitations of the Study

This research is a case study research and can be limited by the fact that its findings cannot be extended to wider populations with the same degree of certainty that are ascribe to other scientific research. Case study research methods have been criticized for its lack of ability to provide a solid basis for conclusions that can be applied generally to similar cases (Bryman, 2012). The argument is that case study research cannot be used to enumerate frequencies and make statistical generalization (Yin, 1994). I would like to argue that my intension for using case study research method is not to make statistical generalization, which is providing explanation that all trade unions are influenced negatively by changing political, economic and global environment within which they operate. The purpose of this study is to suggest an explanation for how South Africa´s trade unions power and politics have been transformed by the changing economic, political and global environment within which they have been operating since the post-1994 democratic elections. Moreover, since this case is new, the findings of this research can be used as an excellent start for much attention and research on how the power and politics of domestic trade unions and pressure groups that played crucial roles in developing countries' independence have transformed since the post-colonial era.

It important to note that, even though case study may not be suitable for scientific generalizations as argued by Bryman (2012), Yin (1994), there is still scientific value to gain from this research especially from understanding the case under study (Berg et al. 2014). It is also argue that case study provides understanding that are very important for theoretical generalizations and not necessary scientific generalizations (R. Yin, 2003). Case study thus, provides understanding to theories and in the case of this research; it gives further understanding to the various sources of labour power and how they are weakened, transformed or expanded. Moreover, it furthers knowledge on how power and politics of actors like trade unions are transformed by regime change and changes in the global environment.

Another limitation of this research is the use of an existing data as the primary source of data for this research. The use of an existing data has been criticized for lack of control over the data since the researcher did not collect the data himself (Saunders, 2011). With this knowledge at the back of my mind, I took steps to ensure that the data is sourced from official institutions that guarantee high degree of quality. I use data from institutions such as

COSATU's own database, Statistics South Africa, the South Africa Research institute (SALRI), National Labour &Economic Development Institute (NALEDI), World Bank policy research report etc. Moreover, using different sources of data helps to triangulate the data. Triangulation has been explained as the use of more than one source of data in a research to ensure that the findings can be verified (Bryman, 2012). The use of data from different official institutions also helps to examine the topic from different perspective and thereby limiting the risk pose by the use of an existing single data.

1.7 Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of 6 chapters and each chapter is divided into subtitles. Chapter 1 introduces the research by exploring the focus, objectives, significance, research questions, scope and the structure of the research. I explore the main issues arising from the research, which is the transformation of unions' power and politics, a case of COSATU in South Africa. The argument is that, the political, economic and global conditions under which COSATU operated in erstwhile apartheid regime has changed and these have transformed the power and politics of the federation.

Chapter 2 on methodology is framed according to the concrete research design used for this research, which is case study based on mixed method research. First, the chapter explores my choice of mixed method, the process of the mixed method and the added advantages that are derived from mixed method research. The second part describes the choice of case study and the casing process for this paper. The third explores the collection and analysis of the data used for this paper. I examined the statistical and texts analysis used for this research as well as various sources of data for this research.

Chapter 3 draws on theoretical and key concepts use for this research. The chapter is divided into two sections with the first section looking at the various sources of labour power while the second sections explores the key concepts in the research. The first part is framed according to four important sources of power that can be explored by labour unions. The sources are placed in the context of COSATU in South Africa. The four sources of labour power explored include structural power, associational power, societal or symbolic power and institutional power. In the second part, I explored the concepts of governance and the concept of globalization. I argued that the type of governance system and changes in global political economy play crucial roles in transforming the power and politics of trade unions.

Globalization provides both opportunities for revitalization and threat that weakens unions' power.

In chapter 4, I provided historical context to understand COSATU and the labour unions in South Africa. I discussed the emergence of trade unions in South Africa and focused specifically on COSATU as a trade union federation. The chapter spans from the early development of COSATU before and under apartheid regime and through to the early years of the ANC post-apartheid regime, the liberalization of the economy and crisis in the textile industries, up until the current state of trade unions in South Africa. The chapter details on how COSATU and other trade union organizations championed the struggle for independence, democracy and socio-economic transformation for workers and people in South Africa. The chapter also explores the changing trend in trade unions after post-1994 democratic elections in terms of membership, methods of operations and struggles with domestic policy. The chapter reflects on COSATU's tripartite alliance, international alliances and COSATU in the era of globalization. The chapter ends with details on the declining textile industries in South Africa and the impact on the power and politics of COSATU in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 5 summarizes the contents and main findings of the research. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section explores the political and economic changes of the post-apartheid regime that emerged as a result of the political and economic transitions of South Africa into a democratic and a liberalized regime. I argue that the transition of South Africa from the repressive apartheid regime to a democratic regime came with political and economic transitions that changed the conditions for power and politics of the labour movements. The second section details the shifting and declining powers and politics of COSATU in post-apartheid South Africa. It also draws on changing nature of COSATU's political style and the effects of globalization and liberalization on trade unions in South Africa. The argument is that, although trade unions power and politics have transformed since the transition of South Africa into the democratic dispensation as a consequences of the political, economic and global changes, there are also new structural power and opportunities that have emerged with these changes and if trade unions in South Africa could harness these opportunities, could expand, revolutionize and revitalize the power of the labour unions.

Chapter 6 explores discussions on the future of trade unions in South Africa's post-apartheid regime and discusses the debate on important strategies and structural changes that are essential for expanding union's power and politics. The discussions are based on scholarly opinions and articles. Among the suggestions include effective internationalization, domestic cooperation, independent trade union, organizational modernizations, reconfiguration of organizational structure and the mobilization of the informal sector. It is also very important for any trade union to stay abreast with technological, social, economic and political changes in the environment within which they operate.

Finally, chapter 7 concludes the thesis by summarizing and answering the research questions used in the thesis. The chapter also makes recommendation on topics and issues within labour and organization that could be explored by future researchers. One unique recommendation in this chapter is the need for research on how the post-apartheid and post-colonial regimes that have held on to power since the end of the revolution era are able to control and consolidate their power.

Chapter 2 Methodology

2.1 The Research Design

Research design forms the plans and "procedures that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis" (J. W. Creswell, 2013, p. 3). The design could be qualitative, quantitative or mixed method and the selection of the design is based on the nature of the research problem or the topic being researched (R. Yin, 2003). Creswell (2013. p. 18) argued that the type of research problem, the experiences of the researcher and the audience for whom the research is been conducted, are the major criterion for selecting a research design.

In terms of research problem as an influencing factor in a choice of a research design, Creswell (2013) argues among other things that, when one is examining a phenomenon that neither qualitative nor quantitative approach is sufficient enough to best explain the phenomenon been explored, it is useful for the researcher to make use of mixed method. Since the purpose of this research is to explore the transformation of union power and politics in South Africa's post-apartheid, I noticed that, for better understanding of the topic, there is the need for a design that will explore the transformation power and politics of COSATU and also examine the change over time by using statistical data. Since mixed method combines both qualitative and quantitative aspects, it would best provide adequate understanding of the research problem been explored.

On the factor of personal experience of the researcher, it has been argued that researchers who enjoy both quantitative and the flexibility of qualitative approach are mostly influenced to use mixed method (J. W. Creswell, 2013). My personal experience using both qualitative and quantitative in numerous research work played some parts in my choice of mixed method[8].

On the influence of the audience in choosing research design, it is important that researchers consider the acceptability of the research by the audience to whom the research is been explored (J. W. Creswell, 2013). I noticed that since this research is meant for academicians, politicians and practitioners of labour issues, policies and trade unions, it would receive greater acceptability if the research is able to comparatively explore the transformation of the

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[8] In my first Master degree in International Relations, I made use of both qualitative and quantitative research design.

union power and also examine change over time using statistical data. These three criteria were useful in my choice of mixed method research design for this paper.

The mixed method approach in social science research combines both statistical trends and stories to study human and social problems (J. W. Creswell, 2013). This means that the mixed method research combines both qualitative and quantitative research design to explore and examine a specific research topic. While this paper seeks to explore the transformation power and politics of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa using documentary sources, it also makes use of statistical data to explain the trend of the change that has occurred. For instance, in exploring the changing profile of COSATU membership, the paper uses statistical data of COSATU's membership in pre and post-apartheid South Africa to examine how the membership profile of the federation has changed or the trend of the change in COSATU's membership since the dawn of democracy in South Africa.

Combining both qualitative and quantitative research for this research will provide a better understanding of the topic and provides distinct advantages that cannot be obtained when the research sticks to only qualitative or quantitative research design. Creswell (2013) noted that when an investigator combines both statistical trends and stories, that combination provides better understanding of the problem that either trends or stories alone cannot achieve.

The qualitative aspects of this research were inspired by the exploratory nature of this research. The research is partly exploratory and therefore fits into bringing in aspects of qualitative research design. Qualitative research "is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (J. W. Creswell, 2013, p. 4). Qualitative research explores human or social issues in order to understand and find solutions in a more descriptive ways. The exploratory nature of my research can be deduced from the research objectives that seek to explore the transformation power and politics of COSATU in South Africa's post-apartheid politics and governance. The research seeks to explore how trade unions power and politics are transformed by the domestic political and economic changes, and internationalization or globalization of South Africa´s post-apartheid regime that have negatively affected the domestic textile industries.

Moreover as Yin (2009) noted, qualitative research studies seek to answer ´how´ and ´why´ questions about a particular phenomenon. One of the objectives of this research is to examine

post-apartheid South Africa`s economic and political changes with special focus on the key aspects that have affected the power and politics of trade unions in South Africa. The research also explores how the conditions of the new domestic economic, political and global environment impact in the declining domestic textiles industries.

The study also draws in some aspects of qualitative research approach because of the flexibility of qualitative research design (Jalal H.M & Hojatolah D, 2015). Qualitative research design uses strategies that "are more open-ended and flexible, and give the participants the freedom to respond in their own way, enabling researchers to follow up on anticipated and unanticipated areas in both interviews and observations" (Jalal H.M & Hojatolah D, 2015, p. 1112). The flexibility associated with qualitative research will enable me to evaluate ideas, take them back and forth and modify or reject them in case they are not appropriate. This is necessary because this research is exploring unfamiliar territory with much uncertainty about how the whole research will progress. Engaging mixed method that includes qualitative approach is ideal for this research because it will offer me the freedom in selection of data collection method, the selection of sources of data, the type of research questions, and analysis of the data.

The quantitative aspect of this research helps to draw conclusions for large numbers of people and examine probable cause and effect of the political and economic transitions of South Africa.

Even though a larger part of this research was purely qualitative, the paper also made extensive use of quantitative approach. While the qualitative aspects of this paper explores why the power of the trade unions in South Africa has changed, the quantitative data provides explanation to how the trade unions have changed. This became necessary in the course of the research when I noticed that, one cannot just explore the transformation power of trade unions without providing understanding of how the changed occurred or the trends of the change. This helps to provide more reliable and objective explanation to the research findings in a way that is reduces biases (J. W. Creswell, 2013). The research therefore combines both quantitative and qualitative data to answer the research questions understudy.

This research is a case study of South Africa´s biggest and largest trade union federation and one of the most vibrant trade unions in the world. It is important to capture large numbers of people during data collection in order to engage large numbers of the members as possible.

One of the most essential use of quantitative research is its ability to capture large numbers of people (J. W. Creswell, 2013). The research therefore uses data from COSATU's workers survey that engaged large numbers of its members and which provide critical ideas to this research. It is important to note that, the research made use of the data that are important for this research. By so doing, the research is able to draw conclusions based on large numbers of people and also helps to validate the sources of data. Statistical data were not only sourced from COSATU's workers survey but also researcher institutions, governmental and private institutions whose data were essential for the research been explored.

In conclusion, using mixed methods, that is combining both qualitative and quantitative research approaches, provides the researcher with distinct advantages from qualitative and quantitative methods discussed above.

2.2 The Procedure of the Mixed Method

Mixed method procedure refer to ways by which an investigator or a researcher can combine or integrate quantitative and qualitative data when using mixed method for research (J. W. Creswell, 2013). It 'involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research' (Creswell et al., 2003, p. 165). The procedure involves the strategies and steps taking by a researcher to collect data, analyze the data and draw conclusions on the data. That is, the procedure involves steps use in planning the mixed method study (**See Appendix 1**).

The choice of a particular procedure is determined four main aspects of the research approach, which include timing, weighting, mixing and theorizing (J. W. Creswell, 2013). That is, the choice of a mixed method procedure is influenced by the timing of the qualitative and quantitative data collection, the weight or priority given to the quantitative or qualitative approach in the research, when and how the data are mixed and finally whether a specific theoretical perspective guides the entire research.

Mixed method procedures are classified into two categories depending on whether the qualitative and quantitative data are gathered concurrently or sequentially. Creswell (2013) identified three of these designs that are commonly used by researchers and these include convergent parallel design, explanatory sequential design and exploratory sequential design.

In exploratory sequential design, the researcher begins by conducting a qualitative phase and follows up on specific results with a subsequent quantitative phase to help explain the qualitative results (Creswell et al., 2003). Explanatory sequential mixed methods design however, begins by conducting a quantitative phase and follows up on specific results with a subsequent qualitative phase to help explain the quantitative results (Creswell et al., 2003). The convergent parallel design on the other hand, according to Creswell et al. (2003), is a mixed method design in which the researcher collects and analyses quantitative and qualitative data at the same time and then merges the two databases. The two databases are used equally or in parallel. The purpose of convergent design is to compare or combine the results. This research makes extensive use of convergent parallel design because qualitative and quantitative data collected and analyzed at the same time and results are merged together before the interpretation. **Figure 2.1** below shows how the convergent was used for this research.

Figure 2.1: Diagram representation of Convergent Parallel Design
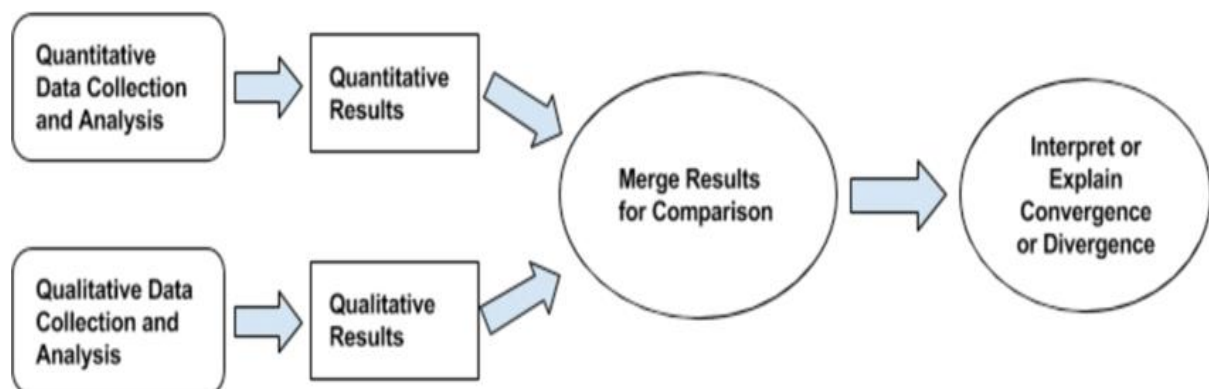
Source: (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2015,)

2.3 Research Strategy

Researchers in a research do not only select the type of design needed for the research but also the research strategy within the design that will be used to conduct the research (J. W. Creswell, 2013). According to Creswell (2013, p 11), the strategies "are types of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods designs or models that provide specific direction for the procedures in a research design". In a research design, Creswell (2013), identified ethnography, grounded theory, case studies, phenomenological research, narrative research as some of strategies that are used in a research. As noted earlier on, this research makes use of case study research strategy for this study. The choice of a particular strategy has no specific

formula but choice depends to a large extent on the research question(s). When the research question(s) largely seeks to explain 'how' or 'why' some social phenomenon occurs, then case study is mostly relevant.

2.3 Case Study Research Strategy

To answer my research questions, I needed a research strategy that is more exploratory to analyze the questions and this is what case studies offer. As Creswell (2013, p. 13) explained, a case study "is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process or one or more individuals". That is, case study is very exploratory and offers the researcher opportunity to explore areas where little or no research work has been done (R. Yin, 2003). Thus, with case study, I can explore how and why the new global environment, the changing profile of trade union members and the changing balance of power in domestic South Africa's politics have all combined to drastically transform the power and politics of unions using COSATU as a case study.

Another important factor that influenced my choice of case study was that, it gives me the opportunity to explore the topic from both contemporary and historical perspective. With case study, a researcher is able to examine contemporary as well as past events and describe or explain how and why the events occurred (Bryman, 2012). This means that with case study, I can explore the two main dispensations, apartheid and post-apartheid regime, under which the trade unions have played crucial roles in the political and economic transitions.

2.4 Data Collection

Since this research uses mixed method research as the main research design, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed in response to the research questions. Data are systematically collected information about the world or a particular issue for the research study (King, Gary Keohane, Robert O Verba, & Sidney, 1994). There are six major sources of data in doing case studies and these includes documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation etc. (R. Yin, 2003). By combining several sources, researchers are able to obtain concrete and a more substantive picture of the case been explored (Berg, Lune, & Lune, 2004). This research requires a data collection method that can capture past and contemporary activities of trade unions, governmental policies, political and economic environment of the different regimes in South Africa as well as the declining clothing and textile industries in order to identify change over time. The research

therefore uses multiple forms of data that include among other sources such as documentary sources, academic literature, statistical data, articles, and performance and census data.

During the data collection, I shall be guided by the three principles of data collection that were identified by Yin (1994). These include: the use of different sources of evidence to ensure triangulation, creating a case study data base by organizing and documenting the data collected from the various sources and finally maintain a chain of evidence to increase reliability. The next section explores in detail the various sources of data for this research.

2.5 Sources of Data

This research made use of an already existing data obtained through two main sources namely documentary sources and archival records. Although some scholars do not separate documentary sources and archival records, Robert K. Yin (2014) identifies the two as among the six sources of data that can be explored for case study research.

2.5.1 Documentary Sources

It is imperative that since one of the objectives of this research is to capture past (apartheid South Africa) and contemporary (Post-apartheid South Africa) activities of trade unions, political and economic changes, I made extensive use of documentary sources. A documentary source, according to Yin (2003) is mostly broad and can provide researchers with information that spans across long period of time. It provides access to information on exact time, place, names and details of an event that can be easily forgotten by human mind. Information from various sources such as memos and reports by the unions, official government policy documents, trade agreements between South Africa and its trading partners, statistical data from different institutions, administrative reports, internal records of the trade unions in South Africa and minutes of meetings were extensive documentary source for this paper.

I also made extensive use of academic research by research institutions and scholars, government white papers, statistical data from government departments, World Bank and OECD reports, media reports, organizational website and articles which share light on the topic of this research. The different documentary sources help to triangulate the study and also corroborate and augment data from other sources (R. Yin, 2003).

In terms of academic literature, research rework by senior researchers, professors and scholars like Prof. Grace Khonou (Associate Professor in the Sociology Department and Vice-Dean at the University of Johannesburg), Prof. Sakhela Buhlungu (Former unionist and current Vice-Dean, Faculty of Humanities University of Pretoria), Edward Webster (Professor in the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP) and the Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand), Andries Bezuidenhout (Professor of Development Studies, University of Fort Hare) were important source of ideas on the COSATU past and present relations in the tripartite alliance. The research work also provided the scholars viewpoint on the topic. Moreover, these documentary sources helped me to answer one of the main research questions that deal with 'how' and 'why' changes in political and economic systems of post-apartheid South Africa transform trade union power and politics.

2.5.2 Archival Records

Another important source of data for this research has been archival records. Yin (2003) posits that 'survey data produced by others about a researchers case's respondents or participants are important source of archival records. The archival records became an important source of data for quantitative analysis for this research. In order to identify economic and political change over time, comparative analysis of the archival records obtained from COSATU's own survey data and other sources provided information about the extent of the change. Statistical figures and report from Cotton SA database (Cluster report 2017), Statistics SA, COSATU Workers Survey, World Bank Policy research report, COSATU's discussion papers and Southern African Labour Research Institute (SALRI) a trade union research unit associated with SACTWU, were significant source of data on the imports and exports of the textiles industries from the apartheid regime to the post-apartheid regime. The statistical data from the Cotton SA for example provided extensive facts and figures about the declining domestic clothing and textile industries in South Africa since the post 1994 democratic elections.

Also, the COSATU workers survey provided an opportunity to reach out to more of COSATU's members, as data from the COSATU's own archives had more respondents in each of the survey I used for the research. At the initial stage of the research, I proposed to conduct the survey myself but I realized that I would not be able to reach out to more members of COSATU in each of the provinces because of the period within which this

research must be completed. With COSATU's own workers survey available at the federation's website, I was able to obtain views of more members across the various provinces. The Workers Survey was an important source of data for COSATU's own members' views on the federation alliance with ANC and the economic policies of the post-apartheid regime. It also provided an important data for identifying the changing profile of COSATU's membership in post-apartheid regime. Thus, using COSATU workers survey saved me time, resources and gave me opportunity to obtain the views of the grassroots members.

The final source of archival records for this paper were statistical reports by private and public research institutions such as Trade and Industrial Policy Strategy (TIPS)[9], the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)[10], the National Labour & Economic Development Institute (NALEDI)[11]. These records were used to mostly compare and validate some of the information from the various statistical data. The use these additional archival records help to triangulate the data and also increase the validity of the data for this research.

2.6 Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis in a research refers to the major entity that is being studied by the researcher. That is, what or who the researcher is exploring and this in social science could be individuals, groups, organizations and artifacts (Bryman, 2012). This study focuses on the transformation of union power and politics, using trade unions in South Africa´s post-apartheid globalized economy as a case. The basic unit of analysis is COSATU and the falling domestic clothing and textile industries. The research specifically focuses on the activities and programs of domestic industries under the umbrella of COSATU, the biggest trade union federation and alliance with the ruling ANC. Being the biggest organization that represent majority of the domestic industries and having experienced the different regimes understudy, its selection provides access to data needed to understand the transformation power of unions under different economic and political dispensation.

Thus, COSATU's considerable activities against the apartheid regime, their substantial

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[9] A non-profit research organization based in South Africa that undertakes research and analysis in three main focus areas: trade and industrial policy, sustainable growth, and inequality and economic inclusion
[10] A research organization that advances social sciences and humanities, develops data sets underpinning research, policy development and public discussion of developmental issues for public use
[11] A non-profit organization that carries out labour, economic and policy-relevant research within the labour movement in South Africa,

campaign in bringing the ANC into power and their active role in the current ANC regime provide important information that can be explored to understand 'why' and 'how' unions power and politics transforms in the event of political, economic and global change. The declining clothing and textile industries who instrumental members of COSATU in these periods of political and economic transition also helps to understand how COSATU has changed in terms of membership demographics in these periods.

2.7 Data Analysis

2.7.1 Statistical and text analysis of data

According to Yin (1994, p 109), "data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, testing or otherwise recombining both quantitative and qualitative evidence to address the initial prepositions of the study". That is, it involves moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data (J. W. Creswell, 2013). There are basically 5 techniques for analyzing case studies and these include pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models and cross-case synthesis (R. Yin, 2003).

Regardless of the choice of strategy, the use of mixed method for this research meant analyzing the data from both the qualitative and quantitative approaches as needed for this study. The strategy for the data analysis was guided by my overall rationale for using the mixed method, which included triangulation, complementarity and expansion of ideas.

The data was analyzed concurrently. That is, there was continual reflection about the data, writing of analytical questions and memos throughout the study. For example, during the data collection processes, I be analyzed or wrote memos on qualitative and quantitative collected earlier and organized the structure of the final report as recommended by (J. W. Creswell, 2013). The **figure 2.2** below outlines the basic processes or stages used for the concurrent data analysis for this research. The full details of the data analysis for the research can found in **Appendix 2.0**.

Figure 2.2: Concurrent Data Analysis

| Stage 1: Separate Qualitative and Quantitative analysis | Qualitative Data Analysis:
Text analysis of data

• Coding of academic literature
• Coding union's report
• Coding of governmental documents
• Coding of discussion papers
• Coding of all other documents
• Comparison of similar ideas | Quantitative Data Analysis:
Statistical Analysis

• Interpretation of figures
• Interpretation of graphs
• Comparison of figures and graphs
• Linking figures and graphs to the topic |

| Stage 2: Merge the two datasets | • Merge the qualitative and Quantitative datasets
• Transform and compare the results from the two datasets |

| Stage 3: Interpret the two datasets | • Interpret and discuss the merged qualitative and Quantitative datasets
• Transform and compare the data
• Compare and discuss the results as findings
• Linking the results to the theory of |

In order to produce high-quality analyses I attended to all the evidences and present them independent of any interpretation. I also demonstrated concern for exploring alternative interpretations.

2.8 Testing Empirical Quality of this Research

The quality of any research can be judged according to certain criteria or certain logical sets because a research design represents a logical set of statements. Four tests criteria have been identified for judging the quality of any empirical social research and this section explores the

quality of the case study using the four tests that include construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability (R. K. Yin, 2003). In this section I explained the necessary steps I took to ensure that this research meet the quality of the four tests criteria.

2.8.1 Construct Validity

Construct validity refers to the ability of a researcher to establish "correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" and making them understandable to the reader (R. K. Yin, 2003, p. 35). This is demonstrated by using "multiple sources of evidence" during data collection and also by establishing "chain of evidence" during data collection and analysis (R. K. Yin, 2003, p. 34).

I demonstrated construct validity by categorizing the variables after data collection and also making use of multiple sources of data collection to meet the test of construct validity. As noted earlier on, this research made use of both qualitative and quantitative sources of data that included documentary and archival records from several sources.

I further ensured that this research meet the construct validity tests by covering these two steps recommended by Yin (2014). First I defined my transformation of union in terms of power and politics and argued that this research will be limited to political, economic and globalized economic transitions from the apartheid period to post-apartheid democratic era. Additionally, I identified citing works by renowned researchers like Grace Khonou (Associate Professor in the Sociology Department and Vice-Dean at the University of Johannesburg), Prof. Sakhela Buhlungu (Former unionist and current Vice-Dean, Faculty of Humanities University of Pretoria), Edward Webster (Professor in the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP) and the Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand), Andries Bezuidenhout (Professor of Development Studies, University of Fort Hare) who have all made extensive research around trade unions in South Africa. Although none of these scholars have written exactly on the transformation of union power and politics, their written works on trade unions, power, COSATU, South Africa's apartheid and post-apartheid regime suggest interesting matches to this research.

2.8.2 Internal Validity

Internal validity is demonstrated when researchers are able to establish "a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions" (R. K. Yin, 2003, p. 34). This is mostly associated with "explanatory or causal studies and not for descriptive or exploratory studies". This study is more exploratory in nature and explores the transformation of union power and politics in post-apartheid COSATU and textile industries in South Africa. Judging by Yin´s (2003) criteria for internal validity, it is only applicable to "explanatory or causal studies and not for descriptive or exploratory studies" and this means that we cannot apply internal validity test that examines causal inferences to this research.

Yin (2014) also raises an important concern regarding internal validity for case studies that seek to make inferences on how a particular event resulted from earlier occurrences. Since this research, to a broader sense, makes inferences on how political and economic transitions from apartheid to post-apartheid regime results in transforming the power and politics of trade unions, I took time to make sure that all other explanations and possibilities are considered by using multiple sources. For example, on the effects of globalization on union's power and politics, I did not only explore how globalization reduces the power of trade unions but also explored the opportunities from globalization, which if well explored by trade unions can expand their sources of power.

2.8.3 External Validity

The third test deals with whether the findings of a study are generalizable beyond the immediate study irrespective of the method use in the research (Yin, 2014). Yin (2003) explained it as the extent to which the findings of the study could be generalized to other situations or people. Case studies have been criticized by some scholars for its inability to make scientific generalization (Berg et al., 2004; Collier, 1995). They argue that case studies cannot be used to enumerate frequencies and make statistical generalization (R. Yin, 2003).

It is important to note that case studies are mostly use for analytic generalization and not for statistical generalization. Moreover, my intension for using case study is not to make statistical generalization of any sought but to suggest an explanation for how trade unions power and politics have been transformed by the political and economic transitions in South Africa and secondly how South Africa´s textiles industries have been affected by

globalization and the impacts on the power of trade union federations in the post-Apartheid regime. This means that external validity tests may not be appropriate for this research because of the focus and objective of this research.

2.8.4 Reliability

The final test, reliability, simply means that "applying the same procedure in the same way will always produce the same measure" (G. King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994, p. 25). This means that, if another researcher follows the same procedure as described in the research under consideration and conduct the same case studies over again, he should arrive at the same findings and conclusion as in this research (Yin, 2014). To ensure reliability researchers are required "to document the procedures of their case studies and document as many of the steps of the procedures as possible" (J. W. Creswell, 2013, p. 190).

The following steps were taking by me to increase reliability of this research. I have provided the data and the steps I took to collect data, operationalize the variables, analyze the data and the models See *appendix 1 and appendix 2* for the details of the research design as well as details of the data analysis procedures. I have also provided the sources of both the qualitative and quantitative sources of data used for the data collection. These inclusions increase the reliability tests of this research.

Chapter 3 Theories of Power and Concepts

3.1 Definitions and Dynamics of Power

According to Dahl (1957) the concept of power must be defined to meet the needs of a particular research problem because there is no universally accepted definition of power that is rigorous enough to be used in the systematic study of this important phenomenon. Power is generally explained to mean the ability to achieve a desired outcome, however, in policymaking, power is mostly thought of in a relational sense whereby one actor has power over others[12].

In relation to theory, this thesis draws on various ideas of power as actor-centered and which is relational, asymmetrical and inscribes actors´ moral responsibility for their actions. Pfeffer (1992, p.45) defines power as "the potential ability to influence behavior, to change the course of events, to overcome resistance, and to get people to do things that they would not do otherwise". He sees power as basic energy to transform intention into reality and a tool for organizations to function productively and efficiently (Pfeffer, 1992). According to Dahl, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (Dahl, 1957). This notion of power as explained by Dahl (1957) can be achieved in number of ways that are also referred to as the three faces or dimensions of power (Lukes, 1974): power as decision making, power as non-decision making and power as thought control[13]. I find these faces of power very useful for understanding the power dynamics of trade unions in South Africa. By power dynamics, I am referring to the transformation of trade union's power as consequences of political and economic changes in South Africa.

Power as decision-making emphasizes the acts of individuals, groups or policy actors that influence policy decision to favor their beliefs (Lukes, 1974). This face or dynamic of power reflect in the study in the sense that trade unions like COSATU are important actors of policy-making and are able to directly or indirectly influence policy decisions. Robert Dahl in his classic study, 'Who Governs?', noted that different individuals and groups are able to exert direct or indirect influence over policy decisions depending on the resources available to them (Dahl Robert 1961). Dahl concluded that individuals and groups in society, including the weak or minority groups have a possibility to penetrate the political system and exercise

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[12] https://www.slideshare.net/Raza_Ali/models-of-policy-making-and-the-concept-of-power-in-policy

[13] https://www.slideshare.net/Raza_Ali/models-of-policy-making-and-the-concept-of-power-in-policy

power over decision-makers to favor their preferences.

In South Africá's context, the government that is the executive arm has a greater responsibility of managing trade and industries. This constitutional mandate makes the South Africá's government a dominant actor in the country's policies. The constitutional mandate of the government could be perceived as a mechanism that could undermined the power of trade unions in South Africa, however, coalitions with the government by groups like the COSATU, perhaps, offers them opportunity to have some dominant role over governmental decisions. While only few individuals have direct influence over policy decisions, defined as successfully vetoing policy proposals, most like COSATU and its affiliates through their alliance with the ruling ANC can directly and indirectly influence policy decisions. One key issue, which remains unraveled is how the preferences of the trade unions especially COSATU are reflected in the policy outcomes that affect the interest of the members. This represents two of the objectives of this research, which are first to examine how political and economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa transform trade unions power and politics. The political and economic changes refer to political and economic policy decisions and transitions by the state. Secondly to identify how the opening up of South Africá's economy affects the domestic textile industries. The opening up of South Africa's economy or liberalization of the economy is a prerogative policy choice of the state and this policy choice may affect the interest of the domestic industries.

Power has also been defined as "exercised when 'A' devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social, political and institutional values/practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A" (Bachrach and Baratz 1962, p 948). This definition is linked to Steven Lukes (1974) second face or dynamic of power which is power as non-decision making. This highlights how powerful actors, individuals and interest groups control the agenda to keep issues that are threatening to their beliefs or interest from making it to the policy radar. In South Africá's for example, the government and its institutions with their dominant position as having access and control over resources, information and finance relating to issues on policy could use this privilege to hide information which they deem as threatening from the trade unions and other interest groups. For instance, governmental policies that may lead to unemployment or higher cost are mostly camouflaged to prevent trade unions from striking or taking the government on. In situations where these decisions are discovered by the trade

unions, it is the government that must act in accordance with the preferences of the trade unions. This could be viewed as a weakness that limits the power and role of the trade unions. Nevertheless, trade unions with the support of their members, backed by law and public opinion can still influence government decisions. What needs to be discovered is the mechanisms through which the trade unions are able to influence such policy decisions and this is also one of the issues this would be explored in this study.

The third face or dimension of, power as thought control, conceptualizes power as the ability to influence others by shaping their preferences or changing their beliefs (Lukes, 1974). Luke (1974) defined this dimension of power as "A exercise power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests". For example, the ability of trade unions to influence the interests of the citizens for domestic textiles products, which were not in their interests as against, imported textiles or foreign industries. This dimension of power could also be linked to an important source of trade union's power that would be explored in the subsequent sections, which is societal power. Societal power refers to the ability of trade unions to frame their struggle in ways that aim at organizing a counter-hegemonic force, based on cooperative power through coalition-building with social movements or discourse power through influencing public discourses around issues of justice (Webster, 2015, p. 1).

Hayward and S. Lukes on their part understood power as 'located in agents, individual or collective group' or 'attached to the agency that operates within and upon structures' (Hayward & Lukes, 2008, p. 11). They argue that moral and political responsibilities are relevant to the study of power and this notion of moral responsibility to claims about power makes power, necessarily, an agent-centered concept (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). The agency, which in the context of this thesis refers to the trade unions, who are reserve with the responsibility to act or not act base on the power that is located in them for the benefit of the group. The trade unions agency stem from the fact that their actions or inactions represent the interest of the group members.

The agency could be human individuals or collective group and this thesis focuses on the collective agency of trade unions both as confederation or individual trade unions. The trade union confederation, such as COSATU, consists of trade unions such as SACTWU, which again are made up of individual members. The agency of a trade union emanates from "its inherent powers, rooted in their multiple embeddedness in state, market and society, its

position in the economy and ability to disrupt the economy through strike action, its mobilizing capacities among workers and in civil society, and its institutional access to and influence over politics" (Houeland, p. 7).

Public policy is omnipresent, involves complex procedure and undertaking by different actors (Knill & Tosun, 2012). This is a very complex issue because each of the actors in policymaking has its interest in a form of beliefs and operates in an interdependent political environment where there exists some form of uneven power relations among the actors (Weible, Sabatier et al. 2009). These actors have different capacity to act within the policy making process, and we 'we attribute power to agents when it is in their capacity to act or not to act' (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). This thesis espouses Hayward & Lukes (2008) idea of power that is located in agents and explores the trade unions capacity to use or non-use of power to action or inaction by trade unions in South Africa. That is, the thesis focuses on the capacity of COSATU, as a trade union federation, to act and to influence or negotiate with policy-makers on-behalf of its members. That is, the ability of trade unions to influence governmental policies or to constrain government and other actors of policy-making to make policies that protect domestic industries in this era of globalization.

A useful theoretical point for understanding the impact of contemporary globalization on industries and the ability of trade unions to influence or constrain trade or governmental policies is Erik Olin Wright's (2000: 962) associational and structural power (Silver, 2003). Two primary sources of power have been identified that can be used by trade unions (Wright, 2000). First is structural power, which is the ability of trade unions to influence the economy, deriving from their position in the state´s economy and second is the associational power, which is also based on the trade unions capacity to mobilize collectively its members to influence policies and governmental decisions. These forms of power can be used both in the labour market and the political spheres and this research explores how COSATU use these forms of power both in the labour market and also in the political spheres.

Although the primary focus of this thesis shall be structural and associational power of trade unions, other sources of power as identified by other scholars such as societal or symbolic power and institutional power, shall also be explored in this thesis.

3.2 Sources of Labour Unions Power

3.2.1 Structural Power

Structural power according to Wright (2000. p. 962) refers to the "power that results simply from the location of worker…. the economic system" and involves for example, "the power of workers as individuals that results directly from tight labor markets or from the strategic location of a particular group of workers within a key industrial sector". It is mostly associated with the workers ability to disrupt production through strike action and other forms of labour action such as demonstrations, picketing, sabotage, absenteeism, etc.

Wright (2000) further divides structural power into two subtypes and these include marketplace bargaining power and workplace bargaining power. The marketplace bargaining power is the power that "results directly from tight labor markets" (Wright, 2000), and can take different forms such as "(1) the possession of scarce skills that are in demand by employers , (2) low levels of general unemployment, and (3) the ability of workers to pull out of the labour market entirely and survive on nonwage sources of income" (Silver, 2003, p. 13). This means that marketplace bargaining power depends on the labour market and the workers power depends on the labour skills, the level of unemployment and accessibility of non-wage incomes (Wright, 2000).

Workplace bargaining power on the other hand, refers to 'the strategic location of a particular group of workers within a key industrial sector' (Wright, 2000). It is mostly associated with workers who are involved in tightly integrated production process and as a result a work stoppage in a key chain of production can affect or disrupt the entire production process. A clear example of workplace bargaining power is when an entire industry relying on the just-in-time delivery of materials have been brought to a standstill by transport workers strike.

Structural power can be linked to a new form of power that has emerged with globalization called logistical power, "where disruptive politics are drawn from the workplace into the public arena" and "includes direct action through marching, blocking roads, collective refusal to go to work and the destruction of property (Webster, 2015, pp. 1,5). Although logistical power is referred to as new source of power by leading social scientist (A Bezuidenhout, Webster, & Lambert, 2008), it could also be explored as a subtype. It is usually explored as one of the sources of power that has emerged from the points of vulnerability within the present global order. Globalization has led to workplace bargaining power by which workers

are able to take advantage of the capital´s vulnerability in the global supply and distribution network while multinational corporations (MNC) are being challenged by international campaigns (Silver, 2003). These have offered previously unions and workers opportunity to disrupt the production network if they are not satisfied with working conditions or unfair trade policies.

It is important to admit that structural power has been undermined by neo-liberal globalization. This is because the mobilization of world-scale reserve of labor, hypermobility of capital and the threat of outsourcing have undermined both market-based and workplace bargaining power. Neo-liberal globalization undermines the structural power of unions by "de-legitimize existing trade unions in the eyes of many workers by making it increasingly difficult for these unions to deliver benefits to their members" (Silver, 2003). Many workers deem trade unions as weak, unreliable and pulpits of government, employers and multinational corporations. The textile industry has been cited as a victim of extreme outsourcing that have undermined and reduced the structural power of textile workers and unions (Silver, 2003). This impact of globalization on structural power of labour unions is cite by scholars like Castells, (2011) and Guy Standing (2010) in their 'end of labour' paradigm and suggest that the days of trade unions are numbered and that trade unions would be crushed by the effects of globalization.

In this thesis, I focus on building a conceptual framework for understanding the changing dynamics of the various sources for power for trade unions in South Africa by exploring among other sources, structural power as a source of power for trade unions in the textile industries in South Africa and how it has been undermined by the advent of globalization. I also explore various ways by which labour unions in South Africa can expand the structural power in this era of globalization.

3.2.2 Associational Power

Associational power "consists of the various forms of power that result from the formation of collective organizations of workers (Most importantly trade unions and political parties)" (Silver, 2003). That is, the ability of workers to mobilize themselves into trade unions or political parties and influence governmental policies and decisions through political processes (Webster, 2015). Associational power may also include a variety of other forms, such as "works-councils or forms of institutional representation of workers on boards of directors in schemes of worker co-determination, or even, in certain circumstances, community

organizations" (Wright, 2000, p. 962). Trade unions in South Africa have used both the structural and associational power to press home their demands and ensured that the rights and benefits of their members and in some situations the rights of citizens are in place through collective associations and collective bargaining during both the apartheid and post-apartheid regime **(See the chapter 4)**.

Historically, associational power have relied in the state´s sovereign legal frameworks that guaranteed provisions on the right of workers to form trade unions as well as obligations of employers to bargain collectively with trade unions (Silver, 2003). However, states' sovereignty has been weakened by the globalization and this has undermined the associational power of trade unions. Globalization has created environment where multinational corporations exercise control over trade and industrial policies of states through international trade norms and binding trade treaties thereby weakening the state's sovereignty (Silver, 2003). When globalized forces weaken the state´s sovereign legal framework, it indirectly affects the associational power of the labour unions that derives its rights and benefits on the provisions of the state's sovereign constitution. The weakening of the state's sovereignty also results in inadequacy and disagreements between trade unions and the state machinery. In South Africa for example, I argue that the Tripartite Alliance, which has its roots in the struggle for liberation in South Africa and a strong bond between COSATU and the government have also been weakened by the advent of globalization. Sections of COSATU have been very critical of the leadership of the Alliance for following what they see as orthodox neo-liberal economic and social policy (Silver, 2003).

Moreover globalization has changed the employment relationship and has led to the emergence of new actors that have undermined the associational power of unions that were recognized as representatives of the workers in formal bargains. Direct attacks on trade unions or workers organization by employers and the state has made it increasingly difficult for trade unions to provide and defend state´s social safety policies for its members and thereby weakening their role in the society (Silver, 2003). It has been argued that,

> *the growing inadequacy of the traditional institutional actors (e.g. the state and national unions) in defending workers' rights has created both the space and the need for "new" actors to fill the gap. Examples of these actors include: NGOs, employment agencies, HR consultancy firms, counselors, chaplains, health advisors/ trainers, citizens' advice bureaus, global union federations, employment arbitrators, grassroots activists and social movements, and so forth (Cooke & Wood, 2011, p. 3)*

Employment agencies, new trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and grassroots activists are emerging etc. as a result of the perceived weakened trade unions failure to address the benefits of members. In the case of South Africa there have been emergence of new trade unions, political parties and declining of membership in traditional trade unions like COSATU since the ushering in of post-apartheid government. New labour unions such as the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), hitherto COSATU's largest affiliate, as the breakaway Amalgamated Mining and Construction Union (AMCU), the rise of EFF (Pillay, 2017). News24, in a news publication reported COSATU membership in a period of three years dropped by 324 835 (Genevieve Quintal, 2017). One of the key focuses of this thesis is to explore how COSATU's membership has been affected by the globalization following the perceived weakened associational power of trade unions in South Africa. I also hope to explore the extent to which the incessant breakaway and formation of new trade unions from COSATU be linked to the weakened associational power of COSATU and the Tripartite Alliance.

An important aspect of this thesis is also to explore the various opportunities that have been created by globalization and which can also expand the associational power of the trade unions. I suggested that the emergence of globalization has also led to increasing informal sector and increased employment opportunities at the service sector. This is an opportunity for trade unions to expand their associational power by designing strategies and techniques to attract membership from these sectors.

It is widely argued that Globalization has created a vicious circle in which weakening structural power (marketplace bargaining) undermines associational power and vice versa (Silver, 2003). The weakening of structural power by neo-liberal globalization, and the constant attack of associational power by the ideologues of the 'free market' has led to the need for new sources of power that depend on the unions' ability to design ways of counteracting the hegemonic forces. Scholars like Silver (2003) and Webster (2015) have argued that trade unions can counter hegemonic forces by organizing support beyond their membership and form coalitions with civil-societies at both local and global level. Important sources of power that have been identified to help trade unions to appeal to new groups and social movements at both local and global level are societal and institutional power.

3.2.3 Societal Power

Societal power, also known as symbolic or moral power basically, "depends on unions' ability to frame their struggle in ways that aim at organizing a counter-hegemonic force, based on cooperative power through coalition-building with social movements or discourse power through influencing public discourses around issues of justice" (Webster, 2015, p. 1). The notion of societal power depending on their ability to frame and influence public discourses agree with Steven Luke (1974) definition of power that conceptualizes power as 'thought control'. This means power deals with the ability to influence others by shaping their desires or preferences. Thus 'A exercise power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interest' (Lukes, 1974). That ability of trade unions to gain public support by influencing the preferences of the public constitutes societal power.

Societal power helps to expand associational power because unions are able to increase their support base beyond the traditional workforce. It is argued that building power from the margins is pivotal for the future of workers and trade unions and that some trade unions or organizations in Korea and California for example have successfully drawn huge support from the public arena and the civil society with the aim of addressing certain vital societal needs and justice for economically marginalized workers (Chun, 2009).

Trade unions in South Africa have a long history of alliances and mobilizing support beyond workplace and use of societal power, beginning with their involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle through to present day post-apartheid government. Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the leading union federation is aligned to the ruling post-apartheid government but retains some form of autonomy and influence on stands regarding public policy (Webster, 2007). It is worth noting that this alliance with ruling party has led to divisive involvement of unions on matters of state and government in South Africa and these shall be explored on the chapter on history trade unions (COSATU to be specific) in South Africa´s pre and post-apartheid struggles.

Trade unions can build and expand societal power through public discourse by influencing the public conception on existing norms to create new norms (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). Labour unions can also expand their societal power by gaining public recognition and legitimacy for workers' struggles and societal defenders. That is, trade unions can draw the attention of the public to an important public issue that relates to consumer issues with particular pressure points and support of the masses. According to Webster et al. (2016),

societal power requires trade unions to contest the public arena both physically in the streets, neighborhoods and the media and construct discourse that attracts public attention such as the injustices of poverty, the right to make a living, discrimination etc. This also corresponds to Luke's third dimension of power which is ideological and is exercised by influencing wishes or desires and thoughts and even making want things that oppose their own interest (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). Webster (2015) demonstrates the use of societal power through the analysis of the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) anti-corruption campaigns and demanding job security. In this case, SAMWU shifted from their associational power and gained public recognition through discourse power framed in terms of anti-corruption and broader coalition. The public were sympathetic and supported SAMWU strike because the union was blowing the whistle on corruption (Webster, 2015).

During the apartheid era, COSATU and other trade unions gained public support and recognition as the 'freedom fighters' because they build a lot of public discourse around the repressive apartheid regime and exposing scandals and human rights abuse within the apartheid regime. I argue that societal power can still be an important source of power for COSATU even in the post-apartheid ANC government to hold government accountable and to limit the multinational corporations and globalized industries that have crippled the domestic textiles industries in South Africa. Unions can target consumers and direct the public attention to consumption of domestic products as opposed to imported textiles, building of state power, pressure the state´s regulatory mechanisms and enforcements, human rights or corruption scandals of some multinational corporations, (Seidman, 2007). This research relates societal power directly to the post-apartheid government and regulatory mechanisms and explores how trade unions can influence the state and regulatory mechanisms to protect the domestic textile industries.

It is important to note that societal power depends much on the unions mobilizing and organizing capacity and on their strategic choices on common beliefs on issues that will attract public support (McGuire, 2012). The union's organizational and mobilizing capacity must be taken into account when analyzing union's ability to use societal power to achieve its aims.

3.2.4 Institutional Power

Institutional power of unions refers to the ability of unions to ensure enactment of rights and embedment of past social compromises or strategic behaviour of organizations by incorporating both associational and structural power into institutions (Webster, 2015, p. 3). An important characteristic of institutional power is that it takes social compromises and stipulate them or sometimes even establish them by law for future economic cycles and times of altered societal power relations (Dörre, Holst, & Nachtwey, 2009, p. 37). This way, structural and associational power is incorporated into institutions power. It can "take the form of labour law, wage-setting mechanisms and bargaining arrangements, as well as institutionalized forms of social dialogue" such as the South Africa's premier peak level social dialogue institution (Webster, 2015, p. 9). Through the rules and resources established through institutional power, institutional power gives rights but also limits the actors' course of action (Dörre et al., 2009).

Figure 3.1 Source and Forms of Power
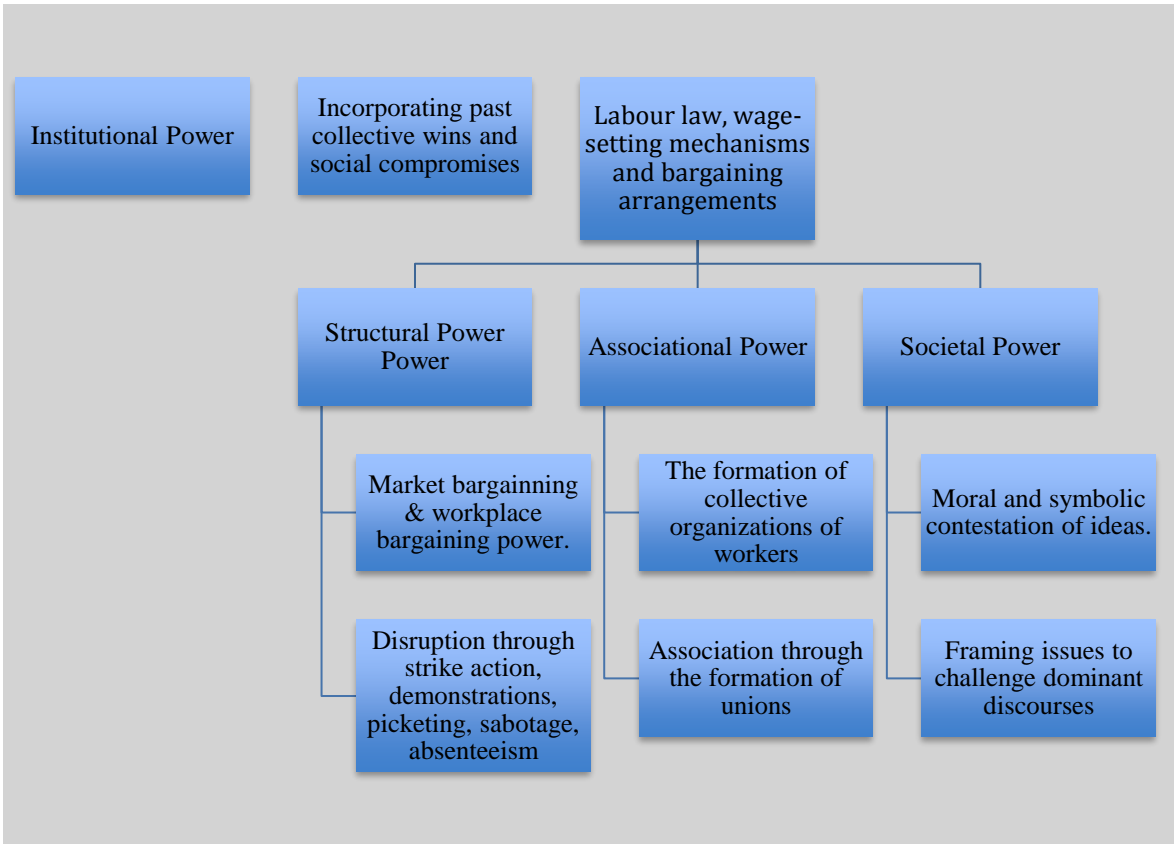
Trade unions in their bid to intervene or influence policies draw on one or more forms of

power discussed above. These sources of power are not separate from each other or compete with each other but they interrelate and intertwine in ways that can help each other (McGuire, 2012). The sources and forms of power as captured in **figure 3.1** are all utilized by trade unions in an unexpected ways to achieve their aims. All the sources of power ultimately emanates from the position of the trade unions in the economy and as agents of their members and is linked to the voluntary use or non-use of this capacity or power to action or inaction.

3.3 Trade Unions and Institutional Power Relations

One of the key issues that is explored in this study is the role and power relations between the various actors of South Africa´s trade policymaking. This is a very complex issue because each of the actors in policymaking has its interest in a form of beliefs and operate in an interdependent political environment where there exist some form of uneven power relations among the actors (Weible et al., 2009). This inherent complexity in policymaking requires conceptual simplification to provide the theoretical understanding of the key actors, their interest and power relations in South Africa´s policymaking and to develop effective policy strategies. One cannot talk about power relations in policymaking without referring to the relationship between public institutions and other interest groups or policy actors. There exist some power relations at play between these actors and this makes it useful to explore the relationship mainly between government institutions, trade unions and other interest groups.

As noted earlier on, power is generally thought of in a relational sense whereby one actor has power over others[14]. That is, power is perceived to be exercised when A can get B to do something that B otherwise will not have done (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962; Dahl, 1957). Robert Dahl (1961) in his classic study 'Who Governs?' also noted that different individuals and groups are able to exert direct or indirect influence over policy decisions depending on the resources or power location available to them (Dahl Robert, 1961). Dahl concluded that individuals and groups in society, including the weak or minority groups have a possibility to penetrate the political system and exercise power over decision-makers to favor their preferences or beliefs. These individuals and groups include both state and non-states like the trade unions, NGOs and other civil society organizations. The power relations that exist between these individuals and group constitute institutional power relations for this research.

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[14] https://www.slideshare.net/Raza_Ali/models-of-policy-making-and-the-concept-of-power-in-policy

The research focuses basically on the relations between trade unions and the state (represented by the government and other state actors).

The state perhaps constitutes an integral part of this power relation because it is the arena for political actors, unions and other civil society to engage in the power relations. Institutional theory of the study of public policy and administration sees government institutions (the state) represented by the executive, legislature and the judiciary as having central role so far as public policy is concerned (Prof. Adam, 2018). The state gives policy legitimacy and exercise monopoly on the use of force in applying policy. The state guarantees and takes the power of the various actors like trade unions and civil society organizations in policy making through constitutional provision. Moreover, the state in most cases is the biggest employer and provides welfare services or conditions of service for workers who are represented by the trade unions (Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2011).

The trade unions in policy-making, functions as representative of workers that mediate between the employers and members in the workplace, however the union's role expand beyond the workplace negotiations. The unions' functions as mediators of workers social rights also position them as mediators of citizens and the state for rights and privileges. This is because social rights and privileges that are championed by the unions are not only limited to workers but also citizens. In fact, trade unions have been biggest actors for expanding citizens' rights, freedom and social equality in many states (Fudge, 2005).

The main point of interaction between trade unions and the state is in social dialogue, which is defined by ILO as:

> '*all types of negotiation, consultation or simply exchange of information between, or among, representatives of governments, employers and workers, on issues of common interest relating to economic and social policy [...] successful social dialogue structures and processes have the potential to resolve important economic and social issues, encourage good governance, advance social and industrial peace and stability and boost economic progress' (ILO, n.d)*

The social dialogue between the state and the unions can be established through cooperate relations or resistance relations based on conflict and cooperation. The social dialogue depends on how the unions choose to relate to the state or party politics. A corporatist social

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dialogue relations sees relations between trade unions and employers (state in this sense) as peaceful, complementary and mutually constitutive (Hyman, 2001). Both the state and the unions compromise at some point to ensure peaceful and complementary resolutions. Unions may choose close collaborations with the party in power or create a separate labour party to ensure direct influence over policy decisions.

The corporatist approach to social dialogue has been a common point of interaction between trade unions and the state. The government that is the state has a greater responsibility of managing policy formulation and implementation. This constitutional mandate makes the South Africa´s government a dominant actor and first institution in the country´s policy matters. This constitutional mandate of the government could be perceived as a mechanism that could undermine trade unions and other actors on policy matters However, coalitions with the government by groups like the COSATU, perhaps, offers them opportunity to have some form of greater roles over policy decisions. That is, non-state actors have the possibility of playing some form of role at the various stages of policy-making, however the power or the right to participate on policy matters must be defined by the states constitution. These non-state institutions and organizations include think tank, NGOs, labour movements, research institutions etc.

Social democratic unions see the corporatist approach as important source that offers unions opportunities to access institutional powers through their position of labour power (Taylor, 1993). While only few individuals and groups have direct influence over policy decisions, defined as successfully vetoing policy proposals, most like COSATU and its affiliates through their alliance with the ruling ANC and participation in NEDLAC and parliament can directly and indirectly influence policy decisions. One key issue that remain unraveled is how the preferences of the trade unions especially the textile industry are reflected in the policy outcomes that affect the industry. There are inherent tensions within post-apartheid South Africa's unions in balancing between supporting the state and representing the interest of the members. The unions were pivotal to the end of the apartheid regime and the establishment of the ANC government. The unions are mostly torn between supporting the government they have created and the members they represent. In most cases as would be noted in the subsequent chapters, unions tends to over compromise at the expense of the members. This representation crisis is a major reason why some scholars see the corporatist approach as surrender of trade unions' power and co-optation (Bergene, 2010). Moreover, trade unions are

losing legitimacy and deemed powerless in the sight of many union members leading to divisions and breakaway by some members (Webster, 2007).

Trade unions may also choose a resistance approach in their relations to the state, as was the case in many African states during colonialism (Webster, 2007). Trade unions in most cases adopted violent approach to the colonial forces because the government was deemed illegitimate by unions. The legitimacy of the party in power and the kind of relationship between unions and the party in power could also be determining factor to the union state relations.

In essence, an institutional power relation is very crucial for understanding the relationship between trade unions and the state in policy process. Trade unions hold a very complex relation to the state that guarantees unions' power. The state is also the biggest employer and boss of unions' members. While the corporatist approach with the government opens up union's institutional powers, it has also come with disadvantages of unions loosing legitimacy and representation crisis. The relations between unions and the state depend on how unions choose to relate to the party in power or the state. Unions may choose corporatist approach through close collaborations with party in power or adopt resistance approach.

The theories of power use for this thesis provides better understanding of power relations between the dominant actor, that is the state, and trade unions in formulating and adopting policies in South Africa. It highlights how trade unions are able to penetrate through the existing power structures to include their preferences in the government decisions relating to different sectors and how unions' effort affect their relationship both with the state and their members.

3.4 The Concept of Governance

The type of governance system and changes in global governance play crucial roles in transforming the power and politics of trade unions. The system of governance that is practiced in South Africa transformed following the transition from undemocratic apartheid regime to a more democratic post-apartheid regime. The governance system in the apartheid regime can be sharply contrasted with the post-apartheid regime's governance because of the different political and economic practices adopted by these different regimes. Within the context of this study, I explore whether and how political and economic changes in the

governance systems as a result of the transition from the apartheid regime to the post apartheid regime transforms the power and politics of the trade unions. I also explore the relations between the government and the trade unions and to what extent this relationship is affected by the changes in the system of governance. Finally, I also explore the extent to which the global political and economic governance affects domestic South Africa's textile industry and its impacts on the power and the politics of the trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa.

The definition of governance differs from one sub-field of social science to the other and this is basically attributed to the fact that the concept is used in both analytical and normative sense (Doornbos, 2001). That is, there is no universally accepted definition of the concept, however, two general conceptions of governance have been identified that include governance as political steering and governance as self-organizing, inter-organizational networks (Knill & Tosun, 2012). Governance as political steering refers to a purposeful attempt to coordinate individual action based on cooperation between the government and the private actors in order to achieve certain policy goals (Knill & Tosun, 2012). In contrast, governance as self-organizing, inter-organizational networks refers to a network that encompass both the public and private actors based on the need to exchange resources and negotiation on shared policy goals and solutions (Rhodes, 1996).

In another sense, governance has also been defined as "the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say". That is, governance involves the power relations between various actors as to who has dominant influence and how decision-makers are held accountable for their decisions (Graham, Amos, & Plumptre, 2003, p. 2). Graham etal (2003), definition of governance provides a broader understanding of governance and the essence of accountability, effectiveness and legitimacy that covers all sectors of the economy. From these definitions, it is obvious that governance is not only the responsibility of the state but the private sectors have some roles to ensure effective governance, although the state plays a dominant role. Bringing these definitions in the South Africa's context, the effective governance of South Africa's economy through domestic policies should be a shared responsibility of the government and the interested actors. This means that, trade unions like COSATU have some roles to play to ensure effective governance of the economy. A further question is how trade unions are allowed to

participate in the governance systems and how their preferences are able to penetrate into the state's economic priorities.

The question whether the governance of the economy through trade and domestic policies reflect effective or good governance is debatable because there are no universally accepted benchmarks of such evaluation (Baldwin, Cave, & Lodge, 2012). This notion of effectiveness of governance emerged from its first usage in public administration by Harlan Cleveland who first used the word "governance" as an alternative to the phrase public administration (Frederickson, 2005). On their part, Knill and Tosun (2012,p 215) have argued that public policy can be evaluated depending on the output or the input legitimacy.

With respect to the output factors, Knill and Tosun (2012) argued that, particular attention could paid to two things; first is the decision making capacity of the political system. Governmental decisions or policies should be made out of consensus with interesting groups or actors and this will ensure less ressistance. This perhaps indicates that government institutions responsible for South Africa´s trade policies must form consensus with all interest groups including trade unions on policy decisions. It also implies that the level of ressistance to governmental decisions is dependant on the level of participation that policy actors are engaged. For example, labour unions will support policies that they have fully participated and made extensive inputs in its decision making process. At the same time unions may reject decisions that did not receive their inputs. Secondly, good gorvenance must ensure that policy decisions based on consensus are also implemented effectively. There must be incentives both financial and material resources to encourage implenting agencies or private actors to take the necessary steps to fulfil the goals of the policy.

With regards to input legitimacy, Knill and Tosun (2012) argued that decision-making and implementation of policies must gain public support on the basis of equal and wide participatory rights of all interest groups. That is, there should be due process and accountability of government policy decisions. This indicates that South Africa´s trade and industry policies that govern the domestic industries and workers must receive the support of trade unions and all interest groups that are affected by the decisions.

On the issue of global governance and how it transforms the power and politics of trade unions, the increasing role of policies by global economic governance institutions such as the

IMF, WTO, World Bank in a state play crucial role on labour, workers rights and trade relations. Shared labour and trade policies of the global governance organizations transcends national boundaries, citizens and trade unions. Domestic industries and unions may face battles over global rules, agreements and policies that may be contraly to their core beliefs and interest especially rules that supranational and binding (Evans, 2010). This may have significant implications on the nature and operations of the domestic organizations and institutional rules. In South Africa's context, the paper focuses on how the adoption of the country into the global governance institutions after post 1994 democratic elections changes conditions that transforms the power and påolitics of the labour unions.

3.5 The Concept of Globalization

Different scholars have used globalization differently, while globalization denotes economic phenomenon for some scholars, for others it transcends political and cultural ideologies (McGrew, 1992). For the purpose of this thesis, however, globalization will be used interchangeably with internationalization, liberalization and westernization. The purpose of explaining this concept is meant to facilitate the use of the word and to explore some of the factors for the transformation of the union power and politics in South Africa. Exploring the concept is also important for understanding the nature of the South Africa's economy before and after the dawn of democracy in 1994.

Globalization refers to the integration of economic, social, political and cultural relations across international boundaries (Akindele, Gidado, & Olaopa, 2001; McGrew, 1992). It breaks down trade barriers and increases the integration of World market. Thus, "globalization seeks to remove all national barriers to the free movement of international capital and this process is accelerated and facilitated by the supersonic transformation in information technology" (Akindele etal. 1992. P 5)

It is important to admit that globalization has both positive and negative impacts to growth and development of the economy. The World Bank policy research report 2002 and Dollar and Kray 2000 research work entitled, '*Growth is Good for the Poor*' have all critically explored the effects of globalization. It is obvious from these research works that while globalization has led to rapid growth and poverty reduction in China, India and other countries, it has also weakened domestic industries in other countries. The report posits that

Poor countries with around 3 billion people have broken into the global market for manufactures and services. Whereas 20 years ago most exports from developing countries were of primary commodities, now manufactures and services predominate. This successful integration has generally supported poverty reduction (World Bank, 2002, p. ix)

Very significant to our understanding of globalization and its impacts on trade unions is the need to use it as a synonym for liberalization especially economic liberalization. This refers to the abolishment of administrative barriers to international movement of goods, foreign exchange restrictions, services, labour and capital controls among states (McGrew, 1992). Transnational firms and financial institutions that operate independently of national boundaries, domestic labour unions and domestic economic institutions have characterized the economic liberalization and compete with domestic industries and institutions. Moreover, the economic liberalization has been facilitated by the emergence of global supra-national institutions and international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These institutions have become the international drivers of globalization and have been active in pushing the market agenda and control of labour and market forces (Upchurch, 2004).

The emergence of these global institutions has also been accompanied by proliferation of international agreements that compels and control developing countries domestic market, institutions and labour unions. These agreements have made developing countries pliable to control and exploitation by transnational firms, foreign capital and international labour unions. Examples of such code of rules are the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) whose negotiations began in May 1995, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the ending of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) that regulated the textile and clothing trade in December 2004. South Africa is a member of these global institutions and signatory to these agreements. Within the context of this research, the question is how the activities, agreements and operations of these global institutions transform the power and politics of domestic labour unions in South Africa.

Another important feature of globalization is the growing-trans border nature of production, which is a reflection of the international division of labour or global pattern of specialization in production (Akokpari, 2001). That is, globalization has led to a large extent, the production

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of goods and services beyond one country. Central to the trans-border system of production is the skill intensity of production that has turned developed countries into specializing in high – skill intensive manufacturing and services while developing countries into low skill intensive manufacturing (Akindele et al., 2001). This system of production has devastating impacts on developing countries' economies and labour control since they are primarily to produce raw materials for industries in the developed countries. The goods that are produced in the developed countries returned into the developing countries as a result of liberalization and compete with the smaller domestic firms or industries.

3.5.1 Neoliberal Globalization, an Opportunity for Labour Revitalization

Globalization with its critical component of liberalization and neoliberal institutions that seek to control and exploits developing countries resources through agreements, trans-national productions, multinational corporations (MNC's) and firms have a tendency of transforming labour union´s power and influence. This is because, globalization changes the social and economic conditions by the removal of administrative barriers to trade, restructuring of employment to expanding informal sector, liberalization of tariff and regulations of imports, competitions from trans-national corporations and job retrenchment in most cases. Globalization offers opportunity for revitalization of domestic labour unions while at the same time can be source of declining powers of unions.

Evans (2010) provides an interesting twist to the globalization debate and he opines that although globalization comes with political and economic challenges at the national level for trade unions and domestic industries, 'the revolution in communications technology, the global spread of shared culture, including universalizing ideologies of human rights, changing patterns of employment and global corporate structures, and the globalization of the policy environment can all be read as providing new structural opportunities for globalizing the labor movement' and opportunities for revitalization of the labour movements (Evans 2010.p.359). His argument stems from the fact that globalization has led to increasing informal sector, increasing employment in the service sector and revolution of knowledge and skills that if well explored by trade unions could expand trade unions associational and structural powers.

The revolution of technology has facilitated communications between various labour movements and reshapes ideological as well as cultural knowledge of different labour movements. Globalization has created opportunity for different labour movements to

understand common labour struggles and find common solutions to the struggles. The global spread of common corporate structures and common work ethics transcends beyond geographical boundaries and political regime. Evans (2010) argues that when labour movements understand and share knowledge and skills on common problems, it creates new potential for building a global movement to find solutions to common challenges.

Globalization has further created opportunity for explosion of universal neoliberal ideologies such as democracy, human rights, workers' rights and freedom. Labour movements across the world have used these ideologies to fight for rights of workers at the national level. Moreover, unions can expand their institutional power by ensuring these ideologies as provisions in the national constitutions and as policies.

At the economic front, the changing structure of employment and the increasing informal sectors as a result of globalization, provide opportunity for revitalization. Globalization has created has created that are sources of leverage that can be used to expand union's mobilization (Lerner, 2007). There is an increased growth of service sector employment opportunities in areas such as health, education, communication, private security and administration. As noted earlier on, shared norms and workplace practices cuts across national boundaries and therefore create a platform for campaign against global or national policies that infringe on workers' rights. For instance teachers or nurses in Ghana and in Norway could commonly speak against global policies that disadvantage workers in both countries. Shared common problems with workers in different countries makes it easier to define common problems, find common solutions and solidarity. Moreover, the explosion of service sector employment and increased informal sector provides labour unions with sources of power. Labour movements can expand their associational powers by designing strategies to increase their membership by mobilizing these new workers.

It is important that trade unions recognize these sources of power and structural opportunities and revitalization. Whether labour will succeed depends on the kind of strategies that will be adopted by trade unions to harness the opportunities that come along with neoliberal globalization.

3.5.2 Neoliberal Globalization, a Potential for Declining Labour Power

The concept of globalization is a double edge sword that provides both opportunities and threat at the same time. Globalization penetrates through the economic, political, and social sectors and transforms societies in ways that can weaken old sources of power while new sources of power are established. D. Harvey has defined neoliberal globalization as 'the intensification of the influence and dominance of capital; it is the elevation of capitalism, as a mode of production, into an ethic, a set of political imperatives, and a cultural logic' and a process that seeks to establish new power of economic elite (D. Harvey, 2005). Neoliberal globalization for Harvey, affects every aspects of the national states. Harvey's definition of globalization stems from Marx's insight about capitalism in which capital is defined as a process that cuts all dimensions of modern societal life (Marx, 1959).This means that the impacts of globalization is not only limited to one aspects of society.

One of the negative impacts of globalization that affects labour unions power and politics and what Harvey termed in his book '*New Imperialism*' (2003) as 'accumulation by disposition'. He argues that globalization thrives by the continuation and proliferation of accumulation practices by dispossessing domestic industries of their economic rights and various forms of power (Harvey, 2003).

Economic liberalization that rides on the wheels of abolishment of trade barriers and explosion of international supranational institutions and agreements and institutions that include among others the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), the ending of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) that regulated the textile and clothing trade in December 2004, WTO agreements etc. These have created the environment for MNC's to expand their markets across national boundaries and compete with the domestic industries. The lack of capacity of local manufacturing industries to compete MNC's has led to declining local industries and shrinking of manufacturing jobs (Evans, 2010). The shrinking of manufacturing jobs means that labour unions' members in these sectors would be affected leading to declining membership of the unions.

Moreover, the changing structure of the labour market, the control and exploitation of domestic policies by supranational institutions, the proliferation of international supranational agreements and increased ability of states to blame globalization for their economic woes

have all combined to weaken the power and shift the politics of labour movements. Recognizing the existence of both opportunities and threat to labour movements' power and politics by globalization, it is important that labour movements focus on designing strategies first, to harness the opportunities that have come along with globalization and second, to deal with the negative impacts of globalization.

Chapter 4 The History of Trade Unions in South Africa

The main goal of this chapter is to provide extensive understanding of the nature and role of South Africa´s trade unions in both pre and post-apartheid government using COSATU and the clothing and textile industry as a case study. The role of trade unions and domestic industries as actors in policymaking with review of literature from broader South African context to the specific case of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU). The chapter would also explore historical background of South Africa's domestic economic policies and review how South Africa´s trade and economic policies have changed since independence in 1994.

4.1 The Origin of Trade Unions in South Africa

Trade Unions have been pivotal in South Africa´s political and economic transformation and the transition of South Africa into its current all-inclusive democratic system of government (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). That is, the rise of trade unions in South Africa gave workers an opportunity to be involved in the democratization process and to take part in the political process, economic growth and policy formulation through various mechanisms or tools adopted by the unions.

The unions have gone through a long history of transformation through various cycles of organization and disorganization. History of trade unions in South Africa dates back to the 1880s and were predominantly for white workers (Harper, 1987). They began as social movements during the discovery of gold and diamonds that led to the industrialization of South Africa (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). Most of these unions disappeared during the apartheid period in South Africa because of sanctions, legal and illegal forms of harassment that were meted out to the leaders of the unions (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). In the 1920s, Industrial and Commercial Workers´ Union (ICU) emerged as the first union to organize black workers. However, the ICU which achieved some successes initially, could not survived due to aforementioned harassment, some internal strife and corruption (Simons & Simons, 1983).

In 1924, the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed and this prevented black workers from striking legally, bargaining for better conditions of services or influence policy changes in the industrial sector. During this period the black workers were excluded from the legal definition

of `employee`(Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). A lot of unions were banned and could only operate as illegal movements either in exile or in secret. This led to the emergence of militant social movement unionism to challenge and oppose the state and to influence policy changes in the industrial sector (Harper, 1987).

In the late 1960s, South Africa adopted import-substitution industrialization policies by which the state became owner of large public corporations and foreign exchange controls. There was also relative increase in price of gold. These led to tremendous economic growth in South Africa in the 1960s, however, the wages of black workers were relatively low despite the economic growth (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). The conditions of the black workers led to considerable number of workers strike that expanded across the entire country (E. Webster, 1995). Industrial workers began to organize themselves again into non-racial workers unions with international workers solidarity after these strikes. These unions were known as independent trade unions because they were independent of the state and were separate from existing unions that were dominated by white workers (Wood. G, 1999). By 1979, the independent unions were able to influence the apartheid government to pass the Industrial Conciliation Amendment that granted the African workers some limited rights and included them in the legal definition of `employee` (Parpart & Friedman, 1988). The government again paved way for the incorporation of the trade unions in the centralized industrial council system and this allowed unions to successfully challenged employers and government in the industrial court. The independent unions used the legal space created by the Industrial Conciliation Amendment to organize themselves on industrial level. They pursued collective bargaining; influence policy changes and promotes workers' rights. That is, Industrial Conciliation Amendment paved way for Trade Unions to organize themselves on large scale even though most of the unions were already in existence and were operating secretly or in exile.

4.2 Development of COSATU

COSATU is currently the strongest trade union in South Africa and has an estimated membership of 1.7million (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). The formation of COSATU could be traced back to the early 1970s when in January 1973, an estimated number of 100,000 workers went on strike starting from the Durban-Pinetown area and expanded across the country (Edward Webster, 1995). After the strikes workers started organizing themselves into unions by adopting the British model of workplace organization based on shop stewards

(Parpart & Friedman, 1988). The unions struggled to survive at the initial stage, however, memberships increased tremendously from the late 1970s. These unions ignored the government and adopted a strategy of signing recognition agreements with individual firms based on common law and by 1983, the unions have successfully signed 406 agreements (Maree, 1987).

In April 1979, several unions came together to form the Federation of South African Trade Union (FOSATU) with initial membership of about 20,000 dries (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). In 1985, the affiliated unions of FOSATU and several others including the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) merged to form COSATU. In all, COSATU brought together 33 unions and represented 33 per cent of workers who were members of the registered trade unions (S Buhlungu, 1999). COSATU was able to organize the unions on industrial level and take up collective bargaining on sectorial level (Parpart & Friedman, 1988).

Since its formation, COSATU has grown to become the strongest trade union with several affiliates within the various sectors of South African economy. One of its affiliates, which is also the 10th largest affiliate is the Southern African Clothing & Textile Workers' Union (SACTWU). SACTWU was founded in 1989 and is the largest trade union in the clothing, textile, and leather and footwear industry in South Africa[15]. Since their formation and merger, COSATU and SACTWU have become strong actors of governmental policies by influencing trade, labour as well as other policies of government that affects workers and the manufacturing industries especially the clothing and textile industries in South Africa.

The trade unions played crucial role in the transition of South Africa into a democratic republic especially the nature of government, economic and labour policies of the post-Apartheid government. The process of transition into democratic government was very crucial in terms of policy-making and governance. One of the key achievements of COSATU and its affiliates in terms of policymaking during the transition was its ability to influence the government to set up the National Economic Forum to consult on major economic decisions as part of the policy process (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000).

The unions were also influential in the entrenchment of basic labour rights in South Africa´s Bill of Rights. COSATU together with its affiliates campaigned for workers' rights through a special congress held in September 1993. The union adopted a document in which they spell

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[15] Refer: http://www.sactwu.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=115

out workers' rights and most of these rights were incorporated into the Bill of rights in the post-apartheid government. In the transition to democratic governance, COSATU form alliance with the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

"When political organizations were unbanned, in early 1990, the ANC, SACP and COSATU agreed to work together as a Revolutionary Alliance (Tripartite Alliance, the Alliance). The Alliance is centered around short, medium to long terms goals of the National Democratic Revolution - the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, economic transformation and continued process of political and economic democratization"[16].

The ANC which is the biggest political party in South Africa used the union´s structures to campaign in the 1994 elections and emerged as winner of the elections (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). COSATU through its strategic alliance with the ruling ANC government has become an important actor in policymaking process in the post-Apartheid government in South Africa. As observed Webster (1995), prior to transition to democratic governance in South Africa in 1994, the trade unions participation in South Africa´s policy making process was vehemently opposed by the government while their activities were consistently harassed by bans, imprisonment, ridicules and intimidations. However, the democratic dispensation that began in 1994 saw the state embracing several of the goals set out in COSATU´s Worker´s Rights Campaign. Many of the goals have been established as rights under the democratic dispensation. The period following the democratic dispensation saw South Africa´s trade unions been active in governance and policy making with strategic partnerships relating to democratization through the platform of government development policies. Also, through ratification of treaties and cooperation with international labour institutions, the trade unions have been actively engaged in programs and policies to address issues on social accountability of economic reforms and poverty reduction of workers (S Buhlungu, 1999).

Literature about Trade Unions in South Africa have pointed out that the unions have not been able to achieve their broader goal of economic transformation of South Africa´s society due to globalization, conflict of interest and power relations with other interest groups or policy actors. One common pattern of trade unions in post-liberation societies is that, "once the new social order is inaugurated, some of the unions shift from their usual resistance posture to one of close cooperation with and, some would argue, co-option by the new regime, while others

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[16] See more at: http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=2051#sthash.pROnZLHd.dpuf

remain in resistance mode and refuse to engage constructively in the new order" (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012, p. 1). One of COSATU´s major challenges in the post-Apartheid era is contestation with various forces within the trade union and its affiliates as well as others who have interest over the resolution (Munck & Von Holdt, 2004). While some believe in resistance dimension in achieving their means in the form 'ungovernability' or militant action, others prioritize formal engagements with institutions of the new democracy (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012). These contestations within the trade unions affect the role of the trade unions in policymaking and their role in governance of the state. In addition, COSATU´s alliance with the ruling ANC has evolved as a major challenge for the trade union. The trade union and its affiliates are sometimes torn between their loyalty to the alliance and the demands of policy members and affiliates especially on issues of public policies. These together with other challenges like competition among trade unions for visibility, membership and better representation in policymaking, civil society and other interest groups hampered their growth in governance.

Despite these weaknesses of trade unions in South Africa, its impacts on trade and industrial policies provide a different image of trade unions in South Africa. Trade unions continue to occupy an integral part of South Africa´s trade and industrial policies in this era of democracy and globalization. Trade unions played significant role in the formulation of policies such as `*reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) as a government macro-economic strategy; the call for an expanded social welfare system; submissions for a comprehensive social security system in 2000´* (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012).

Trade unions have adopted complex and multi-faceted strategies since the inception of democracy, to influence policy in post-apartheid South Africa. These variety of strategies of the trade union´s participation in the policy arena, according to Buhlungu and Tshoaedi (2012. P171), involves "advocacy; negotiation at the National Economic, Economic Development and Labour Council NEDLAC; participation in parliamentary proceedings in the form of lobbying and making submissions; political processes in the Tripartite Alliance with the ANC and the SACP; mass mobilization". Close relations with the ruling ANC played influential role in the 1995 Labour Relations Act that gave unions some organizational rights and provided mechanisms for conflict resolution and protection of majority of workers in South Africa wood (Wood, 2002). COSATU was also influential in other legislative achievements, which are contained in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the

Employment Equity Act.

Although trade unions have ensured some influence over South Africa´s public policies, the nature of engagements in a democratic dispensation and the adoption of GEAR as a macro-economic strategy for South Africa by the new government have reduced the power of trade unions and their role in policymaking (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012). The adoption of GEAR for instance, have "indicated that large-scale capital and financial markets were going to remain far more influential than organized labour with regard to the making of economic policy" (Webster E & Sikwebu D, 2006). This is an indication that the powers of trade unions have transformed and that trade unions have to compete for greater influence over South Africa´s policies.

This has raised my curiosity to explore the transformation of trade unions power in the post-apartheid government and how the transformed power affects their relationship with the ruling ANC. With this objective, I hope to understand how trade unions power have transformed since the inception of democracy, the factors for the transformation and understanding and interpreting the effects of globalization on the trade unions.

4.2.1 The Current State of COSATU

By the current state of COSATU, I am referring to the state of COSATU in post-apartheid South Africa. That is the nature of the trade union federation in post 1994 democratic elections that brought the new ANC government into power. In order to fully grasped how the powers of trade unions like COSATU have transformed, it is important to explore the current situation of the union and its affiliated unions in terms of membership, the organizational structure, global interaction and interaction with other competitors or actors. This will facilitate analysis and understanding of how the union's power and politics have transformed as well as internal and external factors responsible for this transformation. The membership, organizational structure, global interaction and interaction with other competitors or actors also helps to understand how the trade unions are able to expand and use their associational, structural, societal and institutional powers that were discussed in the theory chapter. The changing profile of COSATU membership, continuous decline of COSATU's role and support for the tripartite alliance, changes within the global economy and adoption of government policies like GEAR have all combined to reduce and transformed the power of Unions.

4.2.2 Membership

COSATU has enjoyed an impressive growth since its formation in1985, however, some internal and external changes in the labour market and the South Africa's economy has resulted in many changes in COSATU's membership and structures. Currently, COSATU's membership stands at around 1, 9 million with a chunk of these members belonging to affiliates from the manufacturing, the mining and the public service (COSATU, 2015b). Analysis of the Union's membership demographics in terms of gender, industry and education reveals the union's support base and where growth and development is possible.

COSATU had 1, 2 million members in 1991, rose to about 1,9 million in 2000 and about 12 years later in 2012, the number stood at just under 2,2 million members before dropping to 1,9 million (COSATU, 2015b). This is an indication that the union has about the same membership as it did 15 years ago and that it is struggling to achieve its 2015 objective of plan that targeted for increasing membership by 10% every year.

According to the1st draft of COSATU's organizational report to 12th national congress in November 2015, **figure 1**, the public sector employees has the highest number of members with the Union, with remarkable growth from 7% in 1991 to 39% by 2012 and thus influence within the organization (COSATU, 2015b). However, the report shows that private sector workers that stood at 93% in 1991 had dropped to 61% in 2012.

Figure 1: The proportion of public to private sector membership

Source: COSATU http://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/cosatus-membership-all-the-facts
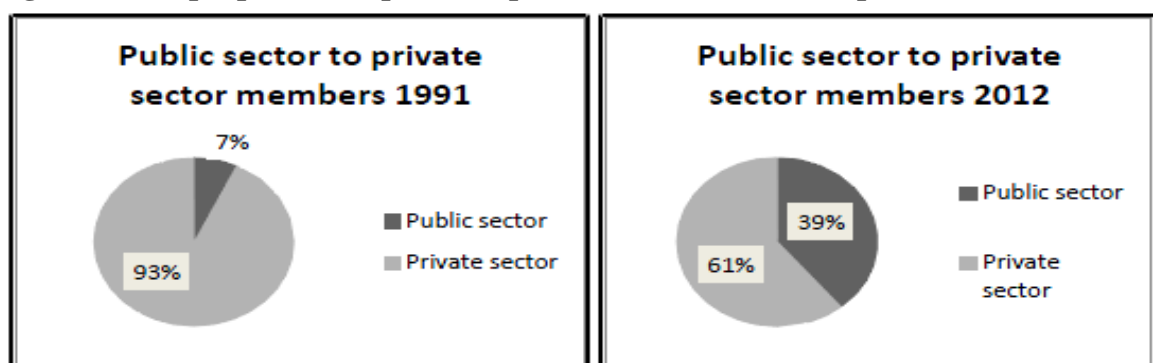
This shift is very significant as it indicates that COSATU is attracting public sector workers but at the same time, it has losing its support base in the private sector workers. It further indicates that the manufacturing workers who were the core founding members of COSATU

during the apartheid era is declining in the post-apartheid era. ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe, himself a former unionist, warned against this shift and argues that "Once you have a federation dominated by the public sector, you are in trouble" he told the NUM congress in June (Genevieve, 2015). This is perhaps; the shift changes the direction, ideological preferences and methodological considerations of the union. The remarkable shift in the increased membership of the public sector workers has been linked to the increased job insecurity in the public sector (Naidoo, 1999). Job insecurity has compelled many public sector workers to organize themselves around COSATU to represent their interest and protect them.

The drop in the private sector workers can also be linked to the retrenchment and decline in growth within the manufacturing sector. According to a statement by IndustriALL Global Union an affiliate of Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) high rate of unemployment in the textile industry has led to the loss of an estimated 150000 jobs in the industry over the last 15 years[17]. The shift in the private sector also reveals the macro economic situation in South Africa's economy, with the manufacturing industries losing their importance for recruitment by the trade Unions. It also indicates how the manufacturing industry that used to be one of the most vibrant sectors of South Africa´s economy is losing out currently.

Another important change in terms of membership is the fundamental change in the representational capacity of the COSATU. The dominant membership role of the public sector indicates a growth in the professional categories of members such as nurses, teachers, clerks, bank officials etc. These professional categories have different dispositions and qualifications and this inadvertently changes the federation´s interest to include the interest of these newcomers who were not core members of the union during its formation. Again, the 2008 and 2012 survey indicates that over 88% were in permanent or full-time positions at their various jobs. It has been argued that, trade union federation tend to represent the interest of the more permanent members and not those who are in temporal or casual positions (Ari, 2012). COSATU by its membership distribution tend to always make sure that its decisions

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[17] For reference to the press release, refer http://www.industriall-union.org/a-turnaround-for-south-africas-textile-industry

and actions gain the support of the permanent and relatively stable workers and not the factory workers who mainly work as causal workers.

In terms of gender, race, age and educational profile of the average COSATU member, the 2015 report reveals the following figures:

a) The typical member of COSATU is increasingly better educated and better paid compared to COSATU's founding years because of the unionization of the public sector.
b) A large number of COSATU members are in the age between 35 and 45 years.
c) Young workers constitute about 30 percent of all COSATU union members.
d) More than 82% of COSATU's members are black African´s, coloureds constitute 13%, Asian/Indian constitute 3% and whites are only 1% of the membership.

The above figures indicate that the racial makeup of the union is dominated by black Africans and has not changed even the democratic dispensation. The racial makeup also raises questions about whether COSATU has created an image of the labour organization as primarily an African trade union. The average age profile of COSATU members that stands between 35 and 45 years also shows significant changes in the composition of COSATU's membership in post-apartheid South Africa. A time series research from 1994 to 2004 on COSATU social composition in post-apartheid South Africa revealed a changing social composition of COSATU's membership (S. Buhlungu, 2006). The research revealed that there is proportionally fewer union members under the age of 36 and this suggest that not many young workers have been absorbed into the formal permanent employment or young employees are not attracted into the union.

The above figures also indicate increased trend with regards to formal education and skilled level of members in post 1994 South Africa. While there is decline in unskilled and semi-skilled workers who dominated COSATU membership in the pre-apartheid era, members with formal education and are skilled have increased. This has had a positive impact in the union as over 90% of union members have full time permanent job (S. Buhlungu, 2006). This might have been as a result of the increased public sector membership of the union since 1994. The increased educational level could be seen from positive perspective in the union participation in post-apartheid South Africa however, it also reveals that a large proportion of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers are no more attracted to the union or it reveals the

inability of COSATU to organize workers within the informal sector in post-apartheid South Africa.

In addition to COSATU's inability to organize the informal sector is the union´s failure to attract more women in the union leadership. The women membership is currently estimated around 47% of COSATU membership in post 1994 however, the gender dimension of the union's leadership does not reflect the composition of its members (Tshoaedi, 2008). Comparative analysis of the post independent gender distribution of COSATU with the pre independent gender distribution shows consistent uneven gender dimension. 1991 study of the organization membership estimated 36 per cent of the membership being female (Baskin, 1991). According to Buhlungu (2012), the gender dimension has not changed even in the democratic dispensation of South Africa.

Although COSATU has since 1985 made resolutions on the struggle for gender equality, not much commitment has been demonstrated to gender issues as it has for fighting against racial inequality and exploitation of working class (S. Buhlungu, 2006, p. 104). COSATU gender policy emphasize its vision as:

> 'COSATU and its Affiliates are guided by a commitment to build a society free of sexism, racism, class exploitation, and other forms of oppression. We envisage a future where women and men participate equally and without barriers in the Federation, the economy and society; and where women are emancipated from all forms of oppression in unions, the household, the workplace and in broader society. We have a vision of a trade union movement that is a home for women workers' (COSATU, 2015a).

In 1997, about 7% of women were in the National Executive Committee while only 8% had national office bearer positions (Tshoaedi, 2008). At the regional level women make up 15% of the executives (NALEDI, 2011). Although women membership in COSATU has grown since post 1994, the leadership structures of the union are predominantly male. **Table 4.1** below indicates that most influential positions in the federation are dominated or occupied by male while women are mostly in administrative positions. The implication is that gender policies may not be given more attention, as those who occupy key position and have influence over policies within the federation are predominantly male.

Table 4.1 Gender distribution of Postions in COSATU

Position	Male	Female
Administration	6%	94%
Organizers	78%	12%
Branch &Regional Secretaries	89%	11%
General Secretary	100%	0%
Research/legal/media officers	75%	25%
Education officers	90%	10%

Source: (COSATU, 2003)

COSATU Workers Survey in 2012 attributes the uneven distribution of gender in the union´s leadership to lack of women with the capabilities and confidence for leadership roles, lack of family support while others blame discrimination within the federation (COSATU, 2012, p. 31).

Buhlungu, (2006) believes there is a strong continuinty with the past where race and class struggles were prime focus of COSATU and any other struggle is a secondary issue. The commitment to gender equality within the union is largely in the form of resolutions rather than action as less effort is made to ensure the implementation of the resolutions. It is important that COSATU formulate and implement policies that will attract more women into the union leadership as women are very essential for the associational and societal power of the union. Women have become increasingly important and influential in a democratic dispensation especially because of their role in the family, the informal sector and the economy. Women can be major channel through which COSATU can influence public discourses around issues of justice especially because of their role in the society and family. By so doing the union can explore and expand their societal power in South Africa. COSATU although has grown well since its formation, there is the need to engage the informal sector and attract women into the organization's leadership. Campaigns and programmes of the federation must adequately address the crisis of the living conditions and experiences of

South African working class women, address gender representation in leadership as well as the leadership's approaches, beliefs and attitudes.

4.2.3 Post 1994: COSATU and Democratization

In exploring the transforming power of trade union, it is imperative to look at the process of democratization in South Africa and its effects on the trade union especially COSATU. The focus here is how post 1994 democratic principles transformed the trade unions power using COSATU as the focal point. This is very crucial because of South Africa's COSATU-backed government that implements neoliberal economic and social policies that are at variance with the union's historic and founding aims and objectives. Moreover, democracy emerged with democratic institutions that have high degree of legitimacy and offer radical unions opportunity for negotiations and representation of the interest of union members. This section will provide some understanding on the institutional power dynamics as explored in the theory and the relationship between public institutions and other interest groups or policy actors.

The democratic process in South Africa and the resulting changes had a great impact on the activities of the union. The struggle for workers right, democracy and against apartheid intertwined into the history of COSATU and had been the main motivations for the labour movement. Once democracy and its benefits of ending apartheid in South Africa was achieved, COSATU was left with little motivation for action-oriented strategies as against the apartheid government. COSATU in the past adopted several strategies to fight the oppressive government but now had to work with a government that enjoys legitimacy in the eyes of the union and got to power through the wheels of the union.

Democracy gave unions permanent representation in parliament and governmental established institutions such as the NEDLAC and Millennium Labour Council (S. Buhlungu, 2006). COSATU became involved in complex negotiations and business meetings with the government and this transformed the union's leadership style and agenda. Through these institutions the union is able to penetrate through the existing power structures to include their preferences in the government decisions relating to their interest. This means that COSATU from the apartheid informal strategies to confront government and pressed home their demands, the organization now had to function through formal political, economic and governmental institutions to coordinate their strategies with different actors within the democratic system. The complex and multifaceted nature of the new democratic system such

as advocacy, negotiation at NEDLAC, mass mobilization etc. made it difficult for the organization to deal with new challenges (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012). The main challenge was that 'the history and struggle of the trade union movement did not equip the unions to deal with new issues in a democratic society' (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012, p. 171). Many excellent policy agreements and social dialogue agreements between COSATU and other actors including the new democratic government have remained unimplemented because of lack of capacity to push forward (Naidoo, 2003). Indeed if the union can deal with these new democratic challenges, it is important that the organization´s adopt strategies to increase its capacity or take steps to reduce its scope of engagements (Naidoo, 2003). This means that the union needs to increase its associational, structural, institutional or societal power source in post 1994 to deal with the emerging challenges.

Another important transformation that emerged following the advent of democracy was the numerous political and economic opportunities, which offered union leaders and members a chance to rise within the political and economic lather. Many union leaders and officials took up positions as parliamentarians while others were incorporated within the new government. The union saw a necessity to establish a parliamentary office in the infant parliamentary democracy to enhance its participation in parliament and to directly influence policies that concern the union´s interest. This means that the post 1994 era transformed COSATU into a union that can directly influence policies, an opportunity which they could not have in the apartheid government. The union appointed 15 senior unionists to take their places as ANC politicians and also encourage other members to take positions in the new government bureaucracy (Twala & Kompi, 2012). February argued that 'the issue of public participation in policy-making is one of those easier-said- than-done cases' ... there are no established rules applying to the weight attached to or the treatment of submissions to Parliament (February, 2006, p. 136). COSATU's participation in parliament has to a large extent influenced discussions in parliament on legislative discussions through oral and written submissions to different parliamentary committees. One of the most important achievements of COSATU through its direct participation in parliament is the submission on the transformation of the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) in 1999 in which the union was able to influence a provision of social wage (Khunou, 2012). COSATU's leadership has however been affected by this event as the federation has lost many of its most able leadership to Parliament and now finds it difficult to recover its organizational strength and to rebuild its leadership.

The direct participation in parliament by COSATU increases and expands the federation's institutional power over policies that concerns the federation, however, has been constrained by its alliance with the ANC and the SACP. The union since 1994 has been added to the ANC electoral list and compromises on most policy discussions to consolidate its alliance with the ANC and the SACP. Indeed, this is weakness on COSATU's part, as its participation in parliament and other governmental institutions is not motivated by its desire to achieve the federation's goals but to consolidate the alliance. The next section takes a critical look at the union and its tripartite alliance and the alliance influence the union power in post 1994 in relation to the apartheid era.

4.2.4 COSATU and the Tripartite Alliance

In the early 1990, political organizations were unbanned in South Africa so the ANC, SACP and COSATU agreed to work together as a Revolutionary Alliance (Tripartite Alliance, the Alliance) (COSATU, 2018). The alliance was formulated in June 1990 but COSATU was formally accepted into the alliance in July 1990 (Twala & Kompi, 2012). The alliance focuses on short, medium and long term goals, which are based on a non-racial democratic South Africa, economic transformation and continued the process of political and economic democratization (COSATU, 2018). The alliance has played crucial roles in facilitating COSATU's participation and influencing post-apartheid policy-making and democratic process and a major campaign platform for the various democratic changes since 1994. Over the years, the alliance has become a political forum where ANC, SACP and COSATU are able to thrash out their differences. However, there is no formal agreement on the alliance system and as a result have little influence on governmental policies.

Researchers, journalist and some COSATU members alike, have raised questions over the essence of the alliance system in the post-apartheid South Africa and have suggested that the alliance have practically no influence over governmental policies in the post 1994 period (Naidoo, 2003). Scholars like Buhlungu has also made similar admission and argued that 'the post-1994 period has resulted in a marked decline in the role and influence of COSATU within the Tripartite Alliance' and that COSATU is still holding on to the relationship because of the opportunities the tripartite alliance gave the federation during the apartheid era (Sakhela Buhlungu, 2005). COSATU itself in a release statement admitted that the alliance has only become a tool for gaining political power and after the elections, they are marginalized and excluded from policy decisions and governance (COSATU, 2007).

COSATU's statement about the alliance is reflected in the continuous decline of support for the alliance by the members of the federation. According a research that was conducted by Prof Grace Khunou, Associate Professor in the Sociology Department and Vice-Dean at the University of Johannesburg, COSATU's members support for the alliance reduced from 82% in 1994 to 61% by 2008 (Khunou, 2012). She admits that the decline illustrates significant transformation of the labour union and also a reflection of the disagreements and tensions within the alliance. A survey by COSATU itself on the members support for the alliance in 2012 also puts the figure little over 67% (COSATU, 2012).

COSATU appears to have been marginalized into a junior position within the alliance whose role is just mobilizing supporters for ANC during democratic elections. COSATU workers survey over the years all indicates over 60% of the members willing to vote for ANC during general elections. During elections, COSATU suspends all its activities and devotes time end resources to campaign for ANC. Moreover, some leaders of COSATU are sent to parliament on the ticket of ANC during elections (Sakhela Buhlungu & Ellis, 2012). The major challenge is that, COSATU finds it difficult to ensure that their interests are carried to parliament after the elections. COSATU's discussion paper in 1996 laments on the plight of the federation and how it has been marginalized after the elections.

> 'In the pre-election period, the Alliance parties consulted one another on major issues…we have won the elections as a result of the sweat and blood of the tripartite alliance…. But that does not mean that COSATU and the SACP are subservient to the ANC…. Since the elections, the Alliance has never sat down to systematically look at the challenges of the transition and formulate a strategy, and the role of our various formations in that strategy… Even those that have taken place have been ad hoc, sporadic or crisis meetings… We have a new political situation, with a legitimate government and parliament. However, we have not been able to use organizational and political space to alter the power balance at a socio-economic' (COSATU, 1996, pp. 3-5).

A distinctive feature of the alliance that also affects the unions' power in the post-apartheid period is the level of overlapping membership and leadership of the parties within the alliance. There are many cases where leaders of COSATU also hold positions and plays active role as a leader in ANC or SACP. There are also cases of members of COSATU who are also members all the three organizations. COSATU has called on its members to swell the ranks of ANC to ensure its interest within the ruling party (Sakhela Buhlungu & Ellis, 2012). This has led to the three alliance parties sharing a large number of members and leaders who belong to the same organizations. In recent times, many of COSATU members

and leaders including general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi are playing prominent roles in all three organizations.

Overlapping leadership and members is not a recent issue and some scholars, union leaders and observers have over the years raised concerns over this dual positions and wearing of two hats by union leaders. During the apartheid era leaders of COSATU affiliates SADTU like Stephen Dlamini, John Nkadimeng and Mark Shope were very instrumental in all three organizations however, there are serious challenges with overlapping leaders that is affecting the federation's power in the post 1994 period.

One of these challenges is what I refer to as representation challenge or conflict of interest. The basic knowledge of every democratic organization like COSATU is that leaders are elected or appointed by members to represent the interest of the members. In a situation where individuals are leaders of two organizations, they may find it difficult to rightly represent the interest of members especially when the two organizations share divergent interest on an issue. This explains why labour theorists argue that there is a general fragility between union-party alliances in the contemporary world and this stems from the fact that union leaders in dual position tend to be confused in terms of their representation (Khunou, 2012). An important that is mind bothering is that, how would a COSATU leader who is also an active leader or member of ANC or SACP defend or criticise ANC government policy that is not favorable to workers but appreciated by the government? Moreover, the management of the relationship and balance of power between different networks among the three parties is usually about negotiations among different leaders who belong to the same organizations. Does it not lead to conflict of interest and uneven loyalty among the leaders? One major challenge for COSATU is that, because COSATU since the dawn of democracy finds itself in a weaker position, leaders who wear two hats tend to be more allegiant to ANC and therefore seems to make decisions that favor the government more than the federation. This perhaps partly explains why the ANC was able to passed GEAR that has consistently weakened the power of the trade unions in the post-apartheid era. In addition, loyalty of members and leaders becomes questionable. The ANC as a government stands in a better position to lure loyalty of most of the members to its side since it has more resources and opportunities for loyal members. As noted earlier key COSATU who becomes loyal to the ANC ends up occupying influential position and ministerial positions within the ANC government. This has become a weakness on the side of COSATU especially in the post 1994, illustrating

unreasonable loyalty in their political relationship with the ANC and shifting historical bases of the federation from loyalty to workers interest to loyalty to ANC

Overlap of leaders also affects the independence of COSATU to openly and sincerely criticise the government on its policies that do not favor the workers. This is why Snuki Zikalala, ANC/SACTU journalist criticize leaders who wear two hats. He argued that:

> 'The overlap of leadership will also affect the independence of the trade union. Once a political party makes a mistake, the trade union or federation will be afraid to openly criticise the political party. This is what is already happening. The federation will be compelled 'for unity's sake' to follow an unendorsed line without consulting the workers' (Zikalala, 1991, p. 45).

The argument of the independence of COSATU in the alliance system was also put forward prior to 1994 by many trade unionists who believed that COSATU might become the labour branch of the Government of National Unity (GNU) and lose its independent and ability to protect workers interest (Twala & Kompi, 2012). On a more positive note, COSATU believes that to ensure that the ANC led government implements decisions that have been agreed upon at the alliance level, it is prudent to allow the top leaders of the federation to also serve in the ruling government (Twala & Kompi, 2012). This is in sync with the idea that shouting from the outside may not always be the best strategy to confront government in power and that overlapping leadership helps to confront government from within.

4.2.5 COSATU, Tripartite Alliance and Domestic Politics

Since 1994, there have been some critical events that suggest that the alliance has been under siege especially in the events leading to the ousting of former President Thabo Mbeki through to the end of former President Jacob Zuma tenure as president of South Africa. This siege has shaken the relationship between the alliance partners and battle for space at the table of real power. These events have produced cracks within tripartite alliance and the domestic South Africa´s power structure and politics. Some of these events for example disagreement over some domestic policies have been dealt with in the segment on domestic policies in post 1994.

These series of events began when Mbazima Shilowa who became the General Secretary of COSATU in 1993, issued a seven page document in December 1994 attacking the ANC government policy shift in terms of privatization, wage freezes, tariff abolition and cuts in

social expenditure (Twala & Kompi, 2012). However, the height of these events emerged during the ANC's leadership contests at the Polokwane in December 2007. The union supported Jacob Zuma to oust Thabo Mbeki from ANC's presidency and the victory was hailed as a new era for the alliance and for the left wing allies especially COSATU and SACP (Beresford, 2009). That is, an end to the ANC's neo-liberal development projects in favour of a more left wing and socialist forces. This suggests that, there is some fluidity in the power relations among the parties to the alliance and that the balance of power is not stable but can change depending on the leadership of the party. Thus, the leadership change in Polokwane could be interpreted as swinging the balance of power in favour of left and socialist forces within the alliance represented by COSATU and SACP.

From the beginning of 2010, cracks began to emerge again within the alliance system and this also affected the power relations within the alliance and domestic South Africa politics. COSATU began a crusade against corruption, ills of greed and self-enrichment within the ranks of the alliance who supported Jacob Zuma in Polokwane. COSATU general secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, publicly condemn the ANC leadership and called for life style audit of the ANC leadership (Sakhela Buhlungu & Ellis, 2012). Vavi´s crusade against corruption in ANC government was supported COSATU's statement in June 2010 that also sought to criticise the ANC leadership on their agenda of self-enrichment and crass materialism (COSATU, 2010). This led to a friction within the alliance as the ANC's National Working Committee sought to take punitive action against the federation's secretary, which was also counteract by the federation. COSATU provided a seed grant for the formation of Corruption Watch in 2012, a non-governmental Organization that that has been critical of corruption in ANC government (Corruption Watch, 2015).

The federation publicly criticised the Zuma administration and called on the president to step down as leader of the tripartite alliance and president of the country. COSATU's general secretary, Bheki Ntshalintshali told journalists in Johannesburg on 04 Apr 2017 that "COSATU no longer believes that the president is the right person to unite and lead the movement, the [tripartite] alliance and the country," (Whittles, 2017). COSATU publicly supported the deputy president, Cyril Ramaphosa as the leader of the alliance and president of South Africa (Whittles, 2017). It is notable here that, COSATU has been very influential in regime change and domestic politics in post-apartheid government from the ejection of Thabo Mbeki to the resignation of President Jacob Zuma and the election of Cyril Ramaphosa as the newest leader of the alliance and the state. However, COSATU has consistently failed to

effectively influence policies and have been ignored on many occasions by the ANC government they pushed into power. This is what Vavi criticized about the federation been used as 'the hunter's Dogs' that catches the meat only to be brushed aside after the electoral victory. Vavi referred to the situation where before every election the federation members are fed with 'illusions' of the alliance relative importance but are consistently ignored after the electoral victory[18].

COSATU's associational power in terms of membership strength of the union has been a major factor to COSATU's influence over domestic politics and leadership succession within the alliance. A weak federation in terms of membership can be ignored by the other parties and leaders within the alliance as its members are key determining factor to the leadership succession within the alliance. This is why it is important that COSATU continues to adopt policies and strategies to attract more members into the federation, especially the informal sector who constitute a bigger portion of the post-apartheid economy. A strong COSATU is necessary for COSATU's continues future influence over the alliance leadership. It is also important for COSATU develop a more strategic political approach to influence governmental policies after leadership succession within the alliance.

4.2.6 COSATU and the Post 1994 Domestic Policy

One of the significant bases for the alliance between COSATU, SACP and ANC was to provide ANC with broad electoral votes while COSATU also gets opportunity to influence policy-making and policy implementation. That is, COSATU wanted power in ANC's government policy-making processes and the ability to pursue sanctions when necessary (Twala & Kompi, 2012). COSATU and SACP were very influential in the drawing up of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that aim at meeting the basic social and economic needs of workers and the poor in South Africa. The RDP emerged after numerous intra-alliance meetings with the alliance partners and civil society as the new 'people's programme' and rapidly became the electoral manifesto for ANC victory in 1994 (D. McKinley, Zita, & Satgar, 1996). According to Bezuidenhout (2000), COSATU made a lot of achievements in influencing certain domestic policies and constitutional provisions set out in the Workers' Rights Campaign such as:

- The Formation of the National Economic, Development and Labour Council that replaced the National Manpower Commission and the National Economic Forum.

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[18] Sunday Times 18th April 2010

- Entrenchment of workers' rights in the Bill of Rights such as right to strike and to form trade unions.
- The ratification of several international labour conventions.

Although COSATU through NEDLAC has influenced the passing of some important socially favorable legislation, the federation power has been weakened by the adoption of certain domestic policies that has constrained the limit of the union's operations. In July 1996, the ANC government unveiled its macro-economic policy known as, 'The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme' (GEAR).

COSATU vehemently opposed the adoption of GEAR because it was seen as a shift to a liberal capitalist, growth-first framework that committed South Africa to strict monetarist and privatization regime and marked-led growth strategy (D. T. McKinley, 2001). Also, GEAR was a clear departure from the RDP particularly because of the democratic processes and power that the passing of RDP gave to the alliance partners. The federation was not consulted in the passing of GEAR and the Finance Minister Trevor Manuel stated that GEAR was 'non-negotiable'. Moreover 'as a framework it places capitalist accumulation at the center of growth and development, as opposed to the prioritization of basic needs and redistribution in the RDP' (D. McKinley et al., 1996, p. 1).

COSATU's socio-economic resolution for the 6th National Congress registered their displeasure and critique of GEAR as macro-economic strategy and therefore 'rejects GEAR as an unsuitable macro-economic strategy for South Africa`s socio-economic transformation, and calls on the ANC government to adopt a developmental macro-economic framework, based on the principles of the RDP'(COSATU, 1997, p. 25).

The anxieties that the passing of GEAR created among the unions was understandable, particularly because of the precarious effects of GEAR on workers, domestic industries and the changing balance of power between unions and employers. According to COSATU the framework has the following effects:

- Increasing job losses
- Sacrificing job creation
- Reducing social services expenditure,
- Encouraging ideologically driven privatization programs
- Introducing labour market deregulation, which reduces and undermines labour standards
- Unacceptable industrial and trade policy objectives, such as accelerated tariff reductions' (COSATU, 1997, p. 25)

Given the anxieties that the adoption of GEAR created between the unions and the ANC government, one would have expected greater communication of the precarious conditions of GEAR to the union members, however COSATU's Workers Survey indicated that majority of the workers were ignorant of what GEAR was about. For example in 2004 only 33% of COSATU´s members admitted knowing what GEAR was while 67% did not know about it. The 2008 COSATU Workers Survey indicated decline in COSATU members who knew about GEAR, with just 24% compared to 74% who were ignorant of what GEAR was about (Khunou, 2012). COSATU´s poor communication of GEAR and failure to challenge GEAR in a more strategic way contradicts its core principle of the federation as a representative of its members.

Again, the information from the workers survey in 2004 and 2008 indicates COSATU´s failure to engage mass mobilization of its members or the broader civil society in a form of strikes to challenge GEAR. By engaging the members and the civil society, COSATU would have used its associational and societal power to confront the non-negotiable GEAR. As COSATU itself admitted 'GEAR was unilaterally imposed and is not cast in stone...GEAR represents a unilateral departure from the policies and principles enshrined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)' (COSATU, 1997). The ANC's imposition of GEAR clearly indicates the weakness and subordination of COSATU within the Tripartite Alliance in post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.7 COSATU's International Alliance

The main issue explored in this section is the unions' affiliation with other international unions and whether and how the affiliation has changed in post 1994 South Africa.

COSATU, since its formation has always been alien to global players and have been active in some transnational events and campaigns. However, the nature and intensity of the campaigns to some extent have changed since the end of the apartheid regime and the unbanning of political activities. The relationship between trade unions in South Africa and the global players such as International Congress of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in the period before 1994 was influenced by the unions struggle against the apartheid regime as well as the Cold War politics (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). COSATU during the period maintained its non-alignment policy but at the same time

received support and resources from the North (Southall, 1995). The unions were basically recipients of support and resources from their global partners. They were able to use these channels to influence certain actions and decisions of the apartheid regime or gathered global actions against the regime.

Until 1994, trade unions endured incessant harassment from the apartheid regime and this made many union leaders to go into exile while others operated from exile. In the 1950s and 1960s, several of the unions like SACTU that went into exile were able to use their links with the WFTU to gather support in the International Labour Organization (ILO) against South Africa´s racial federation, Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). The campaigns of these unions in exile through their global alliance subsequently led to the expelling of South Africa from the ILO in 1963 (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000).

International solidarity through financial and logistical support became more prominent for COSATU and other unions in South Africa from March 15th 1991 when COSATU appointed its first international officer (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). COSATU's international linkages also included excellent relations with regional labour movements such as the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council (SATUCC). COSATU's involvement in OATUU and SATUCC helped to revive the regional unions and led to more active campaigns for workers' rights and campaigns against repressive government.

Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa and the ending of the apartheid regime, COSATU's position as a recipient of support from its international partners has changed to a large extent to become more outward looking. COSATU's position in the post-apartheid period has become more of providing support for the struggles of other labour movements in Africa and other parts of the world. COSATU has played leadership role in campaigning, organizing and canvasing support for workers and unions in other South African countries such as Lesotho, Mauritius, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The result of this COSATU's leadership role is the Maputo Declaration on Textiles, Clothing and Leather Industries signed on May 9th 1999 (Andries Bezuidenhout & Sonthall, 2004). COSATU has also hosted several important conferences that have demonstrated its leadership status and changing role in the post 1994. The Seventh Ordinary Congress of OATUU and the conference of Southern Initiative on Globalization and Trade Union Rights (SIGTUR) held in September and October 1999 respectively have all cemented COSATU's changing position in

the post-apartheid era.

As an organization with greater experience and success, COSATU has also been actively involved with helping sub-regional social movements in Swaziland and Zimbabwe in their struggle for democracy. COSATU support for its sister neighbours has been in the form leading campaigns for workers' rights and democracy in support for the Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and provide support for pro-democracy groups and parties in Swaziland. One example of COSATU's support is the two-day strike by COSATU in 1997 in support of the Swaziland Congress of Trade Unions (SCTU) for democracy and respect of labour rights by the Swazi government (Andries Bezuidenhout & Sonthall, 2004). The federation's campaigns and protest for the sub-regional social movements have helped to draw the SADC region and global institutions attention for more effective actions.

In summary, transnational involvement is not new to trade unions in Africa, however, the union's role and position as recipient of support and operating under repressive regime has to a large extent changed since the dawn of democracy. Trade unions can now directly lobby at the WTO Seattle negotiations and are offering great deal of support to other social movements unions in the SADC region and other parts of the world.

4.2.8 COSATU in era of Globalization

One of the most significant changes that emerged in the South Africa in post 1994 was the incorporation of the country into the global political economy. South Africa´s economy during the transition period was performing well in the manufacturing sector and had strong physical, banking and human resource base. The main challenge for South Africa was to design economic strategy that can address the domestic interest of the South Africans while at the same time compete in the international market.

South entered into the global market at a time when increased 'international competition has made entry into external markets difficult, while at the same time developing countries have been forced, under GATT and other trade agreements, to open up their own domestic markets to imports' (Michie & Padayachee, 1998, p. 624). The economic policy of the ANC-led post-apartheid government was characterized by rapid trade liberalization. South Africa undertook trade liberalization program agreed to under the General Agreement on Tariffs and trade (GATT) in 1994 implemented under the WTO agreement. The South African government in 1995 proposed a major tariff cuts for the motor and the textile industries and gave

manufacturers just 8 years to adjust to the free-trade environment (Roberts, 2000). The economic policy was also characterized by privatization and this was strongly opposed by ANC's alliance partners COSATU and SACP. In spite of the continuous objections by the alliance partners, the ANC 1995 conference accepted privatization in principle of using the proceeds to support the RDP policy (Fine, 1995). Fine (1995. p.20) further opined that the support for privatization in South Africa is mostly based on sense of political compromise other than practical and principled purpose as articulated by the ANC-led government.

Capital has been the main beneficiary as productivity while South Africa has been limited by domestic and foreign capital (Michie & Padayachee, 1998). On the other hand, labour in South Africa has been a major loser in these transition processes. The changing social and economic conditions in South Africa as an effect of the incorporation have caused COSATU to loose many of its valuable members in the textile industries who played significant roles during the liberation struggle. Moreover, COSATU's influence over its political alliance has been consistently weakened as the federation has become greatly involved with the activities of government that enjoys legitimacy in the eyes of its members. While large numbers of industrial workers have lost their jobs, there have been growing numbers of skilled and professional workers.

Globalization has had more visible and articulated effects especially in the clothing and textile industries in South Africa that was previously protected and constitutes a major part of the membership profile of COSATU. The next section looks at the effects of globalization on the textile industry and how these affected workers and COSATU as an organization.

4.3 The Clothing and Textile Industry in South Africa

The South clothing and textile industry has a long history of been a significant source of employment and income to the South African economy. The industry is the eleventh largest exporter of manufactured goods and the sixth largest industry in South Africa with around 143000 employees (SACTWU, 2015). Previously a protected industry, it focused exclusively on import substitution and the domestic market before democratization and re-incorporation of South Africa into the global economy (Etienne Vlok, 2006). South Africa's textile and clothing sectors were integrated into GATT over a couple of years, from January 1995 onwards. International trade in the textile and clothing industry became subjected to the Multifibre Arrangement (MFA) in terms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

(GATT) later the World Trade Organization (WTO) and this was terminated on 1 January 2005 (Cotton SA, 2017, p. 1).

Following from the re-incorporation into the global market and WTO accession, the South African economy have become much liberalized over a period and this has resulted in rapid surge in imports particularly from Asian countries. This according to the South Africa Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SATWU), an affiliate of COSATU, has led to an unprecedented crisis within the industry such as large-scale job losses and closure of large number of domestic industries since 2002 (SACTWU, 2010). The next section explores the effects of the liberalization on the clothing and textile industry and the consequent effects on the trade unions in South Africa.

4.3.1 Effects of Globalization on the Textile Industry

One of the most damming effects of the post 1994 liberalized economy is the incessant job loss as a result of continuous liquidation, retrenchment and closure of large numbers of clothing and textile industries. In just four years, according to COSATU, the industry lost around 67 000 jobs, largely because of an increased Chinese imports. Since 2002, clothing imports from China country has risen by 480% and by 2005 trade balance with China had a deficit of R23 billion (COSATU, 2006). The **table 2** shows information on number of jobs lost in the clothing and textile industry from 1 July 2004 to 30 June 2010, according to figures obtain SALRI's job loss database.

Table 2: Breakdown of Job Losses (Clothing & Textiles): 1 July 2004 – 30 June 2010

Sector	2004-2007	2007-2010
Clothing	29113	18291
Textile	7558	9165
Footwear & leather	1132	1245
Total	37803	28701

Source: SALRI's job loss database

Again, an estimated 183 factories and an average 5 factories every month were either closed or liquidated from 1 July 2007 to 30 June 2010 (SACTWU, 2010). **Table 3** below provides information on number factories closed down and the number of workers affected by the closure and liquidations from 1 July 2007 to 30 June 2010.

Table 3: Factory Closures and Liquidations and Number of Job losses from 1 July 2007 to 30 June 2010

| Sector	Number of Closures	Number of job lost
Clothing	120	9817
Textile	43	5270
Footwear & leather	12	551
Other	8	340
Total	183	15978

Source: SALRI

The tables indicate that there were also large numbers of workers who lost their jobs even in factories that were still operational. The tables indicates that out of the estimated 28701 job losses, about 15978 were as a result of closure and liquidation of factories within the clothing and textile industries.

While job loses is increasingly challenging the clothing and textile industries, employment on the sector has been declining at higher speed. According to official employment statistics from the statistics South Africa, workers at the clothing and textiles industry dropped from 228053 in March 1996 to around 142863 by March 2005 employed around 143000. A cluster report in 2017 by Cotton SA, employment in the sector shows declining trend from 2000 (**See graph 1**).

The graph indicates a continuous and drastic decline of employment in the textile industry since 1995, after South Africa has been re-incorporated into the international trade environment. The drastic decline has been attributed to the increased garment imports that has led to decline in local garment production (Cotton SA, 2017)

Graph 1: Declining Employment (Clothing and Textile Industries).

EMPLOYMENT (NUMBER OF WORKERS)
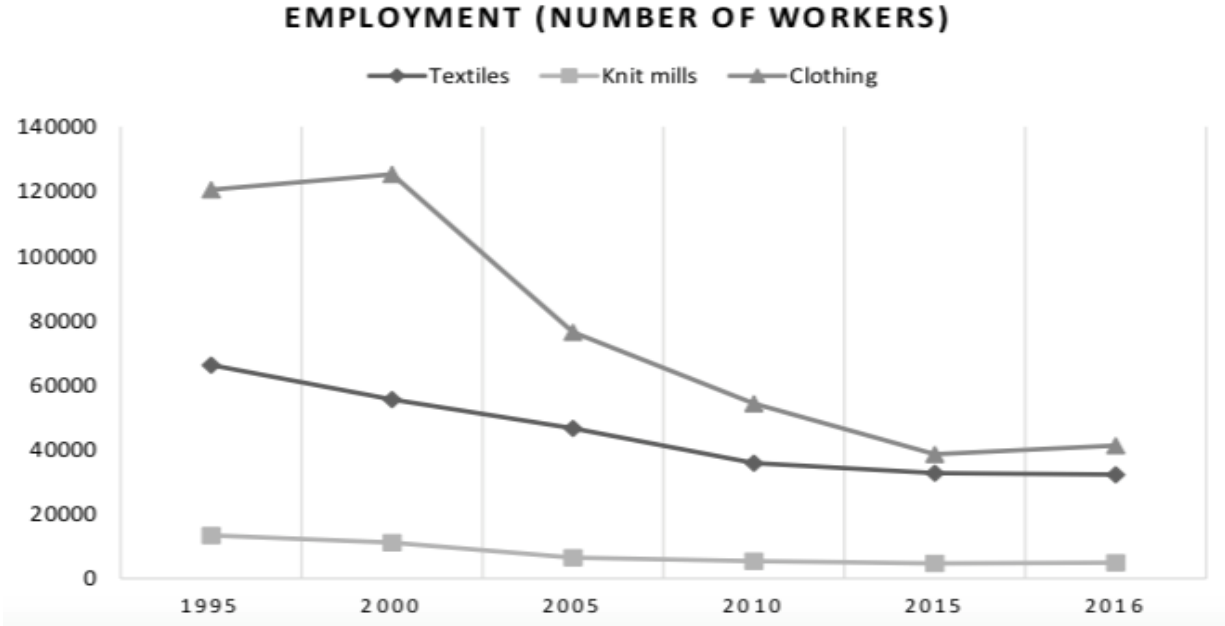
Source: Cotton SA

The post-apartheid crisis within the clothing and textile industry can be linked to various arrangements, programs and agreements, both local and international. One of the factors for this drastic decline is the various bilateral and multilateral trade agreements or blocs between the domestic textile and clothing industries and regional, sub-regional and global institutions and states. South Africa has trade agreements with neighboring Zimbabwe and Malawi, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) since 2000, the European Union (EU) since 2000, trade agreements with BRICKS, and the USA Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) since October 2000 (Cotton SA, 2017). In the case of AGOA, the fabrics and domestic textile industries were excluded from the preferential treatment. Preferential trade to the markets of certain developed countries such as the United States (US) and European Union (EU) through the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) and the SA-EU trade agreement, resulted in a significant rise in exports (Etienne Vlok, 2006, p. 232). That is, the agreements resulted in the increased clothing imports from other countries while at the same time export of domestic clothing showed no growth. **Graph 2** below on export of clothing and it indicates stagnant line in the exportation of clothing in South Africa between 1995 and 2016. A similar trend of drastic increased of import of textile products and stagnant growth between 1995 and 2016 can be observed from **graph 3** below on exports and imports of textiles in South Africa. The domestic South Africa clothing and textile industries could not compete with the influx of cheaper clothing and textile from other countries. This among

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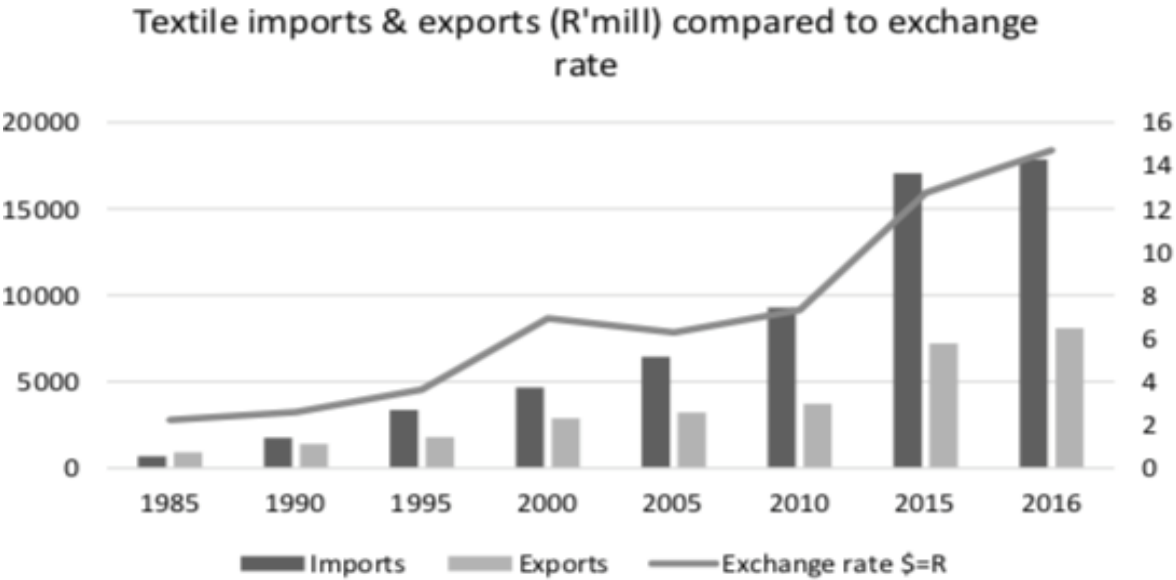other factors accounted for the closure, liquidation and retrenchment of clothing and textile industries and workers since 1995.

Graph 2:

CLOTHING TRADE (R'MILLION)

Source: Cotton SA

Graph 3: Textile Imports, Exports & Exchange rate

Textile imports & exports (R'mill) compared to exchange rate

Source: Cotton SA

Cheap clothing and textiles from Asia, particularly China, has been identified as a major cause of the declined clothing and textile industries and resulting effects of job losses, liquidation and closure of factories. Currency fluctuation coupled with substantial trade liberalization policies since WTO accession of South Africa has resulted in rapid and sustained surge in cheap imports from China and other Asian countries. **Figure 2** below indicates dramatic increase of Chinese imports, particularly clothing since 1995. South Africa´s exports to China are dominated by raw materials and capital-intensive sectors while a number of labour intensive sectors are rivaled by Chinese imports (SACTWU, 2010). This means that South Africa`s capital-intensive industries exports natural resources for China to use in labor-intensive manufacturing industries in China while China export their products back in South Africa for a big profit and threatening the domestic South African clothing and textile industries. One can argue that, while South Africa is creating more jobs in the labour intensive manufacturing sector in Asia particularly China, USA and other developed countries by increased export of raw materials in post-apartheid South Africa, the country is experiencing crisis in the clothing and textile industry because of trade liberalization policies, trade agreements and other multilateral and bilateral agreements. These developments have resulted in drastic influx of cheap products that compete and bully the local South Africa industries.

Figure 2: Clothing & Textiles Imports from China, 1995-2004
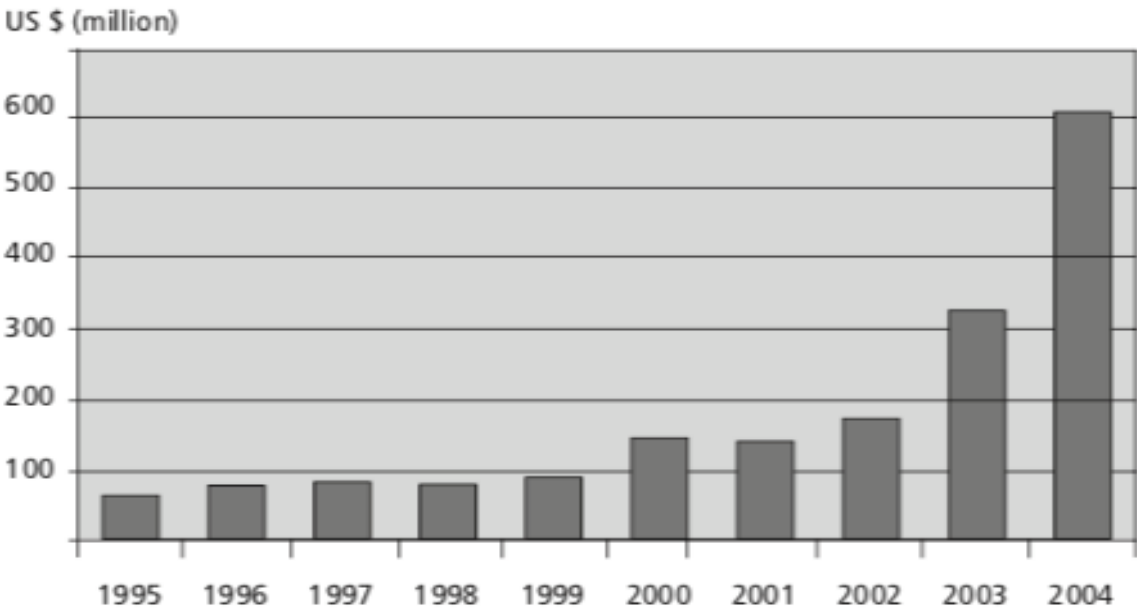
Source: www.tips.org.za

The crisis in the clothing and textile industry has also affected the power of the trade unions in post 1994South Africa. The associational powers as well as the membership profile of the trade unions have been transformed by the continuous job losses and retrenchment of workers. As noted earlier, the private sector, including the clothing and textile industry that contributed to 93% of COSATU's membership in the period before 1994, has drastically reduced to 63% in post 1994.

Moreover, the clothing and textile has been one of the major areas where the trade unions have engaged the ANC government to confront incessant job losses. The engagements of the trade unions pushed the government to introduce the quotas in a bid to deal with the menace of cheap Chinese influx or imports (Cotton SA, 2017). Although the quotas has been largely ineffective in dealing with the surge of low-cost clothing and textiles from China, the engagements with the government and international institutions reveals how a domestic trade union can influence governmental bilateral agreements and actions of global and transnational corporations.

In summary, COSATU since its formation has gone through several stages and experienced several events both before and after the dawn of democracy. These events and experiences that are both external and internal have affected and transformed the power relations of the trade union movement. Changes in the global economy, overlapping leadership, the changing profile of COSATU membership from dominant private sector membership to increased public sector membership, the tripartite Alliance with the ruling ANC government, domestic liberal policies and the changing balance of power between unions and employers as a consequences of GEAR in 1996 have all combined to affect the power of unions and their roles in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 5 The Post-Apartheid Political, Economic and Global Changes

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section discusses the changing political, economic global trend in South Africa during the process and after transition into political democratization and economic liberalization. Although there other transformations that took place during and in the process of transition, the chapter focuses on political and economic transformations that have become crucial in transforming the power and politics of post-apartheid trade unions.

The second section explores how the political, economic and globalization transforms the power and politics of trade unions in South Africa. Three main issues are discussed in the second section; shifting and the declining source of COSATU's powers, shifting politics of resistance to politics of cooperation and globalized economy as a source of declining COSATU's power.

5.1 Political Transitions and Political Change

The transition of South Africa from undemocratic apartheid regime to a multiparty democracy is perhaps one of the most successful and significant political events in the 20th Century. The transition was peaceful, democratic and racially impartial. The process of the transition and the changes that came along with the transition were very significant in terms of policy-making, governance as well as the power and politics of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa.

5.1.1 The Shift from Unilateral to Corporatist Mode

One of the first political changes that emerged with the process of the transition was the shift from unilateral control by the state on policy-making to corporatist mode of policy-making. As noted in chapter 4, when the government lifted the ban on political activities in 1990, South Africa was still governed by the Nationalist Party. There was the need for the government to engage and negotiate with the trade unions and other civil society organizations. In 1991, the government set up the National Economic Forum with the task of consulting stakeholders and trade unions on macro-economic decision choices (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). Several other commissions and forums were set up such as the National Manpower Commission, National Housing forum and the National Electricity Forum. These processes directed South Africa's political system towards participatory democracy and

corporatist engagements in policy-making. The forums and commissions became the principal vehicle for social dialogue, negotiations and table of engagements in post-apartheid South Africa.

The National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) later replaced the National Manpower Commission and the National Economic Forum and this has become an important body for negotiations and policy engagements in the post-apartheid regime. Moreover these forums set the path for the transformation of the trade unions from being resistant organizations to more cooperative and participatory organizations. While corporatism and participatory democracy expanded the trade unions institutional and structural power, it made unions important actors in transition into multi-party democracy in post-Apartheid South Africa. On the other hand, the unions have also relinquished much of their independence and compromised in many ways. This transforms the unions' style of politics and engagements. As discussed in the theory chapter, through rules and resources establish through institutions and forums, unions expand their institutional power that gives rights. However unions course of action are limited by the same institutional rules that established them (Dörre et al., 2009).

Discussions on the shifting from politics of resistance to politics of cooperation and the impacts on unions' power and politics in post-Apartheid South Africa have been elaborated in the subsequent chapters.

5.1.2 The Introduction of Political Alliance System

Another significant political change that came along with the political transition process was the introduction of political alliance systems and emergence of new and competitive trade union movements. As noted in the previous chapter, COSATU in the process of political transition in South Africa formalized an alliance system with ANC and SACP known as the 'Tripartite Alliance' to engage in negotiations and also capture political power. Apart from the tripartite alliance several other realignment also took place during this period. The alliance partners became crucial actors of policy making and competitive unions in post-apartheid era. One of such realignment eventually led to the formation of trade union federation FEDSAL, the Federation of South African Labour (FEDSAL). By 1994 FEDSAL had around 230000 members and on the 1st of April 1997 came together with other unions to form the Federation

of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA)[19]. FEDUSA emerged as a result of the alignment of COSATU with the post-apartheid ruling ANC that has been seen by growing number of employees as more compromising and weak to represent the interest of workers, hence a 'stronger, party-politically independent, non-racial and stable trade union federation' that can advance the course of members and the economy of South Africa[20]. Today FEDUSA has membership of over 540000 and has become a competitor to COSATU and a significant actor in forums like NEDLAC.

The alliance system can partly be linked to the Globalization of post-apartheid South Africa that has changed the employment relationship. Silver (2003) argues that direct attacks on trade unions by employers and the state has made it increasingly difficult for trade unions to provide and defend state´s social safety policies for its members and thereby weakening their role in the society. This has created the need for new actors like 'NGOs, employment agencies, HR consultancy firms, counselors, chaplains, health advisors/ trainers, citizens' advice bureaus, global union federations, employment arbitrators, grassroots activists and social movements, and so forth' (Cooke & Wood, 2011, p. 3). The emergence of new actors undermines the associational power of unions that were once recognized as representatives of the workers in formal bargains. This is because trade unions are likely to lose members whenever there is a new competitive union that is more articulate, proactive and able to challenge the state and employers in defence of their members. The breakaway of COSATU's largest affiliate AMCU and the emergence of unions and political parties like FEDUSA, EFF and NUM can all be linked to the perceived weakening power of COSATU to deliver to the interest of the members.

5.1.3 The Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

Another significant political change that emerged following the transition into the democratic regime was the reestablishment of diplomatic relations and readmission of South Africa into the global political economy. As discussed in the previous chapters, many countries in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean broke diplomatic relations with the apartheid regime following United Nation's General Assembly's resolution in November 1962 that imposed collective sanctions on South Africa's apartheid government (P Tlale, 1964). The Sanctions among other things included 'breaking off diplomatic relations…or refraining from establishing such relations'

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[19] For more information of FEDUSA refer https://www.fedusa.org.za/
[20] Ibid

by all member states of UN (P Tlale, 1964, p. 40). The transition into democratic regime paved way for establishment and re-establishment of diplomatic ties with other parts of the world and by 1995 South Africa had ties to about 147 countries (Rita, 1996).

The establishment and re-establishment was not only limited to the bilateral relations with the other states but as noted in chapter 4, it also included multilateral institutions such as the WTO, ILO, SADC, AU, BRICKS, UN etc. The agreements with these international multilateral institutions have also been crucial in transforming the power and politics of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa. As will be noted in the subsequent sections of this chapter, the multilateral and bilateral agreements paved way for trade and other diplomacy that affected trade unions in South Africa.

5.1.4 The Legitimacy of the post-Apartheid Regime

The final but not the least political change that came along with the transition into democratic regime and which became crucial to the transforming power and politics of trade unions is the legitimate relationship between the post-apartheid regime and the trade unions. During the apartheid era, the Nationalist Party government did not enjoy legitimacy from the trade unions because of its harassment and oppressive tactics to the leaders and members of the unions. The trade unions went through cycles of transformation through various organizations and disorganizations and these were engineered by the state. The state represented by the regime became an enemy of the unions and this led to the resistance and perceived violent nature of the trade unions in their effort to bring regime change and defence of workers' rights.

The post-apartheid government on the other hand enjoyed great deal of legitimacy from the trade unions and in fact came to power on the shoulders of trade unions like COSATU. The regime was seen as legitimate because it was seen as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. This legitimacy that the post-apartheid regime enjoyed from the trade unions was crucial to the structural, associational and institutional of powers of unions.

5.1.5 Harassment, Intimidation and Manipulation of Civil Society Organizations

One of the negative things that characterized the apartheid government is intimidation, torture and political harassment of union leaders and active members. As noted in chapter 4, many union leaders went on exile while a number of the organizations operated from exile. The collapse of the apartheid regime was a success effort of the civil society organizations and

was seen as an end to the struggle, harassment, torture and political intimidation. However, upholding workers' rights and holding the post-1994 government against corruption, public service delivery and abuse of power has often come with a price. Union leaders, members and activists who are critical of the government are often tagged as traitors, fronts of apartheid elements or pulpit of the 'West' (David Mahlobo, 2017). Some leaders and activists have been murdered while a number of them have had their businesses collapsed while being critical of the post-apartheid regime. There are suggestions that the murder of anti-mining activist Sihosiphi 'Bazooka' Rhadebe (The chairperson of the Amadiba Crisis Committee) is linked to his being critical of government mining plans in Xolobeni (D. McDonald & M. le Cordeur, 2016). The Transparency international through its corruption watch accused the post-apartheid government of withdrawing support and funding of organizations perceived as critical of the government while a number of the organizations have had their contracts withdrawn (Corruption Watch, 2018). According to the Corruption Watch (2018), the harassment, intimidation and withdrawal of government funding for organizations that are perceived as critical of the government could stifle organizational freedom and cause independent organizations to change their stands on critical government policies. This raises questions over how the intimidations affect the work of independent labour organizational leaders in post-colonial Africa?

It has also been suggested that the ANC government strategic power calculations and skillful political decentralization in post-apartheid South Africa has ensured consolidation of power and control of both state and non-state institutions (Aalen & Muriaas, 2015). This argument is based on the premise that victorious insurgent most often than not consolidate and expand their political power by building upon their former 'pre-existing wartime structures of command and control' (Lyons, 2016). The ANC commitment to subnational elections and strategic placement of the party's supporters to key state positions has become a manipulative strategy that alters COSATU's power and politics. The strategic positions in ANC government have become incentive packages to ANC's loyalist. These perhaps suggest why some union leaders have become less critical of the government and have become more cooperative other resistance. The leaders are either manipulated by the strategic positions in the ANC government or harass by the intimidation tactics of the government to support government decisions even if they disagree.

Since this research focuses on COSATU, which is in alliance with the ANC government, and is limited by time for this research, I would recommend for future research into whether and

how intimidations from authoritarian regimes affect the work of independent labour organizations especially in Africa.

5.2 Economic Transitions and Economic Change

The changes that came along with the transition of South Africa from repressive apartheid regime to democratic regime was not only limited to the political spheres but also the economic spheres. As noted in the previous chapters, South Africa did not only transit from apartheid regime to democratic regime but also transited from the apartheid era of protectionism to post-apartheid era of economic liberalization. The economic transition came with some economic changes that became significant in transforming the power and politics of trade unions in South Africa.

As noted on the section on **'COSATU in era of Globalization',** removal of economic sanctions and the incorporation of South Africa into the global economy immediately followed the transition into the democratic regime. The new government ratified economic and labour policies with multilateral institutions such as WTO, ILO, IMF, etc. and these surrendered South Africa´s economy and labour into global control and exploitation. The adoption meant ratifying of economic trade agreements such as under GATT and other trade agreements, to open up their own domestic markets to import. The incorporation into the global political economy came with different challenges such as restructuring of employment to expanding informal sector, liberalization of tariff and regulations of imports, competitions from trans-national corporations, job retrenchment etc.

In addition to the re-adoption into the global economy and the ratifying of global economic and trade agreements, the new government economic policies brought some economic changes that became crucial to unions' power and politics. Adoption of domestic macro-economic policies and the liberalization of the economy have been one of the biggest economic changes that have transformed the power and politics of the trade unions. As noted in Chapter 4, the ANC government unveiled macro-economic policy known as, 'The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme' (GEAR) in July 1996, that was seen as a shift to a liberal capitalist, growth-first framework that set South Africa on the path of strict monetarist and privatization regime and marked-led growth strategy. COSATU vehemently opposed the adoption of GEAR but as described by the Finance Minister, Trevor Manuel GEAR was 'non-negotiable'. This domestic macro-economic policy had precarious effects on workers, domestic industries and changed the balance of power between unions and

employers.

The re-adoption of South Africa, unilateral adoption of GEAR as macro-economic policy, the liberalization of trade and the acceptance of privatization as against the principles and beliefs of the trade unions, brought economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa and demonstrated the weakness of the powers of the trade union federations. The impacts of the economic change on trade unions power and politics have been incorporated into the discussions in the subsequent sections.

5.3 Shifting Powers, Politics and Operations of Trade Unions

Contrary to the popular notion that trade unions and their federations are mostly rigid and unchanging and maintains continuity with their core beliefs, history and methods of operations, a critical exploration of COSATU's power, politics and operations in the post-apartheid South Africa indicates otherwise. There are indications from this paper that suggest that trade unions are constantly changing in terms of their powers and ways of politics. That is, there are indications of declining powers of unions and changes in the operations and politics. COSATU's associational power, structural power, institutional power and societal power have constantly been declining through moments of transformation since the dawn of democracy. These transformations occur because of changes in the numerical size of the unions, changes in the profile of the membership in terms of occupations and skills, informal sector, changes in the labour market and changes in the global economy. In the case of COSATU, the changing structure of the labour market, changing domestic governmental policies, changes in the global market, internal crisis in the federation itself and changing dispensation from apartheid regime to democratic regime were influential factors to the transforming power and politics of the federation in the post-apartheid regime.

5.3.1 Shifting and the Declining Source of COSATU's Powers

COSATU since post 1994 democratic elections has used both the structural and associational power to press home their demands and interest of its members. The federation has constantly used associational power by relying on the state´s sovereign legal and democratic frameworks that guaranteed provisions on workers' rights and interest to form trade unions as well as obligations of employers to bargain collectively with trade unions (Silver, 2003). Through association or alliance with the post-apartheid government, the federation has gained institutional power by being involved in the formulation and enactments of rights and policies

that affects workers interest (Webster, 2015, p. 3). COSATU's role in NEDLAC, parliament and governmental commissions and committees expands the institutional power of the federation by offering the federation opportunity to make ensure that workers' rights and privileges are institutionalized into the constitutional provisions. As noted in the chapter 4, COSATU has made important contribution with the expansion of its institutional power since the end of the apartheid regime. In spite of the extensive use of these sources of power by COSATU, there are indications of shifting and declining powers of the federation in post 1994 South Africa.

There are indications of declining associational and structural powers since the dawn of democracy in South Africa. The profile of COSATU membership was a key source of associational and structural powers of the federation during the period before 1994 election. As noted in chapter three, COSATU explored its structural and associational power through emphasis on resistance in the form of militant action and 'ungovernability' to address the interest of its members during the apartheid regime. However, COSATU membership profile has changed since the post 1994 and the organization has become characterized by increased professionals or public sector workers, declining private sector workers and uneven gender distribution. Different categories of workers means different and often competing interest from different sectors of the economy (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012). For example, while COSATU employed militant resistance as an important instrument to deal with the apartheid government, the increased public sector or professional workers who are mostly educated has led to more engagements with formal state institutions to negotiate with the post-apartheid regime.

COSATU's uneven gender distribution in terms of leadership also affects the societal power of the federation. McAdam etal. (1996) noted that Trade unions can build societal power by influencing the public conception on existing norms to create new or discourse power through influencing public discourses around issues of justice. According to Webster et al. (2016), this requires trade unions to contest the public arena both physically in the streets, neighborhoods and the media and construct discourse that attracts public attention such as the injustices of poverty, the right to make a living, discrimination etc. The implication is that, societal power can be best explored if the informal sectors that are predominantly women are also engaged. Moreover, discourse around gender issues can be explored to attract the support of the informal sector. However, the uneven distribution of gender in leadership positions can lead to less priority giving to issues around women and thereby affecting the societal power of

COSATU in the post-apartheid regime. McGuire (2012) notes that societal power depends much on the unions mobilizing and organizing capacity and on their strategic choices on common beliefs on issues that will attract public support. Women are highly marginalized within COSATU leadership structure while solidarities within the federation are usually forged around issues that are related to the working class or professionals. The vastly marginalized women resource within the leadership structure can denial the federation an opportunity for tapping into an important source of societal power in the post-apartheid regime.

Another important issue that also affects the union source of power is the changing structure of South Africa's labour market. A common feature of South Africa´s labour market in the post-apartheid regime is the informalization of work that is noticeable in the rapid growth of vendors and homeworkers (Devey, C Skinner, & I Valodia 2002). Street vendors, taxi drivers, domestic workers, and employees of small shops have all been categorized under South Africa´s informal sector (Barrett, 1993). Employment within the informal sector increased from 965 000 in October 1997 to just over 2.3million in September 2005, which is an increase of more than 100 per cent (Devey et al., 2002). The informal sector constituted about 33 percent of the entire South Africa's labour force by 2016 (ILO, 2016)

It is important to admit that the informal sector which is mostly unorganized and diverse maybe highly difficult to incorporate into the formal structure of the union. This is because trade unions operate on membership dues, which are collected through the formal salary structure. This structure of salary payment is not available in the informal sector thereby making dues collection difficult. It is important for COSATU to adopt a more flexible approach that makes it possible for the informal sector to be incorporated into the organization. The vastly untapped informal sector is a great potential for COSATU to increase its associational power, structural and societal power by forging public discourse around the plight of the informal sector. The positions of some of the informal sector workers are vital to the economy and therefore important source of structural power for the federation. For example, strike action by taxi drivers, by their structural position in the economy, can cause the government to respond quickly to their demands.

The declining textile industry in South Africa has also affected COSATU's source of power within the private sector. The federation loses power because of the deindustrialization and the public sector dominance in the post-apartheid regime. The associational power of the

federation that thrives on increasing membership is shrinking due to the decline in the textile industries. As noted in Chapter 4, the private sector constituted a great deal of support to the federation because of their numbers in the membership data of the organization during the apartheid era. The post-apartheid regime has seen continues decline in the textile industry, which is also evident in the decline of support from the workers in the textile industry. As indicated in the previous chapter, the clothing and textile industry that contributed to 93% of COSATU's membership in the period before 1994 has drastically reduced to 63% in post 1994. The implication is that the textile industry formed an integral part of the federation's foundations, beliefs, traditions and history and that the decline of the industries indirectly affects the very foundations, roots and history on which COSATU was formed. It also suggests a betrayal of the workers groups that sacrificed their lives to form the federation for the protection of their interest, jobs and continuous operations. Moreover, it demonstrates that one of COSATU's power bases/foundations during the apartheid era has been weakened by the transitions and this can affect the power foundations of the federation.

One could argue that while there is decline in private sector membership that affects the union's power, there is also increased public sector membership in the post-apartheid era and this means that the federation is still gaining membership through other sectors of the economy. This means that the decline of the textile industry in the post-apartheid regime has not only resulted in the decline of one of the power bases of COSATU's during the apartheid era but has also resulted in shifting the power base/foundations of the federation from the dominant private sector to the public sector dominance.

In sum, while COSATU's institutional powers has expanded, though with challenges, the associational and structural powers of the federation has been weakened or shifted in terms of power foundations. The federation has not been able to explore its societal power by harnessing the numerous opportunities that has been offered by the transitions. It is therefore important that the federation adopt strategies and techniques to expand and effectively explore its associational, structural, institutional and societal powers. Some of these strategies have been explored in the next chapter.

5.3.2 Shifting Politics of Resistance to Politics of Cooperation

One of the factors that is associated with transformations that trade unions go through is the changes within the environment where they operate (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012).

The political, economic and social changes that occur in the operational base of the organization can trigger transformations in the beliefs, traditions, methods of operation, and fundamental structure of the organization. In the case of COSATU, the democratic and economic changes that South Africa has gone through since the end of the apartheid regime has influenced transformations in the politics of the federation.

The democratic regime has offered trade unions recognition as legitimate institutions with rights and responsibilities enshrined in South Africa's post-1994 democratic constitution (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012). Once democracy and its benefits of ending apartheid regime were achieved, COSATU was left with little motivation for resistance-oriented strategies against the new regime. COSATU's legacy as the largest federation of workers with strong resistance to the apartheid regime and defending the interest of worker became a subject of intense contestation.

The democracy that offered COSATU legitimacy also required the federation to resort to cooperate negotiations with formal state institutions on matters that affect the federation's interest. This has perhaps transformed COSATU's political style of resistance to one that is more cooperative. The federation has become more involved in complex negotiations and business meetings with the government. The union now had to function through formal political, economic and governmental institutions to coordinate their strategies with different actors within the democratic system. Although, this has a positive effect of getting the organization directly or indirectly involve in governmental decisions through advocacy, negotiation at NEDLAC, mass mobilization etc., its political style as a resistance movement has changed with the advent of democracy.

Moreover, as noted in Chapter 4, the numerous opportunities that accompanied democracy offered a lot of the union leaders parliamentary opportunities while the federation itself received parliamentary seats. These developments contributed to transform the federation to be more cooperative, participate in parliament and to directly influence policies. That is, the cooperative politics of COSATU offers an advantage of expanding the institutional power of the federation through direct involvement in governmental policies. However, the federation gives up and compromises on many occasions in order to cooperate with the government that enjoys legitimacy with the federation.

The cooperative political style of COSATU became 'formalized' following the tripartite

alliance between COSATU, SACP and ANC government. COSATU's occupies a marginalized position within the alliance and their role appears to be for mobilizing support for the ANC government during elections or cooperates with the government decisions in parliament. That is, the federation loses power because of the alliance and gives up their influence through political campaigns and support for the post-apartheid ANC government. As noted in chapter 4, COSATU's own discussion paper lamented over their marginalized position and inability to use organizational and political space to alter the power balance at a socio-economic level. Moreover, the alliance has created overlapping leadership and membership of the parties within the alliance and this has made loyalty to the federation and members divided. One major challenge for COSATU is that, the marginalized position of COSATU within the alliance makes leaders who wear two hats to be more allegiant to ANC and therefore seems to make decisions that favor the government more than the federation.

Also, the post-apartheid South Africa regime lacks a strong opposition that could resist government policies and decisions that are not in favour of the interest and will of the people. The absence of a strong opposition weakens South Africa's democracy and trade unions like COSATU could have filled the void as a crucial political actor to challenge the government. Unfortunately, COSATU's seems to have lost the zeal and tools with which they opposed the apartheid regime and brought democratic changes.

In short, the nature of engagements in South Africa's post-apartheid democratic regime and the tripartite alliance has transformed the politics and operations of the federation from a strong resistance political status to one that cooperates with the post-apartheid government.

5.3.3 Shifting from Single-focused Federation to Dualistic-focused Union

One of the vital areas of the federation that has been affected following the transition from apartheid to democratic regime is the role and functions of the federations. The federation, as noted in the previous chapter, was formed with single-focus role of representing and defending the rights and interest of members and to bring political and economic transformations that supports the members. The post-1994 has witnessed this key role of COSATU as defender of members to one that performs dualistic roles. The federation continues to function as the representative of members while at the same time function as key alliance partner of the government. COSATU while representing the members in NEDLAC, parliament, Commissions and in key government institutions also defend the ANC's government policy decisions. As has already been noted, this raises questions over the

independence and loyalty of the union on critical government decisions that may affect the fortunes of the government in elections but which also affects the interest of members. The federation's loss of legitimacy and subsequent breakaways are all linked to the dualistic position the federation finds itself. The dualistic role of COSATU in post-apartheid South Africa as the representative of members and as an alliance partner that supports ANC government is perceived to favour the government much more than the members' interest. The perceived weakening of COSATU's power to defend its members and workers has resulted in the springing up of new trade unions, political parties and declining membership of the federation. New trade unions such as the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), hitherto COSATU's largest affiliate, as the breakaway Amalgamated Mining and Construction Union (AMCU), the rise of EFF (Pillay, 2017).

5.4 Globalized Economy as a Source of Declining COSATU's Power

Another factor that has been key to the transforming power and politics of South Africa´s post-apartheid trade unions is the changing global political economy that is supported by South Africa´s own post-apartheid domestic policies.

As noted in chapter 4, South Africa´s economic strategy within the global political economy changed from being more of protectionist state to a more liberalized economy. The liberalization of South Africa´s post-apartheid economy had a great impact on the flourishing clothing and textile industries that hitherto constituted a major part of COSATU membership and leadership.

The liberalization South Africa meant the abolishment of administrative barriers to international movement of goods, foreign exchange restrictions, services, labour and capital controls between South Africa and the international community. The liberalization led to the proliferation of international supranational agreements like the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), the ending of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) that regulated the textile and clothing trade in December 2004. The ending of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) that regulated the textile and clothing trade in December 2004, resulted in the influx of cheap Asia´s clothing and textile products storming the South Africa's manufacturing sector and threatening the viability of the domestic textile industries. The IndustriALL Global Union an affiliate of Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) in a press statement on 4th of December 2015, lamented over the high rate of unemployment in the textile industry that has led to the

loss of an estimated 150000 jobs in the industry over the last 15 years[21]. It was believed that between 2000 and 3000 workers lose their jobs everyday within the clothing and textile industries because of the dramatic decline of the textile industry (SACTWU, 2015). This high rate of unemployment eventually affects the associational and structural powers of COSATU because, the associational of trade union as noted in the theory chapter thrive on membership while their positions in the economy expands the structural power.

Moreover, South Africa became a member of global and supra-national institutions such as WTO, IMF and other international financial institutions that has some binding agreements. These agreements compelled and controlled South Africa's domestic clothing and textile industries, domestic market, institutions and labour unions. The agreements made South Africa pliable to control and exploitation by transnational firms, foreign capital and international labour unions. South Africa's constitution and policies that forms the source of COSATU's institutional power became subjected to the global norms and agreements.

This has made it possible for multinational corporations to exercise control over trade and industrial policies of South Africa through international trade norms and binding trade treaties thereby weakening the state's sovereignty and the trade union's power. The weakening state sovereignty has also resulted in inadequacy and disagreements between COSATU and the post-apartheid state machinery. The Tripartite Alliance, which has become a united bond between COSATU and the ANC government, has also become weak by the advent of globalization. This explains why sections of COSATU members and leadership have become critical of the Alliance for following what they see as orthodox neo-liberal economic and social policy while the support for the alliance by members have been dwindling according to the COSATU workers' survey.

COSATU´s membership dropped by 324 835 in a period of three years (Genevieve Quintal, 2017). This declining power of COSATU is what Silver (2003) asserted that globalization has created a vicious circle in which weakening structural power (marketplace bargaining) undermines associational power and vice versa (Silver, 2003). The weakening of structural power by neo-liberal globalization, and the constant attack of associational power by the ideologues of the 'free market' has led to the need for new sources of power. This depends on

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[21] For reference to the press release, refer http://www.industriall-union.org/a-turnaround-for-south-africas-textile-industry

the unions' ability to design ways of counteracting the hegemonic forces.

The weakening of COSATU's power by the advent effects of globalization has also been heightened by some post-1994 domestic policies of South Africa. One of such policies is the passing of non-negotiable GEAR, an economic policy that was vehemently opposed by COSATU. The federation's weakness became exposed as they failed to resent an economic policy that is a total departure from ideologies and principles of the union and the interest of its members.

The nature of engagements in post-1994 globalized South African economy and the adoption of GEAR as a macro-economic strategy for South Africa by the new government have indeed weakened the power of COSATU and its influence over governmental policies. The adoption of GEAR for instance, have "indicated that large-scale capital and financial markets were going to remain far more influential than organized labour with regard to the making of economic policy" (Webster E & Sikwebu D, 2006). These suggest the need for unions to find different strategies to confront the hegemonic forces' foothold over domestic political, economic and social environment.

There is a counter-thesis on globalization as nemesis of labour and trade unions by scholars like Evans (2010). The argument is that, the emergence of neoliberal and globalized production threatens the domestic industries and labour from the local level to the global level but in this process created new opportunities and source of associational and structural powers for the organizations (Evans, 2010). The opportunities that come along with globalization range from restructured global confederations to new networks, new global communications technology, universal neoliberal ideologies and new orientations that can be explored by unions for revitalization. This argument suggests an important side of globalization that can be explored to the benefits of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter Summary

There are indications that suggest that the changed nature of engagements in post-apartheid democratic South Africa, the post-apartheid domestic macro-economic policies, inadequate informal sector engagements, globalization and the incorporation of South Africa into the global political economy, weak international labour solidarity, changes in union's demographics/membership and the restructuring of employment patterns have all in one way or the other combined to weaken and transform the power and politics of COSATU in post-

apartheid South Africa. Trade unions power is declining as the unions are losing grounds to the advent of globalization. Although globalization has come along with important transformations and opportunities that if well harnessed could expand the unions sources of powers but these opportunities have not been effectively and efficiently explored by trade unions.

COSATU's alliance with the post-apartheid ANC government, though has offered it opportunity to directly play some role in domestic governmental policies, has placed the federation in a subordinated position thereby limiting the federation's influence over the government policies. As South Africa's political system and the structure of the global political economy changes, it is important that trade union adopt and make changes that can allow the unions to secure new sources of power, reach new constituencies and engage new international and domestic actors. The next chapter explores some structural changes and strategies that can be explored by the unions to expand their sources of power in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 6 The Future of Labour Unions in Post-Apartheid South Africa

There are discussions among scholars and practitioners about how to strengthening the weakening post-apartheid trade unions in South Africa. This discussions highlight possible strategies that can be explored by unions to expand their powers in order to tackle problems emanating from the political, economic and global changes. This chapter explores the discussions on different strategies and structural changes trade unions can employ in the light of political, economic and social changes that are occurring both at the domestic and global level and which have transformed the power and politics of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa.

The different strategies and structural changes discussed in this chapter are based on the foundations laid on the preceding chapters.

6.1.2 Mobilization of the Informal Sector

Silver (2003) and Webster (2015) have argued that trade unions can expand their associational power to counter hegemonic forces by organizing support beyond their membership and form coalitions with civil-societies at both local and global level. Mobilizing workers in the informal sector expands the associational power and also 'allows workers' organizations to expand their membership, "capture lost members", and add to their numerical strength' (ILO, 2016, p. 4). Ultimately, increasing union membership by tapping into and engaging the informal sector provides collective voice of the workers' movement both domestically and global environment.

As noted in chapter 4 and 5, the informal sector in South Africa has increased tremendously since the ushering into democratic regime and about 33 percent of South Africa's workforce is employed in the informal economy. Although this sector is very difficult to organize or incorporate into the formal structure due to their scattered nature, diverse nature, lack of efficient labour laws for the informal sector and financial capabilities, trade unions can still adopt diverse strategies to incorporate the informal sector. Given the diverse nature of the informal sector and the challenges identified above, trade unions require multidimensional approach or strategies to engage the sector. ILO (2016.p.5) in its policy brief recommended to various labour unions strategies such as 'organizing workers from a range of sectors; focusing on specific sectors; targeting vulnerable groups, such as migrants; concentrating on particular issues, such as social security; harnessing the power of cooperatives; or promoting collective

bargaining'.

In the case of COSATU, several steps have been taken to bring together workers from variety of sectors through its affiliates that organize the informal sector. Worker's groups such as taxi-drivers, security guards, plantation and farm workers have all been mobilized into the federation through its affiliates. Moreover, COSATU's national organizing department and provincial offices have been tasked to assist street hawkers to form associations (COSATU, 2014; ILO, 2016). COSATU needs to be commended for its efforts to incorporate the informal sector although across Africa unions have several strategies of engaging the informal sector but they are often more on paper than incorporating into the labour union family.

The September Commission in 1997 report described COSATU´s membership as 'based on the on a shrinking section of the working class', and made recommendations for the union to accommodate the growing informal sector (Commission, 1997). However the federation have been unsuccessful in implementing the commission's recommendations (Webster & Buhlungu, 2004). Women still remained untapped resources that could be mobilized into the COSATU family and COSATU could forge campaigns around issues that are related to women to expand their societal power in South Africa.

Although organizing workers at the informal sector is one of the most challenging issues facing trade unions in Africa at the moment, it comes with an added advantage of

> 'renewing the trade union movement through expanding membership coverage, increasing union density among all workers in order to make unions more representative; strengthening the collective voice of workers and their bargaining rights and ability to influence social and economic policies and measures in the interests of the people; and also achieving wider and better organization that allows trade unions to provide avenues for self-assistance and mutual benefit societies among workers' (ILO, 2016, p. 5).

That is, trade unions have an opportunity to expand their associational and structural power through the organization and incorporation of the informal sector workers whose numbers have consistently been swearing up since the post 1994 South Africa.

6.1.3 Labour Union the Strength of South Africa´s Democracy

Another trend that continues to shape trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa is the declining independence of the labour union. This is so because of the marginalizing position COSATU is occupying within the tripartite alliance and the dominance of ANC over

COSATU and SACP within the alliance. The alliance was configured for political freedom and capture political power in 1994, however, the alliance is been used as an instrument by the dominant ANC government to silence the alliance partners on issues of disagreements.

Moreover, competition for the top ANC positions overlapping leadership by COSATU's leadership makes it difficult for union leaders in key governmental positions to make independent decisions especially when they are caught between the position and the interest of the workers. Union leaders in parliament always vote in favour of the ANC government and this compromised position weakens South Africa's democracy and the unions' power.

The basic knowledge of every democratic organization like COSATU is that leaders are elected or appointed by members to represent the interest of the members. In a situation where individuals are leaders of two organizations, they may find it difficult to rightly represent the interest of members especially when the two organizations share divergent interest on an issue. Labour theorists argue that there is a general fragility between union-party alliances in the contemporary world and this stems from the fact that union leaders in dual position tend to be confused in terms of their representation (Khunou, 2012). How would a COSATU leader who is also an active leader or member of ANC or SACP defend or criticise ANC government policy that is not favorable to workers but appreciated by the government?

Post-apartheid South Africa lacks a strong and formidable opposition party that could challenge the ANC government and independent COSATU could have filled this void as crucial political actors in the absence of powerful opposition parties Although COSATU was very independent from the apartheid government and defended the interest of the members during the apartheid era, the federation has found itself in a state of dilemma between the interest of workers and the interest of the post-apartheid government in the post-apartheid regime.

The study of the internationalization of the South Africa´s economy and the effects on labour unions power can also be linked to the study of how the power of South Africa´s government is changing. South Africa´s post-apartheid regime that is based on coalitions between COSATU, the communist party and the ANC forms the power block of South Africa post-apartheid democratic regime. The strength of the trade union within the alliance is crucial for the sustenance of the alliance, victory during elections and campaigning for public support on

government policies. The declining power and influence of the federation means that the power structure that is holding the current regime could be affected.

It is therefore important that the federation begins to take steps to either restructure the alliance or adopt an independent position within the post-apartheid regime. Independent COSATU is important for South Africa's own democratic growth and also important for the organization to rightly represent the interest of its members.

6.1.4 Organizational Modernization

Labour unions like COSATU in South Africa was formed during apartheid period and therefore the political, economic and social environment at the time shaped ideas, goals and interest. Globalization was not so much of a problem because of economic protectionism of South Africa in that period. This means that the adverse effect of globalization that has crippled domestic textiles industries, created high unemployment and transformed the union's power and politics was not an important issue of consideration. The federation was motivated by the desire for self-independence and protection of members' rights and interest. These conditions have changed following the democratic dispensation and globalized environment South Africa currently finds itself.

Moreover, the federation was formed under a regime that did not enjoy any legitimacy from the federation but the post 1994 ANC government enjoys legitimacy from the federation. It is important that since social, political and economic environment under which the COSATU was formed and operated has changed, the federation needs to restructure its policies and tools of operation in order to deal with modernized ways of engagements.

One of the areas that need restructuring is the leadership structure that is predominantly male. Practical provisions can be to give women some kind of quota representation in the union's leadership. As noted in chapter 4, the gender distribution of COSATU shows consistent uneven distribution against women in leadership. Although women membership in the federation has grown since post 1994, the federation less prioritizes issues that affect women because of the less women in leadership.

Creating attractive incentives and opportunity for women in the union's leadership is very important for the union to expand its societal power. The union has not successfully expanded its societal power because gender discourses that can attract support by gaining public

recognition and legitimacy for women's struggles are less prioritized by the federation. As Webster et al. (2016) noted, societal power requires trade unions to construct discourse that attracts public attention such as the injustices of poverty, the right to make a living, discrimination, women issues etc. This corresponds to Luke's third dimension of power which is ideological and is exercise by influencing wishes or desires and thoughts and even making want things that oppose their own interest (Hayward & Lukes, 2008).

Again, it is important that unions adopt systematic programme, innovations and policies for the union's modernization to meet societal changes and challenges. The September Commission (1997) made a similar recommendation for COSATU to adopt effective democratic innovations and programme that will ensure consistent renewal of the federation to deal with modern challenges. This in a way can expand the union's membership, because the union will gain legitimacy and support from the modern generation as the supporter of workers' rights.

6.1.5 Effective Internationalization and Domestic Cooperation

Globalization has created environment where South Africa's political and economic environment are controlled and dominated by global institutions and trans-national cooperation. As noted in chapter 3 structural power has been undermined by neo-liberal globalization as a result of the mobilization of world-scale reserve of labor, hypermobility of capital and the threat of outsourcing that have undermined both market-based and workplace bargaining power. Moreover, the structural power of unions has been undermined by the de-legitimization of existing trade unions in the eyes of many workers by making it increasingly difficult for these unions to deliver benefits to their members.

As noted in chapter 4, trade unions in response to the adverse effects of globalization, trade unions in South Africa have become active players in most international trade union organizations. This is noticeable in the active roles play by South Africa's trade unions in international labour organizations, financial and logistical support for the struggles of other trade unions in neighboring countries and hosting of global trade union events. An example of COSATU's response to globalization is the federation's involvement in SIGTUR, the Southern Initiative on globalization and Trade Union Rights.

It is important for trade unions in South Africa to continue with these relationships because the transnational forces that come along with globalization can be better dealt with through

transnational effort. Globalization has introduced new sources of power and institutions for transnational actions and organization at global level to deal with the nemesis of labour and trade unions power (Evans, 2010). Trade unions in South Africa can directly lobby at the WTO Seattle negotiations and offer support to other social movements unions in the SADC region and other parts of the world. Through this, unions can engage in collective effort to deal with collective challenges and also influence international policies and arrangements that can have negative effects on the union's domestic power and politics.

Domestically, trade unions can engage in effective cooperation and unity among themselves, effective co-operation with employers to deal with the changing structure of labor market and coalition with emerging social movements on issues of common grounds. As noted earlier on, globalization has brought with it new human resource management that requires closer cooperation between labour movements and employers to work through dialogue and to deal with the challenges that domestic industries face with globalization. Effective cooperation and network among unions and social movements with similar goals is important instrument for a capitalist economy that has been influenced by globalization and for social organizations like labour unions aim at suppressing of space and removal of time (Castells, 2011). Through effective cooperation with other trade unions and civil society organizations, COSATU can expand their societal power in post-apartheid ANC government to hold the government accountable and to limit the multinational corporations and globalized industries that have crippled the domestic textiles industries in South Africa. Unions can build discourses around consumers and direct the public attention to consumption of domestic products as opposed to imported textiles, building of state power, pressure the state´s regulatory mechanisms and enforcements, human rights or corruption scandals of some multinational corporations as well as post-apartheid government.

Effective internationalization and domestic cooperation can be an effective tool that can be used for expansion of institutional power of trade unions through lobbying for enactments of international and domestic laws that protects workers and industrial interest. Dörre etal. (2009) noted that intitutional power of takes social compromises and establish them by law for future economic cycles and times of altered societal power relations. Thus, unions expand their associational base domestically and internationally and get a bigger platform through cooperation to campaign for workers interest.

The table 6.1 below summarizes the strategies and techniques that can be explored by the

trade unions in post-apartheid era to expand their powers and to revitalize the powers of unions.

Table 6.1 Unions source of Powers and Strategies to Expand.

Source of Power	Strategy to Expand
Associational powers	➤ Coalition Building ➤ Revitalization of the textile industries ➤ Mobilization of the informal sector ➤ Effective membership recruitment
Structural Powers	➤ Independent of political control ➤ Organizational modernization ➤ Organizational restructuring
Institutional Powers	➤ Greater roles in international and domestic policy formulation institutions ➤ International and domestic cooperation ➤ Effective utilization of roles in NEDLAC and parliamentary opportunities
Societal Powers	➤ Mobilization of the informal sector ➤ Increasing roles of women in leadership ➤ Designing effective discourse that attracts public attention

Chapter 7 Conclusion

This paper set out to explore the transformation of labour union's power and politics as a result of political, economic and global changes in South Africa in general and in COSATU in particular. Guided by the research question, **in what ways has the attainment of democracy and the opening up of South Africa´s economy weakens or undermines the trade unions' power and politics and how does this affects the power structure of the post-apartheid democratic regime?,** the thesis provides a case study of COSATU, with focuses on the historical transitions from the apartheid regime to post-apartheid regime.

Although academics and development practitioners have often undermined the relevance of labour unions especially in Africa due to the relatively small formal sector, weak institutional channels for trade unions to operate and systematic violations of workers' rights from both governments and employers (ITUC, 2017; Obadare & Willems, 2014), labour unions in South Africa are among the most important structures through which workers and industries have brought regime change, influenced government policies, campaigned for workers' rights, electoral reforms and the current all-inclusive democratic system of government (Andries Bezuidenhout, 2000). Through unions' campaigns, meetings, negotiations, forums, conferences, media briefing and strikes, workers have channeled their grievances, pursued their specific interest and challenged government policies that is against their interest in both the apartheid and post-apartheid regimes (Harper, 1987). The trade unions have been influential in addressing issues on social accountability of economic reforms and poverty reduction of workers (S Buhlungu, 1999). At the national level unions have contributed to the entrenchment of basic labour rights in South Africa´s Bill of Rights (Webster, 1995). Trade unions have also played significant role in the first macro economic reforms in the post-apartheid regime through the formulation of the reconstruction and Development Programme (Sakhela Buhlungu & Tshoaedi, 2012).

In spite of these achievements by unions in South Africa through different political and economic regimes, not enough academic work have been carried into the practical sources of labour union's power and politics of engagements, the transformation of these sources of power and politics during the transitions from apartheid to post-apartheid regimes and finally the declining power of the labour unions and how it affects the post-apartheid democratic regime. Understanding how trade unions work, the transformations they go through and how

they are transformed by the political, economic and societal environment within which they operate is very vital both for the labour unions themselves and those who research on labour unions. Labour movements history in most developing countries are also connected to the history, political systems, political change and economic transformations of the state and therefore, the study and the conclusions are also essential for the state in which unions operate. The study of the transformation of union power and politics in South Africa provides understanding of the political, economic and societal transformations South Africa has gone through.

7.1 Global, Political and Economic Transformations on Unions Power and Politics

The global, political and economic transformations in post-apartheid South Africa and its impacts on union's power and politics bring us to the first and second sub-research questions: **In what ways has the transition of South Africa from apartheid to post-apartheid regime changed the country politically, economically and globally and how do the changes in post-apartheid South Africa transform trade union power and politics?**

Labour unions through the ages have been challenged by the fast changing society and globalized environment. Unions mostly find themselves between forces of holding on to their core beliefs and the need for change to suit the fast and competitive environment. This thesis confirms that South Africa has changed politically, economically and in terms of its global interaction and these changes have transformed COSATU´s sources of power and politics since the inception of the post-apartheid regime. The changes can be categorized into internal, that is domestic political and economic changes within South Africa itself as a state, and external, which are global interactions and agreements that supplanted the post-1994 South Africa. The political changes include transition from repressive apartheid regime to all-inclusive democratic regimes, introduction of political alliance system, establishment and reestablishment of diplomatic relations, emergence of a legitimate ANC government and the emergence of new actors (Cooke & Wood, 2011; P Tlale, 1964; Rita, 1996). Economic and global changes has to do with the change in the labour market, change from protectionist to neoliberal economic policies, adoption of GEAR as a macro-economic policies, the ratification of economic and labour policies with multilateral institutions such as WTO, ILO, IMF etc.

The thesis confirms that, there is a close relation between the political, economic and global changes in the operational environment of COSATU and the transformation of the federation's power and politics. The argument in this thesis is that the kind of political system of a state, the legitimacy of a regime, the domestic economic policies of the state and the changes in the global political environment play crucial role in the transformation of union's power and politics (See chapter 4 and 5 for more). Trade unions undergo major transformations as a result of the changes taking place in the environment within which they operate and these changes are reflected in the union's power and politics. Within the context of trade union and state relations, much also depends on how trade union choose to relate to the political party or the regime in which labour unions find themselves or the kind of alliance between party in power and the labour union. Political alliance between COSATU and ruling ANC government is a crucial point of engagements and a source of transformation for the federations' power and politics. As noted in chapter 5, the federation's politics of resistance posture has changed to politics of cooperation and one that plays direct and key roles in so many sectors of the post-apartheid regime through an alliance system. The changing COSATU's style of politicking is an indication of how COSATU politics have changed as a result of the political transition. Moreover, the federation's power has been weakened by the alliance system because of the weakened position the federation finds itself within the alliance. As argued by Robert Dahl (1961), power is relational and that different actors are able to exert influence over policy decisions depending on the resources and the position available to them. COSATU's subordinate position within the alliance means less of an impact on government policies. In another sense, the dominant position of ANC government as the biggest employer and giver of policy legitimacy in post-apartheid South Africa weakens the unions power (Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2011).

I further argued that, the democratic regime South Africa finds itself has brought democratic way of dealing with governments, which is based on constitutional means. This means that COSATU can no longer resort to strategies that is not acceptable within the new constitutions. The constitution gives institutional power within which the federation must operate and therefore the organization must operate within the established order of the constitution (Dörre et al., 2009; Webster, 2015). Dörre et al., 2009 argued that, the institutional power which is offered by the constitution in a form of rights and strategic behaviour of organizations, although gives rights and priviledges, also limits the actors course of action. COSATU uses

social dialogue as the main point of interraction between COSATU and the new ANC regime to influence institutional power and this has to do with how the federation choose to relate to the new regime. The social dialogue although offers unions a chance to influence institutional power (Taylor, 1993), means a lot of compromises by the weaker actor on the dialogue table. The COSATU's subordinate position on the dialogue table has led to the federation losing legitimacy and deemed powerless by many union members and this has led to divisions and breakaways (Webster, 2007).

An important source of transformation as noticed in this thesis is the union's alliance with the post-apartheid government. COSATU's alliance with the ruling government has an impact on the union's policies, nature of engagements, power and the political style of the union. COSATU by virtue of its alliance with the ruling ANC performs two dualistic and seemingly conflicting roles: first as the representative of the members and second as an alliance partner that supports the ruling ANC. This has offered the federation an opportunity to expand its institutional power by direct access to governmental decisions through its role in NEDLAC, parliament, commissions and forums. However the federation has suffered from crisis of rightly representing the interest of members. The union is caught between defending a government it has helped to establish and defending the interest of the members. One major problem, as noticed in the preceding chapters, is that the union occupies a subsidiary position within the alliance and the ruling government has in most cases undermined the union or refused to engage the union in vital decisions. The unilateral decision of the ANC government to pass the nonnegotiable GEAR, a macro-economic policy that affects the interest of workers and industries is an example of how COSATU is sidelined on critical decision. The fact that the union is undermined on critical governmental decision suggests the weakening of the union's power.

The dualistic role of COSATU as a representative of members and defender of ANC government in post-apartheid South Africa has affected both the power and politics of the federation. The wearing of two hats in which COSATU members and leaders use positions in the federation as a stepping-stone to gain position in the ANC government raises question over loyalty. The federation politics of resisting government decision has been weakened, as some leaders are less critical of government to gain favour and opportunity to serve in the government.

Another important source of weakening powers and politics as already discussed in the previous chapters is the economic changes that have resulted in: changing the structure of the labour market, emergence of new social movements, changes in its relations with the global market, increasing retrenchment, declining domestic industries, liberalization of the economy and increasing informal and service sector (Cooke & Wood, 2011; Rita, 1996; Silver, 2003). These changes in South Africa have weakened the associational and structural powers of the union by transforming COSATU's membership profile, weakening labour power and increasing employers' power. There is increased collapse of domestic industries and rise of job retrenchment causing the federation to lose its vital members in the domestic industrial sector who were significant in the formation and struggles of the federation. Moreover, the global and multilateral agreements South Africa finds itself in the post-apartheid regime has surrendered South Africa´s economy and labour into global control and exploitation.

In terms of the union's sources of power, the federation's structural power, which is the ability of the union to influence the economy deriving from their position in the South Africa's economy and the associational power, which is also based on the trade unions capacity to mobilize collectively its members to influence policies and governmental decisions have all been weakened by the changes in post-apartheid South Africa. The unions are failing to expand their societal power while the unions' institutional power is also vanishing due to so many domestic policies and external pressure and changes. Thus, the transformation of COSATU's power and politics has been engineered by both internal and external factors. The internal factors have to do with the domestic economic and political changes while the external factors have to do with the advent of globalization.

In terms of institutional power, COSATU's institutional powers that is based on the ability of the federation to influence policies and regulations (Webster, 2015), has been shrinking. COSATU has built institutional power by occupying strategic positions in NEDLAC, parliament and several boards in the ANC government, where unions get the opportunity to participate in formulating labour laws and conditions of workers. However, the federation's dualistic roles and leadership wearing of two hats makes it difficult for the unions to make independent decisions that could benefit workers and members. The thesis emphasises that, power as asserted by the Steven Luke's (1974) faces or dimensions of power, is about decision of the organizations to act or not to act in their relations with the government. This is particularly important with the regards to the lack of COSATU's leadership will to strike or

become critical of the regime in their bid to obtain political favors in exchange for positions. The limited will of the union leaders to act in vital situations as noticed in chapter 4, undermines and changes the federations political style and weakens its power.

An important factor to the shrinking associational, structural and societal powers of the union as discussed in this thesis has been the fast-changing and competitive globalized environment. Trade unions power is declining as the unions are losing grounds to the advent of globalization. The fast-changing and competitive globalized environment is a double-edged sword that contains both opportunities for revitalization and expansion along with threat of weakening the unions' power and politics. Although globalization has resulted in the changing the structure of the labour market, declining textile industry, reducing unions membership in terms of industrialized workers numbers, there are also opportunities that included restructured global confederations to new networks, new global communications technology, universal neoliberal ideologies and new orientations that can be explored by unions for revitalization. Trade unions significant source of strength is based on the ability to collectively mobilize membership and negotiate through their associational, societal and structural power (Wright, 2000). Globalization has also resulted in increased informal and service sector employment and it is up to the unions to design mobilization strategies to expand their membership to these new sectors and sources of associational and structural power.

In conclusion, COSATU since the end of the apartheid regime has changed from single-focused role to dualistic role, private and industrial workers dominance to public sector dominance, politics of resistance to politics of cooperation, vibrant and legitimate federation to a weakened legitimacy while the federation's associational, structural, institutional and societal powers have been weakened. These transformations are linked to the political, economic and global changes that have supplanted the transition from repressive apartheid to post-apartheid democratic regime.

7.2 Union's Power in Falling Textile Industries

The third and fourth sub-research questions explores **how the opening up of South Africa´s economy affects the textile industries and ways by which the falling textile industries transforms the labour unions' power and influence.** In chapter 4 and 5, I explored using different statistical figures, the falling clothing and textile industries in South Africa, the

various factors for the sinking trend of the industries and its impacts on the South Africa's economy and union. Detailing the declining clothing and textile industry and how this impact on the trade unions power and politics have been important especially in South Africa's context. The declining textile industry is linked to the post-apartheid neoliberal globalized policies that have resulted in the influx of cheap and competitive products. The textile industry has been weakened as many workers have lost their jobs while a number of industries have crushed out of operations. The labour unions' associational and structural power has been weakened because of these developments in the clothing and textile industries since the inception of the ANC government.

As discussed in the theory chapter, associational power of organizations thrive on mobilization capacity, representation and membership (Silver, 2003; Wright, 2000). The suffering of textile industries in terms of job losses, retrenchment and collapsing of industries (figures shown in chapter 4) has led to many union members losing their jobs or getting out of business. The effect is that the textile industry that used to contribute a lot to the unions in terms numbers do not have the capacity to contribute more members any longer. The industries were also part of the very foundational structures of the union during the formation and the struggle for liberation. The losing of members from the industries means the losing of members and weakening of the very foundational structures and powers of the federation. Although, as shown in chapter 4, there is increased membership from the public sector, the public sector was very insignificant in the foundational structures of the federation and may not fully understand and maintain continuity with the core beliefs and foundations of the federation.

The falling textile industries also weakens the structural powers of the federation in terms of their strategic position in the economy (Wright, 2000), that has been weakened by the influx of cheap products from other parts of the world. The industries built structural power by their position in the South Africa's economy during the apartheid regime. The industries could disrupt pull of the labour market and caused disruptions in the state's economy because of their vital position as a major pillar of the economy (Webster, 2015). The industry was therefore an instrument that could be used to challenge the government, disrupt government decisions and cause government to act in favour of the workers[22]. The falling of the clothing

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[22] This is based on the theory of instrumentalism that has to do with a pragmatic philosophical approach, which regards activities and actions chiefly as an instrument or tool for some practical purpose.

and textile industries since the post-apartheid regime means the weakening of the strategic position that could be a vital source of structural power for the federation. That is, the weakening of the industries as an instrument to achieve political and economic reforms weakens the workplace bargaining mechanism of the federation in post-apartheid South Africa (Wright, 2000).

The strategic position of the clothing and textile industry was used by the federation to build institutional powers by ensuring unions' participation in setting conditions of service of workers in South Africa (Webster, 2015). However, the falling textile industry as a result of the change labour market, stifled domestic policies and influx of cheap products as residuals of globalization weakens the strategic position of the union to expand its institutional powers. Institutional power is weakened when actors lose their position to influence policies and decisions of state or when actors occupy weaker positions where their submissions are undermined by dominant actors (Dörre et al., 2009).

In short, the thesis emphasises that the clothing and textile industries has suffered a great deal of decline since the end of the apartheid regime and the emergence of the ANC post-apartheid regime. This decline has weakened the associational, structural and institutional powers of the unions because of the important roles and position of the industries as sources of associational, structural and institutional powers for the unions.

7.3 Weakened Union's Powers, the implication for Domestic Power Structure and Democracy

The implications of the weakened unions' power on domestic power structure and democracy in South Africa, brings us to the final sub-research question for this thesis: **In what ways does the declining power of labour unions affect the domestic power structure of the post-apartheid democratic regime and South Africa's democracy?** The study of the political and economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa and the effects on labour unions power and politics is also linked to the study of how the power of South Africa´s post-apartheid government is changing.

South Africa´s post-apartheid regime began and thrives on coalitions between COSATU, the communist party and the ANC that forms the power block of South Africa's post-apartheid regime. The strength of the trade union within the alliance is crucial for the sustenance of the alliance, winning elections, campaigning for public support on government policies and gaining of societal power through public discourse. Unfortunately, the strength of the union within the alliance has been systematically undermined by political changes, economic changes and the current global economy that South Africa has entered into. The union's associational, structural and institutional powers, as discussed earlier on, have been weakened by these developments. The declining powers and influence of the federation means that an important power structure that is holding the current regime is under attack and therefore there is the need for revitalization. The thesis suggests that COSATU members, whose loyalty is not only to the organization but also the ANC government, are crucial for electoral victories and continuity of the post-apartheid regime. COSATU's loss of legitimacy and members, which is reflected in divisions and breakaways in the union (Webster, 2007), has crucial implications for current power structure and the regime.

The thesis also relates the weakened power of the union to the strength of South Africa´s post-apartheid democratic regime. As explored in chapter 4, the post-apartheid ANC government lacks opposition force that could challenge government policies and decisions. The social dialogue mechanisms at the national level have been weakened, although there are union representatives in NEDLAC, parliament and unions are consulted on wide range of issues. Union leaders are less critical of the ANC government in exchange for appointments and this weakens the South Africa´s own democratic regime. Moreover, the dualistic role of COSATU as representative of members and defender of ANC government has affected both the power and politics of the federation. Independent and politically neutral domestic organizations in South Africa are essential for out-of-control corruption, defend the constitution, democratic institutions and values (Corruption Watch, 2018). COSATU, being the biggest trade union organization in post-apartheid South Africa could act as the last line of defence by being politically neutral and act independently of ANC's government control.

It is beyond the scope of this study to fully explain the needed structural changes that COSATU and unions in general can undergo to deal with the domestic and global changes that have affected unions' power and politics. However, in order for labor movements to efficiently and effectively address the transformational challenges that unions confronted

with, the study also explored in chapter 6 discussions on the future of labour unions in post-apartheid South Africa. The discussions are reactions, based on intellectual and scholarly opinions and research, to the weakening COSATU's power and suggest ways to strengthen and expand the unions' power and politics. Effective internationalization and domestic cooperation, independent trade union, organizational modernizations, reconfiguration of organizational structure, incorporating and empowering women into the unions' leadership structure and the mobilization of the informal structure are among the important suggestions unions can undertake to strengthen and expand their powers and influence. It is also very important for any trade union to stay abreast with technological, social, economic and political changes in the environment within which they operate. As has been shown with the case of COSATU, the changes could play crucial role in transforming the union's power and politics.

It is imperative to understand that, although there are indications that suggest declining powers and influence of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa, it would be premature to suggest that the days of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa are numbered as suggested by scholars like Castells, (2011) and Guy Standing (2010) in their 'end of labour' paradigm. This is because the unions although have undergone moments of change and their sources of powers are shrinking, the changes in post-apartheid South Africa have come along with new opportunities and trends such as growing informal sector, increased public sector membership and rapidly expanding service sector employment etc. If these new trends and opportunities are well explored and harnessed by organizing them collectively into the trade union membership and leadership structure, it could provide a new path or channel for revitalization and expand trade unions powers. It is important that COSATU should not use the opportunities emanating from political changes and globalization as an excuse to overlook the negative impact of the political changes and globalization on the declining powers of unions. Both the opportunities for revitalization and the negatives impacts on trade unions power and politics should be given the necessary treatment for the survival of COSATU, a strong pillar of the post-apartheid South African regime.

Recommendation for Future Research

Since this research focused on COSATU, although an independent trade union, their active role in the current South Africa´s regime and loyalty to the regime have been a key factor to the unions power and politics. It is my recommendations that future research should focus on

labour union, which is more independent of the regime within which it operates. The following labour and organizational issues can explored by future academic work

- The transformation of union power and politics, a case of an independent labour movement
- The Organization of informal sector into union membership and leadership structures
- Strengthening Domestic industries a strategy for Labour Power
- Dealing with changing Labour markets, the possibilities and challenges for trade unions.
- Dealing with organizational deficiencies, the strategies for labour unions
- Whether and how intimidations from authoritarian regimes affect the work of independent labour organizations in post-colonial Africa

If these areas of labour are confronted and explored will not only provide important knowledge on labour movements and the fast changing environment but will also strengthen and increase unions' power and politics.

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Appendix 1 Research Design

Research Question (s)	Data Collection	Collected Data	Unit Categories/ Sizes
In what ways has the transition of South Africa from apartheid to post-apartheid regime changed the country politically, economically and globally?	1. Documentary Sources 2. Archival records	✓ Academic Literature ✓ Government white papers ✓ Statistical data ✓ COSATU Workers Survey ✓ World Bank Policy research report ✓ Discussion papers ✓ Reports by private and public research institutions	**Statistical Analysis** • Interpretation of figures • Interpretation of graphs • Comparison of figures and graphs • Linking figures and graphs to **Text analysis of data** • Coding of academic literature • Coding union's report • Coding of governmental documents • Coding of discussion papers • Coding of all other documents • Comparison of similar ideas
In what ways do changes in political and economic systems of post-apartheid South Africa transform trade union power and politics?	1. Documentary Sources 2. Archival records	✓ Academic Literature ✓ Government white papers ✓ Statistical data ✓ COSATU Workers Survey ✓ World Bank Policy research report ✓ Discussion papers ✓ Reports by private and public research institutions	**Statistical Analysis** • Interpretation of figures • Interpretation of graphs • Comparison of figures and graphs • Linking figures and graphs to **Text analysis of data** • Coding of academic literature • Coding union's report • Coding of governmental documents • Coding of discussion papers • Coding of all other

			documents • Comparison of similar ideas
How does the opening up of South Africa´s economy affect the textile industries?	1. Documentary Sources 2. Archival records	✓ Academic Literature ✓ Government white papers ✓ Statistical data ✓ COSATU Workers Survey ✓ World Bank Policy research report ✓ Discussion papers ✓ Reports by private and public research institutions	**Statistical Analysis** • Interpretation of figures • Interpretation of graphs • Comparison of figures and graphs • Linking figures and graphs to **Text analysis of data** • Coding of academic literature • Coding union's report • Coding of governmental documents • Coding of discussion papers • Coding of all other documents • Comparison of similar ideas
In what ways does the falling textile industries transforms the labour unions' power and influence?	1. Documentary Sources 2. Archival records	✓ Academic Literature ✓ Government white papers ✓ Statistical data ✓ COSATU Workers Survey ✓ World Bank Policy research report ✓ Discussion papers ✓ Reports by private and public research institutions	**Statistical Analysis** • Interpretation of figures • Interpretation of graphs • Comparison of figures and graphs • Linking figures and graphs to **Text analysis of data** • Coding of academic literature • Coding union's report • Coding of governmental documents • Coding of discussion papers • Coding of all other documents

			• Comparison of similar ideas
In what ways does the declining power of labour unions affect the domestic power structure of the post apartheid democratic regime?	1. Documentary Sources 2. Archival records	✓ Academic Literature ✓ Government white papers ✓ Statistical data ✓ COSATU Workers Survey ✓ World Bank Policy research report ✓ Discussion papers ✓ Reports by private and public research institutions	**Statistical Analysis** • Interpretation of figures • Interpretation of graphs • Comparison of figures and graphs • Linking figures and graphs to **Text analysis of data** • Coding of academic literature • Coding union's report • Coding of governmental documents • Coding of discussion papers • Coding of all other documents • Comparison of similar ideas

Appendix 2 Research Analysis

MAIN THEME	SUB-THEME	CODE	MEANING UNIT
The Transformation of Union Power and Politics: A Case of COSATU and the Textile Industries In South Africa.	Apartheid South Africa	Nature of South Africa´s Political, Economic and Global environment	Repressive regime
			Economic Protectionism
			Changing structure of Labour Market
			Growing Textile Industries
			Independent of labour unions
			Economic Protectionism
			Emergence of new and competitive unions
		Nature and activities of trade unions	Politics of resistance
			Private sector dominance
	Post-Apartheid South Africa	Nature of South Africa´s Political, Economic and Global environment	Increased service sector employment
			Increased informal sector
			Declining Textile Industries
			Adoption of GEAR
			Economic Liberalization
			Privatization
			Tripartite Alliance
		Nature and activities of trade unions	Crisis of representation
			Politics of cooperation
			Changing union membership profile
			Emergence of new and competitive unions
			Active role in governance
			Subordinate position in Alliance
	Theories of Power	Exploring Structural Power	Linking to the topic of research
		Exploring Associational Power	Linking to the topic of research
		Exploring Institutional Power	Linking to the topic of research
		Exploring Societal Power	Linking to the topic of research