



University of the Witwatersrand Discipline of Psychology

MASTERS RESEARCH REPORT

The Perceptions of Human Resources and Industrial Relations Managers on the Impact of the 2012 Marikana Incident on Industrial Relations in South Africa

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The analysis behind “The impact of Marikana on Industrial Relations in South Africa’s long and complicated. It is interesting as a research project into the psychology, sociology and politics of labour and industrial relations in South Africa. It is my belief that the Marikana 2012 labour unrest deserves treatment which transcend even beyond this paper.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

Acronyms	
AMCU	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ABSA	Amalgamated Banks of Southern Africa
Amplats	Anglo Platinum
ANC	African National Congress
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative-South Africa
BEE Black	Economic Empowerment
CAWUSA	Congregated and Allied Workers Union of South Africa
CCMA	Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DENOSA	Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
FGWU	Food and General Workers Union
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HR	Human Resources
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Money Fund
Implats	Impala Platinum
IR	Industrial Relations
ISO	International Standards Organisation
JSE	Johannesburg Stock exchange
MEWUSA	Metal and Electrical Workers Union of South Africa
MEIBC	Metal and Engineering Industries Bargaining Council
MAWU	Mouthpiece Workers union

MPRDA	Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act
NATU	National Teachers Union
NDP	National Development Plan
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NEHAWU	National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union
NIASA	Nuclear industry association of South Africa
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
PAC	Pan African Congress
PGMs	Platinum Group Metals
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Part
SACWU	South African Chemical Workers Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SASAWU	South African State and Allied Workers Union
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
SLP	Social and Labour Plan
SMME	Small Micro and Medium Enterprises
	Solidarity
SOWU	Socialist Organised Workers' Union
TAWU	Transport and Allied Workers Union of South Africa
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
Tripartite Alliance	ANC-COSATU-SACP Alliance
UDF	United Democratic Front
U.W.F.	United Workers Front
AZACTU	Azanian Congress of Trade Unions
CUSA	Council of South African Trade Unions

FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union of South Africa
FEDSAL	Federation of South African Labour
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions
GWU	General Workers Union
MACWUSA	Motor Assembly &Component Workers' Union of South
NACTU	Africa
NAAMSA	National Council of Trade Unions
UDF	National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa
	United Democratic Front

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and Rationale

This research is broadly located in the field of industrial relations. Industrial relations can be defined as the systems of institutionalising the conflict of interests between management and employees on the one hand, and between them and the State on the other (Bendix, 2010; Chinguno, 2013). It (Industrial Relations) is aimed at the enhancement of harmony and co-operation, and the minimisation of conflict in order to create an environment conducive to economic efficiency, motivation, productivity and the development of the employee (De Silva, 2012). From this definition the manifestation of industrial conflict can be perceived as an indication of the failure of the industrial relations system (Alexander, 2013; Bendix, 2010; Botiveau, 2013; Chinguno, 2013; Gentle, 2012; Hyman, 1975).

This study aims to use the 16 August 2012 Marikana labour and industrial action as an inroad from which we can understand multiple intersecting themes that constitute industrial relations (Hawkey, Sedutla, De Rebus, 2013). The focus is on what industrial relations and human resources managers perceive the impact of the events of Marikana to have been on the scope of labour and industrial relations in South Africa. Within the numerous approaches that can be used to frame the impact of Marikana and any conflict event; in this study the impact is categorised economically, politically, sociologically and with regards to group dynamics within labour and industrial relations.

The focus of this study centres on industrial relations and human resources managers perceptions the following themes of industrial relations in South Africa: (1) Stakeholder role efficacy; (2) labour-management conflict; (3) intra-union conflict and (4) and inter-union conflict as drawn from the industrial conflict which manifested in Marikana in 2012. This was achieved by focusing on the antecedents and consequences of the above mentioned themes. The consequences were then used to draw the impact of the event based on the categories given above.

In responding to the question, “What can be done about strike related violence?” from (Rycroft 2014, p. 1), it was compelling that our secondary purpose was to contribute to the pool of knowledge on the resolution and management of conflict in labour or industrial relations in South Africa. To achieve this purpose, the perceived stakeholder role efficacy was mapped against whether it matches with what the managers perceived

as the antecedents of our themes of interest. We thought that if the perceptions of stakeholder role efficacy during the Marikana event were unsatisfactory and formed part of the perceived antecedents, then the study would have gathered some data to inform the necessary role adjustments to achieve industrial peace. This is necessary since it operationalises the minimisation of conflict as contained in the definition and objectives of industrial relations herein given.

As previous research has noted that the politics, economics, psychology, and sociology attached to Marikana are key if academics and practitioners are to devise mechanisms to avoid similar events in the near future (Alexander, 2013; Bond & Mottiar, 2013; Bond, 2012; Botiveau, 2014), it is therefore necessary to briefly consider the events that surround this strike event.

1.2 Background

Studies reveal that on the surface level of antecedents, the Marikana incident was a dispute about remuneration and living conditions (Lynch, 2012; Soifer, 2013; Sorensen, 2012). Following the normal year to year practice, negotiations between representatives from both labour and employers, the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) and the Lonmin management had already commenced (Sorensen, 2012). The strike could be considered illegal in that the parties were still under the jurisdiction of a three year agreement with the implication being that both the Lonmin management and AMCU had acted outside the normal bargaining procedures (Hawkey, et. al, 2013; Samuel, 2013). Rock drillers are regarded as the workforce category that inspired this strike wave as they demanded an increase which would triple their base pay, from R4, 000 to a wage package of R 12,500 per month (Muswaka, 2014; Stewart, 2013, Stiftung, 2013). However, the norm towards settling legal wage disputes favours negotiations for inflation related pay increases (Kaufman, 1981; Hibbs, 1996; Soresen, 2012; Wiseman, 1956). This wave inspired a consistent demand across a number of surrounding platinum, coal, and gold mines (Alexander, 2012, 2013; Frankel, 2013). The sequence of this event resembles a rupture or wave as has been thoroughly captured both in Alexander (2013) and Stewart (2013). Its significance is grounded in the fact that it poses a number of questions. Firstly, it highlights the impact of both management and labour's decision to act outside the bargaining structures and secondly, it brings into question the efficacy of our industrial relations framework in institutionalising industrial conflict.

Despite some variations in the reported percentages, it has been documented that the negotiations concerning the wage dispute between the NUM and Lonmin's management reached a resolution, with mine management agreeing to pay increases of between 11% and 18% (Brand, 2014; Sorensen, 2012). Research

locates two factors that heightened opposition against this wage settlement to which the NUM had agreed on. Firstly, it was perceived as insufficient by the strikers and had excluded Rock Drill Operators (RDO's) (Stewart, 2013). With the NUM having declared their withdrawal of support for the strike going forward, Lonmin's striking workers elected a workers' committee to negotiate with the bosses, side-lining the registered unions (Ntswana, 2014; Samuel, 2013). The rock drill operators perceived that their job induced high risks and that their hard-work was not being reflected in their salaries (Soifer, 2012).

It would be trite intellectualism if any analysis of the 16 August 2012 tries to explain the event without connecting the historical traces that preceded it (Satgar, 2012). For this reason, Stewart (2013) traces the occupational history of RDO's, their possession of critical skills towards the success of the mining sector and their social power in order to paint a clear picture of events leading up to the 2012 Marikana events. Their influence in initiating work stoppages dates as far back as 1985 at the least. This, the RDO's achieved through the use of informal worker committees as they did in 1988, 1992, 1993, and 1995. In 2004, RDO's had initiated three strikes that stalled Amplats mines and this further increased their power over negotiations with management (Bruce, 2001). This brings an important factor pertaining to the re-emergence of informal worker committees which took over negotiations from the NUM during the 2012 Marikana strike incident in that it was a tradition that has been in practice long before the NUM dominated the mining sector in South Africa (Bezuidenhout, Buhlungu, Modisha & Sikwebu, 2005).

In addition, several former NUM members occupied influential positions in government and the mine management structures, and the impression created was that the NUM was sympathising with the bosses and becoming part of the establishment (Chinguno, 2013). "Workers disobeyed the union directive and viewed NUM and other unions as stooges for the employers and hence, their rejection of the unions" (Gwatidzo & Benhura, 2013, p. 9). This was a blatant grassroots perception of union-leadership inefficiency. This fuelled mistrust and suspicion between regular members and union leaders', and undermined the NUM's ability to represent workers' interests and control the means by which demands were made. This caused rifts and splits within NUM (Alexander, Lekgowa, Mmope, Sinwell, & Xezwi, 2013; Soifer, 2012).

Even though what dominated the reports about the cause of the 2012 Marikana incident was a demand for wage increases R12 500, Alexander (2012) conceived this as the manifest trigger of the event. This wild cat strike was the result of a multiplicity of factors including perceived workers abandonment by NUM during a crucial battle for decent wages and adequate housing, thus resulting in them feeling that their voices had been ignored (Hawkey, et al., 2013; Twala, 2013).

Seeing the conflict within NUM, and that the disgruntled members from NUM were not accommodated, the Association of Mining and Construction Union (AMCU) offered allegiance by supporting the wild-cat strike (Botiveau, 2014; Chinguno, 2013; Harvey, 2014; Van der Spuy & Shearing, 2014). AMCU's emergence during this strike imposed a threat to NUM (Hlatshwayo, 2013; Lynch, 2012) with the result that the conflict between NUM and AMCU escalated, and violence between members of these two unions emerged. Adversity between these unions is sustained till this date (Alexander, 2013; Soifer, 2012).

Latent causes have been reported and include the dire working conditions under which the miners work and this pools together the hazardous underground mining processes that mining companies have not improved post-apartheid (Botiveau, 2014). Included in these conditions are production-led abnormal twelve hours working shifts, an increasing prevalence of sickness because of the air composed of dust and chemicals, and the authoritarian or paternalistic nature of mining bosses and supervisors (Alexander, 2013; Southall & Melber, 2010). Thus, it is no surprise that a concern for safety was highlighted as another trigger of the event. The migrant workforce composition prevalent in the mining sector has been discussed as an additional factor which exacerbated the deterioration of working conditions and research accounts for this trend through the mining companies' utilisation of sub-contracted employees (Gwatidzo & Behnura, 2013).

It has long been established that the increased prevalence of subcontracting has undermined safety standards (Crush, Ulicki, Tseane & Van Veuren, 2001). Research shows that this structural arrangement insulates migrant workers from union protection since both their political and employment status implies that they cannot be affiliated to the union movement (Buhlungu, 2008; Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Gwatidzo & Behnura, 2013). Subcontracting has been reported to have brought another factor leading up to the Marikana 'flash point' by opening space for the exploitation of the miners through labour brokers as advocated by Crush, et al. (2001). Thus, Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout (2008) discuss the effects of the conflict created when the less paid, migrant and sub-contracted workers occupy the jobs of their permanent counterparts. Chinguno (2013) has characterised these phenomena as the result of a "Post-apartheid Workplace Order" that is suppressive to the mining workforce.

It is important to note that, in the context of the events that occurred in Marikana, we witnessed the unfolding of three industrial relations themes (management-labour conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict) in an unprecedented fashion in the South African labour relations arena. It can be seen that what started as a classical conflict between labour and management quickly reshaped into conflict internal to the union (intra-union). This provided favourable conditions for AMCU to absorb the interests of the members who defected from NUM, and this sparked the third theme of this study, inter-union conflict. According to Botiveau

(2013, p. 137) Marikana “is likely to have significant long-term political consequences for South Africa, and shows that... [it] was not just an accident but represents a new era of labour relations that will have far-reaching repercussions all the way from the mines deep underground to the top level of the state”.

The above industrial relations themes have been located within the specific case of the Marikana incident as a flashpoint from which their intersection could be referenced (Tuner, 2014). However, these themes can also be broadly located in previous research and the literature review will advance an extend view of these themes as seen in other cases.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section serves as a theoretical background for the themes of interest for this study. The themes were briefly explained in the abstract, the introduction, history and background sections and their relevance for this study was established. The prevalence of these themes, however, is not confined to the Marikana incident and this necessitates the researcher to provide evidence for their manifestation elsewhere. This shall help in grounding their antecedents and consequences as well as whether similarities could be drawn from the Marikana incident.

In the section that follows, industrial relations conflict as a broad perspective for understanding the Marikana incident is first discussed. This is accompanied by a discussion of central perspectives in industrial relations and the roles of various stakeholders. Subsequently, the researcher considers labour-management conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict.

2.2 Industrial Relations Conflict

For the purpose of this study, conflict is defined as the process whereby opposing forces, bodies, or entities in interaction perceive the other party as impeding the realisation of their aspirations (Coser, 1956; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010).

Industrial relations is defined as the system through which a relative balance is established between the interests of management and employees on the one hand, and between them and the State on the other, in relation to societal welfare. Bendix (2010) asserts that conflict arises because of the diversity of interests between parties to the labour relationship; and that this diversity creates conditions that wire the respective parties to associate their interests with their identity. In this context, this conflict of interests is traditionally between employer and employee (Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010).

It has been argued that the foundation of the conflict between labour and capital lies in the redistribution of value produced by the labour (Spector, 2004). The value transactions in labour-management operates in a twofold process and is evident during the production of goods and during the exchange of the products which labour has produced. This puts wages and profits as two distinct quantities of value; the more labour that capital is able to extract out of his workers the more surplus value the capitalist makes and the more profits are generated (Marx, 1975). This grounds the conflicting interests between the workers and employers as

the more surplus is created the more the worker perceives opportunities for increased wages whereas the employer also perceives a chance to make more profits. Conflict is reflected at a point whereby the working class display mechanisms to resist this exploitation in order to defend their own interest and this antagonism is situated at the core of value creation in a capitalist society (Harvey, 2008, 2011b). Contradictory to this antagonistic relationship, labour and capital also share some degree of dependence on each other as without capital it would be impossible for workers to have jobs and without labour capital wouldn't be able to make profits.

Efforts towards power equalisation are exhibited when workers form unions in order to create a power base to demand a fair distribution of surplus value or profit (Hyman, 1975). It is through the union that workers amass strength and power to press their wage demands dialectically opposite to the profit maximization drive and this state implies fewer profits for employers. The logical sequence of moves by the capitalists therefore will include technologies to free their operations from depending on workers in order to maximize efficiency (Chomsky, 2003). The inclusion of efficiency in this equation establishes a different form of struggle between labour and capital as efficiency implies employment of fewer people and simplified jobs and the struggle for retrenchments and layoffs ensues (Chomsky, 2003; Weiss, 1990). This reduction of workers also threatens the power of workers to resist, but dialectically improves the capitalists' competitive position (Chomsky, 1993, 1999).

However, directions in literature shift away from the traditional manifestations of labour relations conflict, and suggests that labour relations disputes even extend to union-union conflict (Anstey, 1993; Bendix, 2010; Bond & Mottiar, 2013; Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Friedman, 1987; Habib, 2007; Maree, 1998; Neethling, 2013; Simpson, 1994; Sorensen, 2012; Webster, 2013; Visser, 2013), intra-union conflict, and also intra-federation conflicts (Bendix, 2010; Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu, 2008; Bond, 2009; Buhlungu, 2009; Buhlungu, Brookes, & Wood, 2008; Macun & Buhlungu, 1996; Soifer, 2012; Webster, 2013).

At the backdrop of this section having given a background to industrial relations conflict, the following section gives the dominant conflict perspectives which primary relate to how managers or employers perceive both the manifestation and management of conflict in work settings.

2.3 Industrial Relations Conflict Perspectives

Perspectives towards conflict are important and must be mentioned if we are to add value to conflict resolution mechanisms. These perspectives represent a degree of openness an employer has for allowing

differences of interest and opinion (Robbins, 2010). There are three perspectives or approaches from which labour relations can be viewed, namely, the unitary, the pluralist, and the radical perspectives or approaches (Bendix, 2010; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010).

2.3.1 The Unitary Perspective. Scholars assert that this perspective is centred in the classic liberalism of Adam Smith (1937) and that its individualistic nature can be seen in how it denounces the necessity of collectivism (Bendix, 2010; Purcell, 1983). It proposes that the main objective of labour relations derives from the contract of employment with a goal of assured and continued income. This objective is considered a sufficient cause for employees and employers to unite, and thus, trade unions are seen as outsiders who compete with management for the attention and loyalty of workers.

From this view, decision making is the prerogative of management and workers are expected to be obedient and loyal and are not allowed to challenge managements' authority. Punishment or coercive power is justified. Scholars (Bendix, 2010; Salamon, 1998; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010; Fox, 1978; Hyman, 1975) consider this a paternalistic or authoritarian view of dealing with conflict.

2.3.2 The Radical Perspective. Scholars in this perspective adopt a Marxist view of society (Bendix, 2010; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). Conflict is perceived to reflect the economic and social inequality between capitalists and labour within a capitalist society (Soifer, 2012). The conflict in labour relations is viewed as an extension of the conflict derived socially and politically. The view is that capital and labour can never be equal.

The perspective further regards the establishment of institutions that deal with conflict as biased towards the needs and aspirations of capital since it is capitalists who have the economic power to argue for establishment of such institutions. It argues, therefore, that these institutions lack the political and moral will to challenge the practices of capital as they have been tailored by capitalists against that. They regard such as a contradiction that will face society as long as the economy is operated under capitalist principles (Bond, 2009). These institutions are therefore seen as perpetuators of the inequality between capitalists and labour (Bendix, 2010; Hyman, 1975; Ncube, 2014; Mbeki, 2019; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010).

Trade unionism is seen as the only way to provide mechanisms for collective bargaining as a continuous opposition to capitalists. This perspective establishes a class struggle between management/owners of production and labour. To some degree, this view reflects some elements of the labour relations conflict paradigm adopted by some trade unions existing in South Africa (Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010).

2.3.3 The Pluralist Perspective. The evolution of Pluralism can be accounted on the basis of the need to accommodate the interests of trade unions or the working class within the capitalist economic system (Bendix, 2010; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). It is rooted on the need to redistribute power in order to contain conflict within manageable boundaries (Bendix, 2010). The organisation is viewed as a mechanism that must afford employees the opportunity to voice their grievances if need be, and as such, conflict of interest between parties is legitimised. It therefore, acknowledges the role conflicts between managements' profit maximisation and the unions' wage maximisation (Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). These diverging interests form the basis for bargaining between management and trade unions.

This approach views trade unions as a necessary institution in order to achieve a balance of power and a way for employees to voice their demands. Conflict is encouraged to be expressed in a functional way for effective reconciliation between the parties. Whilst there are undoubtedly unions who consider themselves as working within a radical paradigm (Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010), the structure and framework of the South African Industrial Relations system, through legislation such as the Labour Relations Act, is intended to create the conditions necessary for a pluralistic approach to conflict management (Bendix, 2010). Given this consideration, it is worthwhile to briefly examine the roles that each party is expected to perform within this system. The section that follows examines these roles.

2.4 Roles of Stakeholders

As alluded to above, the labour and industrial relations bonds three central parties that have specific commitments, roles and objectives (Bendix, 2010; Hyman, 1989; Purcell, 1993). The parties to the labour relation include the government as representing state institutions; employer organisations as representatives of employers and the trade unions as representatives of the workers (Hyman, 1975; Howell, 2005; Korpi & Shalev, 1979).

2.4.1 The State.

There are two forms of state intervention in labour issues; literature distinguishes between intervention based on voluntarism or mandatorism depending on a country or society's prevailing ideology (Molusi, 2010; Loriston, 1998). Voluntarism means minimal state interference in labour relations and mandatorism refers to maximal government control of the labour relationships (Fulcher, 1991; Ratman, 1993; Molusi, 2010).

Factors necessitating state intervention include the provision of a legal framework to regulate industrial relations; inequalities which may result if economic participants are left unregulated; economic and social consequences of the conduct of industrial relations; and politics (Hopner, 2005; Korpi & Shalev, 1979).

It is also the duty of the state to protect both the employer and employee, preserve labour peace and protect society from the actions of either party. However, in performing this role, there should be no political bias to the parties (Salamon, 2000). The following is a list of duties the state should undertake to achieve the objectives highlighted above.

2.4.2 Employer. In governing the country, the state is an employer in its own right and all the duties pertaining to the management of employees (discussed shortly) become equally applicable (Chen, 2003; Molusi, 2010).

2.4.3 Legislator. The state is entrusted with the prerogative of legislating individual and collective rights of the parties to the labour relations system. Legislation may also be enacted to create collective bargaining and the necessary statutory procedures by participants to the labour relationship (Cox, 1959). At the individual level, the legislation enacted by the state seeks to protect the employee from the exploitation of employment contracts (Malcomson, 1999; Brown, Deakin & Nash, 2000). Thus, theoretically, the focus of state interventions relates to the protection of employees through the promulgation of regulations for basic conditions and health and safety; the prohibition of unfair labour practices and unfair dismissals (Streeck, 1998).

At the collective level, the government will enact regulations to allow conditions for the exercise of freedom of association, thus regulating the formation and registration of employee and employer bodies (Brown et al., 2000). This embodies the statutory establishment, facilitation and enforcement of collective bargaining between the parties as well as the subsequent creation of disputes, settlement, and grievance handling and retrenchment procedures (Bendix, 2010; Botero, Djankov, La Porta, López de Silanes, Shleifer, 2003).

2.4.4 Conciliator. The demands which this legislative role places on government include the government's provision for mediation and conciliation processes and acting as a conciliator and mediator in order to maintain industrial peace (Bendix, 2010; Botero et al., 2003). This function overlaps with the government's role as regulator and explains why government might intervene at some stages of industrial disputes and collective bargaining.

2.4.5 Regulator. To pursue this role, a state might establish an incomes policy such as the regulation of minimum wages, price ceilings and the provision of compulsory recognition and bargaining (Botero et al., 2003; Howell, 2011; Kohl & Platzer, 2007).

2.4.6 Advisor to labour and capital. This role represents state as an advisory and overseer to labour and capital to monitor developments in industrial relations by providing guidelines and by advancing innovative solutions on how labour relations should be conducted (Antoine, 2001; Bendix, 2010; Salamon, 1979, 2000).

2.4.7 The role of the judiciary. As an instrument of the state, the role of the judiciary is to assist the state to define common law pertaining to employment relationships (Forbath, 2009). This function embodies the interpretation, application and amendment of the statutes enacted by government towards the regulation of the labour relationship (Gould, 2007).

2.4.8 The role of the police. The police have no role to participate in industrial relations except for the duty to protect the public and to prevent public disturbances if crucial (Bendix, 2010). However, in carrying out this duty, the presupposition is for them to conduct unbiased procedures which protect every party to the relationship (Bendix, 2010).

2.5 Trade-unions.

The functions of trade unions can be divided between work-related roles and socio-political aims (Bendix, 2010; Flanders, 1978).

2.5.1 Work-related roles

2.5.1.2 Improvement in wages. Primarily, the role of trade unions concerns the progressive improvement of employees or members' wages. This includes ensuring that rewards are distributed fairly and that the wage structure given to employees reflects the nature of the work demands (Heady, 1970; Streeck & Hassel, 2003).

2.5.1.3 Job security. Trade unions are also concerned with ensuring that the jobs of employees are protected. In this respect, trade unions will oppose any cost cutting strategies that might have retrenchment implications for the employees and its members such as mergers,

acquisitions and restructuring. They will also oppose any introduction of work structures such as contract work and other work schedules which make it easy for employees to be retrenched. Since there is interplay in the manifestations of these roles, job security is related with the next role, job regulation.

2.5.1.4 Job regulation. Trade unions have a duty to put political pressure on the government pertaining to issues of the regulation of work (Bendix, 2010; Streeck & Hassel, 2003). This includes stipulations and procedures for structuring and compensating normal working hours, working conditions, overtime and work on public holidays, vacation leave and sick leave. They can also influence the government for an implementation of minimum or living wages for different economic sectors; creation and enactment of recruitment and promotion legislation, thus discharging their socio-political duties towards the eradication of workplace inequities (Chen, 2003; Streeck & Hassel, 2003).

2.5.1.5 Social welfare. This role can be considered as the outcomes or benefits of proper job regulation through a consultative process between the government, employers and the unions (Streeck & Hassel, 2003). The implication is that when job regulation is properly effected, sickness, accidents and deaths from the nature of work demands, processes and conditions will be averted. This means that trade unions play a key role in ensuring that safety and health measures in the workplace are properly implemented in order to enhance employee well-being. Employee social welfare is also extended to the external business environment and in this regard, trade unions have a duty of ensuring that employees would be able to maintain their living standards even after the employment contract has terminated and that the employees living conditions are proper (Salamon, 1987; Seekings, 2002, 2004). This grounds the trade unions' role in ensuring that pension benefits and provident funds, medical aids, housing, water and sanitation and social amenities such as recreational facilities are provided (Chen, 2003; Ebbinghaus, 2001; Streeck & Hassel, 2003). Streeck and Hassel (2003) posit that the success of unions in achieving these objectives depends and reflects union power.

2.5.1.6 Individual employee training and development. Trade union must ensure that individual development of employees is implemented. This relates to the moral, physical and intellectual well-being and can be achieved through social gatherings, seminars, lessons in practical affairs, opportunities for education and training, avenues for self-fulfilment in order to minimise employee stagnation and perceptions of alienation (Green, Machin & Wilkinson, 1999).

2.5.2 Socio-political aims

2.5.2.1 The eradication of unemployment, inequality and poverty. The political power of trade unions affords an opportunity to pursue socio-political goals such as the eradication of unemployment, inequality and poverty (Bendix, 2010; Habib, 1997; Ratman, 1993). These are best achieved through alliance formation with other non-governmental agencies and political parties to influence government structures towards public control and industry planning (Chen, 2003; Friedmann, 1986). In this regard, trade union may play a supportive role to the other agencies in order to create a socialist system that would institute a planned economy (Bartolini, 2000; Streeck, 1993a; Streeck & Hassel, 2003). However, authors caution that these affiliations may create a “double identity” and thus, dilute or relegate the workers’ agenda from the union role (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Chen, 2003, p. 1006; Ebbinghaus, 2002).

2.6 Employers

The overall objective of the capitalist or employer is profit maximisation and as such the roles of employers that will be discussed in this section are performed to ensure that business is profitable, growing and is sustainable (Streeck, 1987). This section therefore discusses internal and external environmental scanning, employment advisory practices, providing conflict management and resolution and training and development to employees, and facilitating negotiations and discussions between labour and capital.

2.6.1 Facilitation of negotiations and discussion. Employers are an intermediary for the implementation of legislation and procedures to promote the interests of an organisation as well as its employees. The interplay of the effect of regulations between the parties in the labour relations means that employers are situated at the centre of the interests of the government relative to business and the government relative to the majority of society (Flanders, 1970). This is why businesses cannot escape the political side of labour relations, since it is the main tool through which governments in transition focus their legislative and regulatory reforms (Streeck & Hassel, 2003; Wood, 2002).

Legislative and regulatory reforms draw another area of contention between labour and management since their perceptions towards legislation or its application thereof has been found to ground conflict since it might be perceived as either pro-labour by employers or pro-capital by employees or unions (Epstein, 1983; Eyestone, 1977; Besley & Burgess, 2002).

Thus, from the employers' side, putting in place the necessary structures and processes for labour or industrial relations conflict management and resolution structures is necessary (Bendix, 2010; Streeck & Hassel, 2003).

2.6.2 Provision of conflict management and resolution and training and development. This links with the need for the provision of short-courses for managers, employees or union members in order to be trained and developed. Effective facilitation is based on the development of interpersonal skills and effective communication, negotiation tactics, in-context group facilitation methods and understanding central concepts in finance and economics (Burchielli, 2008; Bostrom, Anson, Clawson, 1993; Wheelan, 1990).

2.6.3 Employment advisory practices. The proper application of legislation or regulations in conjunction with the provision of the necessary structures and training, requires that employers create an empowering environment wherein the personnel are able to deliver proper advisory services to labour (Bendix, 2000). When coupled with the ever-changing business and political environment, this situates the need for employers to undertake continuous management advisory training and development practices on the application of procedures and implementation of sound employment practices (Sessa & London, 2006).

2.6.4 Internal and external environmental scanning. The nature of business and the socio-economic and political landscape within which business operates is ever-changing. In order to adapt, this renders it necessary for businesses and organisations to monitor the internal and external climate that may have an impact on the workplace, with the failure to do so having possible dire economic, social and political consequences (Bendix, 2010; Choo, 2001; Hunger & Wheelen, 2003)

The roles specified above, in some sense, outline the ideal of the pluralistic approach to industrial relations. In practice, conflict over the performance of these roles is common place. The purpose of exploring industrial relations and human resources managers' perceptions of stakeholder role efficacy was in part to locate whether these roles can be linked to the strike's antecedents. Having grounded the roles of stakeholders theoretically, the following sections focus on literature for labour-management conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict to explore their antecedents and consequence.

2.7 Labour-Management Conflict

Labour-management conflict can be defined as a conflict between the interests of labour and those of management (Ashenfelter & Johnson, 1969; Coser, 1956). It reflects the diametrically opposed objectives

regarding substantive issues, wherein in the contract of employment, employers are geared towards profit maximisation, while employees are geared towards wage increments (Godard, 2000; Hibbs, 1976; Hyman, 1975; Kahn-Freund, 1954). The institutionalisation of industrial conflict, therefore, aims to achieve a balance between these interests (Dunlop 1957; Fudge & Tucker, 2004; Kaufman, 2002). Conflict institutionalisation therefore brings to the fore the function of the state, wherein both, the employer and employees are conferred the right to lock-out and the right to strike respectively (Bendix, 2010).

A strike is a ‘temporal cessation or withdrawal of work’ in order to force employers to listen to the demands of the workers, and a lock-out is an exclusion of employees from the employer’s place for the purposes of compelling the employees to accept an employer’s offer (Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). Strikes and lock-outs reflect the institutionalised means through which conflict between employer and employees manifests and is regulated (Du Toit, 2006). Research situates a number of causes of labour-management conflict which include the following:

2.7.1 Wages and fringe benefits issues. In South Africa, Europe and the United States, compensation and fringe benefits have historically been a key driver of conflict in industrial settings. The profit motive induces companies to embark on cost effective adjustments though cutting back on the frequency and size of pay raises, reducing contributions to employee health insurance and retirement plans, or embarking on retrenchments (Dunlop 1957; Fudge & Tucker, 2004; Godard, 2000; Hyman, 1975; Kahn-Freund, 1954; Kaufman, 2002). This is always met with resistance from the unions since it threatens future financial stability and welfare of employees.

2.7.2 Layoffs/dismissals. Cost cutting often implies dismissals or layoffs and conflict emerges over these pending layoffs. Conflict emerges in two ways; firstly, where it might manifest in legal proceedings, and secondly, where it has potential to manifest in strike, protest, or violence (Feldman & Scheffler, 1982; Hibbs, 1976; Sycara, 1988).

2.7.3 Working conditions. In South Africa, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act governs this part of industrial relations. Issues of conflict include inhumane conditions such as unhealthy and unsafe conditions, unreasonable working hours which employees are not paid for and leave and maternity benefits. The promulgation of the BCEA and some sections of the LRA attest to this (BCEA, 1997; LRA, 1995).

2.7.4 Dependency of management on unions. Research indicates that company managers in the mining industry have adopted a short-cut approach towards communication with the workers (Weston & Lucio, 1997; Hartford, 2012). This has been reported as characterised by a growing line management alienation of the role of communicating with workers through the dependency relationship created with the unions (Hartford, 2012; Benchmark Foundation, 2012). Some part of this communication with workers has been shifted as the sole responsibility of labour or human resources managers. Bendix (1996) cautions against this structural arrangement especially with regard to the historical perceptions associated with this role by labour. Tustin and Geldenhuys (2010) also argue against this approach by advancing that it results in an overload of the work demands of labour relations managers, and thus the reliance on trade unions for communication with workers become inevitable.

In addition to alienating workers from management, the limitation of the union dependency approach is that it is based on the majoritarian view of employee engagement and this automatically alienates the views of and feedback from minority unions (Brand, 2014). Thus, Altman (2006) asserts that unions create a split in the workforce between insiders and outsiders, with their interest largely vested in insiders. Towers (1997) perceive this as a representation gap caused by majoritarianism and thus, the consequence has been seen as the creation of an insecure workforce of outsiders (Heery & Abbott, 2000). Alexander *et al.* (2012), concludes that this arrangement renders small unions unresponsive to their members' demands. Another limitation that can trigger labour-management disputes is when the union leadership is also alienated from its own members. Management may insist on using the union as a medium of communication to employees when employees are not recognising their leadership.

From a management point of view, the dependency on unions bears significant consequences for industrial relations in South Africa. Hartford (2013) expresses that this dependency inhibits management's ability to keep in touch with employee issues and that this deficiency creates a condition wherein they cannot pick up signs of discontent from workers. Their capacity to control workers directly may be compromised by their abandonment of direct communication with the workers and this further damages the relationship.

2.7.5 Institutional failure in management. Legislation in South Africa has undergone various reforms in order to address the economic and social imbalances that were a consequence of the apartheid laws and policies (van Rensburg & Roodt, 2005). The Labour Relations Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, and the Employment Equity Act are some of the various acts that were designed to address the adverse

impacts in the work context in order to fast track industrial and social transformation. One of the legal tools through which both government and business have used to try and achieve the transformation objectives is the introduction of the Black Economic Empowerment Act (BEE). The impact of the introduction of this act would increase the recruitment, selection, placement, and promotion of black people at all levels in order to increase opportunities and improve their socio-economic status (Andrews, 2008; Fauconnier & Mathur-Helm, 2008; Marais, 2011).

However, evidence confirms that the opportunities and benefits created by the Black Economic Empowerment initiatives have mainly benefitted the upper levels of the wage bracket (Katznelson, 2005; Kovacevic, 2007; Ndletyana, 2008). Of particular importance is the fact that the employees at the upper level are those that represent employees at both the shop steward and union leadership positions (Janssens, Sefoko, van Rooyen, Agrekon, 2006). Thus, there has been a growing perception at lower wage bracket levels that BEE is addressing inclusionary concerns of the top of the employee ladder (Katznelson, 2005; Kovacevic, 2007; Satgar, 2012). This has been seen as one of the driving forces of institutional failures in management and thus has also contributed to the conflict between lower level employees and management (Reed, 1996; Gospel & Pendleton, 2003). This has been found to create and increase the gap between ordinary members and union leaders since the people who are positioned well to benefit from transformation initiatives are those at the top or authority committees of union structures.

The gap so created further erodes the interpersonal skills of both supervisors and managers since they are out of touch with the workers, thus the alienation of workers only increases as have been found in other cases (Harvey, 2014; Ratman, 1993). It is from this angle that we can conceive workers to have been increasingly frustrated over the years since their alienation from their leaders and managers has also increased (Bezuidenhout, 2000; Mattes, 2002; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004; Webster & Omar, 2003). Ideally, the first line of defence towards this alienation would have been supervisors and line managers whom would have assumed positions of union shop stewards (Botiveau, 2013). However, research supports the fact that supervisors and line managers are lured by BEE deals and promotion schemes (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2006, 2008). This creates a situation wherein they engage in the pursuit of personal benefits and neglect of ordinary workers' interests. Furthermore, when this is factored with the un-progressive migrant worker reward system practiced in the mining sector, the psychology of the conflict is more evident as perceptions unfair labour and unfair reward practices resurface.

2.7.6 Social welfare. Harvey (2014) acknowledges that the relational gaps between employees and managers, and between employees and their union leaders, can be considered as first-order causes of strikes. However, second-order causes, which relate to the social conditions and the social welfare of employees, must also be understood if we are to comprehend the full picture an event. These have been discussed in relation to the congruency of corporate social investment programmes with local development plans, municipal delivery failures and the failures of corporations to fulfil their corporate social responsibility aspect of their working licenses (Harvey, 2014).

2.7.8 Recruitment Practices: Migrant Labour. The relationship between migrant labour and mining has been standing since 1889; historically it has been characterised by low wages and the single-sex compound structures (Delius, 2014; Harington, McGlashan & Chelkowska, 2004; Hartford, 2013). The risky nature and processes of work demands in the mining sector has tended to discourage local labour and attracted labour from rural areas or neighbouring countries. The apartheid regime exacerbated these practices by ensuring that both migrant and immigrant workers could not achieve permanent employment status (Hartford, 2013; Stewart, 2013). The lack of permanent status of these workers meant that they could not enjoy full-citizenship benefits in South Africa which meant they had to return home frequently. In this way, the neglect of the demands of migrant workers is evident and this has induced a degree of vulnerability as they were foreigners (Delius, 2014; Gwatidzo & Benhura, 2013). Research reveals that they were subjected to contract work which eroded the bulk of costs associated with labour; thus, job security could not be guaranteed (Alexander, 2012, 2013; Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout, 2008). The consequence is that this system has fostered dual family structures that were difficult to maintain (Gwatidzo & Benhura, 2013). These factors combined, sustained the low wage packages and living conditions that are prevalent in the mining communities (Harington, McGlashan & Chelkowska, 2004; Hartford, 2013).

The advent of a democratic state introduced progressive legislation and policies with regard to abating some of the above issues. The abolishment of the compound or hostel system and the introduction of the living out allowance were political solutions advanced towards the moderation of these problems (Gwatidzo & Benhura, 2013). However, research shows that the impact of these interventions was not properly considered as social conditions and welfare states of employees have since deteriorated (Bezuidenhout, 2008; Hamann, 2004). As such, the current system has also been found to encourage the dual family system since the alienation of workers from their primary families encourages them to engage in secondary relationships and this squeezes their capacity to take care of either of the families (Harvey, 2014). The impact of this alienation and exploitation

has been discussed along primary and secondary consequences (Hartford, 2013; Harvey, 2014). The primary consequences relate to the inability of employees to provide for their immediate family while the inability to take care of the families back home can be considered as secondary (Alexander, 2012, 2013). This inability of employees to insulate their families from the impact of adverse social conditions has been found to encourage demands for the increase of the wage structure of employees and propensity to strike respectively (Bond, 2012; Botiveau, 2012; Edelman, 2013; Harvey, 2014).

Parallel to the structure of remuneration packages of the lower end of the wage scale, the remuneration packages of directors and executives have increased substantially and have been unjustifiably high. This wage disparity has been found to increase the perception of exploitation from workers, and thus their frustration has also been heightened (Alexander, 2007; Chidaushe, 2010; Habib & Moodley, 1997; Worden, 2011). When this state of affairs is coupled with the current South African mining economy or business model, which thrives or is centred on the employment of cheap labour with the intention of extracting maximum value, lower level miners find themselves trampled in between these two unfavourable conditions and thus the frustration further heightens. Hartford 2013) asserts ...”the migrant became significantly worse off in respect of the actual amount of remittances to their rural homes post-apartheid ... that the pattern of migrant labour super-exploitation has remained unaltered in the 18 years of democracy... the mining industry has remained a prisoner of its apartheid past in this core element of cheap labour sourced through a migrant’s punishing annual work cycle and all the social evils associated with that cycle. Despondently, no amount of employment equity plans and empowerment transactions have ventured to tamper with this spinal essence of the industry”.

Thus, it can be argued that the factors that contribute to labour-management conflict include benefits and fringe benefits, lay-offs, working conditions, dependency relationship between management and union leadership, management institutional failures, lack of social welfare consideration of workers and recruitment practices. It can be argued then that the workers perceptions of the failure of the union leadership to meet these needs will lead to internal union conflicts as would be presented in the next section.

2.8 Intra-union conflict

The concept of intra-union conflict differs from inter-union conflict or inter-organisational conflict. The types of conflicts which occur within the trade union involve no dispute between the government and trade

unions, but involve conflict within the trade union itself (ILO, 2006). However, the contribution of disputes between trade unions, the state and capital as a catalyst for intra-union conflict must be noted (Flaherty, 1983).

DeChurch and Hamilton (2007) evidence two sides of conflict and posits that it can either destroy social cohesion or it can benefit the organisation by absolving it from groupthink tendencies. De Dreu, Hanic, and Van Vianen (1999) suggest that intragroup conflict might emerge from disagreements among group members about the content of the tasks and roles being performed, including different viewpoints, ideas, and opinions (Burchielli, 2004). These differences have the potential to escalate and impair the relationships between members of the same organisation, and thus, both task or role and relational conflict between group members is established (Coser, 1956; Jehn, 1995, 1997). De Dreu and Weingart (2003a) showed that the interaction of these types of conflict thwarts performance and perceptions towards satisfaction with outcomes. It is no wonder that the impact of this interaction has been found negative on trust (Jehn, 1997; Simons & Peterson, 2000).

Dissimilar interests and beliefs in group structures might be posed by the diversity of a group's composition (Wiersema and Bantel, 1992). Priorities about future events and resource allocation commensurate to the priorities have also been found to cause intragroup conflict (Donnellon, 1993). Kabanoff (1985) argued that the manifestations of relational incompatibilities may render tensions inevitable and that conflict may also be found in groups where there is agreement regarding group goals (see also Putman & Jones, 1982).

Tasks are therefore impaired because the focus shifts attention away from tasks to defence mechanisms, power boosting, cohesion mobilisation, and thus, significantly hinders the performance of significant roles to the completion of organisational tasks (Deutshe, 1969). Jehn (1997) suggests that task-related conflict is often perceived on the level of personal attacks and that this breeds fertile ground for dislike and animosity between members. Coalitions are therefore inevitable.

Pruitt (1981) found that in relation to how conflict dialogue is managed in a group, the nature of the flow of communication has an impact on the manifestation and degree or intensity of conflict. Closed communication represses the dissent within a group and open communication allows expression and clearing of these doubts, as such, Coser (1956) asserted that the intensity of conflict within a group is a reflection its openness towards conflict dialogues.

Trade unions can be considered as a special form of interest groups that operate in industrial spaces (Bendix, 2010). Members of trade unions gather because of the need to solidify their interest and express their value proposition in numbers. One of the purposes of the formation of trade unions is to oppose employers with regard to labour practices and this includes negotiations for wage increases, improving working conditions and

protecting members against unfair dismissals (Dunlop, 1950, 1957). Another reason for the formation of a trade union is to oppose a dominant trade union which might not be addressing the needs of the entire workforce effectively. Thus, it suffices to conclude that both labour-management and inter-union conflict may inspire the formation of new trade unions. In addition, when the needs of the members of a particular union are not met, the pattern of events between labour-and-management creates conditions necessary for the manifestation of intra-union conflict (Frenkel & Kuruvilla, 1999; Gall & Fiorito, 2012). It is the development of this member-to-union need satisfaction gap which interests the study of intra-union conflict.

2.8.1 Leadership inefficacy and value shifts. Intra-union conflict as a pattern of group formation and development exists because trade unions experience similar group development dynamics with how other social formations develop (Bendix, 2010; Hyman, 1975; Morgan, 2006). To put it simple, whenever the trade union and its leadership are perceived not to address the interests of some of its members, there is a vacuum to be filled (Hartford, 2013). The causes of this vacuum have been found to be a result of the value shift of the trade union leadership which leads to a disconnection between the leadership and the ordinary members (Ntswana, 2014). Buhlungu (2003) defines value shifts as the wearing of collective solidarity to the emergence of an individualistic based value system. This disengagement from collective solidarity has been found to hinder communication between leadership and ordinary workers, thus leading to a perception of loss of touch with pertinent issues at shop-floor level (Botiveau, 2013; Kahn, Wolfe & Quinn & Snoek, 1964). Botiveau (2013, p.131) to this effect comments, “The fact that national leaders showed contempt for the strikers exacerbated the alienation and disconnect between the union and its base... Over time, this created the impression among some workers that the NUM leadership was out of touch with the rank and file”.

2.8.2 Shifts in shop-floor attitudes and the changing role of unions. Previous research has found that shop-floor value shifts occur because of a change in the mind-sets and attitudes of shop stewards, regional committees, and national union executives when they assume these positions (Guest, Peccei, & Thomas, 1993; McGuire, 1969; Metochi, 2002). It has also been found that this stems from a change of focus of agenda that comes with assuming these leadership positions (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008). However, for intra-union conflict to surface, this is balanced by a pattern of equal attitudinal and behavioural shifts at the trade union’s shop floor level (Burchielli, 2006; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). In line with Tuckman (1977), Tustin and Geldenhuys (2010) explain intra-union conflict through prejudices and disagreements which stem from incongruent value systems. Research supports this fact with regards to a misaligned prioritisation of issues between the shop floor level and their leadership which develops a shift of emphasis (Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout, 2008). A reasonable explanation of this divergence is to theorise that when members of a union

get elected as representatives or leaders, their roles change. Thus, it is reasoned that union leaders become entrusted to attend meetings with company managers and it is during these interactions that they get exposed to the realities of the other side of business operations (Clarke, Lee & Li, 2004). This creates a conflict of roles that union representatives and leaders ought to fulfil. Nelson and Quick (1997) discusses this as role incompatibilities that manifest as a consequence of the value clashes embedded with dual roles that come with being managers while at the same time being office bearers of trade unions (Justice, 2002; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). Ashwin and Clarke (2002) assert that this clash of roles is one reason why union representatives and leaders lose touch with the value propositions at the shop floor level as their position and status attracts them more towards the managerial perception of accountability (see Levi, Olson, Agnone & Kelly, 2009).

2.8.3 Break in communication, union autocracy and member disempowerment. Breaks in communication between trade unions and their members may lead to intra-union conflict (Knapp & McCroskey, 1968). Perceptions of leadership inefficacy and shifts in shop-floor attitudes and the changing role of trade unions have been found to increase the communication gap between leaders and ordinary members (Kahn et al., 1964), and in turn union communication failures have been found to heighten the levels of anxiety, frustrations, anger and negative attitudes towards union leadership (Putnam & Jones, 1982). The manifestation of dissent about union organisational processes becomes inevitable and at this stage and it has been found that union members will question the efficacy of their leadership.

A union's main function should be to protect the needs and interests of its members and the basic principle through which this is facilitated is the "workers' control" of the union (Coates & Tophan, 1974; COSATU, 1985; Bezuidenhout, Buhlungu, Hlela, Modisha & Sikwebu, 2005; Ntswana, 2014; Pillay, 2013). The operation of this principle is complemented through trade union democracy which allows every member of the trade union to have an input on the decisions adopted by the union (Strauss, 2000). The combination of proper communication structures with both the workers' control principle and democratic practices of the trade unions allows the manifestation of positive perceptions towards ownership of the union, its processes, direction and mandate (Ikeler, 2011; Klandermans, 1986; Ntswana, 2014; Ramaswamy, 1977). In this way, the democratisation of a trade union implies an increase in member participation, loyalty, and commitment to processes (Clarke, 2005; COSATU, 1986; Letki, 2004). Thus, the process encourages union leaders to increase their interaction with its members, and this includes keeping healthy feedback structures in order for the union leadership to maintain accountability towards their members (Buhlungu, 2006). Research supports the fact that the process of trade union engagement with management must be facilitated through union democratisation as a

basic condition for member empowerment (Bachrach & Botwinick, 1992; Levi et al., 2009). The driving force behind democracy is to allow members to express their dissent and for competition of ideas to flourish and to encourage constructive conflict within the ranks of the unions in order to improve services rendered to members (Hawes & Smith, 1973; Wellington, 1958). However, the communication gap cited in the previous paragraphs obstructs this positive environment and creates a situation wherein some ordinary union members feel disempowered (Turnbull, 1981; Ntswana, 2014). The communication gap, and the subsequent disempowerment, may erode the democratic structures of unions resulting in discontentment and possibly conflict.

2.8. 3 Union-leadership unresponsiveness to membership interests and lack of service delivery.

Workers join trade unions and engage in trade union activities because of the benefits associated with being a member, and the evaluative process involves an application of both an individual and group cost-benefit approach (Kelly & Kelly, 1994). The perceptions of the costs and benefits of trade union involvement are not static and keep changing in relation to the situation within which one is placed. This would therefore imply that the inclination to maintain membership and participate in union activities might change overtime depending upon the perception of the costs versus the benefits of participation at a given point in time (Klandermans, 1986b; Schnabel & Wagner, 2003). This cost-benefit evaluative process is based upon the performance of the trade union with regard to its role efficacy in meeting members' needs (Badigannavar & Kelly, 2005; Peetz, 1998). The manner in which members perceive the practices and procedures of a trade union represent reality for members. This can be labelled as the perceived prevailing psychological climate and organisational culture of the trade union and is based on all the other factors cited earlier which, in addition to its performance, include frustrations, anxiety, negative attitudes, disloyalty, and decreased commitment (Deerey, Iversen & Erwin, 1999; Schnabel & Wagner, 2003; Tustin and Geldenhuys, 2010). This affects the dynamic set of beliefs and practices that members have developed as appropriate ways of life to meet the demands of their particular occupations' (Webster et al. 1999).

2.8.4 Negative perceptions and decreased union membership commitment. The discussion of the factors leading to negative perceptions and decreased commitment of members of a trade union only suffices to explain the psycho-cognitive factors leading to intra-union conflict. These variables are the antecedents and motives behind subsequent behaviour, and in this case, to intra-union conflict. Intra-union conflict therefore is grounded on the members' negative cost-benefit evaluations of union practices that lead to them choosing to express their dissent or rather to pursue an alternative course of action which might mean forming or joining another trade union. Thus, new expectations of the ability of the new union to meet their demands will heighten the conflict within the present union (Fiorito, Gallagher & Fukami, 1988; Klandermans, 1986). Barkin (1961)

supports the notion that violating or neglecting these trade unionism cohesion-building processes and principles is a precursor to intra-union conflict and may bear dire consequences for trade unions. Subsequently, in line with the theory of group formation and development, it is inevitable that group dynamics as manifest in power struggles and coalitions will resurface (Tuckman, 1977; Wheelan, 2003). Research supports the assertion that during these stages the dominant coalition may manipulate the democratic processes, constitution or disciplinary processes to protect their positions and to advance their political needs and personal positions (Twala & Kompi, 2012). This behaviour been found to escalate resource based power struggles and sustain the rift between union leadership and ordinary members (Cumbers, 2005; Flaherty, 1983; Ikeler, 2011; Savage, 2006).

2.8.5 The influence of political and economic changes on the role of trade unions. Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout (2008) note that power and positional seeking tendencies, coupled with economic and political shifts, pre-dominate states in transition. They argue that these states are characterised by a changing nature of state political power and economic focus (Buhlungu, 1999, 2003; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004; Webster & Von Holdt, 2005). Subsequently, they maintain that this occurs concurrently with changes in employee profiles and work patterns and have found that these variables alter the scope and role of trade unions (Buhlungu, 1999).

The pursuit of trade union political affiliation and relevance has also been found to characterise states in transition (Bezuidenhout, Kenny, Masha, & Tshikalange, 1998; Chen, 2003). Clarke and Pringle (2009) validated this by comparing the ability of trade unions to represent their members' interests in countries where trade unions were led by political parties and unions that maintained their independence. Their findings suggest that in countries where trade unions were in alliance with political parties, the trade unions role was to "harmonise the interests of labour and management rather than to represent the interests of their members in opposition to management" p. 85).

Clarke and Pringle (2009) support that state transitions imply a change in the economic structure of the respective countries and this has been found to create both business and political opportunities. More importantly is that these changes transform the activities of trade unions. The consequences are that leaders of trade unions become consumed by new political parties, state and business institutions and in turn pursue their own personal aspirations (Ding, Goodall & Warner, 2002; Twala & Kompi, 2012). In addition, this results in a skills and leadership flight which creates the conditions necessary for the rank and file to perceive union positions as a gateway to political stardom or wealth creation. This is further exacerbated especially in states where political transitions have been complemented with labour reform regulations such as affirmation laws. Since the leaders of trade unions are more likely to come from the previously disadvantaged groups, they use

their positions as instruments of accumulating personal gains and upward political mobility (Twala and Kompi, 2012). This has been reported as one of the reasons for the increasing inequality gap in these states (Webster, 2001; Von Holdt, 2006). The implication of a 'politically led trade unionism detachment' from the labour force is that trade unions reach a stage where their union leaders are entangled in political party power struggles such as supporting presidential candidates and in fail to defend workers' socio-economic and labour rights (Clarke & Pringle, 2001). In simple terms, trade unions therefore become elitist and alienate their constituencies and as such abandon their accountability to them. This analysis partially mirrors the South African political and labour scenario and local research has validated these findings (Buhlungu, 1999, 2003; Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout, 2008; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004; Webster & Von Holdt, 2005; Twala & Kompi, 2012).

Buhlungu (2003) locates this lack of accountability and elitist trade unionism by arguing that labour friendly legislation and the legitimisation of centralised institutions for negotiation and consultation has fostered a corporatist trend within the union movement. The support given for this assertion is based on the fact that the bargaining structures espoused by the current labour relations dispensation adopt a secretive style towards bargaining (Brand, 2014; Harvey, 2014). This form of bargaining style diminishes the process of communication, reporting back and mandating and the consequence is that lower-level structures are alienated and disempowered (Harvey, 2014). In what Provis (1996) has termed the new business agenda, this is an important power shift for industrial relations in South Africa as institutions and legal processes have substituted the power base from ordinary employees to union representatives and have managed to transform the latter's school of thought. Buhlungu (2003) backed this assertion and argued that the union leadership skills gap was a consequence of a change of philosophy in the current union dispensation. Thus, it can be argued further that the post-apartheid political and economic changes have altered the scope of trade unionism as well as the role of traditional union leaders.

With regard to intra-union conflict, the lack of leadership accountability, alienation of the workers agenda and decreased union membership commitment have been found to inspire disloyalty and mistrust towards organisational processes, divide labour and diminish union solidarity, disturb communication with management and stall the delivery of services towards members. Another set of unintended consequences emanating from the abuse of internal processes includes the disregard of the union's institutional order by the less dominant coalitions (Botiveau, 2013); a perceived sense of inequality and injustice (Alexander, 2012, 2013); the failure of the institutional order to control the behaviour of the union members; increase in wildcat strikes and strikes/protests not initiated by the unions (Alexander, 2013; Paton, 2013); and the emergence of

destructive conflict that replaces constructive conflict disturbing the attainment of both the union and business objectives.

In the preceding paragraphs, a picture of the causes of intra-union conflict and their consequences was mapped. In the succeeding section, inter-union conflict, as the third central theme of industrial relations is considered.

2.9 Inter-Union Conflict

Radical and pluralist perspectives of industrial relation converge that labour unions and management will always be positioned against each other (Lash & Urry, 1984). This stems from acknowledging the fundamental difference of interests between the labour force and owners of capital or management and situates the traditional labour-management conflict of industrial relations (Foster, 2003). Nevertheless, the industrial relations playing fields in South Africa and other countries such as China, Indonesia and Russia, have witnessed organisations confronted with the reality of having to deal with more than one union in a single workplace (Rokhani, 2008; Tim & Pringle, 2009).

Internationally, trade unions have long been an instrument of political power (Gill, 1981). At the backdrop of South Africa's racial and discriminatory laws that instilled social and economic inequalities, the workplace has been targeted as a critical area for redressing these inequalities. The trade union movement has played a pivotal role in enforcing constitutional clauses and has had a voice in the regulation of the workplace for the benefit of the workers in order to achieve industrial transformation (Adler & Webster, 1995). Even though trade unions had differences of opinions, solidarity between them was the main force behind the attainment of both the political and institutional transformation in South Africa (COSATU, 1998). Findings with regard to trade union success in these milestones, however, support the assertion that this corporation is decreasing (Alexander, 2013; Chinguno, 2013; Nattrass & Seekings, 2006; Özler, 2007; Reddy 2013).

Reddy (2013) reports that coupled with a decline in the share of company profits that went to workers from 50% to 45%, the formal sector median income per worker had remained stagnant at R3800 between 1997 and 2011. Concurrently, the share of company profits that went to shareholders increased from 40% to 45%. This contradiction is what has led some authors to declare that workers have not been better off in the post-apartheid South Africa (Reddy, 2013; Schultz & Mbawu, 1998). Given the fact that members of trade union use a cost-benefit approach to evaluate union performance; and with a union's objective to minimize wage inequalities, it is reasonable ascertain why the persistence of huge wage disparities during the democratic

transition might be regarded as a reflection of union failure (Schultz & Mbawu, 1998). The potential for membership defection to another union and the subsequent inter-union rivalry, under these conditions, is inevitable.

2.9.1 Competition and political ideology. Inter-union conflict is a special type of intergroup conflict which arises because of the substantial disjuncture to achieving the set objectives (Bendix, 2010). Research on inter-union conflict recognises a number of causes, namely inter-union competition, membership recruitment, ideology, manipulation of legal or institutional processes, and collusion with management to undermine rival unions (Alexander, 2012, 2013; Botiveau, 2013). Alexander (2012) noticed that trade unionism had been denounced by strikers as corrupt and as working hand in hand with management (Alexander, 2012). Quoting from Botiveau (2013, p. 130). “Instances of corruption are indeed a real problem, acknowledged by the NUM itself... [and] allegations of massive benefits and abuse of office became formidable propaganda tools for the NUM’s enemies”.

Evidence of the conflict between unions has been documented both locally and internationally. In South Africa, the conflict against recognition of unions based on racial lines has been reported (Buhlungu, 2003; Friedman, 1987; Habib, 1997; Maree, 1993), whereas in China, Russia and Vietnam political ideology has stirred the inter-union conflicts (Tim & Pringle, 2009). After the 1979 declaration of the recognition of Black trade unions and their incorporation into the South African legal and institutional framework, the country experienced a rapid expansion of the formalisation of trade unionism with the mushrooming of new unions (Bendix, 2010; Friedman, 1987; Habib, 1997). In the South African landscape, unions such as FOSATU and the General Workers Union had also conflicted because of differences on union registration during the struggle to unseat the apartheid government (Bendix, 2010; Habib, 1997). Since 2001, Indonesia has also shared similar experiences (Rokhani, 2008). The rapid increase of worker unionisation at factory level meant that companies have more than one union to deal with, thus inter-union conflict was inevitable.

The banning of liberation movements in South Africa, notably the ANC and PAC gave birth to a new form of channelling the political struggle for the liberation of Black people in the country. The industrial landscape became the main area to channel this struggle and the purpose of the birth of the National Union of Mineworkers was to pursue these aims in what they referred to as the class struggle between capital and labour (Crush, 1989). The volatility of political conditions of the early 1980’s and the quest for Black people’s liberation struggle inspired the idea of a United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1982 to oppose the Nationalist Party’s apartheid government, thus political affiliation was inevitable. However, because of the failure to reach commonality between the different political ideologies from the dominant ANC-Communist aligned and the

PAC schools of thoughts, some unions refused affiliation (Bendix, 2010; Neethling, 2013). Similar ideological conflicts occurred when GWU and FOSATU refused to politically align themselves with the UDF and when COSATU entered alliance with the ANC (Habib, 1997; Maree, 1998).

Studies converge that in addition to diverging political ideologies, the fear of the loss of union's independence also predominated the conflict between unions (Callinicos, 1992; Desai & Habib, 1994; Friedman, 1987). Tim and Pringle (2009) exhibit the case of party-led trade unions in Russia, Vietnam and China to evidence loss of independence of trade unions and its consequences for ordinary members. Rokhani (2008) investigates three cases in Indonesia to support that ruling party led trade unions tend to lean towards the ideals of both company managers and the state. In addition, an ideological rift in trade unionism solidarity was evidenced in 1985 when another attempt to unite trade unions failed during the formation of COSATU when CUSA and AZACTU, which both subscribed to the Black Consciousness Movement, declined the unity call (Bendix, 2010; Habib, 2007; Lewis & Randall, 1986; Ramaphosa, 1986). The two Unions later merged to form NACTU. Bendix (2010) also showed that FEDSAL experienced conflicts between its constituent unions regarding the call to join COSATU.

2.9.2 Competition for new membership. The emergence of new unions intensifies a need to solidify their position in order to survive and this is achieved through recruitment campaigns to increase the number of their membership, which implies recruiting the same workers from the same territory (Soifer, 2012). This creates jurisdictional ambiguities and fuels the necessary condition for inter-union with an objective for survival. Bendix (2010) analysed the rivalry between SAAWU and MACWUSA and reached the same conclusion. The latest has been the deliberate action by NUMSA to recruit workers from all sectors of the economy and has caused divisions within COSATU, and has seen NUMSA battle with NUM (Steyn, 2013). Considering the effort which both the NUM and other unions put in to set up COSATU, with its driving principles of "One worker, one union one sector one industry", it was inevitable that the violation of this principle by NUMSA would cause inter-union conflict between the constituencies. Movements on the international arena have shown similar patterns with regard inter-union conflict. Dribbusch and Birke (2012) locate evidence for this phenomenon in Germany whereas Tim and Pringle (2012) explicate the Russian case.

Inter-union battles have the potential to exacerbate the inherent conflict between unions and employers. In the events leading up to the mining wage negotiations in 2013, the recency effects of the perceived Marikana victories achieved by AMCU encouraged its members to expect more resilience from its leadership in a manner that they should display less propensity for compromise with the employers. On the other hand, NUM had to tailor comeback strategies in competition (Gwatidzo & Benhura, 2013; Neethling, 2013).

The lack of workforce unity resulting from both intra-union and inter-union conflict, lack of solidarity from other unions, and the prolongation of a strike has been identified as contributors of union-union conflicts (Webster & Simpson, 1990, Anstey, 1993). This has been found to be the case when rival unions fail to find grounds for communality (Chinguno, 2013; Regini, 1992). Webster and Simpson (1990) assert that all these factors increase the striker's frustration, contributing to their loss of faith in the negotiating process (Alexander et al., 2013; Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Twala, 2013).

2.9.3 Economic policies. Economic policies adopted by government may also cause conflicts between unions (Webster and Buhlungu, 2004). Maree (1998) proposes that this relates to a lack of consultation of trade unions on matters affecting them and to whether these policies will benefit the working class. This has been found to relegate labour to a reactionary rather than proactive and effective position (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Maree, 1998). This type of conflict occurs especially between the ruling party aligned trade unions, other politically affiliated unions and the independent unions since the latter unions perceive policies adopted by the former to be anti-labour or not to be relevant to the extended social issues.

2.9.4 The neglect of bargaining processes. The willingness of employers to make concessions amidst unprotected strikes and violence has been found to intensify union rivalry (Cappelli, 1985). Given the perceived exclusionary nature of the South African bargaining system (Brand, 2014), the implications are that one union perceives that informal strategies are accepted by employers for a particular union and that they also have to incorporate informality as a consequence.

The above discussed inter-union conflict over distributive issues is crucial to industrial psychology and industrial relations because it gives us another view to conflict formation, which might be potential foundations for amendments to the existing bargaining framework. A second implication of the above accounts informs us that unions in conflict over such pertinent distributive issues are prone to sustained conflicts, especially regarding strategies for the final settlement and the implementation of the settlement. These and other issues of conflict give rise to affording conditions for sustained indifference between the unions, and as such the scope of the intensity of the conflict widens to the working environment.

The preceding paragraphs have laid the foundation for the significance of the themes of this study as was evident during the 2012 Marikana and the following section outlines the importance of understanding this significance from a human resources and industrial relations perspective in in South Africa.

2.10 Significance of the Study

The instrumental role of RDO's in the wake of the 2012 mining strike wave has been located and evidenced empirically (Alexander, 2013; Botiveau, 2013; Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012; Frankel, 2013). While Stewart (2013) locates the historical traces of RDO's informal committees and the successes of their informal influence in the mining industry, Botiveau (2013) locates the roots of the 16 August 2012 Marikana strike incident back to May 2011 when an unprotected strike resulted in nine thousand striking miners dismissed, thus, subsequently losing their NUM membership. It is important to note that this unprotected strike mirrored the historical pattern illustrated by Stewart (2013) as the miners were dissatisfied with their union's (NUM) decision to suspend their Karee Branch chairperson. As had happened in 1989, 1995, between 1997-2000, 2002, and 2004, 2011, the onset of the 16 August 2012 unprotected strike was grounded in internal battles within the NUM which was orchestrated by the same RDO's. Thus, internal battles within a union are one of the themes of this study and are herein referred to as "Intra-union Conflict".

Following this dissatisfaction of NUM members with their leadership and loss of confidence thereof, research supports that this sparked the re-emergence of militant workers' committees which later merged with the AMCU in an effort to unseat the NUM (Elsley & Mthethwa, 2014; Dames, 2013; Oboe, 2014). This establishes the second theme of this study, namely 'Inter-union Conflict'. This occurred after the NUM had declined its support for the unprotected strike which was championed by the ad hoc committees stretching from 2011 to 2012 (Botiveau, 2014; Dames, 2013). Thus, the framing of Marikana as a "Flash or an Inflection Point" from which industrial relations in South Africa witnessed the intersection of multiple themes labour-management conflict, intra-union conflict, and inter-union conflict gains justification.

It thus appears to be a worthwhile endeavour to consider how relevant stakeholders perceive and understand the impact that Marikana may have had upon the South Africa setting. Building from the literature review, it is appropriate that the analysis of this study frames its research questions in relation to the individual themes of interest of this study as listed in the next section.

2.11 Research Questions|

- What do IR managers perceive as the causes of Labour-Management conflict during the Marikana strike incident?
- How do they think labour-management conflict has impacted upon the industrial relations system?

- What do IR managers perceive as the causes of Intra-union conflict during the Marikana strike incident?
- How do they think intra-union conflict has impacted upon the industrial relations system?
- What do IR managers perceive as the causes of inter-union conflict during the Marikana incident?
- How do they think inter-union conflict has impacted upon the industrial relations system?
- How has Marikana impacted upon the labour relations system of south Africa?

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to illustrate to the reader the steps taken by the researcher into answering the research questions. These aspects will be discussed below and include the research design, choice and appropriateness of sample of participants, procedure, data analysis method, researcher reflexivity and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

This study employed a qualitative research design to gain an in-depth understanding of the meaning and experience of industrial relations and human resources managers' perceptions of the impact of the 2012 Marikana incident on the South African industrial relations system.

Qualitative research aims to address questions concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experience dimensions of humans' lives and social worlds. It is a research method which seeks to illuminate the research participants' subjective meanings, actions and social contexts as understood by them. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), the term qualitative research refers to a broad umbrella for research methodologies that describe and explain persons' experiences, behaviours, interactions and social contexts without the use of statistical procedures or quantification (see also Rice & Ezzy, 1999). These methods may also be useful for eliciting contextual data during the validation of survey instruments and questionnaires used in quantitative research as well as to elaborate a more in-depth understanding of issues emerging from clinical/epidemiological studies (Fossey & Harvey, 2002).

There are three main paradigms from which qualitative research can be approached. A paradigm is a set of ideas, world views, assumptions about human behaviour and social phenomena used by researchers to gather data and generate knowledge (Fossey, Harvey, Mcdermott & Davidson, 2002). Higgs and Titchen (1995) distinguish between the empirico-analytical, interpretive and critical approaches. These approaches differ in the ways they look at the world and human behaviour (Neuman, 1995). According to (Fossey et al., 2002), the empirico-analytical school of thought social reality is configured by stable patterns or orders which can be used to control human behaviour; the interpretive approach views social reality as fluid definitions created by people through their social interactions with others; and the critical approach views social reality as multi-layered events and relations are based on hidden underlying social structures that can be traced historically.

3.3 Sample and sampling strategy

3.3.1 Sample. The sample for this study was drawn from individuals occupying managerial positions in industrial relations and human resources in highly unionised sectors located in and around Johannesburg. Eight interviews were secured with these managers with twenty five percent of this sample drawn from the public sector and the rest from the private sector.

The research participants for the current study were located from organisations within mining, manufacturing, steel, and transport and technology sectors. The primary choice of the sample stems from the fact that the 2012 Marikana strike event occurred within the mining sector, however the spread of its consequences extended beyond mining and rendered the perceptions of managers from other sectors invaluable.

The relevance of this sample is found in the fact that the interview questions tapped into experience in and exposure to human resources and industrial relations. The level of education, training and development and experience required to respond to the interview questions rendered the sample adequate for this study as they had to grapple with and be able to juggle between theoretical, legislative, bargaining-related and politically orientated questions. In addition, they had to also use their previous experience with the processes of the

bargaining system in order to ascertain the degree of significance of the phenomenon in the future (Harrell & Bradley, 2009). The roles of these managers together with their embedded knowledge in industrial relations settings as well as their interest to participate in the current study placed the individuals as relevant for the purposes of this study (Poggie, 1972; Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis, & Dillon, 2003). Seventy five percent of participants were executives and those in middle-management positions occupied twenty five percent of the sample. The following table provides a clear description of the sample based on their ages, years of experience, education level and also provides the date on which each participant was interviewed and it can be seen from the table that the sample met the inclusion criteria.

Table 1: Sample Distribution

Participant Age in Years	Years of Experience	Education Level	Background	Position	Date Interviewed
50	24	Masters	Industrial Relations	Middle Management	26 – 08 - 2014
30	3	Masters	Human Resources	Executive	28 – 08 – 2014
41	12	Diploma	Industrial Relations	Middle Management	3 – 10 - 2014
43	20	Masters	Human Resources	Executive	09 – 11 - 2014
48	25	Masters	Industrial Relations	Executive	04 – 11 - 2014
33	7	Honours	Industrial Relations	Executive	10 – 11- 2014

49	26	Honours	Industrial Relations	Executive	14 – 11- 2014
35	12	Masters	Industrial Relations	Executive	19 – 11- 2014

Table 2: Age and Years of Experience

	Age	Years of Experience
Mean	41	16

3.3.2 Sampling Strategy. The underlined aim of in-depth interviews is to discover shared understandings of individuals or a particular group. Accordingly, (McCracken, 1988) argues that the sample of interviewees should be fairly homogenous and share critical similarities related to the research question. To achieve this purpose, the sampling frame used for the population of interest of this study was non-probability convenience sampling. The ethical clearance for this study was obtained on the 19th of June 2014 and the first interview was conducted on the 8th of August 2014. This indicates the difficulty encountered in accessing the sample of interest for this study, thus snowball sampling was conducted to access research participants by asking research participants and people in the field of industrial relations and human resources to recommend other participants who would be willing to participate in the study.

3.4 Procedure

Participants were told that the study explored the impact of the 2012 Marikana incident on the scope of industrial relations in South Africa. They were informed that the focus of the study was on labour-management conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict as had occurred in 2012 in Marikana. Participants were

informed that the research would be conducted through interviews. Consent for audio-taping the interviews, transcribing the interviews and quoting from the interviews transcripts were granted by the participants.

3.4.1 Instruments. To complement and facilitate the interviews, the study used a semi-structured interview schedule (see appendix 16).

3.4.1.2 The Semi-structured Interview Schedule. A semi-structured interview is a set of a number of important questions which assist the researcher to define the areas to be explored (Roulston et al., 2003). Its flexibility is that it allows both the interviewer and interviewee to diverge from the structure in order to pursue the response in depth (Rapley, 2001). The semi-structured interview schedule was developed using an analysis of current themes that have sparked debate as a consequence of the 2012 Marikana incident. These themes were mapped theoretically as explained below. The researcher reviewed literature from research papers prior, during, and post Marikana to determine a list of research questions to be included in the interview schedule. The questions selected were framed such that they covered as much information about the study phenomenon as possible and this helped to address the aims and objectives of this research (Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). The interview schedule commenced with a brief demographic questionnaire section in which the ages, education level, and work experience of interviewees were captured to determine if these add weight to how people view the impacts of the 2012 Marikana strike event. It was divided into four parts which map exactly to the research questions listed under the heading “Research Questions” and are grounded theoretically in the literature review.

All the questions were open-ended; the difficulty level ranged from the more general and easy questions to the more specific and difficult consistent with (Gill et al., 2008). The first set of questions is focused on general perceptions towards the current state of industrial/labour relations in relation to the 2012 Marikana event. Secondly, a set of question tapped into the traditional labour-management conflict theme and tried to understand the tension between management and labour in terms of possible strategies through which it can be resolved.

Included also was a broad question which tried to determine whether the 2012 Marikana event has had an impact on relations between management and labour in other economic sectors and whether future negotiations have been impacted as such. Thirdly, the interview schedule dealt with intra-union conflict questions to ascertain whether the prevalent divisions within NUM were an important development for the future of industrial relations in South Africa. Complementary questions to this question were framed such that the implications of divisions within a union could be understood broadly for the benefit of understanding current trends in union organisation dynamics. The last set of questions was concerned with conflicts between unions relative to whether they were a benefit or cause for concern for managers given the fact that this implies negotiating with multiple unions with diverse needs and political interests. The interview schedule framed these sets of questions such that they complemented each other and as well as to also allow the questions to be broadly located outside the Marikana event to the wide business environment.

3.4.1.3 Data Collection. Perceptions of the impact of Marikana on the industrial relations system in South Africa were obtained by means of interviews using a semi-structured interview schedule. Gill et al. (2008) defines interviews as discussions, usually one-on-one between an interviewer and an individual, meant to gather information with the purpose of exploring the views, experiences, beliefs and motivations of individuals on a specific set of topics.

A request for ethical clearance was submitted to the Psychology Departmental Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand on 5 April 2014 and approval was granted on 19 June 2014 (see Appendix 11). Access request letters were sent to organisations and all the relevant ethical concerns in the study were clearly specified (see Appendix 12). Thereafter, a participant information sheet, which made reference to ethics, was emailed to the individual potential research participants (see Appendix 13). Once participants had agreed to participate, suitable times and venues for the interviews were arranged using emails and telephonic communication mediums. Four of the interviews were conducted at the participants work offices, three at office facilities provided by the researcher, and one at the researcher's room. This conforms to the interviewing procedure set out by (Gill et al., 2008) as these environments were less prone to distractions.

Interviews were the most suitable tool for this study since the aim was to gain in-depth information and understanding of the impact analysis of Marikana from the participants' perspective (Harrell & Bradley, 2009). In addition, the phenomenon studied is sensitive and some parts of the semi-structured interview schedule tapped into issues such as causes of the event and inter-union rivalry; and these issues are currently investigation by government tribunals, thus interviews were appropriate for exploring this topic.

Further, one of the study's objectives was to understand how the conflict between the parties can be understood in a manner that will allow new themes that will be analysed to add value to current labour conflict resolution mechanisms. Interviews, therefore, shy away from forced choice techniques as they do not confine research participants' responses to those that were predetermined by the researcher. This allowed the researcher and the research participants to be flexible and adaptable in relation to responses throughout the interview in order to deal with emerging themes that were not in the interview schedule (Struwig & Stead, 2001).

This guaranteed a highly interactive research process in a manner that allowed the researcher to facilitate the interviews by ensuring that each research participant is afforded enough time to voice their views. The length of the interview ranged between 45 minutes and 105 minutes.

Participants were interviewed individually to ensure confidentiality and to establish rapport and trust between the researcher and each research participant. “Essentially, rapport involves trust and a respect for the interviewee and the information he or she shares. It is also the means of establishing a safe and comfortable environment for sharing the interviewee’s personal experiences and attitudes as they actually occurred” (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 316). Gill et al., 2008 p. 292) maintain that “establishing rapport with participants prior to the interview is also important as this can also have a positive effect on the subsequent development of the interview”.

To maintain these standards, the process of interviewing commenced with a debriefing session wherein the aims, purposes and ethical principles of anonymity and confidentiality were read and thoroughly explained to each participant before they signed each of the consent forms (Barry, Barber & Britten, 1999). Interviewing respondents individually ensured that the respondents are not influenced by group think since group think induces a tendency to conform and might also disturb individual thought processes. This procedure guaranteed informed consent and ensured that an atmosphere of honesty which motivated the participants to narrate their perceptions freely was created (Gill et al., 2008, Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

The researcher interviewed and audio-taped the participants, and transcription followed thereafter. The data for this study was stored on a password protected computer which assisted with storing and data processing. Following the guide given by (Braun & Clarke 2006) and (Terre Blanche & Durrheim 1999) the analysis commenced as follows:

3.4.1.4 Analysis Sequence. The first step in the analysis of data for this research was to familiarise myself with the content of the interview transcripts in order to get immersed with the data. To achieve this purpose, the analysis commenced during the first interview wherein I carefully analysed the responses shared by the first participant with the intention of determining additional information that was not in the interview schedule, but which the participant had raised. The transcripts were read and re-read as they were processed after each interview and as was necessary to get a sense of themes that could emerge during this stage. This was complemented by a step of compiling reflective notes for each participant. After the interviews were transcribed in full, then the data was cleaned. The cleaning process involved the deletion of the participant's identifying information wherein their names, names and locations of their respective organisations, business processes, and business client information were discarded from the transcripts consistent with the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

The following steps included the induction of themes and coding through a categorical organization of data. Categorization involved classifying or labelling units of data during the process of coding whereby the data identified was deemed to belong or represent some global theme (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The labelled categories or labels were assigned names and the length of the description of the category ranges between a few words, a paragraph or paragraphs (Kassarjian, 1977). Spiggle (1994) suggests that data should be categorised based of its coherent meaning. She further argued in favour of a possibility of using a single passage to represent different categories of interest to the analyst and thus have multiple labels (Spiggle, 1994). In order to achieve a theoretically informed and empirically led labelling, the data was categorised into six global themes (discussed in the next chapter) which have been previously researched.

These global themes included the roles of industrial relations stakeholders, antecedents the 2012 Marikana strike, labour-management conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict and their outcomes as reflected during the Marikana phenomena. This was consistent with axial coding as presented by (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). With the utilisation of different highlighters, the data was highlighted into different codes within the transcripts and it was later sorted based on similar colours, thus aiding in the process of identifying similarities and differences. The codes ranged from economic, political and sociological and group dynamics. This meant that the data was thoroughly explored unsystematically during transcription and cleaning and later systematically through the use of the theoretical constructs of interest. This allowed a methodological system of comparing the pieces of data which appear to resemble the same category as well as in determining overlaps and emergence of subthemes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

These steps meant that data was clustered together by integrating theory through a careful examination of the data for certain conditions, contexts, strategies, and outcomes which tend to cluster together and a map of linkages between the categories was developed as advocated by (Spiggle, 1994). This was achieved through the back-and-forth procedure which was between each interview and the entire set of interviews. In the analysis of a single interview, the back and forth procedure was between passages in the interview and the entire interview (Spiggle, 1994).

These clearly formulated sets of procedures of defining and labeling our categories were undertaken in order to satisfy the requirement of objectivity (Berelson, 1952), thus, satisfying Holsti's (1968) guide that decisions must be based on a specific set of rules in order to eliminate the element of the researcher's subjective pre-conceptions.

This meant that a rigorous process of thematic content analysis was conducted for this study and that the interpretation and understanding of the themes reported herein, and the condensation through an elimination of irrelevant themes were properly construed and can be considered consistent, logical and comprehensive. Nonetheless, the non-sequential nature of processes described above must be acknowledged (Thompson, Locander, & Pollio, 1989). However, there are a number of short comings that are associated with thematic content analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Researchers should bear awareness of the fact that the flexibility afforded by thematic analysis might make the theme selection exercise cumbersome. This applies especially in studies with limited or no theoretical framework. Data interpretation of themes might be limited and thematic content analysis does not allow the researcher to take into account language usage like other methods such as discourse analysis.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data was analysed using thematic content analysis to identify, analyse and report commonly recurring themes (Braun & Wilkinson, 2003). This technique organizes and describes a data set in rich) detail and enhances interpreting various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). “A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set... keyness of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures but rather on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82).

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic content analysis is flexible. They assert that it allows reports of experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or examines whether these meanings are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society over time (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). Willig (1999) adds that it is this flexibility that allows it to be applied as a ‘contextualist’ method, locating itself

between essentialism and constructionism, and characterized by theories, such as critical realism. For this particular research, the method assisted in analysing the impact of the 2012 Marikana incident on the broader social, political, and economic contexts as well as on the perceptions towards industrial/labour relations in South Africa.

In line with Rubin and Rubin (1995), DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) assert that an exciting aspect of Thematic Content Analysis is the realisation of emerging themes and concepts embedded throughout the interviews. However, Taylor and Usher (2001) caution that this diminishes engagement with the data and relegates the researcher to a passive position in the process of analysis, therefore encouraging the analyst to see more than presented to him. In other words, to “immerse” himself with the data.

Events are framed through the interaction of opinions, beliefs, or cultural practices, but the direction of the interaction also works in reverse order to transform the same cultural objects and social structures (Ellington, 1995). Sahlins (1991) asserts that events such as the 2012 Marikana incident have the potential to disturb institutional practices of a given society.

For the 2012 Marikana event, an analysis methodology using tools from the critical paradigm is applicable for a number of reasons. Firstly, in what Alexander (2013) terms the “Turning Point”, his analysis gravitates on how Marikana has been the result of economic and political policy decisions that have not benefited workers and people at grassroots level.

This is why in this research we adopted the perspective that the Marikana incident was a flashpoint from which a multitude of themes emerged in a pattern never seen before in the context of labour relations in South Africa. Thus, in order to construct the full meaning of the incident, we felt compelled to dissect the case, and avoid a confinement that comes with the application of theoretical thematic analysis as we attempt reconstruction. Although we departed from the premise of a theory of labour and industrial relations in order to make sense of the multiple intercepting themes of interest, such served as a framework of possibilities. Putting

the flexibility of thematic analysis in practice, the critical paradigm assisted to “theorize the socio-cultural contexts, and structural conditions” that enabled the Marikana case as they emerged in the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Further, in order to understand the 2012 Marikana incident, there is a need to advance arguments about affording conditions by analysing both prior and post-hoc events order to establish a balance in literature. From an empirical point of interest, the 2012 Marikana incident embodies three-way lenses toward its meaning. First an analysis of the meaning of the political shifts, economic and labour related discourses, and socio-economic trends before the case was attempted. Secondly, the same procedures were undertaken for the analysis of these interactions pre, during and post Marikana, especially as this study aimed to locate itself in relation to how the strike might have impacted the country’s industrial conflict resolution mechanisms.

Subjective meanings, actions and social contexts, were illuminated from the research participants’ understanding and perspectives through the use of thematic content analysis interpretive tools (Corbin, & Strauss, 2008; Fossey et al., 2002). Cole (1988) views content analysis as suitable for analysing written, verbal or visual data. This means that it can be applied to the analysis of magazine and newspaper articles, advertisements, interview transcripts and political speeches.

To grasp the application of content analysis written and verbal content, Cartwright’s assertion is worth visiting:

“Social and political conflicts, although often stemming from divergent economic interests and power, cannot be fully understood without studying the words employed in the interaction of conflicting groups, and the process of mediation consists largely of talking things out. The work of the world, and its entertainment too, is in no small measure mediated by verbal and other symbolic behavior” (Cartwright 1953, p. 422).

Kassarjian (1977, p. 9) contends that “content analysis is the study of the message itself, and not the communicator or the audience (Alvesson, 2003; Roulston, deMarrais, & Lewis, 2003; Rust, 1983; Wiles, Charles, Crow, & Heath, 2004). In this study, content analysis was used to analyse interview transcripts. This was achieved through the reduction of the data gathered from interviews into fewer content-related categories. The aim was to describe broadly the impact of the 2012 Marikana strike incident as perceived by IR and HR managers for the purpose of representing the data in a thematic map or categories (Kyngas & Vanhanen, 1999). This was consistent with Downe-Wamboldt (1992) validated the method as being suitable for an analysis of meanings, intentions, consequences and contexts.

Mayring (2000) and Heish and Shannon (2005) distinguish between the inductive or the deductive approaches of conducting content analysis. Lauri and Kyngas (2005) recommend the use of the inductive approach if there is not enough knowledge about the phenomena and the use of deductive analysis if there is previous knowledge about the phenomena. In this study, a combination of these approaches was used.

A plethora of studies from different fields such as politics, industrial relations, human resources, business and economics, sociology and psychology have examined the 2012 Marikana incident (Alexander, 2012; Hill, 2015; Capps, 2012; James & Rajak, 2014; Mottiar & Bond, 2014). This indicated the broad pool of knowledge which has been gathered from the 2012 Marikana incident and that quite a number of theories or sub-theories have been used in its analysis. In this study, we used industrial relations and group dynamics theories in order to frame and understand the discussion that were had with IR and HR managers to ascertain whether the actions of stakeholders during the 2012 Marikana phenomenon were congruent with their postulations. This grounded the utilisation of a deductive content analysis approach as an appropriate tool for the current study since the sample questions move from stakeholder roles, antecedents, and consequences as specified in theory to the specific (Burns & Grove, 2005; Sandelowski, 1993). However, as themes emerged that were outside of this framework, an inductive approach was also utilized where appropriate.

3.6 Ethics

This research conducted interviews using a semi-structured interview schedule for data collection; the implication was that anonymity between the researcher and the research participants was not possible. Nonetheless, the analysis and discussion sections maintained anonymity and confidentiality as identifying information for both the participant and their respective organisations are excluded from the report as pseudonyms are used.

Firstly, informed consent to participate in the study through the participant information sheet and secondly (see Appendix 13), informed consent for the interviews to be audio-taped (see Appendix 14), and quoted were secured respectively (see Appendix 15). Audio-taping provided the researcher with advantage of transcribing, coding and interpreting real and accurate accounts of the interviews without losing any data from the interviews.

The participants were informed that the research was undertaken as a requirement for the completion of the Industrial Psychology Master's degree. They were then informed that their participation in the research was voluntary and not binding, meaning that they reserved the right to withdraw at any time during the research. In addition, they were informed that there were no personal risks or benefits for participation in the study.

The data and results from the study were treated with the highest degree of confidentiality by ensuring that only the researcher and the supervisor have access to the research data. The data were kept in a locked room and the audio-tapes of the interviews were copied to a pass-word locked computer and the files containing the data were pass-word locked.

3.7 Reflexivity

Objectivity implied the need to apply procedures to minimise the researcher's subjectivity to obtain a systematic, objective description of the communications content in order to be consistent with the principle of

reliability. Kaplan and Goldsen (1949) argue that reliability guarantees that the data obtained are independent of the measuring event, instrument, or person.

In line with Macbeth (2001), scholars (Bott, 2010; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Cassell, 2006; Rowley, 2012) assert that it is very difficult to divorce knowledge meanings and representations from the influence of non-academic discourses. Thus, they propose that researchers should reflect on the manner into which their knowledge construction and representations might be intersected by the prejudices of culture, politics, and technology. They recommend that the instabilities and uncertainties caused by these competing bases should at best be acknowledged to increase the validity of the analytic findings. Reflexivity therefore refers to the process of deconstructing the influence of a researcher, and possibly the field's pre-conceptions about a particular phenomenon in order to learn new foundations for their arguments.

Meaning representations of the phenomena studied in academic social sciences cannot be easily divorced from accounts interpretations of the same phenomena from daily non-academic discourses (Steier, 1991). This establishes instabilities and uncertainties of a researcher's representation since competing knowledge basis of the claims will always pose problems. Taking into account the influence culture, technology, and politics in the way we construct meanings of events, reflexivity implies that as arguments and literature about a crisis or event are collected with time, they have potential to cloud the end product of an analytic inquiry (Bott, 2010; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Macbeth (2001) proposes that such influences prejudices analytical findings and as such researchers need to find methods for discarding these socially constructed paradigms and argues that reflexivity assists researchers unlearn their preconceived representations to create new foundations for arguments.

Ball (1990) proposes a very simple but understandable way by which reflexivity ought to be understood. He defines reflexivity as the links between interpretations of the meanings of the phenomenon being studied during data collection with the interpretation process during the analytic part of the study (Bott,

2010; Cassell, 2006; Guillemin & Gillam; 2004). This is often referred to as 'positional reflexivity', and its aims are to align qualitative research methods with critically disciplined subjectivity in order to free academic discourses from concentration on researchers' and the fields' preconceptions of the analysis (Bott, 2010; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Macbeth, 2001). Daley (2010) states that the subjective self includes, gender, race, sexuality, age and education, and how these influence the manner in which the researcher interprets the participants' narratives.

Macbeth (2001) further states that qualitative methodologies that are powered by reflexivity of the researcher's standpoint helps locate the influence of the "unseen power, discourse, and hegemony" by interrogating the analyst's position to the deconstruction of these influences. Reflexivity can therefore be regarded as an analyst's 'knowledge foundation test' for the particular discourse, with the embodied examinations of ensuring that the fundamentals of his/her knowledge base are free from 'unseen order and interest' (Macbeth, 2001).

Research projects portray an outward reflection of the researcher in relation to their interests, and these have an influence on the type of research question a researcher frames (Guillemina & Gillam, 2004). Subsequently this leads a methodological and design choice that will best suit the question, which also has an influence on the type of research participants for the study (Bryman & Cassell, 2006).

Putting reflexivity in the context of the present study, the Marikana incident has been a topic of numerous disciplines and has received extensive media coverage, and because of the frames attached to it, the researcher has engaged with peers on this topic. Further, the researcher has also been exposed to numerous debates on the topic, which have had an influence on how he planned to pursue the topic including the type of participants. This was enough ground warranting the researcher to subject himself to a reflexive analysis to scrutinise whether or not his prior attitudes and perceptions of the topic borders with the academic knowledge production of this project.

Daley (2010) and Hsiung (2008) caution of how such prior standpoints might bias the manner in which data collection is conducted. Also, this process allowed the researcher to be aware that their initial perspectives on phenomena might change. This is consistent with the assertion by Guillemina and Gillam (2004) that reflexivity is purposeful in improving the quality and validity of research, as it allows us to take into account the limitations of the research study and the knowledge production and how these are subject to the researcher. Not only should the influence of knowledge production be attributed to the researcher, the participants have the potential to influence how the researcher will interpret the data, thus, the process could be reciprocal (May, 2011). For this reason, a reflexive journal was kept throughout the process of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Perceived Stakeholder Role Efficacy

4.1 Introduction

In this section, key findings and themes of the analysis are presented. The first theme discussed is the perceptions of stakeholder role efficacy during the unfolding of the 2012 Marikana strike incident; the second theme is labour-management conflict as reflected in the 2012 Marikana incident; the third theme is intra-union conflict as manifested from the 2012 Marikana strike incident and the last theme is inter-union conflict. The above mentioned themes will be discussed in relation antecedents and consequences as perceived by industrial and human resources managers and were linked with theory as grounded in the literature review for this study and empirical evidence from the interviews. Only the quotes from the transcripts that are central to the themes were used throughout the discussion. The identity of participants were concealed for ethical reasons. Six males and two females were interviewed; when using their respective quotes the participants will be referred to as P1 through P8.

4.2 The Perceived Stakeholder Roles

The chief objective of the study was to explore the impact of the 2012 Marikana strike incident on the nature and scope of labour/industrial relations in South Africa. The tri-partite model of industrial relations holds that industrial relations is composed of three stakeholders that have certain roles to play to maintain this relationship. These are the state, employers (including government) and the employees or trade unions (Bendix, 2010; Salamon, 2002). These roles have been grounded in our literature review and our findings and discussion departs from these roles in order to ascertain whether the above mentioned stakeholders performed their roles effectively during the Marikana incident as perceived by the participants.

Perceptions of stakeholder roles will be presented in the following sequence: The state/government, management or employers and unions. Table 3 represents commonalities towards drawn from the interview transcripts towards the perceptions of stakeholder roles and will be used as a guide for the discussion (see table 3 in appendix 3) for the interview codes relating to stakeholder role perceptions).

4.3 The state or government

4.3.1 Commonalities. There were two perceived roles of government which were common among the participants; these being the intervention of government in labour and industrial relations and poor management of police service. These are presented below.

4.3.2 Minimal government intervention. There were differences in perceptions with regard to the roles that the government should have played during the 2012 Marikana strike incident. Two participants, P2 and P7 thought the government should have intervened minimally during this strike action. However, they differed in that P2 thought that the government intervened prematurely during the negotiations which fuelled the strike action whereas P7 thought that the government maintained an inactive role and had applied proper intervention processes. According to P2, government's intervention was undesirable. P2: *First and foremost... [they] should have gotten government out of it ... regardless of how violent it gets, the media is kept out, and government is kept out*".

P2 elaborated that government had intervened prematurely or too early during the 2012 Marikana mass action. She mentioned that the government had not followed proper bargaining procedures citing that the matter had not been declared as a conflict of interest; had not been filed with the CCMA for arbitration and that it is only when these avenues have been exhausted that the government should have intervened.

P1: *"It's not even government that acts as a mediator. It wasn't the last stage as yet when government [gets] involved. They ...were still in negotiations. Had anyone declared the matter for arbitration? They hadn't declared it, when government got involved, it had not been declared for arbitration (to CCMA)"*.

Theoretically, P2 saw the government to have contravened third party intervention procedures as enshrined in the labour relations act. The participant attributed this failure or role inefficacy to compromised government interventions.

P2: *So as far as government getting involved, I think that ... [it] wasn't a very wise move; but then again ...the deputy president having shares in there? ... [It] was almost a conflicting situation for him ...*

P7: *I know that people always say that government should intervene, but sometimes I tend to differ a bit in the sense that that relationship is between employer and employees and like in any relationship, where there's problems there's mechanisms put in place to deal with the problems that have come up. I still maintain that the government was right ... not to become actively involved in that dispute. When management needed*

support from the police, they went to the police to ask for the support; that is the kind of intervention the government can provide.

According to P7, active government intervention might bear dire consequences for the acceptance of the outcomes of the negotiations process as the state influence might be perceived as pro-labour and as such may have a negative impact on job creation. He stated further that active government intervention may also create dependency on the government when workers and employers are in conflict, and thus impair labour relations in the future.

P7: Now I don't think it's really for the government to go and try and meddle with those kinds of relationships because you would create situations in this country where the government becomes the referee when employers and unions don't agree ...

Although there was commonality with regard to the minimal government intervention between P2 and P7, the difference was that P7 separated government intervention from the management of police presence. Given the central place the police were given in discussions with the participants, it is worthwhile to explore these perceptions in greater depth.

4.3.4 Poor management of police intervention. The involvement of police was perceived as an untimely and unduly intervention by the government in so far as the current deputy president of the country, Cyril Ramaphosa, whom was the deputy president of the ANC during the Marikana labour unrest, used his political connections, not to solve the issue at hand but rather to protect his investment and wealth at Lonmin. This raises concerns that government's intervention was biased and thus compromising the authenticity of their efforts to mediate the conflict as the unions were not clear as to which role he was playing and hence couldn't draw a clear separation between him and government. In addition, the 2012 Marikana labour unrest resembled some parallels to civil unrest and the fact that there were contraventions of industrial conflict interventions from the parties involved made drawing the line between a strike and civil unrest difficult (Ncube & Lukhele, 2014; van der Spuy & Shearing, 2014). P2 substantiated this point: “... *it's a very fine line to draw... when you say when does it stop becoming a strike... [and] when does it become civil unrest?*”

It can be argued therefore that the government had to discharge its duty of controlling the unrest and restore industrial and social order (Theletsane, 2014). However, the analysis of the data suggests that the manner in which the government chose to control the situation lacked consideration on a number of key aspects. For instance, P2 mentioned that given the historical social perceptions of police interventions by miners; the

introduction of armed police during this strike action may have instigated the type of violent resistance which unravelled during the course of this strike (Theletsane, 2014).

P2 *“You’ve got a group of people, never mind the striking people, you’ve just got a group of people that are protesting for uhmm water...the second minute you throw the police in there, what are you expecting? How do these people view the police?”*

In line with P2, P7 articulated on how he felt the presence of police should have been managed and clearly highlighted the inefficiency of both the Lonmin management and government in playing this role.

P7: noted that *“Management then would have called in the cops, but wouldn’t have called cops with guns. You would’ve called cops with a teargas tanker for instance and they would spray teargas, and when you spray tear gas the guys start to run in a certain direction and then you channel them in that direction until they leave your premises. Yes there would be injuries but it’s not from gunshot wounds, so you’ve controlled your environment in such a way that ... you know you have peacefully have moved the guys out of your environment. So those are the ... from a management point of view, those are the things that should have been in place to avoid the Marikana massacre.*

4.4 Management

4.4.1 Commonalities. With regard to the efficacy of performing management roles, there was commonality between the participants on five roles. These were lack of employee profiling, insufficient communication with workers, lack of empowering union leadership, lack of providing financial education to employees, poor application of conflict resolution procedures and poor management of police presence.

The poor management of police service was discussed earlier under the roles of government as some participants had linked them.

4.5 Perceived Joint responsibilities.

This section combines roles which the participants considered as joint responsibilities between the state, business and trade unions.

Lack of employee profiling and lack of providing financial education to employees were considered as joint responsibilities for both management and the unions by the participants. Although only P5 raised the issue of lack of training of union representatives, this can be related to the lack of providing union leadership

empowerment and financial education to employees; further, it can be further related to the broader areas of both organisational development and personnel management.

4.5.1 Lack of employee profiling. Hunger and Wheelen (2003) presents employee profiling as a component of the internal strategic planning and Choo (2013) provides evidence linking information culture and organisational effectiveness. This is important in the context of industrial relations since shifts in political, economic and social dynamics must be balanced with an internal analysis of employee profiles in order to maximise organisational effectiveness (Bendix, 2010). Maximising on the functions of human resource management is achieved by matching both the needs of employees and the environment in order to ensure employees' needs are met (Burgelman, 1994; Miller, 1992). The following quotes from the interviews relate to these facts as P1, P2 and P4 cited the lack of business intelligence and employee profiling as follows:

P1: *"How can you not understand AMCU's ideals if you say you have got business and governance intelligence?"*

P2: *"But their understanding from the company's side as to who are you working with? What is it that they want? Had [they] asked that question?"*

P4: *"HR guys are supposed to track the mine workers. I track my workers here ...every cheque. Any guy who earns, who takes home too little I ask him, I have to call him and say "hey go to the guys that can help you with financial advice".*

Clearly, the participants evidenced perceived stakeholder role inefficacy for this code. This can be regarded as an accumulation of factors over a period of time and in line with Satgar (2012) these can be classified under strategic management failures. In line with the strategic human resource function of employee profiling; Lonmin management, jointly with trade unions that operate in their space, should have identified employee needs which would have included identifying trade union needs and pressing issues. This would have allowed management to identify training or development gaps and tailor training programs in the areas of financial education. Employee financial education was highlighted as a one of the concerns that led to the 2012 Marikana incident and these were expressed in the heightened wage demand from ±R4000 – R12000 (Alexander, 2012; Soifer, 2012).

The conditions leading to this heightened demand included the presence of loan sharks in the Marikana mining area. Through financial education, the application of strategic management would have helped to mitigate the impact of the workers reliance on loan sharks. P4 elaborated that *"financial education is the biggest*

weakness that we, we have as an economy, we don't educate people on finance and unions underestimate that [hence his approach was] "I track the guy who takes home too little and say "hey go to the guys that can help you with financial advice"..

Financial education could have also assisted union representatives in terms of understanding the full scope of business and impact of their demands on the broader economy (Green et al., 1999; Heyes & Stuart, 1998; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010).

The trade union leaders could have been in a better position to understand the scope of demands they can make and would have also been empowered to filter such information to their members. In this regard, in line with P6 and P7, P2 noted that unions *"don't understand the impact of their demands...not this year but next year, you know? The spiral effect of, of demands in general"*.

A second point concerns human resources concern for social welfare, which basically refers to employee welfare in their social settings and this encompasses the provision of housing (Chen, 2003; Ebbinghaus, 2001; Streeck & Hassel, 2003). In this regard, P4 noted that *"mines [needed to be] very strict in terms of being committed in providing housing and looking after the welfare of employees"* as he contrasted current mining and pre-democratic mining operations.

Given that the mining industry introduced a policy to dismantle the compounds or hostels in which miners were housed pre-liberation, an impact assessment of this action should have been conducted in order to assess quality of the workers living conditions (Benchmark Foundation, 2013). *"Then in 1994 the government said "Phantsi" [down] with hostels and more with uhm, family dwellings. The government didn't get it there, so the government is at fault because these were the migrant labourers and to assume that migrant labourers were ready to bring the family is wrong"* (P4). P5 clarified that this was facilitated through *"[the introduction] of the leaving out allowance in the industry in the 90's, but there wasn't a process linked to that which looked at uhm... social infrastructure, which looked at housing infrastructure, which looked at bulk infrastructure such as water and sanitation and so on and so forth. And therefore you have found that we [we management] have contributed to some of the not so great leaving conditions for employees have outside the work place"*.

The assessment could have included issues such as the provision of housing, water and proper sanitation as well as the impact of the policy on the workers family structures.

4.5.2 Lack of empowering union leadership. The concept of empowerment refers to a state where employees are given the responsibility for making decisions about their own work. In the context of human

resources, it has been defined as the development of knowledge, skills and abilities in learners to enable them to control the process of accumulating and developing their own knowledge and contribute to organisational effectiveness and sustainability (Harvey, 2004; Senge, 1995). In this context, empowerment can be defined as the continual enhancement of the employees' capacity to respond and adapt positively to environmental and business shifts (Kofman & Senge, 1993).

Findings of this study have linked the lack of providing union leadership empowerment by management with lack of providing service to members by the unions as reflected by the notations X^U under management and X^M under unions in table 3. The association between codes would also see the lack of management in providing financial education to its employees incorporated with the underdevelopment of employees as raised by P5. Under the assumptions of a healthy and progressive relationship between managers and unions, these can all be incorporated under the umbrella of training and development of employees and union members by both parties respectively.

To illustrate perceptions of these managers on this role, quotes from P3 and P4 and P6 are used.

P6: Our level of thinking and assessment of issues will differ and what helps us deal with each other over time is versatility, the fact that knowing how you think. The reason I'm drawing from that is because ... (silence) ... our unionised people and errr often our employees who normally would be your lower employees often ... their exposure to issues that relate to economics or to growth or to profitability issues would normally not be at the level that you may be at or that management in a business maybe at; even the very same union guys, remember they grow within the very same ranks to get to where they are.

It is clear from P6's quote that the perception is that there is a prevailing skills deficiency within the union leadership and its ranks. As such, this failure cannot only be attributed to management but rather that the unions themselves have a duty to ensure that their leadership is empowered not only in negotiation skills, but also with regard to economic issues that might impact negotiation outcomes.

In trying to illuminate the lack of union empowerment in relation to issues that led to the 2012 Marikana incident, P3 contrasted his organisation's approach pertaining union empowerment to that of Lonmin management as follows:

P3: "We do say look at ... look at how the world works; for instance, we take them into the tour of ... to say this is how other countries ... even if we don't get what other countries are doing, but at least they have a sense, even if they disagree with us, but at least they know. It's not like we come with advantaged information

and then we have not exposed them to how the world works in the same space, so we do empower them, even the annual labour conference that I told you about, we make sure that annually they go”.

The evidence of the perceptions of the joint responsibility of empowering trade union shop stewards and leaders was captured from a quote from P4 when he contrasted the his organisations approach with that of Lonmin as well as the approach of NUMSA with that of NUM. P4: *“I mean you always prefer to deal with the [union] even if they are stronger one that is matured and understands power play and that understands the industry ... That can educate its shop-stewards on the ground floor; to embrace values that build- NUMSA is good at that they have got political school for training their shop-stewards. Also, we also do our training of shop-stewards but then they have got a decent base in terms of training”.*

The comment on lack of economic illiteracy in the unions advanced by P6 was vague as it seemed to disengage management from the duty of union empowerment. However, P3 and P4’s comments bridged the gap from P6’s comment by articulating on the value of the role of management to expose trade union leaders to current labour and economic affairs. The benefit was expressed in terms of bridging the information gap between unions and management in order to eliminate stereotypes (P3). On the other hand, P4’s comment reiterated the need for unions that understand industry issues, but also emphasised on the role of both business and trade unions to educate union representatives. The note about the union’s role in educating its members must be read in relation to service delivery. From a trade union perspective, this strategic role of union leadership development is important given the fact that most of their leaders have been consumed both by business and the ruling party (Alexander, 2012; Botiveau, 2014b; Stewart, 2012).

4.5.3 Union service delivery. A union’s service delivery is related to the quality of training and experience of its leaders (Clegg, 1961; Bendix, 2010; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). The primary contract for an employee is that which binds them with their employer, however, once they are employed, employees join trade unions as their secondary contract (Guest, 2004). As has been highlighted by the participants and other theorists, this establishes training as a prerogative for both employers and trade unions (Frazis et al., 1995; Green et al., 1999). The participants identified training or educational gaps as a reflection of role inefficacy and these can be linked to performance of both the union and organisation. In the context of union organisation and performance, these may negatively affect service delivery.

P3: *There is ... what we call service ... service to members, service implements, attending to their issues ... they must know the bread and butter issues of their own members and make sure that they address*

them, but of course in a way that is responsible and sustainable even if they are radical, they must be disciplined.

P4: My concern is about stretching the purchasing power of the worker's money, uhm and how can I protect him from the loan-sharks and how can I make sure that his expenditure patterns reflect his family situation and that dollar that he gets can be stretched longer. That is everybody's responsibility. I don't think that the unions are doing a good job. I am having dinner with the NUMSA Investment Company tonight and one of the things we will be discussing is that, but you know ... more can be done; more can be done, instead of just looking at wages.

The quote on service delivery advanced by P3 illuminates important points to consider. These are linked to service delivery and would include issues such as attending to membership through communication, training and development, wage issues and working conditions. In the Marikana aftermath, these have been discussed as bread and butter issues and would also include sociological issues of how members survive socially (Benfell, 2014; Botiveau, 2014; Mafela, 2007; van der Walt, 2014). When the earlier quote related to the inability of miners to acquire government subsidised housing and housing loans by banks advanced by P4 is read with these quotes, the researcher can safely argue that once the union leadership knows the bread and butter issues of its members it enhances its ability to respond to issues effectively. This would also include the issue of assessing the impact of the wages on their conditions of their members.

4.5.4 Lack of protecting employees from indebtedness. In the last quote from P4 above, the participant makes the case of HR ensuring that workers are protected from exploitative financial schemes, both registered and unregistered micro financial lenders, and terms these as “*loan sharks*”. The participant elaborated further on this role sociologically as he expressed the need to ensure that employees add economic value to their households as this clearly relates to the buying power that is afforded by the employees' wages. This situates employee financial education and protection of employees from indebtedness as critical roles from both the management's and union leadership view respectively (James, 2014; James & Rajak, 2014; Krippner, 2005). From the analysis of results of this study, the researcher can make the argument that both the Lonmin management and trade union leadership involved in the negotiations that led to the 2012 Marikana strike incident were at fault for not performing these roles efficiently.

In support of this P4's asserted that “*...unions are not doing a good job*”, and P1 highlighted a change of union ideology when he said that a union cannot be an investor while at the same time claiming to protect its employees.

4.5.5 Insufficient direct communication with workers. Research has found communication as the lifeblood of group and organisational effectiveness, among multi-faceted applications its ability to facilitate training, to inculcate group norms and organisational ethics and culture in order to build morale and cohesion and identity are often identified (Giri, & Kumar, 2010; Van der Merwe, 2014; Wells & Spinks, 1996). Negotiations and employee feedbacks are some of the processes where communication adds value in employee, intra-group and inter-group and industrial relations (Burchelli, 2008; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010). Under this theme, P3 and P7 and P8 had perceptions of inefficacy of both management and unions towards performing this role as indicated by the notation X^{JR} for joint responsibilities in table: 3:

P3: *“But these members, before they are members of unions they are employees of the company, so the company must have a direct communication with their own employees. But you must still work with unions, but it does not mean that you must talk to your employees through the unions”.*

Brand (2014) along with Alexander, et al., (2012) and Towers (1997) have warned against the limitation of the heavy reliance of human resources on unions for communication with workers by positing that it creates a representation gap. Other issues highlighted by these authors include the majoritarian nature of this approach which automatically alienates the views of minority unions. In the case of Marikana, the researcher found that the managers thought that workers were alienated by NUM as far as keeping in touch with them and giving prompt feedbacks. Therefore, resultant complacency from management’s reliance on NUM for communication while there was a gap between NUM and its members may have escalated the problem (P1 & P4). Hartford (2013) argued that this management deterred the ability of management to keep abreast of employee issues; hence they could not identify the early signs of the workers discontent. This relates back to the assertion made by P1 about management failures in profiling employees as this would have included gathering intelligence about employee issues which may be considered to have impaired their preparations addressing those issues.

P7 *“There was no feedback ... From an IR management point of view, there were a lot of factors that management could have done but did not do. You know communication is very important; yes unions will object, they will object you talking directly to the employees”.*

P8 *“I just saw a bit of lack of internal ... call it pipe[line] of communication which is actually very useful because when you get to that stage of fighting or using whatever weapon available to express your anger, it means you’ve lost confidence in the internal process”.*

4.5.6 Communication and poor application of conflict resolution procedures. During our analysis of the efficacy of stakeholder roles, the researcher found that both the Lonmin management and NUM were

perceived to have not applied proper conflict resolution procedures. The value of communication, and the consequences of its lack thereof, in conflict resolution has been highlighted by several authors (Aiken & Hage, 1966; Fisher, 2012; Giffin, 1970; Goffman, 1957; Miller, 1975; Slater, 2003). It is clear from the quotes and incorporated under the sub-section “*inefficient communication*” of this discussion that communication with workers was insufficient.

Communication between workers and management is the link that bonds organisational processes and as such, conflict resolution is just one within the number of processes facilitated through communication. P3’s assertions of a break in communication during the Marikana incident become important given the accumulation of studies on the link between breaks in communication and aggression, alienation, violence, and industrial and social resistance (Dun, 2007; Bowman, 2000; Giffin, 1970; Hickson, 1981). Poor communication from management resulted in the implementation of poor conflict resolution strategies, in particular, the void created by a lack of proper feedback to employees added to the frustrations that sparked the situation.

Communication can be regarded as part of the service which workers expect from both the employers and the unions. Its effectiveness is its ability to build trust, long-lasting, team membership, frequent team contact and strengthens team or organisational leadership and may have consequences for organisational structure if not managed (Bitner, Ostrom, & Morgan, 2008). P3 “*But when that service is not there and workers become despondent*”.

Beyond the failure to communicate effectively with its employees, the conflict resolution mechanisms employed, where NUM and Lonmin management sided against AMCU, was possibly also problematic. Chinguno (2013, p. 163) illuminates this point:

‘The manner in which these issues were raised was unacceptable...(as) there are structures and procedures within the organisation for raising these issues...any engagement outside NUM would be breach of recognition agreement’ (Lonmin, 2012).

P4 supported the issue of disrespect from num. “*There was a clear deliberate attempt by Lonmin to undermine AMCU in favour of NUM and so when you went into what had happened a year earlier whereby AMCU went for the majority for the first time. The handing over of power from NUM to AMCU took too long because dragged its feet because it did not want to negotiate with them. So those soured relationships absolutely lead to what happened partly because management didn’t have respect for AMCU; they were a young and upcoming union so they underestimated their power*”.

This brings another dimension to this analysis, “*structural and procedural suppression*” with violence as a consequence (Balbus, 1973; Ewick & Silbey, 1991; Marshall, 1983). Structural and procedural suppression of resistance might appear not to substantiate the disregard of conflict resolution procedures; however, Ngcukaitobi (2014) situates the cause of violence as structural. In light of the fact that both the platinum and diamond sectors do not form part of the bargaining agreement, issues of maintaining autonomy and dominance for both the dominant union and the management cannot be ruled out (Alexander, 2013; Botiveau, 2014; Chinguno, 2013b; Rajak, 2012). “*Now, there were times when strikes of this nature would take place because the system would frustrate any attempt to get a legally protected strike; you know in those days we had a balloting system, the balloting system is like a vote of employees and 50% plus 1 of your employees must actually vote in favour of the strike, and as management things used to happen and employees would never get the opportunity of 50 plus 1 and hence the illegal nature of the strikes that took place*”. On the other hand, this means a lack of state regulation of these sectors, especially the platinum sector on a number of issues concerning working conditions and employee wellness. The issue of deteriorating working conditions and pre-colonial structural inertia in the mining industry as well as the trade unions’ failures in effecting reforms have both been discussed extensively (Muswaka, 2014; Stewart, 2013; Twala, 2012). Drawing on the posits of the radical perspective, power dynamics become relevant as the disregard of bargaining structures by the AMCU’s can be interpreted as a form of class resistance to a systemic or structural exclusion that is perpetuated by law based on majoritarianism (Botiveau, 2014; Capps, 2012; Smith, 2012). Thus, in the midst of legal repression, strikes and protests become the primary mechanism through which the oppressed class express their citizenship (Thompson, 2014).

4.6 Reflections on Perceptions of Stakeholder Role Efficacy

The previous section discussed the managers’ perceived industrial relations stakeholder role efficacy as drawn from the Marikana labour unrest and reflects upon the first research question presented. We found that the government, employers and trade unions were perceived as having not performed some of their roles inadequately. The state performed inadequately in the eyes of the participants as a conciliator and advisory to both management and labour about issues which might have consequences during negotiations (Alexander, 2013; Bendix, 2010). Another role which the state was perceived to have not properly fulfilled was the monitoring of business’s contribution to the social welfare of their employees, however, this was perceived as a joint responsibility since employers and trade unions were also perceived to have fallen short on this role. This was not an immediate cause of Marikana; however, it was a role that was perceived to having been neglected in the post-apartheid order. The management of police was also considered to have been inadequate and this point

was directed at both Lonmin and the state as the police were perceived not to have maintained social peace to the workers.

Employee training jointly implicated management and unions and the issue of union empowerment and employee financial education was emphasised upon in order to expose the unions to business realities while simultaneously ensuring that workers have the financial skills to escape debt traps from money lenders (Brand, 2014; Gwatidzo & Behnura, 2013).

Another point raised by the participants was the failure of the unions and Lonmin management in adhering to regulated collective bargaining procedures (Hawkey, 2013; Rycroft, 2014; Samuel, 2014). What was apparent from the content of the responses was that NUM had failed their role of effectively representing the miners at company and at collective bargaining level, hence creating a gap which the participants perceived as having been filled by AMCU. Issues of service delivery were highlighted including ineffective communication from both the Lonmin management and NUM as argued in Twala (2012).

Poor communication was linked with the perceived inefficiency in facilitating negotiations and channelling feedback to the employees or union members. The sense made is that facilitation of negotiations is achieved through communication, and with the absence of effective communication, it was reasonable to perceive a link between the two (Brand, 2014; Hartford, 2012; Tustin & Geldenhuys, 2010).

The lack of management awareness of employees' social welfare was linked with employee profiling and employee profiling was further linked with the inability to understand their workers' training and development needs. This was linked to the strategic planning function of human resources and management.

The next three sections will focus on labour management conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict to explore the impact of these perceived stakeholder role inefficiencies on these themes.

4.7 Perceived Antecedents to Labour-Management Conflict in Marikana

4.7.1 Introduction

The aim of this section was to explore the link between antecedents of labour-management conflict during the 2012 Marikana strike incident and perceived stakeholder role inefficacies that were found during our analysis of roles in the previous section. The impacts on economic, political, and sociological factors as well as the influence group dynamics were considered in relation to how they impact the roles of stakeholders in the future.

4.7.2 Economic Antecedents

4.7.2.1 The insufficiency of miners' wages. It was a common theme amongst the participants that the primary antecedent to the 2012 strike incident was a wage dispute between the Lonmin management and the NUM for an increase from R4000 to R12500 (Soifer, 2012). In particular, P4 and P6 elaborated about the low purchasing power of the miners' wages. The following quotes from the participants illuminate this point. P3 explained that it *"was it the drillers, rock drillers. What were they earning? Almost R3000 or less than R3000 net.* This was confirmed by P5 as he explained that *"the incident seems to have been sparked by uhm... a demand by a group of employees, most of them RDOs for increases out of the normal wage increase salaries. These employees approached management and said we would like you to or we demand that you increase our wage to R12 500.00 per month".*

Although the participants converged that wages was the main driving force behind this particular strike incident, some chose to highlight the role of Rock Drill Operators while some chose to emphasise the insufficiency of minimum wages in line with Stewart (2013). Group dynamics factors such as an unhealthy relationship between labour and management, as reflected in the quotes from P6 and P8 below, were also considered. P6 thought that *"people are not paid well enough; in fact people will never be paid enough, and feel they deserve a lot more than what has been agreed on. And yes, those minimum rates I fully agree that they are not enough.* P8 explained that *"maybe we did not have that R12 500.00 that's the main thing; we had the relationship unhealthy, we had little other things coming into picture and the R12 500.00 was actually the last straw and it could actually not be resolved because it was not actually the only thing.*

4.7.2.2 The struggle for wages as a reflection of economic imbalances. It is important to note that as was the case in Marikana, wages have historically been the primary cause of tensions between workers and employers (Clarke, 1980; Dunlop 1957; Fudge & Tucker, 2004; Godard, 2000; Hyman, 1975; Kahn-Freund,

1954; Kaufman, 2002). Secondly, the implementation of fair remuneration or reward structures that would reflect the input of workers is an embedded function of human resource management (Wright, Dunford & Snell, 2001). Scholars argue that these are the inherent economic imbalances resulting from the dialectically opposed nature of the interests of the parties to the labour relationship from which rebellion through strike activities become a consequence (Boswell & Dixon, 1993; Hyman, 1984).

In line with economic balances, P6's elaboration on the reason why wages became a pressing issue was reasonable. P6 noted that *"it becomes difficult as business and as unions to have to balance the two because you have to have a business that continues to run but you have to have a people that is ...I will put it lightly ... taken care of.... but because there is no balance, clearly one of the two will have to stand above and say irrespective of how much or how little you are making I deserve this much. And that conflict or that dissonance I suppose will ... it gets us to places like this"*.

4.7.2.3 Insufficient wages and lack of improvement of workers social conditions. In this context, P4 substantiated why economic imbalances have perpetuated by asserting that unions have failed in the role of rendering financial education including lobbying for government to tailor legislation that will mirror the workers income status. P4: *"My concern is about stretching the purchasing power of the worker's money, uhm and how can I protect him from the loan-sharks and how can I make sure that his expenditure patterns reflect his family situation and that dollar that he gets can be stretched longer [because] some don't qualify for RDP's for example, because they earn more, but they don't qualify for bonds at the same time. That is everybody's responsibility; I don't think that the unions are doing a good job"*. Substantiating on this union failure, he perceived 'bourgeois values' to have subsumed union leaders and in turn alienated their members. P4 explained that *"The unions were not in touch, they were happy too, they were not there, their own structure change, so they became more bourgeoisie than workers, so they were detached with what was happening in the squatter camps and so the problem escalated to where it was"*.

4.8 Recruitment Practices and Employee well-being: Working conditions.

Marshall (1963) extended the concept of industrial citizenship to workplace equality, arguing for a guarantee of a series of basic or fundamental rights. In the context of the South African labour law, these basic rights are governed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which gave effect to the Labour Relations Act and other legislation such as the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. These govern both the structure and conditions of employment. However, we found from the quotes from the participants that both the working and living conditions of the miners in Marikana were dehumanising (Gwatidzo & Behnura, 2013;

Capps, 2012; Soifer, 2012). In the case of antecedents to Marikana, living conditions were reported to have played a crucial role in sparking the strike incident (Botiveau, 2014; Gwatidzo & Behnura, 2013; Harvey, 2014). This was supported by the participants, for instance, P3 noted that *“but in Marikana it’s also how, you know harsh, harsh conditions organises people”*. Several scholars have noted similar trends (Bernstein, 1996; Clarke, 1990). Another aspect of working conditions was revealed by P6 as she explained the humidity of the conditions under which miners worked as she referred to a *“deep hole, a deep hot hole”*.

We referred to the above factors as second-level gaps in the literature review (Harvey, 2014). This may explain why miners perceived that their working conditions induced high risk which was not reflected in their salaries (Soifer, 2013). Thus, P3’s assertion that Marikana would *“eventually have happened because there is a belief that we are being robbed as ... people and particularly Black people; we are being robbed of what is due to us”*.

4.8.1 Communication with workers. Management service encompasses effective communication to employees or union members. P3 added that communication *“with workers was lacking”*. Lack of communication with workers was also perceived as an antecedent for intra-union conflict as represented by the notation X^{IUC} on the map of antecedents to labour-management conflict (see appendix 4). P8 related the lack of communication that caused the Marikana strike to frustrations *I just saw a bit of lack of internal ... call it pipe of communication which is actually very useful because when you get to that stage of fighting or using whatever weapon available to express your anger, it means you’ve lost confidence in the internal process*. When read with the comments from P1, P3 and P4 about a combination of distant government and trade union leaders, the comment from P5 about an apparent gap between employees and the union was relevant. He noted that there *“is a gap that developed overtime between the leadership of NUM and the employees”*. This was explained as the dependency of management on unions for communication with workers (Weston & Lucio, 1997; Hartford, 2012).

4.8.2 Pursuit of personal economic gains for leaders. Leaders were perceived to amass union power for personal benefits as P1 noted that *“at the end of the day it was their leaders being able to have their foot at the door with regards to their personal political attainment”*. It is worth noting that the principle of self-enrichment is in direct conflict with collective benefits (James & Rajak, 2014; Zengele, 2014). The quote from P6 was important as she explained that trade unionism is about power, and *“when we are talking about power, we are talking about elitism. There are people who are at various levels within our society and the very same people who are supposed to be fighting for us are also looking out to gain something out of it”*. It becomes clear from

this quote that trade union leaders were perceived to be elite in pursuit of their interests rather than those of the working class (Borland, 2008).

In this regard, P8 clarified that joining a trade union *“is no longer [about] employees, it’s more around how people can actually line their pockets, how people can be able to really get the platforms or positions that will give them the integrity that they feel they deserve”*. P4 illuminated how COSATU unions have investment companies and later added two aspects to this argument, NUMSA leaders *“don’t want to come here [to workplaces]; they do not want to see themselves as workers”*. P1 noted that *“when you take 70 000 and multiply it by R100 as a subscription base rate you end up with R7 million per month”* and similarly, P8 quantified the perceived economic gains of unions. P7 suggested that *“there’s a lot of money involved in unions. People are not aware that there is a lot of money involved”*. These quotes reflected the impact of union growth on the financial prospects of the union which were perceived to benefit a select few, hence the perceptions of elitism (James & Rajak, 2014).

In a mining system or sector that grows on cheap labour combined with an inefficient trade union system and the rising cost of living, structural loopholes are inevitable. P1 emphasised issues of *“socio-economic status and the wage gaps between them [management and trade union leaders] and their employees*. The Lonmin approach was compared with the transport sector as follow: *“when we took over, the first thing we did was to try and close the wage gaps between your highest paid and the lowest [because] ...if you don’t close the gaps, I mean you have somebody who doesn’t even earn your tax money, you know ... then you have a problem”*.

4.8.3 Exploitation of miners by loan sharks. The impact the conditions highlighted above exerted pressure which the miners could only absorb through wage increase (Soifer, 2012). Their vulnerable led to the pursuit of relief on loan sharks, and thus their debt entrapment became unavoidable (Bond, 2013; James & Rajak, 2014; Zengele, 2014). NUM’s loss of touch with miners deteriorated service delivery including the lack of protecting membership from financial exploitation as articulated by both P1 and P4, and P6 in line with (McKenzie, 2013). P1 revealed that *“Miners are a different breed Chief, and both government and business leadership forgot to collect information there, especially they forgot the level of indebtedness. Miners were “locked up in loan sharks, loan sharks kill those guys, because if you are getting charged 35% interest you will never survive so most of those guys will end up giving the loan sharks their ID’s and their ATM cards and so on, when these guys don’t pay. So if I don’t get paid anything I self-destruct, I self-destruct and that was bound to happen” (P4).*

4.9 Political and Sociological Antecedents

Herein, the interplay between political, economic and sociological causes of the management-labour conflict that manifested at Marikana will be presented. Service delivery is primarily a political tool to address the interests of the wider society (Linder, 1999; Mbeki, 2009; Salamon & Lund, 1989). “Similarly, South Africa’s ‘Rebellion of the Poor’ is inherently political and stands as a protest against the African National Congress (ANC) government’s failure to provide basic services and a decent standard of living, which could have significant political ramifications for the country’s future “(Lynch, 2012, p. 547). These ideas, as well as other factors, appeared as central tools through which the participants made sense of the events Marikana

4.9.1 Condensation of themes. The analysis for this part of the findings began with the condensing related codes under the global theme of political antecedents. Even though thirty three codes were gathered from the participants under this theme, the participants converged on at least eleven of these codes as presented in table 4 of this analysis (see appendix 4). Due to the lengthy list of codes generated under this theme as well as space constraints, these have been summarised in table 4. The eleven codes that were generated from the data were linked as follows: The unions’ alienation of the working class, lack of addressing pertinent labour issues, unresponsive and elitist alliance and government, unresponsive government and lack of business preparation were combined. Secondly, the researcher linked compromised government interventions and conflicts of interest. The third combination was the link of weaknesses in the legal system with the repressive effects of a majoritarian based labour relations framework. Power was explored from political and union power. Extensions from social discontent, service delivery protests and civil unrest and the poor introduction of a living out allowance were also linked. Whilst the lack of application of proper labour relations processes has been discussed under the sections on the perceptions of stakeholder role efficacy and would not be discussed further in this section, it too should be noted as relevant to this particular theme.

The above mentioned codes were combined discussed under the umbrella theme of ‘alienation of the working class’ since they have been found to cluster together in previous research (Alexander, 2012; Capps, 2012; Humby, 2005; Hartford, 2012; Soifer, 2012; North, 2015).

4.9.2 Alienation of the Working Class. Alienation can be defined as a state of estrangement or isolation from himself, others (socially), nature, politics or the economy. Karl Marx (1844) posited that people can be alienated from objects and materials even though the same people may have created them those very objects. Alienation is a term reflecting a state wherein one experiences passivity, receptivity and separation from what people deem meaningful for their growth (Ungar, 2006; Wennerlind, 2002).

The economic value of wages bears sociological implications as P6 noted that *“I am raising the societal issues because [migrant workers] are part of those communities and therefore the [service delivery] pain that is felt by those employees is felt by the communities”*. In situating employees financial and economic standing with their sociological conditions, P1 explained that *“[people] work to improves their social life and their understanding of how they improve their social life will only come from work [because] the amount of money you get [determines] your status in society [and] so if you earn little, you are going to have a lower social status and if you earn more that is a higher socio-economic status.”*

4.9.2 Lack of protecting miners from indebtedness. Thus, these issues were a build-up as miners were not protected from indebtedness by government through regulation and monitoring of financial lenders and from management’s profit concern, all while experiencing the pressure of poor service delivery (Bond, 2013; Habib, 1997; Mbeki, 2009). The integration of P5 and P6’s remarks clarified this point as follows: *“if you have a build-up of those things; [the] promises of the democracy which people don’t believe have been met quick-fast enough, “[P6 so events like Marikana] eventually would have happened because there is a belief that we are being robbed as people and particularly Black people; we are being robbed of what is due to us”*. Reddy (2013) evidences the improvement of company shares and directors remuneration to map contradictions between the rich and poor, concluding that workers have suffered an undue burden in post-apartheid South Africa.

The case of Marikana as a reflection of different forms of alienation of the working and ordinary class has been reported (Botiveau, 2014; Waterman, Mattoni, Humphrys, Cox, & Margarida Esteves, 2012). Inequality has been discussed as a form of both social and economic alienation (Capps, 2012; McKenzie, 2013). P1 noted that *“The prevalence of poverty, unemployment and inequality is gaining strength and this socio-economic arrangement still informs us that the socioeconomic status of Black South Africans are not parallel with those of White people and even the emerging BEE middle class can’t match them”*. P4 clarified that according to the Gini coefficient, disparity or *Inequality is just growing bigger and bigger. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer”*.

Alienation can be legal, political, economic and socially, thus perpetuating economic imbalances (Bond, 1998; Innes 2007; North, 2015; Pithouse, 2014). This defines the inherent conflict between classes in society as one group will advance economically and socially whilst the marginalised will stagnate. This class logic was noted as having led to the Marikana incident. P1 noted that *“the [inherent conflict of interest] has to do with the political nature of our political establishment. How do you think the ANC and alliance trade unions allowed capitalist tendencies during our time of governance to flourish? Secondly, BEE policies brought opportunism,*

but White capitalist have slowed the transformation that was foreseen to a complete halt. The promises are happening to the elite, transformation is happening to the bourgeoisie, those who are learned, those who have went to school and those who are politically connected. P5 explained this in conjunction with service delivery issues farmed the “level of discontent that we see in our society in general about whatever promises that the democracy had for them it is possible that you will see that uhm... change in the landscape”. (Katznelson, 2005; Kovacevic, 2007; Satgar, 2012).

4.9.3 An emerging union bourgeoisie. In this context, it was clear from P6’s response that she perceived the COSATU to be capitalists under the disguise of the socialist philosophy. P6 noted that *COSATU is in a tripartite alliance and maybe it’s understanding with government to a certain level as much they seem to be socialist; to a certain level, I am sorry, they are capitalists (laughing out very loud), [and] because they have remnants, not even remnants ... they are capitalists under the cover of being socialists.* Thus, P4 concluded that these practices alienate the workers to the extent that *‘what affects [the union] constituencies does not affect [the leader], so I will be eager to please the hands that feeds me and that looks after me’*. Soni (2014) presents the entrepreneurial tendencies in both the SACP and COSATU as a gross breach of trade union principles and solidarity.

Chen (2003) has referred to the phenomenon of unions being representatives whilst simultaneously aligned to government and capital, as the unions’ double identity’. Soni (2014) frames his remarks about the consumption of the SACP by the ANC’s capitalist or neo-liberal tendencies as equalling the death of the red flag (SACP). Thus, the value of this quote from P4 *“But also their alliance with the ANC has been challenged. So all the COSATU alliance have been challenged for relevance to the worker agenda another consequence there. You will see this increasingly because the ANC is being seen more as elitist that does not concern itself with grassroots. Does the alliance represent worker interests; the biggest union will argue differently, that is NUMSA. If they fire them on Thursday the message will be very loud and clear. And the biggest unions under COSATU would then be the government controlled union... which are all the employees on the public sector, NEHAWU... which says these are servants under the masters and they don’t have a say anymore and that could be the death of unionism as we know it, there will be- out of that there will emerge more radicalism. NUMSA would become more radical to prove its point and so is AMCU”*.

Lenin, warned (Vavi, 2014) “against a phenomenon whereby principles take second place to political expediency when he said that an “organisation not based on principle is meaningless and, in practice, converts the workers into a miserable appendage of the bourgeoisie in power (Soni 2014, p. 12)”.

4.9.4 From social protest to industrial unrest. Perceptions of social and workplace alienation and exploitation, as well as those of an elitist government were linked with social discontent from service delivery and civil unrest. P2 noted that *“it’s a very fine line to draw... when you say when does it stop becoming a strike... [and] when does it become civil unrest?”* In linking social service delivery with industrial service delivery, P5 emphasized that *“with that level of discontent that we see in our society in general about whatever promises that the democracy had [meant that] the pain that is felt by those employees is felt by the communities”*. Mbeki (2009) argues that the South African government has failed deliver its promises to the people, thus, the ANC-led state has created a divide between its leadership and the daily plight of the ordinary members and the rest of society (Alexander, 2012; Bond, 2011, 2014; Capps, 2012; Stewart, 2013).

The failures of the policies adopted by the current government were noted by P4 *“The RDP, GEAR, ASGISA did not work. Now they have got the National Developmental Plan, which is a total disaster because it favours big businesses and I am a business person but I am a South African citizen, you can see when things are going peer-shaped. NUMSA calls them monopoly capitalists”*. This resonated with P1’s earlier comments on the elitist nature of BEE policies (Ndletyana, 2008).

4.9.5 Between the workplace, economic and social dispossession. The section on economic antecedents of labour-management conflict illustrated the impact of perceived insufficiency of wages and recruitment practices as well as the financial exploitation by financial lenders during Marikana (Rajak & James, 2014). The section on union bourgeoisie noted the impact of the misapplication of policies such as the BEE in perpetuating economic inequalities (Bond, 2012; Bottiveau & Mottiar, 2014). The last section linked social unrest and industrial unrest grounding P5 to assert that *“the pain that is felt by those employees is felt by the communities”*. This grounds the assertion that the miners were dissatisfied with workplace issues while simultaneously being dissatisfied with lack of economic transformation as well as their social conditions (Alexander & Pfaffe, 2014; Frankel, 2013). The perception gathered from the analysis of quotes relating to these themes from the participants is that the miners carry an economic and social burden which later transpires in the form of labour-management conflict as found in Marikana (Dawson, 2014; Dixon, 2014). Alexander et al., (2014) referred to these phenomena as the triangle of torment from the government, Lonmin and NUM. this means that on the government’s side, dissent would be expressed in social protests (Dixon, 2014; Mbeki, 2009), on the union’s side, it would manifest through intra-union rivalries and on the business, labour-management conflict would result (Lynch, 2012; Molate, de Klerk & Ferreira, 2014). In the context of labour-management conflict, this is reflected through wage demands which are perceived to improve the social conditions of

workers in order to bridge the gap created by poor service delivery from the government (Alexander et al., 2014).

In the context of unions, P4 clarified that *“the government was happy; unions were not in touch, they were happy too, they were not there, their own structure change, so they became more bourgeoisie than workers, so they were detached with what was happening in the squatter camps and so the problem escalated to where it was”*. From a government perspective, P1 mentioned that the government was complacent; forgot the poor and had lost touch with issues at grassroots level. The above amplifies the managers’ perceptions of a change in union leadership ideology, values and principles, from socialist to capitalist (Soni, 2014). Mbeki (2009) extended the change of leadership philosophy by applying it to the government. “It is not that South Africa’s socialists should worship the base of Lenin’s statue, but what they should not profess to be Leninist – Marxist, when they have obviously taken an ideological leap away from much abstract ideals and have fully embraced bourgeois ideas and lifestyles themselves. This is called “opportunism” (p. 13). The participants mentioned these themes (P1, P4, P5 & P6). Opportunism, has also been related to the causes of management-labour conflict during Marikana (Bottiveau, 2014). Opportunism has been found to change the agenda of trade unions therefore leading to a perceived detachment between the trade union and membership (Buhlubgu & Bezuidenhout, 2008). Subsequently, the effects of the detachment create membership doubts in the efficacy of representation of their interests from their leaders (Soifer, 2012; Sorensen, 2012). Thus, union members disregard the union channel of communication with management since the pursuit of opportunism from their leaders was perceived to benefit the elite which encompass top union officials and business leaders (Alexander, 2013, Hawkey, et al., 2013; Twala, 2013). Trade union leaders are therefore perceived to push the business agenda. The implication is the lack of following bargaining structures from the joint factions from disgruntled NUM members and the sympathetic AMCU members which emanates from the a collective conscious that NUM and Lonmin management were the same establishment (Chinguno, 2013). Therefore, laws and regulations became insignificant because of feeling abandoned by the people designated to fight for their demands. This explains the trend between the gaps created by union opportunism and the re-emergence of workers committees which took over negotiations from the NUM to the Lonmin management (Ntswana, 2014; Samuel, 2013).

Trade unions have become part of the same financial establishment which is hostile to give housing loans to the same people whom they use as quarries of accumulation (Bond, 2010; Marais, 2011; Soifer, 2012). This was exhausted in our discussion of the perceptions of stakeholder role efficacy and will also be discussed in depth in the section dealing with the antecedents to intra-union conflict. The perpetuation of this financial

exploitation occurred even within the union movement as trade unions have also dispossessed their own members through mergers with businesses (James & Rajak, 2012).

The perceptions were that elitist governments, unions and management alienate themselves from their followers, members, and employees respectively. This can only create gaps between union-member and worker-management, and this is a double lens of alienation with different sub-themes as advocated above. Research has suggested that this state of affairs creates perceptions of frustrations, mistrust, abandonment, despair and vulnerability, diminishes trust, loyalty and group cohesion; and more importantly, laws or regulations become non-existent to those on the those whom these phenomena affect (Ferguson et al., 2004; Humby, 2005; Knowles, 2004). These phenomena have been perceived to create both intra-and inter-union conflict when union representatives become bourgeois and have been referred to as a shift in union leadership values which has to be met by equally opposite shifts in the union members' psychological profiles (Burchielli, 2006). These are captured in the section below.

4. 10 Reflections of Research Question 1:

In the section below the researcher considers the findings described above in the light of the research questions.

- What do IR managers perceive as the causes of Management-Labour conflict during the Marikana strike incident?

The causes of labour-management conflict in Marikana were framed on economic, political and sociological factors as well as the influence of group dynamics.

The presence of loan sharks and the government's lack of monitoring their operations were also found to have caused the labour-management conflict in Marikana (P1, P4 & P6). This was tied with a joint role between employers and trade unions, 'the financial training of employees and trade union members'. The researcher found that participants thought that loan sharks exploited miners through unregulated repayment rates, and as such the impact was felt through the heightened demand on wages from ±R4000 to R12500. This is in line with the findings from previous research (Bond, 2012; Rajak & James, 2014; Zengele, 2014).

This is in line with the findings from previous research (Stewart, 2012; Zengele, 2014). The researcher found that the struggle for wages was interpreted as a reflection of historical imbalances (P1 & P6).

We found that recruitment practices also contributed to the labour-management conflict in Marikana as the managers revealed that the bulk of the striking miners were migrant labour. This was tied with the fact that the miners were employed through labour brokers, thus alienating them from both management and their unions as those employed by labour brokers had no relationship with management and could not join trade unions (Botiveau, 2014; Capps, 2012; Gwatidzo & Behnura, 2013; Harvey, 2014; Soifer, 2012). This partly explained why living and working conditions were highlighted as an antecedent of the event as the burden of responsibility had been shifted by management.

Poor communication with workers by both the management and trade union was found to have also contributed to labour-management conflict in Marikana (P1 & P3). This deficiency was explained through trade union elitism, which was considered to create relational and ideological gaps between unions and their membership. In this context, the researcher found that trade union leaders had been perceived as using union resources to further their personal economic and political aspirations. The researcher found that the gap between management and workers was explained in terms of management dependency on unions for communication. This findings are in line with the findings of previous research (Alexander, 2012; Hartford, 2012; James & Rajak, 2014; Zengele, 2014).

The political and sociological causes were integrated. The researcher found that participants perceived the social conditions of miners had deteriorated post-apartheid and that these conditions had not been improved by the government or the employees and the unions were not pushing these on their agenda. This tied all industrial relations stakeholders under the theme of poor service delivery which was considered to have escalated the labour-management conflict in Marikana (P3, P4 & P5). This is in line with the findings of previous research (Alexander, 2012; Frankel, 2013).

Inequality in South Africa was framed as inherent economic imbalances between the interests of employees and businesses as well as with regard to the historical dynamics in South Africa. This finding is in line with (Bond, 2013; Reddy, 2013). The impact of inequality as an antecedent to Marikana was linked with social inequality which included poor service delivery from the government and was further linked to social or civil unrest (Bond & Mottiar, 2014; Katznelson, 2008; Soifer, 2012; Reddy, 2014).

Union leaders were also found to have exacerbated the tensions in Marikana. This was related to the issue of union elitism which the participants noted that it creates gaps in union service delivery as it sparks opportunism and careerism within union, and thus, changing the focus of trade union leaders (P3, P4 & P6). This is in line with previous research (Soni, 2014; Zengele, 2014).

4. 11 Reflections on Research Question 2:

Perceived Impact of Labour-Management Conflict on Industrial Relations

- How do they think Management-Labour conflict has impacted upon the industrial relations system?

This section reflects upon the impact of labour-management conflict on industrial relations in South Africa. These were related to their implications on the parties to the labour on industrial relationship.

4.11. 1 Management

From a management point of view, the Marikana labour unrest illuminated key aspects that managers must pay attention to in order to install industrial peace in human resources and industrial relations. The majority of the participants saw the need to drift away from union dependency for communication with workers in order to rebuild the primary relationship between employers and employees in order to keep labour very close (P1, P2, P3, P4, & P5).

The tenure of wage agreements was also highlighted as an issue that requires urgent attention for the future of industrial relations. P1 and P2 both argued for the creation of balance between short term and long term agreements. They both regarded unions to be following a trend against long term agreements in the support of short term agreements. Participant 1, P6 and P7 noted the importance of the legislation of flexible wage agreements. The rationale was the need for conducting productivity-led wage negotiations in the future. However, the content of the arguments between the participants suggests that business needs to engage trade unions in order to create a balance between these trade unions and business ideals.

The issue of the implementation of a sustainable minimum wage policy was discussed by the participants; with P6 regarding the current minimum wage as insufficient for a living while P4 thought that the unions have tasted victory over the battle for minimum wages. In conjunction with P3, they noted that the minimum wage must consider workers socio-economic issues [living wage]. The conclusion made in this study is that this issue needs businesses need to be prepared for this socio-economic dynamic, however, further research is required. A second issue of concern for business with regard to wages was the devising strategies to deal with the perceived increase in inter-union power led wage demands as brought by the participants that radicalism is on the increase with a consequent increase in unsustainable wage demands (P3, P4, P6, & P7).

Employee well-being, which was either framed as employee social welfare or employee ownership programmes, was considered as an important factor that would mitigate labour-management conflict in the future as programmes to address both the working and living conditions were perceived as pertinent (P1, P3, & P5). This can be regarded as a measure to curb the wage inequality gaps that were considered as the link between social unrest and labour unrest (P1, P3, P4, & P6). The analysis of the data gathered suggests that another perspective from which management may view employee well-being is through employee training and union empowerment.

The participants perceived communication breakdown or insufficient communication as having been an antecedent during Marikana (P1, P3, P5, P6, P7, & P8). P3 and P8 perceived that the remedy to this gap was the creation of employee engagement platforms. However, the content of these participants suggest that the creation of these platforms to facilitate discussions might encounter difficulties because of the inertia of the negative emotions emanating from both industrial and social conditions that must be addressed. If this is left unattended, it may render it difficult for parties to agree during wage negotiations because previous of the issues that were not addressed including the issues which led to Marikana. However, the perceived prevailing negative attitudes between management and employees may create a room for mistrust and disloyalty in the future as reported by the participants.

4.11.2 Trade unions

The Marikana labour unrest as perceived to have also impacted on the trade union landscape. All the participants perceived Marikana to have been a precursor for the mushrooming of new unions. This was perceived to have implications for the power of existing federations and trade unions. The perceived impact of this shift of power was on the decrease in the power of the current dominant federation towards an increase in the power of emerging rival federations (P1, P3, P4, P5, and P6). However, contrasting ideas between P1 and P4 meant that there was no clarity in terms of absolute displacement of COSATU, whom was perceived as the dominant federation.

Participants were concerned about the lack of recognition of minority unions in the current labour framework (P3 & P5). Their perception was that the practical application of the current labour framework does not allow for the expression of the interests of minority unions as well as. According to these participants, the current labour framework was perceived to stifle industrial peace and democracy; they further expressed that their interests as business was to see a labour framework that allows a multi-union environment. Similar thoughts were also shared between P1, P2 and P8. Thus the issue of revising the current framework for the

amendment of recognition rights was prevalent. A revisitation of trade union recognition was then perceived as necessary. Participant 1, P5 and P8 shared similar views citing that the current recognition framework is too high and that in order to achieve industrial peace, they must be adjusted to lower cut-offs. However, P1 noted that either the increase or lowering of thresholds have consequences as he highlighted the possibility of their abuse.

Participants noted that the current bargaining system was distant from the workers agenda. This point is important for trade unions given the fact that union power is gathered through the growth of membership which is achieved when workers perceive their agenda to be considered by both trade unions and employers. In this regard, the content of response from P1, P3 and P4 suggest that the incorporation of the workers agenda in the current labour framework would require trade unions to discard the influence of the profit concern from their operations since this was seen as altering their ideology and thus affecting the quality of service delivery.

There was agreement between P2, P3, P4 and P7 that the labour-management conflict displayed in Marikana divided union power. In fact, P3 noted that the underlying factor behind the Marikana incident was an exchange of power, thus the perception was that union power increased for AMCU whereas it decreased for NUM. P1, P3 and P4 made comments about the division of labour which resulted from these power exchanges. What can be gleaned from the participants' response is that union solidarity was dwindled during Marikana.

The adherence of unions to basic union ideology and democracy were regarded as factors which may rebuild trade union solidarity.

4.11.3 The State

The number of points highlighted above can be considered as informing the role of the government. This relates particularly to the legislation of a number of the issues raised above. This must be read with the fact that both the government and tripartite alliance were perceived as distant from the ordinary citizens and working class in order to situate the challenge of the incorporation of the workers agendas to the alliance as claimed by P1, P3, P4, P5 and P6. The number of ways through which this was perceived to be possible was the legislation of a minimum wage policy which is reflective of the need to improve the workers socio-economic conditions. The second point raised by the participants was the adjustment of recognition rights in order to promote industrial peace and harmony. Thirdly, P1 and P7 highlighted the legislation of flexible wage structures which were productivity driven.

4.12 Perceived Antecedents to Intra-Union Conflict in Marikana

4.12 .1 Introduction

This section is discussed in conjunction with table 5 of antecedents which as attached (see Appendix 5). Intra-union was defined as one area in which intra-group conflict may manifest (Bendix, 2010; Hyman, 2007). Theory and empirical evidence were used to support the assertion that intra-union conflict reflects the interaction of psychological constructs which operate at both the individual and group levels. These include value and ideological incongruence, negative attitudes, mistrust perceptions, and concerns of cohesion and loyalty (Burchielli, 2004; DeChurch & Hamilton, 2007). It was argued that these are important constructs for perceptions of positive group identification from the union-membership.

This section discusses the antecedents to intra-union conflict; thereafter consequences of intra-union conflict are used to assess its impact on industrial relations in South Africa. Economic, political, sociological and influences of group dynamics are considered.

4.12.2 Economic Antecedents

Fine & Newman (2010) and Mckenzie (2013) have discussed financial exploitation of trade union members by their own leaders, the conflicting roles of financialising and politicising trade union under the broad term of financialisation of trade union'. Fine and Newman (2010) provide evidence of financialisation of trade unions before Marikana and Mckenzie (2013) provides a post Marikana evidence. Financialisation reflects a pattern through which profit accumulation accrues through financial markets rather than through trade or commodity production (Krippner, 2005). Focusing on the role of the financial sector in perpetuating old and new inequalities, Rossman and Greenfield (2007, p. 1) argued that financialisation refers to "the enhanced importance of financial versus real capital in determining the rhythm and returns expected from investments, and the increased subordination of that investment to the demands of global financial markets".

4.12.3 Condensation of themes. From this background, the sub-themes gathered from participants in relation to the 'financial exploitation of trade union members by their own leaders, the conflicting roles of financialising and politicising trade were incorporated under the broad term of 'financialisation of trade unions'.

4.12.4 Financialisation of trade unions. There is a notable increase of union investment companies (Bezuidenhout, 2000; Buhlungu, 1999; Jauch, 2002; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004). This trend has been discussed parallel with the perpetuation of inequalities in mining areas (Bond; 2012; Bond & Luxemburg, 2013; McKenzie, 2013; Pons-Vignon & Segatti, 2013; Rajak & James, 2014; Satger, 2012; Webster, 2013). Jauch (2002) cautions against the increasing trend of trade union financialisation while Rajak and James (2014)

caution against trade unions forming corporations with big business. The consensus in research suggests that once a trade union inclines itself financially, its ability to criticise anti-worker policies diminishes.

We found that participants 1, 7, and 8 agreed that trade union members were financially exploited by their union leaders. They also agreed that the political and commercial roles of trade unions were in conflict. Participants 7 and 8 agreed on money and growth as antecedents to intra-union conflict.

Accordingly, P1 noted that *“unions have both political and commercial will and these two are contradictory and conflictual. You know, some members of unions and some unions are investors; and from my own definition, to invest is to lean towards exploitation of some sort, so you can't be a unionist and an investor”*. The response from P7 provided a similar insight, *“I think with the issue of unions, this ... there's a lot of money involved in unions. People are not aware that there is a lot of money involved. Because a union subscription is at ... I think it's at 1% of your income. Now, when you've got 140 000 guys earning around R32 000.00 a month, for instance, that's a huge lump sum of money in just one month. You've got a lot of greed in the process”*.

The prevalence of union leadership value shifts in union leaders was evident (Hartford, 2013). In line with this claim, P8 framed this as a reflection of unions that have lost direction *“but are we having a situation wherein unions have actually lost direction; maybe, because it's not about employees best interests, it's about how do we get a lot of members, how do we make sure that we get into other business transactions. You know there are actually some other unions who are involved in business transactions over and above representing employees. They will actually come up with it as medical aid, whatever; yes that's in line with taking care of employees interests but that actually take your focus away from main issues. Job security is actually the main issue; you know, so if you, you, you actually do not channel your focus on those things [job security] that's how you get to really lose your people”*. The last part of this quote reflects the consequences, loss of workers agenda and deteriorating service delivery (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008).

Alexander (2012) and Bond and Luxemburg (2013) also evidenced how the working class have become victims of a deliberate system of debt entrapment by the informal lending sector. The dwindling financial position of the workers was contextualised as P4 illustrated that miners *“are locked up in loan sharks, loan sharks kill those guys, because if you are getting charged 35% interest you will never survive so most of those guys will end up giving the loan sharks their ID's and their ATM cards and so on, when these guys don't pay”*.

These studies converge on quite a number of key assertions related to financialisation of trade unions in the mining sector: both formal and informal lenders have grown; COSATU trade unions have used their power

to conclude deals with capitalists; and businesses have experienced a growth trajectory even during the tough years of the recession whereas the ordinary worker's income has decreased in terms of its purchasing power.

As a consequence, P1 and P8 noted that union value and role shift relegates the workers agenda in perpetuation of the capitalist agenda and thus divided unions. *"So for me those things deeply divide unions because the unions stop being concerned about workers and concern itself about profit and positions. I mean it changes the whole union philosophy"* (P1). When asked whether a change of values divides unions, P4 emphasised that *"It does, it does. The same thing that has infected the ANC, it has infected them- Everyone wants to drive a big car, it changes your agenda"*. In line with Marx as discussed in Hyman (1975), it is evident that trade union leaders were perceived as having abandoned the core interests of their constituencies. Marx posited that the bourgeois would sprout out of the relationship between capitalists and the proletariat. However, he noted that this emerging class would consider itself as the privileged class, thus he termed this class as the elite. P6 noted that *"COSATU is in a tripartite alliance and maybe it's understanding with government to a certain level as much they seem to be socialist; they are capitalists under the cover of being socialists"*. This explains how economic imbalances to which P6 referred during our discussion on labour-management conflict are perpetuated to maintain the power and dominance of the dominant class (es) in society.

The claims for the causes of intra-union conflict cannot be held meaningful unless they are analysed and discussed in relation to their meaning politically, sociologically and pertaining to influences of group dynamics. Thus, the researcher adopts the assertion that politics is a continuation of economic struggles by other means (Ruppert, 2013). The following section deals with the political antecedents to intra-union conflict.

4.13 Political Antecedents

4.13.1 Contextualising Power. On the political antecedents of intra-union conflict, P1, P2, P6 and P7 emphasised power struggles, greed and ideological conflicts where evidenced. These would be linked to power as increased power privileges unions to organisational rights which are used to channel these tendencies (Bendix, 2010; Brand, 2014).

In this context, P1 and P4 emphasised on the role of the emergence of union elitism, bourgeoisie, the concern for personal gains and the consequent relegation of the workers agenda. P4 and P5 emphasised on upward political mobility and personal gains (Cumbers, 2005; Twala & Kompi, 2012).

4.13.2 Power and competition for membership. It is worth noting that union elitism, bourgeoisie, and the concern for personal gains were also identified as causes of intra-union conflict in our literature review for this study (Alexander, 2013). Trade union power is amassed through numbers as each trade union wants to be perceived as relevant to political issues affecting labour (Bendix, 2010; Hyman, 1975; Salamon, 2002). This implies ‘competition for membership’ which was noted by both P3 and P6. In line with Ding et al. (2002) and Twala and Kompfi (2012), P3 acknowledged that *“One of the sources is either leadership battles or be they political differences or ideological differences, but they stem from that conflict”*. P6 reiterated *“Power; so for me that’s what lies at the centre, and money Ntate. Power of course I suppose it’s all encompassing, but its power. And in the same thread if you look at everything we spoke about, its power ... power struggles because we have gone past apartheid where all of us where fighting towards one thing. Hey Ntate. You think AMCU just went out to get 12.5 just njee to get people 12.5s, they wanted power”* (P6).

4.13.3 Personal political power. P7 added a ‘personal political power’ dimension to power as follows: *“Now there’s another side to this situation because Mathunjwa himself the leader of AMCU, was an NUM guy who was fired from NUM for disciplinary reasons”*. This was shared among the participants as P6 explained that AMCU *“was aware of what was going on between NUM and the Lonmin management clearly and out of that they saw a loop whole and decided you know what, this is where we are going to maximise but probably they saw where the gap was like any other business you go for the niche and you make money, (P6). “Mathunjwa saw the gap and he went down to grassroots and said guys they have forgotten me. So if there is any lesson for the union guys is that they must stay in touch with the grassroots level and keep it real”* (P4). These quotes are loaded with ideological gaps between NUM and its constituency and P6 (Gwatidzo & Behnura, 2013; Harvey, 2014; Soifer, 2012, Capps, 2013).

The participants mentioned that trade union allows access to organisational rights and benefits as well as personal benefits. If power is the mechanism through which money can be accumulated, then it is worth questioning who was perceived as the beneficiary of these transactions. P4 provided an answer by noting that *“Mathunjwa is becoming a millionaire overnight I mean he doesn’t have an umbrella body to regulate how much he takes home, so he controls his own kingdom and so some guys who are observing that will say I can also push and get a slice of the action with my own union. Mathunjwa already is, he is being driven around with big cars and you know, so it’s going to continue, it is going to continue. We are seeing NUMSA and its investments corporation; those guys don’t even want to come here. They don’t want to ...see themselves as workers. Those guys are driving big cars. Most of them drive cars that are even bigger than my car”*. When these quotes are read with the argument for an economic and financial accumulation of capital by dispossession

of workers, the conception of alienation of workers from the benefits of trade union which are achieved through their power were noticeable. Thus, the argument for collective power used for personal gains to evidence the value shifts of union leadership was evident and its explication was valuable.

4.13.4 Collective power for personal gains. It can be argued that the overriding theme of the previous paragraphs is perceptions of the pursuit of mobilisation of collective power for personal political and economic gains. This is a contradiction as unions develop because of the need to advance collective benefits (Bendix, 2010; Dunlop, 1959). Thus, earlier, the researcher quoted P1 explicitly noting that unions can't be unions whilst at the same time being investors. P8 noted that unions were *"no longer [about] employees, it's more around how people can actually line their pockets, how people can be able to really get the platforms or positions that will give them the integrity that they feel they deserve, and once that is done it then moves us to conflict amongst unions because once you actually see that ... no we are actually comfortable, we've got so many thousand members and err through subscription we are able to achieve A B C and D. The minute you see a union or another union trying to come with something that may or may be does not help your cause in terms of lining your pocket, that's where you'll say no we need to deal with these people because under normal circumstances unions were supposed to work together as a team in ensuring that employees rights are taken into account and protected"*.

This can be explained through elitism, the perception that gains are for a selected few as explained by the participants and supported by empirical evidence. P6 *"Why can't we fight poverty together? Because now when we are talking about power, we are talking about elitism. There are people who are at various levels within our society and the very same people who are supposed to be fighting for us are also looking out to gain something out of it. This was explained through value shifts which transform ideology at the leadership level as explained by participants. P1 noted that the consequence is that "People on the ground see these things and react as they did; it is because they see their leaders as sell-outs that are trapped through a power web and who have lost ideology. Look, the fact that leaders of trade unions earn during strike activities defies the ideology at grass-roots level"*. P8 reiterated that trade unions have lost direction; hence the relevance of the values shifts.

4.13.5 Leadership Value shifts. In this regard P4 explained that *"NUM became complacent; Baleni and his crowd were driving c-classes. In the mining industry there is a worry, its worrying because it's a practice that the union leaders are treated as managers in terms of pay"*. P5's response is worth noting, *"Uhm... quite frankly it's about you know the value proposition. It's about if employees do not feel that there is a compelling proposition that people (leaders) are living to that value proposition. They will move; they will either move people that are in leadership and stay, and hopefully stay in the organisation. Move those people*

get people that would ensure that their needs are met”. In locating the perceptions of lost ideology and value propositions, P6’s questioned *“How do you have someone that is a minister and is associated with the ANC at the level they (ANC) are as capitalist as they are. Is he really socialist, Blade Nzimande? I’m sorry Blade is not socialist? So having a situation like that, there are people who are seeing that our people, we are not fighting for our people and because we are not you have people that are tearing away”*.

4.13.6 Membership value shifts. In the literature review, the researcher evidenced that for intra-group or intra-union conflict to exist, the value shifts at the leadership level must be met with an opposing shift at the grassroots or membership level. This was confirmed in the analysis of results for this part of the discussion as P2 noted that *“because people now will not be joining... remember previously people joined unions as an overflow from the political parties that they were associated with. That old or that nostalgic kind of affiliation that is still there ... I’m supposed to remain loyal. But I can’t be loyal if they are not doing anything for me, I wanna try something new, I want to actually exercise this freedom that I’ve been given without feeling the pressure; kind of, that was is now causing the fights between the members now”*. The note on loyalty by P2 is very important as both industrial relations and group development theories posit that these dynamics diminish cohesion, loyalty and trust of membership towards their group leaders (Bendix, 2010; Dunlop, 1959; Tuckman, 1965; Tuckman & Jensen, 1977).

4.13.7 Dissatisfaction with poor union service delivery. The interaction of leadership value shifts and concerns for personal gains can be used to explain perceptions of dissatisfaction from poor service delivery by member in relation their trade union as was found during the analysis and discussion of stakeholder role perceptions (Alexander, 2012; Capps, 2012; Soifer, 2012). *“So service is key to members, once members are happy, they have no reason to go to another union. [NUM] has done a lot of good work ... was the first to establish its own training school ...to buy buildings ...its investment group pushing hardly too. Mine workers... it would take them through ABET, it had very good projects, so even their leadership they started from ... and Mathunjwa was trained by them but with time I don’t think they’ve sustained that”* (P3). This can be explained by the fact that when elitism, bourgeoisie values and the pursuit of personal gains are achieved at the expense of collective benefits and this develops a void from the membership. The consequence is a gap or disconnection between leaders and members as explained by the gaps between leaders and members (Hu, 2012). P3 *“There is what we call service to members, service implements, attending to their issues...they must know the bread and butter issues of their own members and make sure that they address them”*. According to Du Toit (2013), the issue not addressing the strikers’ interests heightened the levels of worker militancy prevalent in Marikana.

4.13.8 An emerging trade union bourgeois fosters a business agenda on unions. Bourgeois and elitist tendencies fosters a business agenda on the trade unions, thus, it diminishes leadership accountability towards their membership, impairs relations and develops a lack of cohesion and mistrust. In relation to the business agenda, P4 noted that *“the President of COSATU is employed by the state, he is a worker, Sdumo, he is a health worker and so he is reliant on the employer and he is forcing the employer agenda on COSATU”*. This must be read in line with the fact that the ANC, SACP and COSATU have all been perceived as elitist or bourgeois as discussed and referenced in the previous sections. Thus, P4 emphasised that Marikana was a reflection of trade union membership challenging the COSATU unions for their relevance on the workers agenda.

4.13.9 Lost accountability to membership, disloyalty and lack of commitment. Organisational behaviour theorists explain that the manifestation of lack of satisfaction leading to intra and inter-union conflict may be caused by role inefficacy, disloyalty, disunity, non-commitment, mistrust and lack of member participation (Fiorito, Gallagher & Fukami, 1988). On fractured cohesion and depleted loyalties P1 explained that *“There is a strong belief that people could form their own unions as from now and this means loss of members. You see, these beliefs are counter-beliefs to those of the leaders and that creates huge problems as it questions loyalty and when there is no loyalty there is an increasing turnover. Everyone seeks power, even those who are led want to perceive themselves as exerting the necessary power over their leaders”*.

Freeman (1997) studied union satisfaction as an economic variable and argued for its application social analysis. Thus, this helps us understand why dissatisfaction with union performance and the struggle for wage increases may be argued through lack of identification (Hyman, 2007). In this context, the theory of social identity has been used to explain that role inefficacy, disloyalty, disunity, non-commitment, mistrust and lack of member participation imply that members of the group do not identify with the values, principles and culture of the group (Hyman, 2007; Van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, 2008). This ties both employers and unions as Kelly and Kelly (1994) explain this as a state of being relatively deprived in comparison to other groups.

The impact of values shifts, decreased loyalty and commitment, negative attitudes (frustrations, anger, etc.) and distorted cohesion were also linked the management of trade unions (Von Holdt, 2002). This was in relation to communication flows within trade unions as lack of communication was also emphasised as a catalyst for intra-union conflict. Ideas of lack of internal communication were extracted from P8 noted the *“lack of internal pipe of communication which is actually very useful because when you get to that stage of fighting or using whatever weapon available to express your anger, it means you’ve lost confidence in the internal process”*. P3 asserted that service delivery encompasses communication to members then explained that *“when*

that service is not there ...workers become despondent". This is because the manner in which communication structures are set up is associated with union democracy and membership empowerment (Buhlungu, 2006; Edelstein, 1967; Stepan-Norris, 1997). In this regard, P1 explained that "*Chief, we must understand that democracy is designed to allow people to push their boundaries and ask a lot of questions*".

4.13.10 Mistrust, complacency, careerism and opportunism. Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout (2008, p. 272) argue that the transition to democracy "has introduced new dynamics that threaten these levels of solidarity. Careerism leads to severe division and disillusionment with the union in certain branches. When lobbying for positions becomes more about career opportunities and less about the traditions of solidarity that brought about the transition, nonclass identities are often mobilized". Lynch (2012) supports the fact that position seeking, union complacency, the erosion of the principle of workers control of the union, and the financialisation of the union were enough to farm a rift in NUM. Lynch (2012, p. 248) argued that "The erosion of a coherent class identity, 'fuelled mistrust and suspicion between regular members and union leaders', and undermined the NUM's ability to represent workers' interests and control the means by which demands are made" and thus, the bulk of their NUM membership later defected to AMCU.

P6, P7 and P8, noted that workers disregarded formal bargaining processes as they had lost trust in collective bargaining. The substance in this content suggests that workers will exert their power to the leaders when they have perceptions of leadership role inefficacy (Buhlungu, 2004, 2008). This was contextualised by P1 as he noted that membership perceptions of leadership role inefficiencies "*took away the trust the workers had on both the NUM and the ANC because is in alliance with the ANC*" [because] as participant noted that "*everyone seeks power, even those who are led want to perceive themselves as exerting the necessary power over their leaders*". The quote from P6 suggested that the lack of trust was extended to the entire scope of bargaining in South Africa as the participant explained that "*the reason it ended up the way it did is because at some point there was a lack of ... trust and respect ... for collective bargaining*". The second part of the quote from P1 establishes the need for trade unions to give meaning to the principle of workers control of trade unions (Buhlungu, 2008).

An explanation to the apparent lack of trust of trust in bargaining structures may be grounded from the perceptions that the bargaining system does not cater for the workers interests. This is relevant to the note made by P4 about the need for ANC and COSATU to respond to the worker's agenda. It also links to P6's earlier assertion that the balance between the interests of business and those of workers will never be achieved. It is this structural imbalance which is embedded in economic and social means of survival which Dahrendorf (1959) alluded to.

In line with Chen (2003), Alexander (2013) and Hartford (2013) explain that careerism and opportunism in unions shifts the agenda of trade union leaders through the incorporation of trade unions within the formal business structures. Thus, both P1 and P4 perceived union leaders as complacent or comfortable and P4 extended on this note by explaining that the fact that they are treated as managers in terms of pay and noted that these developments create a divide between unions and erodes the trust that the membership has towards its leaders. Thus, the relevance of the assertion that “*even those who are led want to perceive themselves as exerting the necessary power over their leaders*” (P1) became relevant. This was reasonable given the consideration of P4, P5 and P6’s comments about the role of power during Marikana. Both P4 and P6 had noted that it was about power play and the money tied with such. Given that workers were reported to be exploited leading to Marikana (Capps, 2012; Botiveau, 2014), the assertion of power from workers who are trying to oppose the changing values systems of their trade union leaders becomes relevant.

Thus, two levels of mistrust were apparent; the first operating at the group level and the second directed towards the polity and collective bargaining structures. The consequence was perceived in the instrumentality of these in fuelling frustration, anxieties, and other negative emotions (Deerey, Iversen & Erwin, 1999). Thus, the strikers took the risk and defied established bargaining structures. Lynch (2012, p. 249) noted the ANC has protected capitalist interests; the gap between union leadership and the rank and file, wildcat strikes have also brought attention to the extreme levels of poverty that led workers to risk everything – their livelihoods and lives – by participating in illegal and violent protests.

4.14 Reflections on Research Question 3:

- What do IR managers perceive as the causes of Intra-union conflict during the Marikana strike incident?

In the section below the researcher consider the findings described above in the light of the research question.

In this study, economic, political, and sociological and influence of group dynamics were found to cause intra-union conflict.

On the economic causes, the researcher found that (P1, P7 & P8) thought the financialisation of trade unions caused internal conflicts as the participants noted that the commercialisation of trade unions was problematic (Bond, 2013; Rossman & Greenfield, 2006). In line with previous research, the participants felt that commercialisation of trade unions was against union principles (Bond & Mottiar, 2014; Jauch, 2002; Samuel, 2014; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004).

Politically, power dominated the discussion over causes of intra-union conflict. Power was interpreted in terms of leadership ideological battles (Ding et al, 2002; Twala & Kompi, 2012). Ideology was interpreted in terms of conflicting interests between the politicisation and commercialisation of trade unions. A second dimension of conflict of interest was found as participants thought that trade union leaders lobbied for the union's collective power in order to satisfy the personal political gains.

Power was also related to economic power of trade union leaders (P1, P6 & P8). The cause of this conflict of interests or ideology was explained as the shift of values in the union leadership and was perceived to cause intra-union rivalry (P1, P3, P4, P6, P7, & P8). However, the participants noted that leadership value shifts create a gap between the leadership and the constituency, and as such causing value shifts in the shop-floor level which leads to intra-union conflict (Hartford, 2013).

The gap between the leadership and the constituency was explained in terms of the constituency's dissatisfaction with deteriorating service delivery, and this included poor communication with members, lack of accountability to members and the relegation of the workers agenda (Harvey, 2014). This state of affairs was found to cause perceptions of role inefficacy, disloyalty, disunity, non-commitment, mistrust and lack of member participation (Fiorito et al., 1988). These were considered as causes of mistrust between the union leadership and the constituency, thus fuelling intra-union conflict (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Lynch, 2012).

In light of the above argument towards the causes of intra-union conflict, workers did not identify with the values adopted by their leadership (P4, P5 & P6). Thus, the participants thought that the intra-union conflict displayed in Marikana was an assertion of workers control of the trade union from the membership.

4.14.1 Reflections of Research Question 4:

The Impact of Intra-Union Conflict on Industrial Relations

- How do IR managers think intra-union conflict has impacted upon the industrial relations system?

This section discusses the impact of intra-union conflict in relation to its implications on the state, the employers and trade unions.

4.14.2 Trade Unions. This section reflects upon the impact of intra-union conflict on industrial relations in South Africa. These were related to their implications on the parties to the labour on industrial relationship.

The content of the participants' perceptions regarding the impact of intra-union on Marikana was that it stalled negotiations (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, & P8). Intra-union conflict was perceived to have been caused by power struggles internal to the union and as such, the power struggles were perceived to have been projected towards labour-management conflict. This was associated with perceived unreasonable wage demands which were interpreted as a flex of muscles from AMCU; herein the researcher refers to this phenomenon as 'intra-union power-led wage demands. This interpretation can be associated with the fact that the rock drill operators who initiated the strikes were under NUM and had questioned the leadership's effectiveness in representing their demands and when the leadership declared not to back them going forward, workers committees re-emerged. The participants had associated this tendency with radicalism from AMCU and had agreed that AMCU had seen a niche which it penetrated through unsustainable wage demands. However, the participants associated the same phenomenon with inter-union conflict as they felt that radicalism was on the rise in both the industrial and political spheres. While intra-union conflict was perceived to have generated shifts of power within NUM, inter-union conflict was perceived to have generated power shifts in both the union and political spheres. The participants reasoned that inter-union conflict was rather ideological and had perceived it to have posed a challenge on the relevance of both COSATU and the tripartite alliance with regard to the workers agenda and the interests of the ordinary citizens.

4.14.2 Employers. The impact of intra-union conflict on Marikana was also perceived to send a message for employers to focus on the workers agenda. When this point was read with the points on the communication gap between both management and employees and trade unions and their members, the interpretation of the resolutions suggested a need for employers to rebuild the primary relationship. It is reasonable to understand the participants' noted about the importance of communication because it is the main tool with which relationships are developed and maintained. From this background, employers would have a better understanding of the bread and butter issues of their employees as gathered from P3, P4, and P5's transcripts. This was highlighted because participants perceived the need for employers to terminate the dependency on unions for communication (P3, P4 & P5).

Participants perceived intra-union conflict to have impacted negotiations in Marikana and the possibility of affecting future negotiations was highlighted. Participants highlighted difficulties in concluding settlements and they reasoned that it delays the process of consultation; this may affect the effectiveness of communication. They also shared their experiences which led to their concerns about the authenticity of agreements reached when the union is divided or fighting internally. This farmed the perception of intra-union conflicting as causing unnecessary delays with the effect of stalling decision making. Participant 1 framed this as a 'half-settlement'

and all agreed that it creates concerns about whether the agreement was supported by members of the union (power-led wage demands).

Industrial violence was also perceived as a consequence of both intra and inter-union conflicts in Marikana (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, & P7). It was a common thought that workers resorted to violence because they were alienated from their union; that their interests in both the social and industrial spheres were not attended to, thus the link between industrial violence and social unrest was established by the participants (P1, P2, P4, P6 & P7). This extended the issue of service delivery to the government as the participants had raised the need for the inequality gap to be bridged in order to facilitate the management of industrial conflicts.

4.15 Perceived Antecedents to Inter-Union Conflict

4.15.1 Introduction

In general, the analysis of antecedents to intra-union conflict can be regarded as similar to the antecedents of inter-union conflict as evident from a matching of table 4 and table 3 for intra-union.

The data were analysed in the same format as labour management conflict and intra-union conflict. The classification of antecedents was based on economic, political, sociological and the influence of group dynamics. The next section discusses economic factors.

4.15.2 Economic Antecedents

4.15.2.1 Financialisation of trade unions. The financialisation of trade unions was perceived as an economic antecedent to inter-union conflict during Marikana. This code was also perceived as an economic antecedent under intra-union conflict and the factors related to it were discussed. The link between economic antecedents of inter-union conflict and those of intra-union conflict were acknowledged with the notification X^{IUC} on table 4 (see appendix 6). Under intra-union conflict the researcher argued for the link between power and financialisation of trade unions and reasoned that trade union power is amassed through the growth of union membership and thus, the competition for members develops as ensued in Marikana. Quotes and theoretical support were provided to support the assertion that once a trade union assumes dominance through growth in membership, it may have the opportunities to advance the economic interests of its members.

However, the researcher found that the economic position of miners who were involved in the 2012 Marikana strike incident had not improved as reports confirm that the majority of these workers earned between R3000-R4000 a month, hence the emergence of the wage demand of R12500 as seen in Marikana. This economic antecedent was conceptualised as an insufficiency of wages during our analysis of findings for the discussion of labour-management conflict as has occurred in Marikana (see table 1 under economic antecedents). Evidence in support of the assertion of the contradiction between the lack of improvement in the financial and economic position of workers with the continued improvement of the trade union leaders financial and economic positions were given under intra-union conflict.

The improvement of financial and economic positions of banks, formal and informal micro lenders (*Mashonisas*) and law firms that led to the bankruptcy of the workers in Marikana were also evidenced with quotes and research evidence. The role played by trade unions in this context was perceived as ‘corporatism’ or

the incorporation of trade unions within the capitalist establishment (Habib, 1997). In this context, P8 explained that *“we [are] having a situation wherein unions have actually lost direction, maybe, because it’s not about employees best interests, it’s about how do we get a lot of members, how do we make sure that we get into other business transactions. You know there are actually some other unions who are involved in ... call it, business transaction over and above representing employees. They will actually come up with it as medical aid, whatever; yes that’s in line with taking care of employees interests but that actually take your focus away from main issues”*. Thus, Panitch (1981, p. 42) concludes that *“Based on communitarian premises and collaborative practices which articulate the interests of capital with the state, corporatist structures require of trade unions, as their contribution to the operation, not that they cut their ties with their base, but rather that they use those ties to legitimate state policy and elaborate their control over their members”*. On this point, P4 (Personal communication, October, 2014) explained that some trade union leaders are forcing the government and business agenda on trade unions. In the discussion on intra-union conflict, this was conceived as a flaw in principle and ideology of trade unionism (P1, P3, P4, P6, & P8).

These arguments transcend intra-union conflict and were found to hold even true for the explanation of the inter-union rivalry which ensued in Marikana.

4.15.2.2 Union growth and money. In this context, power between trade unions can be conceptualised as the means through which rival unions seek to mobilise influence through workers to oppose economic imbalances in order to improve the perceived exploitation of workers that was established in the discussion on both labour management and intra-union conflict (Bendix, 2010; Hyman, 2002; Tarrow & Tollefson, 1994). When explaining causes of inter-union conflict, P6 noted that *“Money [laughing], particularly [for] the unions, what’s key for them is growth, that’s what’s key to them, its growth. It’s always very important to grow in power. So for me that’s what lies at the centre and money Ntate. Power of course I suppose it’s all encompassing, but its power; [because] “the majority party or rather union has more powers and decision making powers in boardrooms”*.

On exploitation within the trade union movements, P1 noted that *“some members of unions and some unions are investors and from my own definition, to invest is to lean towards exploitation of some sort, so you can’t be a unionist and an investor”*. This is related to P4’s comment that every COSATU union has an investment arm, a theme which both P1 and P4 perceived as a betrayal to the principles of unionism; hence P1, P4 and P6 perceived the tripartite alliance as capitalist, bourgeois or elite as quoted in the discussion on antecedents of labour-management conflict which manifested during Marikana.

The following section discusses the participants' perceived political and sociological aspects as well as the influence of group dynamics of inter-union conflict and extends the power dimension to the issues of a shifting political landscape, union solidarity as well as sociological implications.

4.15.3 Political Antecedents

4.15.3.1 Power: Levels and dimensions

4.15.3.1.2 Power dimensions. Lasswell (1950) argued that politics is about who gets what, when and how, leading Kirshner (2003) to assert that the management and distribution of money is political. Hall (1986) argued that politics is about the governance and management of the economy. Hyman (1975) and Dunlop (1959) suggested that the purpose of trade unions' political power is to bridge the economic balances in the workplace between ordinary workers and the employers. These authors state that trade unions achieve these objectives by influencing the government's economic and social policies. Therefore, power becomes the only way through which trade unions gain political relevance as explained by P3 that inter-union conflict *"Would be about dominance and would be about control. But it is essentially a battle for the control of the governance in the particular industry"*.

Although the economic aspects of inter-union conflict are waged with power, this section established these political aspects since this construct dominated the responses from the participants. Aspects of political power which were perceived to have contributed to inter-union conflict during Marikana were gathered from responses from P1, P2, P3, P4, P5 and P6.

P2: *"the rise to some form of political power; [this includes] personal political power between the leaders of the two parties or amongst the leaders of the two parties so that they could have that negotiating power and them being seen as [the] ANC of the day, [the union] one that came out and defeated apartheid".* This quote situates two dimensions of power; the first is political power which is instrumental in influencing government for the benefit of the masses or collective (Salamon, 2000). In this context, P3 stated that *"with the power that they had, I think that they've had, if a union as big as your traditional big unions can say to workers let's go, they will go, err they will do things that are outside your realm of your traditional solutions"*.

The second part of the quote situates the quest for 'personal political power' or careerism. This aspect of power was read with the argument for amassing power for personal (elitist) economic interests to establish the link between the political and the economic dimensions of power. This reasoning is in line with the assertion that polity is the continuation of economics by other means (Yoo, 1996). In his perception of the causes of inter-

union conflict drawn from Marikana, P1 combined these dimensions and noted that *“it is about power and the money that is tied with that power”*.

4.15.4 Levels of power

4.15.4.1 Shifts of power from employer to employee. Power is often waged between the employer and the employee as evident through labour-management conflict and power to influence government political structures (Hyman, 1975). When the power dimension was stretched further, it was evident from the perceptions of the managers that during Marikana, power operated on different levels. The first reflects power from the grassroots or working class which fuels intra-union conflict as evidenced by this quote from P1 as he emphasised that *“Everyone seeks power Chief, even those who are led want to perceive themselves as exerting the necessary power over their leaders”*. In this context, power can be understood as the means to self-determination and can be connected to the principle of workers control of unions (Buhlungu, 2003; Cooper, 1998; Hyman, 2007; Von Holdt, 2002). Thus, P4 provides that *“their alliance with the ANC has been challenged. So all the COSATU alliance have been challenged for relevance to the worker agenda another consequence there. You will see this increasingly because the ANC is being seen more as elitist that does not concern itself with grassroots. Does the alliance represent worker interests; the biggest union will argue differently, that is NUMSA”*. Thus P3 noted that *“employee relations has changed; remember how you define the employer-employee relations, we’ve always said it’s an unequal relationship and the employer has more power [giggles] than the employee in any circumstance, so in that conflict the employer will always win, but [in the Marikana incident] it has been demonstrated that it’s not always the case”*.

4.15.4.2 Distribution of power from NUM to AMCU. The second level of power is in line with Hyman (1975, 2000) and involves power battles between trade unions as organisations. P3 explained that *“We’ve always said power relations are equal, but now the consciousness is different; there was an article I read, it said AMCU has taken workers further than any other union. It has achieved what no union has achieved before, which means that it has landed there safe to say we can do more, others don’t care about the costs, the cost as in the implication of some of these unsustainable demands and they will go that route. The perceptions of this power shift were supported by P5 as he explained that “We have seen the arrival of AMCU in the platinum belt as a minority union and today being the majority union in the belt and in Lonmin in particular having displaced the national union of Mineworkers which was the majority union in the platinum belt and Lonmin in the, in the mining sector in general. So while the incident seems to be a result of this R12 500 one has to understand that within the context of a- the changing union landscape that has uhm... that has evolved over the 24-36 months”*.

4.15.4.3 Political transitions and shifts in union political power bases. Scholars have agreed that the power phenomena described above may affect states undergoing political and economic transition (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2008; Buhlungu, 1999, 2003; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004; Webster & Von Holdt, 2005). These authors note that the reason for power and positional seeking tendencies which were prevalent in the build up to the Marikana event can be understood from the influence of business and political opportunities open when states are in transition. P1 noted that *“The current trends support this, Chief. You see [Irvin Jim’s] ideals and those of NUMSA are in conflict with those of the alliance and there is no sign that they will reach middle ground unless the ideals advocated by EFF and AMCU are adopted by the government [and] that will change the political landscape hey, however [laughing] the ANC is still contempt at pleasing capitalists”*.

Another angle from which the impact of political transitions on trade unionism was perceived was through the loss of union leaders due to these political opportunities. P5 explained that *“you have a situation where NUM started as a voice of employees with time it moved into the tripartite alliance, uhm... pursuing the course that the tripartite alliance has pursued over the years and with the advent of democracy NUM loosing leaders, the same way COSATU lost their leaders. Uhm, moving into government and so on. And I think there is a gap that developed overtime between the leadership of NUM and the employees.*

This may explain why position or power seeking behaviour was perceived as an antecedent to inter-union conflict during Marikana as leaders were perceived as using unions as instruments of accumulating personal gains and upward political mobility (Ding et al., 2002; Twala & Kompi, 2012). In situating position seeking behaviour, P3 mentioned this as the *“tendency of people when they lose elections they form new unions. And also the tendency of people when they lose elections, they form their own union because they feel we can’t lose elections, and that’s the first issue”*. On the other hand, P7 reasoned that people join unions with *“a target that by this time I should be in that position and when I’m in that position these are the benefits I would get and this is the power I would get”*.

What is evident from the above texts is the shift from collective gains to the individualisation of gains. This was contextualised further by P8 as he noted that the unions were *“no longer [about] employees, it’s more around how people can actually line their pockets, how people can be able to really get the platforms or positions that will give them the integrity that they feel they deserve, and once that is done it then moves us to conflict amongst unions because once you actually see that, no we are actually comfortable, we’ve got so many thousand members and err through subscription we are able to achieve A B C and D.*

Adam and Moodley (1997) substantiated the case of shift in trade union leadership values by arguing that the strength of capitalism and profiteering has contaminated ideologies and united former ideological foes into a common search for new opportunities.

4.15.4.3 The case of lost ideology. Research reveals that pre-democratic trade unionism in South Africa was imbued with trade unions conflicting over ideology; however, this ideology was political in nature as the majority of trade unions were distant from economic means (Callinicos, 1992; Desai & Habib, 1997, 2001; Friedman, 1987). However, research supports the claim that the post-apartheid political and economic climate has transformed the trade unionism order as party-aligned trade unions have become closer to economic means of production and capital accumulation (Buhlungu; 2003; Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Capps, 2012; Habib, 1997, 2001; Chinguno, 2013).

Thus, P8 explained that trade unions have lost direction. In this context, P1 substantiated that *“there are inherent power dynamics because commercial needs are always against community needs; but also within those struggles you have a high prevalence of power and ideological struggles as seen from NUM. This is the same thing we are seeing in the wider political arena; you see the split from the ANC to EFF was because of the felt need for South African politics to be radical. This is the same ideology that has split NUM to the emergence of AMCU and as I said earlier, NUMSA is towing the same route as well. In fact, NUMSA has championed this route even before AMCU; it has been fighting within the federation (COSATU) boundaries whereas AMCU has championed the battle outside for those not affiliated with COSATU.* The participant clarified the application of lost ideology in trade unions as he conceptualised a parallel of lost ideology between dominant the ANC and COSATU; within trade unions and between political parties and lastly citing worker control of trade unions as the main principle.

The case of a change in ideology led to the government being perceived as elitist or bourgeois in unison with its aligned trade unions and was conceived by the participants as having presented a gap within and between trade unions and their constituencies causing both intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict. Thus, P5 contends that *“The fact that it appears to be a gap between the union and the members and the perception that you know in that process there is a gap between employees and management. Those were some of the things I think may have contributed to the displacement of NUM. Uhm, and that gap obviously represented a fertile ground for the likes of AMCU to step in and present a different proposition- uhm present the very same proposition that they listen to members. They listen to employees as radical. You can get them addressing the issues that are relevant or pertinent to employees”*.

AMCU was perceived as having filled the gap created by the departure of trade union leaders as they joined the mainstream political parties. Evidence from the interviews suggests a possible connection between the advent of democracy and lack of responsiveness of both the government and the trade unions to people's issues. This study situates the connection in the similarity of tactics used both by government and by trade unions as they both rely on promises to grow their numbers.

After close to twenty years into democracy when the Marikana event occurred and because of the perception that the majority peoples social living conditions had not changed; it seems probable to build an argument that this period had been enough to for people to seek recourse elsewhere.

When the re-emergence of AMCU is connected with the frustration and psychological despair that has been building into society, including industrial and work spaces; these forces had opened up a void which AMCU articulated and exploited by also adding the promise that they will approach industrial relations differently from the NUM and other COSATU unions. The only alternative for AMCU to pursue their ideals successfully was then to adopt a radical perspective towards industrial relations. Therefore, the prevailing social discontent is in this way linked to the prevailing industrial discontent and the history of the South African industrial relations landscape supports the assertion that trade unions are political in nature as the struggle for democracy was won through their hard fought battles (Bendix, 2010; Habib, 1994, 1997).

This gap was also perceived to be exacerbated by the gap between management and employees (Hartford, 2013). The hypothesis of this dual communication gap deficiency has been supported by the evidence gathered from the interviews and has also been supported empirically. When the relationship between management, employees and unions is viewed as a triangle, it is easy to see that one of the sides of the triangle has been ignored by the two other sides; and because of this, interventions such as training and development of employees have also been neglected as gathered from the analysis of stakeholder role efficacy. Furthermore, their social conditions have also been neglected and continued to deteriorate. When these factors are pulled together, it is clear that the workers have been frustrated without interventions as the gaps prevailing between them and their authorities had not been managed properly.

When explaining the change of trade union leadership values, P4 noted that *“Mathunjwa already is, he is being driven around with big cars and you know, so it's going to continue, it is going to continue. We are seeing NUMSA and its investments corporation; those guys don't even want to come here. They don't want to, see themselves as workers. Those guys are driving big cars. Most of them drive cars that are even bigger than my car. He later affirmed that the instalment of individualism implies that ‘what affects my [leader*

constituencies] does not affect me, so I will be eager to please the hands that feed me and that looks after me” (P4). This echoes P1’s comment who reinforced that the ANC and tripartite alliance were eager to please capitalists. In this regard, Adam and Moodley (1997) argued that the ANC and tripartite alliance have failed to translate their ideological commitment to the social agenda of labour into its economic policies.

From this background, it can be argued that political affiliation had been perceived to contaminate the agenda of the alliance unions and the role of government (Maree, 1998). This may explain why government intervention during Marikana was perceived as compromised or under duress. *“So as far as government getting involved, I think that wasn’t a very wise move; but then again, the deputy president having share in there? ...it was almost a conflicting situation for him to protect my investment and I can exert some form of power in this; him representing two entities, the mine and government”* (P2).

On the other hand, the involvement of police was perceived as an untimely and unduly intervention by the government in so far as the deputy president, Cyril Ramaphosa was perceived to have used his political connections, not to solve the issue at hand but rather to protect his investment and wealth at Lonmin. Adam and Moddley (1997) had argued that former unionists have changed ideologies along the political transition. *“The fact that Cyril Ramaphosa could move from head of a militant mineworkers' union and secretary general of the ruling party to chief executive of a business conglomerate and main board member of the Anglo American Corporation indicated an atmosphere of non-ideological expediency, similar to the many shifts of principled ideologues to pragmatic profit-seekers in Eastern Europe. Unique to South Africa is only the need to justify private enrichment with Black empowerment that elevates corporate boardrooms to 'new sites of struggles”* (Adam & Moodley, 1997, p. 115-116).

This raised concerns that government’s intervention was biased and thus compromising the authenticity of their efforts to mediate the conflict as it can be argued that the opposing unions were not clear as to which role he and the government were playing. Thus, opposing unions couldn’t draw a clear separation between him and government. The argument on undue political pressure from the government was extended: P6 explained that *“in the metal industry we got to a deadlock and when you got to a deadlock, now government came in and government was now intervening and making decisions on behalf of the two parties that were involved [silence] simply because it’s been seen that its possible for us to carry on and not agree on issues and there will always be someone that comes and it was politically driven as well. Because you know with issues of NUMSA and you know how it is impacting on the ANC, and everything that the ANC with its minister agreed on in this last strike was to please the very same NUMSA.* P7 shared a similar thought and argued that this creates a situation of dependency as he noted: *“I think your other question was around government’s intervention in the process. I*

will make an example, during this year's platinum strike, the new minister of minerals and energy, decided he's going intervene in the process [because] they thought that they can resolve the dispute [however], they realised [that they] were compromising themselves.

In line with the argument made under the section on perceptions of stakeholder role efficacy, participants thought that government intervention should be minimal. Participants emphasised that increased government intervention in disputes creates tendency on third parties. In this light government intervention was viewed as disempowering to both the employers and the employees. A second reason that was raised for the non-support of government intervention was the fact that irrespective of what government does, if it pushes a particular ideal, it might be perceived by either of the parties as supporting the agenda of the other party and thus biased against the other. Two positions were advanced as for why government might support either of the parties in the dispute; for unions, the support would maximise votes and keep them in power whilst support for business would achieve the objective of ensuring that jobs are created and that the economy is growing. P6 made noted that during the 2014 metals industry negotiations, the government went there to support NUMSA as follows: *"Because you know with issues of NUMSA and you know how it is impacting on the ANC, and everything that the ANC with its minister agreed on in this last strike was to please the very same NUMSA".*

4.15.4.4 Intra-union (federation) conflict. The internal power struggles within unions ultimately manifest in intra-union conflict with the effect of creating coalitions and ultimately splitting the unions, thus the advent of inter-union conflict. *"Chief, we must understand that industrial relations is an economy driven by workers. It is the workers that form unions and workers determine economic productivity. This is why leaders are questioned because they do not just come and impose their instalment, they are elected, and thus they must be accountable. This is why we see and are still gonna see these dynamics, it is because this is the main trade union principle".* Thus, the perception of the COSATU *"alliances being challenged for relevance to the worker agenda, another consequence there. You will see this increasingly because the ANC is being seen more as elitist that does not concern itself with grassroots. Does the alliance represent worker interests; the biggest union will argue differently, that is NUMSA. If they fire them on Thursday the message will be very loud and clear"*. Thus, under intra-union conflict the researcher conceived the workers agenda as being alienated, in like manner, inter-union conflict has been seen to emanate from the same alienation (Buhlungu, 1999, 2003; Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004; Webster & Von Holdt, 2005; Twala & Kompi, 2012).

4.16 Reflections of research Question 5:

- What do IR managers perceive as the causes of inter-union conflict during the Marikana incident?

This section reflects upon the perceived causes of inter-union conflict in Marikana.

The participants thought that the main economic cause of inter-union conflict was the financialisation of trade unions. The participants perceived that union growth is achieved through a growing union membership and for this reason, competition for membership was perceived as a cause of inter-union conflict.

Union growth was interpreted as power and this power was framed as an access to money and political relevance, thus the quest to achieve majority status was perceived as causing inter-union conflict (P1, P3, P4, P6, & P8).

On political causes, power dominated the discussions with the participants (P1, P3, P4, P5, & P6). Power was interpreted as a precursor to the dominance and control of industry. However, the researcher found that the participants noted the prevalence of the pursuit of personal political power which was perceived to be facilitated through position seeking behaviours and careerism or opportunism.

We also found inter-union conflict in Marikana was caused by shifting power bases. These power shifts saw power distributed from the employer to the employees as well as from NUM to AMCU. The interpretation of quotes from the participants in this regard highlighted the fact that intra-union conflict between NUM had heightened the intensity of the conflict between NUM and AMCU. The need for AMCU to adopt a radical orientation was used to explain that AMCU had to bring a new philosophy on the scope of labour and industrial relations in South Africa.

Political changes in the country were also seen as a cause for inter-union conflict. This tied the radicalism adopted by AMCU with that of the EFF. The causes inter-union conflict were also found to be ideological as the participants noted a prevalent change in ideology which was thought to alter the roles of trade unions and create a gap between trade unions and their members (P1 & P5). Changes in ideology were extended to explain the individualisation of trade union gains and this was perceived to impact the nature of trade union solidarity (P4, P7 & P8). Political and economic ideologies were also found to create rivalries between unions and the example given was NUMSA and their ideological differences within COSATU.

4.17 Reflections on Research Question 6: Perceptions of the Impact of Inter-union Conflict on Industrial Relations

These causes of inter-union conflict were related to their implications on the parties to the labour on industrial relationship.

- How do they think this conflict has impacted upon the industrial relations system?

4.18 Trade Unions

This section was extended from the impact of intra-union conflict since the participants' perceived inter-union conflict as an extension from intra-union conflict. Participant 1 and P6 noted the economic and organisational benefits associated with being a majority union. The interpretation of this point was pooled together with the quotes about the negative effect of the majoritarian based nature of our labour relations which governs union representation (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, & P6). The sense by the participants was that the issue of organisational rights, which are conferred on the majority union led to the adversarial conflict of membership between the unions involved in the Marikana labour unrest. In line with Brand (2014, 2015), it can be gathered that organisational rights allows the dominant union access to the employers facilities, stop orders and pertinent infrastructure required to operate as a union. P4 had noted the reluctance of the Lonimin management in facilitating the handover procedure to install AMCU as a dominant union.

Thus, the interpretation of the above can be found in the imbalance between section 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and representation rights as provided for in the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995. The former governs collective bargaining while the latter governs organisational rights afforded to trade unions. Constitutionally, every employee has the right to join a trade union of their choice and benefit from collective bargaining, however, representation in terms of organisational rights is afforded to the majority union. This is a contradiction and it is reasonable why participants had perceived that the pursuit to acquire majority status would led to inter-union conflict in Marikana and would lead to continuous struggles between unions in the future (Hartford, 2014). The researcher found that collective bargaining was supported by the participants, nonetheless, collective agreements were perceived as a failure (P2 & P5). Thus, P2, P7 and P8 considered the need for the flexibility of collective agreements by recommending productivity led wage demands as a solution to some of the problems leading to industrial conflicts in the future.

Thus, the fights between unions can be regarded as a struggle to acquire organisational rights; however, it was found that these are also channelled by hidden agendas as the participants noted ulterior motives from those concerned with personal gains. In this regard, P4 noted the need to regulate the earnings of trade union leaders in order to minimise the effects of driving union power for personal benefits or benefits of the few. It was also

found that these phenomena were perceived to deplete union solidarity and P2 and P4 made comments about the death of unions. The perceived death of unions was perceived to be precipitated by two developments, the emergence of lawyer schemes in labour and industrial relations (P2) and changing ideology of trade union leaders (P4).

4.19 Employers

From this background, the study found that participants perceived an association between inter-union conflict and wild-cat strikes and a further link of these to hiked or unreasonable wage demands. In this regard, participants cited the 2014 Post Office and Metal Industry strikes organised by AMCU and NUMSA respectively to support their arguments on the increasing philosophy of radicalism which bears prolonged strike activities (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, & P8). However, the participants acknowledged the emergence of trade union militancy or radicalism but noted that this radicalism must be channelled discipline.

We also found that participants were not averse to the emergence of new trade unions as they considered this to put pressure on the unions to improve the quality of service delivery to their members (P3, P4, P5, P6, & P7).

Inter-union conflict was also considered to have extended power shifts from the trade union landscape to the wider political arena as explained under intra-union conflict. According to P1, P2, P6 and P8, the poor union service delivery that led to labour-management conflict, intra-union and inter-union conflict in Marikana sparked the re-emergence of politicising labour and industrial relations. This assertion was backed by the splits within COSATU; the declaration of a workers' party and a united front by NUMSA. These were read together with the fact that NUMSA had declared its withdrawal of support for the ANC, thus the possibility of its expulsion was highlighted as an important development for the future of labour and industrial relations in South Africa.

4.20 Summary

In line with Bond (2013) and James and Rajak (2014), the participants perceived the inter-union rivalry in Marikana to have been caused by an increasing commercialisation or financialisation of trade unions. Participants noted the need for unions to grow to achieve majority status. However, the growth of trade unions was perceived to be instrumental to the financial growth of trade union leaders. Research has linked trade union growth with personal gains of trade union leaders (Bond, 2012; McKenzie, 2013; Stewart, 2013).

Participants also highlighted that this was against trade-union ideologies as union leaders were perceived to be subsumed with bourgeoisie tendencies (Fine & Ashman, 2013; Oboe, 2014; Smith, 2013).

We found a link between trade union growth and power; however, in this particular case of Marikana, the study found that participants perceived that the power which is tied with the financial growth of unions caused competition for membership.

Our findings show different levels of power shifts that were a consequence of the Marikana labour unrest. The first was internal to the NUM, and this was explained in terms of the struggles for control of negotiation processes as workers committees side-lined their union leaders during Marikana (Soifer, 2012). A second level of power found was the displacement of NUM's dominance with the instalment of AMCU as the majority union (Botiveau, 2014).

Participants considered this power shift as significant they perceived that it may translate to power shifts in the broader political arena. This was extended to the power shifts within COSATU and their implication in labour market stability and the politics of the tripartite alliance into which NUM is an affiliate through COSATU. The current rivalries between COSATU affiliates resulted in the participants bringing discussions about the possible expulsion of NUMSA (Fuentes, 2014; McKinley, 2014). This was regarded as one of the impacts of Marikana and this was highlighted as a concern for business since it may cause labour market instability as the power waged between unions was perceived to be flexed against employers through unreasonable wage demands (Fuentes, 2014). Participants noted that this might create a continuous struggle between trade unions. Possible rivalries between former alliance partners were not ruled out as NUM was perceived to rival NUMSA in the future and a possible venture between NUMSA and AMCU was not ruled out found also in Fuentes (2014). Thus, the dissolution of COSATU and the consequent disunity emanating from such was perceived to impact on union solidarity.

The impact of labour-management conflict, intra-union and inter-union conflict is discussed further in the following sections and is explained in economic, political and sociological factors and the impact is summarised for its significance on the scope of labour relations and industrial relations in South Africa.

4.3 The Perceived Impact of Marikana on Industrial Relations in South Africa

- **How has Marikana impacted upon the labour relations system of South Africa?**

4.3.1 Introduction

In this study the researcher set out to explore the perceptions of the impact of the 2012 Marikana strike incident on the scope of labour and industrial relations in South Africa. The impact was explored from economic, political, sociological implications as well as from the influence of group dynamics. In line with the questions contained in the semi-structured interview schedule, the researcher focused on Marikana as an inroad from which the impact of the roles of stakeholders, labour-management conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict was assessed.

Literature and the content of the interview transcripts revealed interlinks between labour-management conflict, intra-union conflict and inter-union conflict. Thus in our findings and discussion, codes that link these themes together were pooled. Notes on the tables are attached to acknowledge the interplay of antecedents and consequences between the themes. This was in line with our framing of Marikana as an inflection point from which the above themes intersected in an unprecedented fashion.

When the findings and discussion were complete, this section was then used as the main section from which the researcher assessed the impact of Marikana on the scope of industrial relations in South Africa as gathered from the interviews from eight industrial relations and human resources managers. Our analysis and discussion of the impact commenced with the perceived economic impact of the Marikana event. The political and sociological factors and the influence of group dynamics are integrated as explained in the previous paragraph. The impact was then summarised in order to answer the four research questions as set out at the end of the literature review. The literature review for this study focused on the role of the state or government, employers and trade unions as stakeholders in industrial relations; the tripartite model (Bendix, 2010; Dunlop, 1989; Tustin & Geldehuys, 2010). Therefore, the summary will highlight the impact of Marikana on these stakeholders and recommendations will follow thereafter.

4.3.2 Economic

According to the participants, the 2012 Marikana labour unrest had economic implications. These include lost production, supply chain delays, dwindling global competitiveness, negative competitiveness ratings and disinvestments. These are discussed in the following sub-sections.

Lost production, dwindling global competitiveness and negative ratings. The cost of lost production during the Marikana strike was estimated to be R15 billion (Bond & Luxemburg, 2013, Murwirapachena & Sibanda, 2014; Stone, 2013). The rand weakened, thus threatening inflation and rising wages above the inflation rate (Bardenhorst, 2014). For instance, the settlement reached by the parties at Marikana forced the employer to deliver wage increases above what the employer afforded, these are reported to have ranged between 8% and 22% and both of these measures were above the prevailing inflation rate at the time (Soifer, 2012; Van Niekerk, 2013).

According to Bardenhorst (2014) and Karodia (2013), South Africa was downgraded by Moody's bond rating from A3 to Baa with the effect of increasing the cost of the country's borrowing costly and knocking economic growth. Against international currencies, the rand simmered; 22% against the dollar. In twelve months, the rand weighed 33% against the pound; the CPI increased from 5.5% in July 2012 to 6.3% in July 2013; and a record balance of payments deficit was recorded in the second quarter of 2013; unemployment worsened from 24.9% in the second quarter of 2012 to 25.6%. This economic analysis resonates with one comment from the P2 as she noted: *"But they [unions] don't understand...the impact of their demands...not this year but next year ...the spiral effect of inflation, the spiral effect of demands in general... and who does it come back to when the rand is weakened? Increase in food, increase in transport, coming right back to the employees [saying] I need more money, I cannot afford"*.

Karodia (2013) argues that these negative economic trends bear the risk of rising inflation with cost implications for especially on the food chains with the effect of drastically affecting the poor. P2 contextualised the effect on the poor as follows *"[arrears] over their medical aid ... lapses of provident and pension fund. ...only September will they be receiving proper salaries ...NUMSA subscription fees [raising voice], we had to deduct. So tell me five months of striking where you've got to continue because the medical aid does not care when people are on strike. While they are on strike they are still consulting on the doctor, are they not? Their bonus provisions don't care; tax, it doesn't care"*.

The cost to company implications for some of these companies as reported in both Prinsloo and Marais (2012) and Sibanyoni (2012) were as follows: 42 days of strike at Lonmin Platinum cost R500 Million; the cost of implementing the miners' demands was projected at R2.3 billion; the Impala six-week strike cost R2.8 billion. Brand (2014) argues that both the employer and the employee lost significantly during this strike. On the employees side, studies have shown that Lonmin terminated the K4 mining contract with the effect of 1200 retrenchments and at KDC east 8000 illegal striking employees were fired and that Amplats fired 12000 striking employees who were also involved in wild strikes from the Marikana strike wave (MSNBC, 2012).

P2 notes a comment she has made during a particular strike activity: *“how much do they want, ten percent? Give them fifteen. Retrench. I don’t need as many to do the job. I’d rather buy a million rands machine to do my casting...that I know that I have spent that million once off, and now it’s what, five hundred thousand to maintain it than have to deal with this”*.

The points raised above are important as it is evident that the impacts cascaded from the macro to the micro levels of our economy. Employers lost production and the profits associated with such whereas employees lost their wages which was reported to have been R6.6 billion (Department of Labour, 2012). P2 extended the loss of the workers by incorporating implications of lost income on socio-economic issues such as provident funds and medical aid payments.

4.3.2.1 Dis-investment. Studies have predicted that the mining industry is likely to experience instabilities as many companies are likely to withdraw their investment in the future and this might have the effect of having to restructure operations and this might be paralleled by retrenchments and job losses in the formal sector (Murwirapachena, & Sibanda, 2014). P7 noted: *“And then you start asking yourself, what’s gonna happen? And I can tell you more and more, international companies ... there’s a company that I service now called ..., I think it’s a Swedish company, they have decided to close their foundry, their bronze producing foundry here and they gonna do them elsewhere so bronze props and jobs are at stake”*.

The impact of disinvestments is usually felt in the long term since it affects the rate at which the economy of the country grows and the rate at which such growth is channelled to the development and provision of services to its citizens. This means that economic growth is necessary for economic development (Todaro & Smith, 2006). Investment thrives in conditions that guarantee investor confidence. Todaro and Smith (2006) maintain that a country’s economic, political and social stability determine the level of investor confidence is stimulated through boosting investor confidence, which is normally perceived through a country’s economic stability. The comments from P2 and P7 resonate with this argument. Economically, the evidence gathered suggests increasing instabilities in our economy as the Department of Labour has also reported an increasing trend in wildcat strikes between 2012 and 2013, a time period in which Marikana occurred (Department of Labour, 2013).

4.3.2.2 Supply chain delays. Businesses thrive on effective supply chain operations within their operations as well as the operations of their business partners. The prevalence of strike activities bears the consequences of a shutdown in operations with extended consequences for both their suppliers and distributors (Buchsbaum, 1966; Eleen & Bernardine, 1971). This translates to loss of business contracts and loss of earnings

which ultimately translates to loss of contracts for employees. In addition, employers lose the trust of their suppliers or business partners because of the unreliability of their operations which can be attributed to strike activities. The data gathered from P7 supported these claims.

Businesses supporting mines were also hit as P7 noted that *“that strike did not just affect the platinum belt. It affected suppliers into those mines. I’ve dealt with cases within CIFSA companies where people were on short time because there were no orders; you know the guys, these guys that supply the mines can’t produce because there are no orders from these guys [mines] to them, so the ripple effect was huge”*.

Karodia (2013) evidenced that Marikana had constrained the manufacturing sector with greater emphasis on the fact that the supply side of the economy experienced surplus production due to a combination of factors for which he cited weak demand due to labour unrest, cost pressures and other competitiveness issues as highlighted above. This was confirmed during the interviews, P4 noted that *“there are other sectors that cannot afford prolonged strikes and other unions, the small unions understand, new unions understand that the economy would, if [the metals] industry was to be on strike for two months, everything will come to a grinding halt. Power stations, we supply these [products produced] to the power stations, to power your electricity so the minute we cannot supply, Eskom struggles and motor sector struggles, the building sector struggles because we [also] supply the building sector, the construction sector. I mean the rail network and everything else, bridges, the rail enforcements for the housing sector everything that we produce is for day to day use; whereas the mining sector produces gold to halt and to preserve value”*.

Apart from a loss of production and revenues for both the employer and the employees, it is evident that the employer further lost future business partners and contracts. It is also evident that the economic system encounters mass disruptions with ripple effects for all stakeholders.

4.4 Politics, sociology and group dynamics

4.4.1 Mistrust between employers and unions; and between unions and their membership. The failure of employers and union representatives to reach a settlement through legislated bargaining structures opened space for the intervention of social institutions such as church leaders for the agreement to be reached. Stone (2013) and Samuel (2014) argue that this development has the effect of raising suspicions from employers about the efficacy of trade unions. However, from a trade union perspective the same argument can be framed against an employer which was Lonmin in the context of Marikana. P2 revealed *“...you cannot negotiate if you are not willing to move from the point that you at. The purpose of negotiation is for us to meet at some point, for me to make a compromise and for you to make a compromise, but if I’m seeing you and you*

and seeing me as me, I'm not seeing space for me to compromise. I'm not seeing a common goal for us to meet at... Where do we meet? Had it been a positive reinforcement between ... management and ...labour, and then I think that would have done more to encourage negotiation, you know and consultation”.

The quote from P2 situates a number of important points. Firstly, it contextualises the purpose of negotiations. Bendix (2010) explained that negotiations are facilitated by a trusting relationship between the parties to the bargaining discussions. Tustin and Geldenhuys (2010) argued that when the relationship is void of trust, parties will be reluctant to reach a settlement or compromise. In this context, P7 noted that *“the biggest element [for effective negotiations]. In this scenario [productivity led negotiations], you need to have a high degree of trust in terms of what I say I will do, I will do and whether what you say you will do you will do”*. Secondly, it contrasted the events of Marikana with what should have been under normal bargaining circumstances in that the main purpose was to reach a compromise or common ground. Note that the participants had perceived poor negotiations skills from the union and management to have added to the events of Marikana. Thirdly, she notes that Marikana was not a positive reinforcement between management and labour; this has issues of lack of trust between employees and their trade unions and management.

Anstey (2013, p. 140-143) provides that “Violence in societies is associated with high aspiration of frustration scenarios, an absence or loss of trust in mainstream institutions and conflict resolution mechanisms, escalated conflict dynamics, group norms legitimising violence as a tactic, and inept crowd management. South Africa reflects elements of all these factors. On the platinum mines NUM’s drift into moderation possibly reflects this trajectory [frustrated, violent], and a more militant competitor has arisen. Where neither is fully trusted, some workers have discovered independent action to be effective in achieving better deals”.

Union power and relevance is achieved through union membership growth in numbers and the growth in numbers is a function of the perception of role efficacy of the union leadership (Anstey, 2013). The group dynamic element of this assertion is found in union (group) cohesion and loyalty (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012; Chinguno, 2013). However, the events of Marikana reflected dissatisfaction from constituencies, thus signalling negative perceptions and disloyalty, thus the defections to other unions. Members had lost their confidence in their union leaders since they were seen as part of the same establishment that exploited them and perpetuated their plight; this was reflected by the continued side-lining of union leaders and the emergence of both workers committees and continued un-procedural strikes (Alexander, 2012; Chinguno, 2013; Mottiar & Bond, 2013; Sorensen, 2012). Thus, this can be referred to as ‘counter alienation’ as Alexander (2014) fittingly referred to this as the rebellion of the poor and referred to Marikana as a turning point.

4.4.2 Increased pressure on the unions to perform paralleled with increased radicalism. Since the advent of Marikana unions are now faced with a pressure to perform, and this might spark an increase in trade union radicalism and wildcat strikes as statistics on their prevalence have been on the increase since 2005 (Botiveau, 2014; Department of Labour, 2013). In this context, P3 noted *“the pressure to perform, firstly. That they can no longer just be a union, just be visible, just be there, they must be doing something to perform and the pressure to outperform each other, you know.* P3 further explained that *“I think you saw NUMSA also saying now we don’t care, this is what we want. So it has ... it has set a tone and err with the intra-COSATU battles again ... you’ll find that they are using that tone to raise demands with employers and all the other unions that are on the other side, the tone is on 10% or nothing.* This point complemented by P6 noting that *“There is a good in that we have a “revolutionary voice” that don’t have time for sweet talks, which people want to hear. People want to hear someone that fights for them, don’t they? So they are radicalists and err business doesn’t exist on an island”.*

The link between the comments from P3 and P6 is important. In line with P4 who noted that the Marikana labour unrest should be interpreted as conveying a message to trade unions to minimise the alienation of members (*unions must keep in touch*), P3’s emphasis is important. Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2006, 2008) study was focused on service delivery within NUM and found out that NUM was not in touch with its constituencies. In terms of P3’s first point of emphasis, improvement in union service delivery is crucial for unions to rebuild the solidarity eroded in Marikana. The importance of P3’s second comment is that the participant together with P6 link the prevalence of poor service delivery with an increase in radicalism, thus bringing P3’s earlier comment that ‘when service is not there workers get despondent’. This brings into life the quotes from Anstey (2013) which were cited above.

When situating the emergence of the workers militancy, Alexander (2013) argued that the R12, 500 demanded in Marikana became a general trend which affected mines beyond the platinum sector. Goldfields KDC East, KDC West, AngloGold Ashanti and Amplat were affected with the highest wage demanded going up as far as R16, 000. Boiveau (2014) stretches this list and includes Harmony Gold, Gold One, Kumba Iron Ore, Petra Diamond, Samancor and Xsrate.

This transformed into an immediate strike wave with militant strikes reaching beyond mining as violent strikes in the automobile, farming, energy, and communication industry tasted a bite of the violent strikes. This is evidenced by this note from P2 who perceived that tensions which led to Marikana were *“spread because the mining sector is not the only one because we’ve got...how many sectors do we have in South Africa? Twenty-six...They all have this blanket approach towards labour and labour relations which is not working anymore,*

that even has changed for us. So it definitely is spreading...It's not within NUM, it's within ... (silence) ... it's within political parties ... it's within unions all over. It's really a trend that is starting to emerge". The sociology behind the spread was captured from P1 who noted *"The social conditions which characterise black employees in the mining sector are the same in all sectors and industries Chief, so these things are spread; they are going to mushroom to other sectors as the recent Lonmin five month strike witnesses that more is still to come. We will see unions from other sectors buying in because of the perceived success of AMCU on that Marikana thing"*.

Social infrastructure and services are lacking parallel with a lack of service delivery from trade unions, unemployment is increasing and measures of inequality are increasing (Alexander, 2013; Anstey, 2013; Greffrath & Duvenhage, 2014). This is a recipe for future social unrests, political conflicts and instability (Samuel, 2014). *"I see them going years striking. I see companies giving in just to avoid the time limits of the strike and with them giving in, retrenchments"* (P2).

4.4.3 Increasing union power and prolonged strike activities. The Marikana aftermath installed AMCU's dominance across the platinum industry with its recruitment stretching as far as the richest and largest gold mines (Botiveau, 2014). Militant resistance drew from Marikana as a reference point for prolonged protected strike activities as seen from the metals three to four weeks long strike action organised by NUMSA in the motor manufacturing and auto parts. Another strike of notice was the Post Office strike which lasted for five to six months (Grobbelaar, 2015; Kloppers & Visser, 2015; Ncube & Lukhele, 2014). This radical philosophy also inspired the ranks of NUM which had organised in gold mining and construction. The wage increases gained from these strikes were all above the inflation rate ranging between 8% and 12%.

We found that the participants had interpreted this increase in union power in two levels, the first was in relation to the shift in power from the employer to the employees as P3 asserted that the events of the 2012 Marikana event has changed industrial relations: *"We've always said power relations are equal, but now the consciousness is different ... err there was an article I read, it said AMCU has taken workers farther than any other union. It has achieved what no union has achieved before, which means that it has landed there safe to say we can do more, others don't care about the costs, the cost as in the implication of some of these unsustainable demands and they will go that route"*.

There was a perception that Marikana has given union confidence, *"Look, the unions are confident more than ever and more radical than ever, which is their role. We just need to embrace that fact. We will differ, they will go on strike ... they will go on strikes as long as we play by the rules; there are no acts of sabotage or*

misconduct in the middle of the strike. The participants (P2, P3, P4, P5, and P6) shared a common theme that as they interpreted that the increase in union confidence implied that the unions now feel they can go all the way and demand unsustainable demands. *“In terms our laws, employers and the unions because Marikana has given the unions more fire because now they are like you know what, until you’ve given us what we want we can go on forever and ever”.* This is in line with the perceptions shared by a number of scholars who also believe that the industrial setting was now imbued with heightened radicalism (Alexander, 2012; Capps, 2012; Chinguno, 2013; Satgar, 2012).

The second level of power shifts was in relation to inter-union dynamics with regard to the shifts of power from NUM, AMCU and NUMSA as provided in the sections below. This was further related to power shifts within the tripartite alliance in relation to national politics stretching from the emergence of the EFF to the weakening of the ANC’s political power base. P2 noted *“I’m very very happy and ... if you look back, back with NUM and NUMSA in the mine, they had that perception or they had that feeling that because they were affiliated with COSATU and COSATU has got ANC there, then they’ve got the government’s backing as the union back in the day. They had that arrogance about them to be like you know we’ve got the government so you cannot tell us. So that shake on them, did them some justice I think; I think it was very nice, it really did them justice in that sense and it separated the issues”.*

4.4.4 Possible rivalry between former alliance partners: NUMSA-NUM conflict. The power of trade union is amassed through growth in membership numbers (Bendix, 2010; Hyman, 1975). The membership defection from the NUM to the AMCU has fuelled the rise to power for the AMCU (Amandla, 2013; Masiya, 2014). This bears considerable stresses for the NUM which was previously COSATU’s largest union; its suffering is immense (Botiveau, 2014; Chinguno, 2013; De Lange, 2012; Samuel, 2014). This has written a new chapter in South Africa’s union power dynamics. This shift has promoted NUMSA to the top in terms of membership and has subsequently relegated the NUM to fourth (Samuel, 2014).

Given this background and NUMSA’s declaration of violating the longstanding COSATU tradition of ‘one union one sector one industry’ may mean that shifts or gaps in grassroots ideologies and leadership perspectives are prevalent. In line with Vavi (2014), Venter (2015) explains the inseparability of these ideologies from the different schools of thought that inform economic policies and the beneficiaries of such policies. According to Irvin Jim (2013), the alliance cannot be seen as an ally of the working class. The breakaway of NUMSA from COSATU and the subsequent steps it has taken to champion the establishment of a united front as well as the workers socialist party can only imply that the future is going to be characterised by a more politicised labour force. Whether the aim will be unseating the current government, which is perceived

as pro-monopoly capitalists or will be joining the opposition force in order to influence the instalment of pro-worker economic policy formulation and implementation is yet to be seen.

This means that after Marikana, the tensions fuelling inter-union conflict between NUM and NUMSA may intensify since NUMSA will now be recruiting in territories which were previously mobilised by the NUM. P1 made a note explaining *“The current rivalries that we see even in COSATU, the rivalries that we witnessed even during the 2012 Marikana scenario are important. From a union perspective, they diminish key aspects of industrial relations; they destroy cohesion and unity, team work and decrease member participation. This pattern of events spells disaster for everyone; remember unity is strength which is drawn from the principle of ‘an injury to one is an injury to all’. So, inter-union rivalry defeats all these themes”*.

At the backdrop of the questions posed by P3 above, the claims of disunity and diminished solidarity in P1’s comments are sensible. The pattern of events highlighted above draws attention to how Marikana has shifted trade union power and political bases in South Africa. However, the increase in AMCU union power for instance, can be easily interpreted as a loss of solidarity. This doesn’t pose negative attitudes towards the emergence of new unions, but rather tries to confront the reality of loss of solidarity. This can be explained by the adversarial relations between NUM and AMCU and COSATU factions against NUMSA (Botiveau, 2013; Samuel, 2013). Unionists have built apathetic relations amongst themselves and this might affect the power of trade unions in opposing exploitation from the employer as well as the ability to enforce pro-worker labour legislation and policies. Thus, the conflict between unions may increase.

4.4.5 Continuation of struggle between unions. Fumed with depleted solidarity, inter-union conflict was reported to have been an important catalyst of the 2012 Marikana debacle and the consequent strike wave (Amandla, 2013; Botiveau, 2014). The case for the intra-union rivalry within NUM which later transcended to inter-union rivalry between AMCU and NUM has been established in the literature review. Anstey (2013) argues this inter-union rivalry is likely to continue with consequent instabilities in labour relations on the mines for some time into the future. According to Anstey (2013) the root of intense union rivalry can be located in the current system of bargaining which is majoritarian based. P2 notes that *“legislation, the labour relations says majority union is fifty plus one, period. That’s the first thing that is creating a divide. They want to be a majority union”*. It must be noted that in the previous sections the researcher established that majority is linked to power against rivals and that those in leadership may use unions as instruments of power.

Anstey (2013) further contends that the majoritarian system was intended to curtail union conflict even though the effects presently can be seen in the reduction of representation of dissent from rival unions and thus,

exacerbating tensions. This reflects another dimension of power. Power induces the complacency of the dominant union with the effect of alienating the union's members and other trade unions as seen in Marikana (Alexander, 2014; Capps, 2011; Mottiar & Botiveau, 2013).

Thus, as seen in the 2012 Marikana incident and the strike wave that ensued, the other groups of dissenters will disregard collective bargaining structures and the law will make no sense to them since they will perceive the law to be imposed in order to repress them by both the management and the dominant trade union. This is in line with Marx's articulation of radicalism wherein he posits that state and government structures including the law serve the purpose of the dominant class in society, and in this case, the management and the dominant union.

Drawing from both Anstey (2013) and the theory of radicalism, it is interesting to assess how AMCU is going to play by the same legal instruments and rules which were created by their predecessors together with the employers to maintain their power and domination (Botiveau, 2014). Given the militancy of the rank and file in AMCU, the resiliency and solidarity of AMCU's leadership will be important.

It is from the perception that members of trade unions evaluate the success of their union against the leadership's effectiveness against employers and the perceptions of benefits from such that AMCU will be weighed. In particular, these will be influenced by employers' opposition. However, the main point is that economic and political structures are reluctant to change (Dahrendorf, 1959). This brings into question the resilience of AMCU's grassroots level. This bears two consequences, the first is to fight for the solidarity of the union and the second one is defect to form or chose affiliation with another union as seen in Marikana. The participants noted that the conflict dynamics witnessed within NUM in Marikana are spread and that there is possibility for their re-emergence in the future.

This is a very important dimension of intra-inter union rivalry since these unions are operating in the mining industry, the protection of territories will be important. P2 asserts that she sees Marikana relived again *"I see it coming back and not necessary to happen in Marikana because now Amplats wants to shut down but they are busy dancing around that whole idea. I see it coming back internally, on a micro basis now because the worker you've got now know his rights...you're not gonna play him like that. He knows what he is entitled to"*.

Thus, the perception that the current labour relations legislation needs some major reviewing in order to open space for other unions was prevalent.

4.4.6 Review of current labour framework and future union rivalry. In fear of the impact of the increasing sentiments for radicalism, the threshold of representation being set at high levels and this might have the effect of sustaining the majoritarian based legal structure governing bargaining in the country. This might propel the current single-union based bargaining wheel with the effect of alienating other unions. In the context of the events of Marikana, Brand (2014) has questioned the efficacy of this approach since it allows dominant unions to use these structures to maintain their political power because our legal frame-work currently is by in large majority rule.

In this context, P5 states *“that if you look at section 18 of the Act uhm... it talks about uhm... you know down grading the rights to majority union to set thresholds and representation thresholds and so forth and so forth. So the longer we have this majoritarian rule legal frame-work the more difficult to change things around because you know if you were to argue with AMCU they would tell you, well we are the majority union we will set thresholds with you and here are the thresholds that we want to set. And by definition those thresholds would be such that they close up the opportunities for other parties to be involved. Now if you have a start up for a union, chances of you gathering that support within this majoritarian environment which is highly restrictive, which is so close are very very low. In line with this thought, P2 (states that “the labour relations ... it says majority union is fifty plus one, period. That’s the first thing that is creating a divide. They want to be a majority union”. P2 further provided that “our law and our legislation, it’s definitely shown us flaws in it, you know, here and there... it would be like clearly this is not working quite fine, maybe we should try and do this and try and do that”. That is why P3 noted that if labour and industrial relations role players are to resolve tensions in our industrial relations framework, amendments are necessary “I think if you look at amendments of ... they are trying to create stability and I so wish employers can also see it from that perspective to say where you don’t want to resolve, this is the law, you must comply”.*

4.4.7 Death of unionism. From this background, the participants explained ways through which trade unionism may fade away; one mentioned the growth of legal representatives in spaces that were predominantly union territories. P2 noted that *“with the inter-rivalry unions that’s coming up, if you haven’t noticed the other thing that’s happening is these cheap lawyer schemes popping up everywhere... now you’ve got lawyers that can do what the shop stewards are supposed to do but could not do. That means in the next ten years we are not going to have unions. ...negotiating with the workers one on one. It means it’s gonna change our labour relations”.*

P4 mentioned the inefficacy of government controlled unions contrasting government controlled union leaders who are pushing the government agenda with worker controlled union leaders who push the workers

agenda. P4 provided that *“the biggest unions under COSATU would then be the government controlled union... which are all the employees on the public sector, NEHAWU... which says these are servants under the masters and they don’t have a say anymore and that could be the death of unionism as we know it, there will be- out of that there will emerge more radicalism. NUMSA would become more radical to prove its point and so is AMCU”*.

4.5 Conclusion

The preceding section focused on the perceived impact of Marikana on industrial relations in South Africa which were gathered from interviewing eight human resources and industrial relations managers from highly unionised sectors in South Africa.

The lack of reaching a compromise between industrial relations stakeholders during the 2012 Marikana event signalled mistrust between stakeholders (Samuel, 2013; Stone, 2013). This was continued in 2014 when some of the longest strikes in South Africa were recorded as the Post Office workers engaged in a five months long strike while the platinum belt was hit by a strike lasting four months (Ncube & Lukhele, 2014; Ryan, 2014; Samuel, 2014).

The rivalry within NUM and the rivalry between NUM and AMCU as well as the rivalries in COSATU spell fragmentation of union solidarity in South Africa (Amandla, 2014; Bond & Mottiar, 2014; Botiveau, 2013; Chinguno, 2013; Masiya, 2014; Samuel, 2014).

Service delivery from government, employers and trade unions was considered a crucial factor to eliminate some of the social and labour unrests witnessed in the Marikana event (Alexander et al., 2014; Anstey, 2013; Samuel, 2014). Samuel (2014) argues that these might fuel future conflict and as such, they must be addressed.

Power in industrial relations was also impacted; the participants thought power was distributed from the employer to the employee and between unions as AMCU gained dominance. However, this was coupled by an emerging radical philosophy within the trade union movement which requires all stakeholders to devise strategies to combat this trend as the future is likely to see more radical unions emerging (Alexander et al., 2014; Chinguno, 2013; Satgar, 2012). This was interpreted as a concern for future foreign direct investments as it was perceived as a threat to foreign direct investment.

The politicisation of labour was found to be gaining strength with the effect of changing the role of trade unions. This implies pressure on both the government and the employers, and thus, strategic responses are pivotal if stakeholders are to manage industrial relations conflict effectively. This is specifically important as data from this study has shown that Lonmin management was not strategically prepared to deal with the issues that resulted in the Marikana event.

CHAPTER FIVE

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 Limitations

The findings of this study are grounded on individual interviews with eight human resources and industrial relations managers employed in strategic positions in highly unionised sectors. Generalisation is normally not the aim of qualitative research, and as such, the findings might fall short in representing the perceptions of South African human resources and industrial relations managers as the sample was small.

Qualitative research is by nature subjective and this was acknowledged by the inclusion of a reflexive journal in order to maintain objectivity and validity of the knowledge gathered to answer the research questions posed.

5.2 Recommendations for future research questions

The issues highlighted in this research regarding the Marikana event are multifaceted; however, the research participants of this study were drawn from eight human resources and industrial relations managers. On the other hand, the impact of Marikana was found to implicate all industrial relations' stakeholders, and for this reason, future research on the topic should consider perceptions from government or the state, employers, trade unions and employees or trade union members in order to find a balance between the views of all stakeholders.

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Appendices

Table: 3. Perceived Stakeholder Role Efficacy

Global Theme: Perceived Stakeholder Role Efficacy								
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
Code:								
Government								
Minimal government intervention		X					X	
Regulation of the labour relationship, disputes and grievances					X			
The introduction of a socially misaligned living out allowance					X			
Poor management of police presence					X ^M	X	X	
Social responsibility							X	
Management								
Obligation to settle wage issues	X							
Management complacency	X							
Lack of management preparation	X							
Lack of employee profiling	X ^{JR}				X			
Union dependency for communication			X					
Insufficient direct communication with workers			X ³			X	X	
Lack of provision of union leadership empowerment			X		X ^U			
Employee welfare: provision housing, food, transport and the improvement of socio-economic conditions					X ^G			
Lack of providing economic and political advice to government to improve employee socio-economic conditions					X ²			
Lack of provision of financial education to employees				X ^{JR}	X			

Training of union representatives			X^U	
Poor application of conflict resolution procedures			X	X^3
Poor management of police presence	X^G			X
Unions				
Lack of the provision of service to members	X	X	X^M	X
Lack of proactive leadership and continuous communication	X^M			
Alienation of workers	X^{JR}			
Social irresponsibility				X^M

Notes:

*P1-P8 = Participant 1-8. * X^G = Relationship with government. * X^{JR} = Relationship with joint responsibilities. * X^M = Relationship with management role. * X^U = Relationship with union role. * X^2 or X^3 = The number of times the role has been emphasised.

Table: 4. Labour-Management Conflict in Marikana**Global Theme: Marikana****Organising theme: Antecedents**

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
Code:								
Economic								
Rock drillers' wage demand of R12500			X		X			X
The low purchasing power of miner's wages				X				
The lack of protecting employees from indebtedness: The presence of loan sharks				X ^{IUC}				
Perceptions of the insufficiency of the miners' wages				X		X		
Economic imbalances						X		
Change of values and the rise of NUM bourgeoisie				X ^{IUC}				

Political

Unions alienation of the working class	X			X				
Lack of addressing pertinent labour issues	X	X				X		
Unresponsive government and lack of business preparation	X					X		
Compromised government interventions: Conflict of interest		X				X	X	
Weaknesses in the legal system		X		X				
Power		X	X			X		
Political								
Union								
Extended from social discontent, service delivery protests and civil unrest		X			X	X		
Lack of application of proper labour relations processes by			X			X		

unions

Poor introduction of a leaving out allowance

X X

Sociological

Migrant labour system	X	X	X	X		
The emergence of secondary family structures	X		X	X		
Lack of management communication, frustration and worker alienation		X				
Deteriorating living conditions:		X	X	X		
Underdevelopment and illiteracy			X	X		
Organised by the tragedy itself		X			X	
A historical class conflict in society					X	
High prevalence of poverty					X	
Extended from social discontent, service delivery protests and civil unrest		X		X	X	
An evolving society and the political cycle of organisation					X	

Group dynamics

Miners' historical perceptions of police		X				
Inactive/ineffective management communication with workers		X			X	X
Distant union leading to member alienation			X			
Disrespect of AMCU by Lonmin and NUM			X		X	
Change in NUM leadership values (complacency) and opportunism			X		X	
Workers realisation of an unresponsive and elitist government			X			
Disregard of bargaining agreement/resistance			X	X	X	X
Intra-inter-union conflict			X	X		
Union-member and management worker gap			X			X

Union-dependence	X	X	X	X
Management-worker gap		X		X
Pressure to perform and power displays			X	X

Table: 5 Intra-Union Conflict**Global Theme:** Intra-union conflict

Organising theme: Antecedents

Code	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
Economic								
Financial exploitation of trade union members by their leaders	X ^R						X	X
Conflicting political and commercial roles of unions	X ^{PG}						X	X
Money and growth							X	X
Political								
Power struggles, greed and ideological conflicts	X	X				X	X	
The relegation of the workers agenda through the unions concern for profit	X ^{ER}							
Union elitism and bourgeoisie and concern for personal gains and the relegation of the workers agenda				X ^{ER}		X		
Upward political mobility and personal gains							X ^R	X
Group dynamics								
Union democracy at the ordinary membership level		X						
Dissatisfaction with poor service and the pressure to perform		X ^R	X					
Value shift of union leadership and loss of touch with constituency (Divergent beliefs or value orientations between union members and union leadership)		X	X		X		X	
Union leadership complacency and loss of touch with constituency				X				
A changing workforce composition and union affiliation values and voting patterns		X	X		X		X	
Loss of ideology, corruption and a loss of touch with constituency and the workers' agenda		X ^R				X		
Competition for membership			X			X		

Coalitions, loss of touch with the constituency and
political power

X

X

Notes: *X^R = Linking with the roles. X^{PG} = linking with politics and group dynamics. X^{ER} =
Linking with economic antecedents and roles

Global Theme: Inter-union conflict

Code	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

Commercialisation of trade unions X^{IUC}

Power and commercialisation of unions X^{IUC}

Power	X^{IUC}	X	X
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The shifting political landscape X^{IUC} X

Position/power seeking behaviour	X ^{IUC}	X
----------------------------------	------------------	---

Personal political power	X	X
--------------------------	---	---

The pursuit of the workers agenda X

Elitist government and loss of touch with interests of grassroots	X ^{IUC}	X
---	------------------	---

Political transition, upward	X^{IUC}	X
political mobility and union loss of		
touch with membership		

A shifting political landscape and union-membership leadership gaps	X ^{IUC}	X
---	------------------	---

The compromise of unions through political affiliation

Group dynamics

The unions' loss of touch with interests of their constituencies	X^{IUC}	X		
Intra-union conflict		X	X	X
Leadership power struggles, political and ideological differences		X^{IUC}	X	
Poor service to members		X^{IUC}	X	
Competition for membership			X^{IUC}	

Notes: X^{IUC} = Linking with Intra-union conflict. * X^R = Linking with roles.

Table: 7 Impact of Labour-management Conflict**Economic**

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
Negative bond ratings (e.g. Moodley's) Increase in balance of payments and foreign trade deficit Disinvestment Slow economic growth and development Weakened the government's tax revenue base Weakened government's ability to provide social services	Increased downtime and lost production Loss of revenue Termination of prospective business contracts Supply chain delays	Job losses Loss of income for the strike duration Loss of benefits for employees for the strike duration Termination of employee provident funds Termination of employee funeral plans and insurance packages Fragmented union solidarity Increase in inflation

Political

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
Mistrust from non-political aligned unions Challenged the Tripartite Alliance for the workers agenda Review of labour legislation Emergence of radical political parties Refocus and emphasis of state apparatus on improvement of delivery of social services Reduction of inequalities Rejection of ANC support by NUMSA	Mistrust by trade unions Power shifts from employers to employees Management of radical unions The need to rebuild the primary relationship Emphasis on strategic human resources Devising strategies to curb prolonged militant strikes Devising strategies managing the politicisation of labour	Mistrust by employers Soured relations with government Increase in union power Power shifts within unions Power shifts between unions Increased pressure to perform Increase in politicisation of labour Intra-union conflict Adversarial union relations Inter-union conflict Division of labour Dissolution of COSATU

Sociological

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
The need to improve the conditions of the grassroots	The need for employers to focus on the workers agenda	Elimination of alienation of workers

Group dynamics

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
Mistrust from non-political	Mistrust by trade unions Employee relations	Mistrust by employers Soured relations with government Increased pressure to perform

Table: 8 Impact of Intra-union Conflict**Political**

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
	Intra-union power-led wage demands	Division of labour Diminishes labour power and disunity Emphasis on the pursuit of the workers agenda by unions

Sociological

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
The need to improve the conditions of the grassroots	The need for employers to focus on the workers agenda	Elimination of alienation of workers Industrial violence

Group dynamics

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
	Inauthenticity of membership support on agreements Unnecessary delays with decision making Emergence of myopic employers	Power displays and corruption Increases union competition for resources Inter-union conflict

Table: 9 Impact of Inter-union Conflict**Political**

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
Shifting political power bases	Inter-union power-led wage demands	Division of labour Diminishes labour power and disunity Emphasis on the pursuit of the workers agenda by unions

Sociological

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
Improvement of employee socio-economic conditions	The need for employers to focus on the workers agenda	Elimination of alienation of workers Industrial violence Death of unions Shifting control of political power bases: •Alliance •Union –to-union Heightened radicalism Increase in unemployment

Group dynamics

The State	Employers	Trade Unions
	Emergence of myopic employers Highlighted the need for relationship building and maintenance of the primary Increase in prolonged labour-management conflict and increase in retrenchments	Power displays and corruption Increasing unions in the system Improves union service delivery Increase in union competition for membership and heightened radicalism Federation rivalries

Table 10: The Impact of Marikana on Industrial Relations in South Africa

Point	IR Impact	P
Inter- union power-led wage demands (radicalism)	The need for employers to devise strategies to deal with radicalism and wild-cat strikes	
Social wage that would enhance the social welfare of employees	• Social considerations in the legislation of minimum • The need for employers to enhance employee well-being and social welfare	P1, P2, P3, P4 and P5
Power shifts	Emphasis on: • Rebuilding employer-to-employee relationship • Rebuilding union leaders-to-ordinary members by deepening union democracy • Inter-union with potential to cause industrial violence (P1 & P5) • Dissolution of COSATU and labour market instability coupled with an increase in the politicisation of labour	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6 and P8
Negotiations	• Prolonged with militancy • The need for productivity based wage flexibility by (P2, P7 & P8) • The need for union representative training by both employer and union (P2, P3, P4 & P6)	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7 and P8
Union democracy	• Deepening democracy in order to revive workers control of unions in line with the workers' agenda or interests	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7 and P8

Gaps between collective bargaining system and organisational rights

- Difficult for emerging unions to set a foot in door (Brand, 2014, 2015; Hartford, 2014)
 1. Long term agreements not enhancing workers interests
 2. 50% plus 1 too much (10% or 15% better)
 3. Constituency model (parliamentary democracy) to deepen industrial democracy
 4. Introduction of independently monitored strike ballots to create a representation balance
 5. Replacement labour is globally prohibited but in South Africa it is allowed
 6. Lifting of protection of strike when the strike becomes violent
 7. The current 50% plus 1% has an effect of varying wage settlements and this increases inter-union rivalry
 8. Present system encourages strike violence
- Collective bargaining too far from workers

Contradictions between organisation and collective bargaining rights

- Adjustments of organisational rights Access for emerging unions: (Brand, 2014, 2015; Hartford, 2014)
1. Inclusion of minority unions in negotiations
 2. Proportional provision of facilities to emerging unions
 3. Currently, it enhances the power,

influence and economic benefits of
dominant trade unions

Unconstitutionality of organisational rights	Current system of collective bargaining infringes the representation rights of minorities	(Brand, 2014, 2015; Hartford, 2014)
Trade union recognition	Proportional recognition because at the moment the issues of workers who are not affiliated with unions as well as those belonging to minority unions are not addressed	(Brand, 2014, 2015; Hartford, 2014)

Appendix 11: Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG**HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)****CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE****PROTOCOL NUMBER: MORG/14/011 IH****PROJECT TITLE:**

The perceptions of Industrial Relations Managers on the impact of the 2012 Marikana incident on Industrial Relations in South Africa.

INVESTIGATORS

Nqapela Ntembeko

DEPARTMENT

Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED

05/05/13

DECISION OF COMMITTEE*

Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 19 June 2014


CHAIRPERSON
(Professor M. Nduna)

cc Supervisor:

Mr. I Siemers
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2016

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES



Appendix 12: Access Request Letter

Department of Industrial Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

**SUBJECT: Request for Permission to Access Industrial Relations Managers or Human Resources
Managers for Industrial Relations Research Purposes**

**Topic: “The Perceptions of Industrial Relations Managers of the Impact of 2012
Marikana Incident on Industrial Relations in South Africa”**

Dear Mrs/Ms/Mr

I am Ntembeko Nqapela and I am currently conducting research on “Managers’ Perception of Industrial Relations in South Africa Post Marikana” for the purpose of obtaining a Master’s Degree in Organisational Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

This study aims to contribute to the pool of knowledge about the meaning attached to the 2012 Marikana incident in relation to the current labour relations framework in South Africa. The researcher aims to contribute to the available conflict resolution strategies in the workplace. As part of this study, I am asking that you grant me permission to access Industrial Relations or Human resources Managers in your organization.

Participation in this research will include participating in an interview on an individual basis between the respective managers and I, and this shall take 40-45 minutes. The interview will be scheduled at the convenience of the managers in order to fit their busy time schedules. Please note that the managers’ participation in this research is completely voluntary and managers will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or withdraw their participation.

There are no foreseeable risks or benefits to taking part in this study. Identifying information, such as names and I.D. numbers will not be asked. All the written report will use pseudonyms. I will transcribe the tapes and personal and identifying information will be excluded from the transcriptions. Kindly note that the name of your organisation will not appear anywhere in both the reports and transcriptions as findings will be reported by sector.

I will store the recorded audio and transcriptions in a password protected computer where the research folders will be password secured including the documents they contain. The data will be safeguarded in a locked office and no one will have access to apart from my supervisor and me. The transcripts will be destroyed immediately after the completion and submission of the project.

If you have any enquiries or concerns about your participation, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor as per the details below.

Thank you.

Ntembeko Nqapela

nnqapela@gmail.com

Ian Siemers

Ian.Siemers@wits.ac.za

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT
--

If any questions you have about this research have been answered to your satisfaction, and

You would like to grant access for either Industrial Relations or Human Resources Managers participation in the research, please print your name and sign below.

Name

Signature

DATE



Appendix 13: Information Participation Sheet

Department of Industrial Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH AND PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Research Topic: "The Perceptions of Industrial Relations Managers
of the impact of the 2012 Marikana incident on Industrial relations in South Africa"

Dear Mrs./Ms./Mr.

I am Ntembeko Nqapela and I am currently conducting research about "Managers' Perception of Industrial Relations in South Africa Post Marikana" for the purpose of obtaining a Master's Degree in Organisational Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

This study aims to contribute to the pool of knowledge about the meaning attached to the Marikana incident in relation to the current labour relations framework in South Africa.

Participation in this research will be conducted using an interview between you and myself, and this shall take 40-45 minutes. The interview will be scheduled at your convenience in order to fit your busy time schedule. Please note that your participation is completely voluntary and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or withdraw your participation.

As part of this study, I would like to ask you allow me to audio-tape the research interview between me and you so that your responses are not misrepresented. The audio record from our interview will not be heard by any other

person and will only be processed by the researcher and the supervisor of the project. Your responses will be used and analysed only in relation to all other responses in the study to answer the research question.

There are no foreseeable risks or benefits to taking part in this study. Identifying information will be kept private. All the written report will use pseudonyms. I will transcribe the tapes and your personal and identifying information will be excluded from the transcriptions. I will also not report the organisation from which you are employed in order to maintain anonymity.

I will store the recorded audio and transcriptions in a password protected computer where the research folders will be pass-word secured including the documents they contain. The transcripts will be destroyed immediately after the completion and submission of the project.

If you have any enquiries or concerns about your participation, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisor as per the details below.

Ntembeko Nqapela

nnqapela@gmail.com

Ian Siemers

Ian.Siemers@wits.ac.za

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT
--

If any questions you have about this research have been answered to your satisfaction, and you would like to participate in the research, please print your name and sign below.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

DATE



Appendix 14: Consent for Audio-Taping and Transcription of Interview

Department of Industrial Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050

Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

CONSENT TO AUDIO-TAPE THE RESEARCH INTERVIEW

Topic: “The Perceptions of Industrial Relations Managers of the Impact of 2012 Marikana Incident on Industrial Relations in South Africa”

Dear Mrs/Ms/Mr

Kindly note that this is an audio-taping consent form which forms part of the research which you have been invited to participate in. It aims to certify that the researcher and the participant have come to an agreement with regard to audio taping of the research interview.

For the purpose of this study, you are hereby asked that you allow me to audio-tape the discussion in which you participate. The tapes interviews from this study will be used for research (academic) purposes in order to conduct verbatim transcriptions without any data loss or manipulation. If you choose to be in the study, and feel any discomfort as a result if participating, you can change your mind and withdraw from the study at any time prior the submission of the research project. If you want the audio-tapes of the interview in which you participate to be withdrawn from the study, even after recording has been completed, you can request this at any time by contacting the researchers.

During the transcription process, we will not use either your name or your organisation’s name, but rather a pseudonym will be used on your behalf and we will mention sectors for your organisation.

This will maintain anonymity of both you and your organisation. The audio record from the interview will only be processed by myself and the supervisor of the project. Your responses will be used and analysed in relation to all other responses in the study to answer the research questions.

If you have any enquiries or concerns about your participation, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisor as per the details below.

Thank you.

Ntembeko Nqapela

nnqapela@gmail.com

Ian Siemers

Ian.Siemers@wits.ac.za

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT
--

I, the undersigned, _____ do hereby acknowledge that consent for audio-taping the research interview between myself and the researcher was granted. Having read the ethical considerations, and purpose of the audio-taping, I have been made aware that the researcher will use the tapes for the authenticity of the research report to be generated from the interviews and that no personal or identifying will be revealed in the process.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

DATE

Appendix 15: Consent to use Quotes from Interview Transcripts



Department of Industrial Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

CONSENT TO USE QUOTES FROM THE AUDIO-TAPED RESEARCH INTERVIEW

Topic: “The Perceptions of Industrial Relations Managers of the Impact of 2012 Marikana Incident on Industrial Relations in South Africa”

Dear Mrs/Ms/Mr

Kindly note that this is a quoting consent form which forms part of the research which you have been invited to participate in. It aims to certify that the researcher and the participant have come to an agreement with regard to the researcher directly or indirectly quoting from the audio taped research interview.

For the purpose of this study, you are hereby asked that you allow me to use quotations from the audio-tape of the research interview in which you participated. If you choose to be in the study, and feel any discomfort as a result of participating, you can change your mind and withdraw from the study at any time. If you want this quoting consent to be withdrawn from the study, even after quoting has been extracted, you can request this at any time prior to the submission of the research project by contacting the researchers.

Further note that quoting will enhance the analysis process and will be used to link with previous research and other interviews conducted for this study. The final report will include these quotes but will not use your personal and identifying information. Rather, a pseudonym will be employed in order to maintain anonymity of the findings for both you and the organisation from which you are employed.

If you have any enquiries or concerns about your participation, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisor as per the details below.

Ntembeko Nqapela

nnqapela@gmail.com

Ian Siemers

Ian.Siemers@wits.ac.za

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT
--

I, the undersigned, _____ do hereby acknowledge that consent for audio-taping the research interview between myself and the researcher was granted. Having read the ethical considerations, and purpose of the audio-taping, I have been made aware that the researcher will use the tapes for the authenticity of the research report to be generated from the interviews and that no personal or identifying will be revealed in the process.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

DATE

Appendix 16: Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Research Topic: The Perceptions of Industrial Relations Managers of the Impact of the 2012 Marikana Incident on Industrial Relations in South Africa Ntembeko Nqapela

Part A: Biographical Section

Please indicate your response by providing a cross (X) where necessary

1. Age: ____

2. Please indicate your race:

- ☐ Black ☐ Coloured ☐ White
- ☐ Indian ☐ Asian ☐ Other, please specify _____

3. Please indicate your level of education

- ☐ Less than Grade 10 ☐ Grade 10 ☐ Matric
- ☐ Diploma ☐ Undergraduate Degree ☐ Honours Degree ☐ Master's Degree
- ☐ Doctoral Degree

4. Please indicate your job level:

- ☐ Entry Level ☐ Intermediate ☐ Junior Management
- ☐ Middle Management ☐ Upper Management ☐ Executive

5. Please indicate your work experience in years

Part B:

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

General Perceptions

- The 2012 Marikana strike event has been in the new for almost 2 years now, what are your opinions of the event?

- What are your opinions of the role of management, the state and the various unions during this episode?
- What significance do you think Marikana will have for the South African Industrial Relations landscape going forward?
- Do you think Marikana carries any political significance?
 - Is this an important concern for business in South Africa?

Labour-management conflict

- What do you think lead to the tension between management and labour during the 2012 Marikana event?
 - Do you think these circumstances are specific to the mining sector or are relevant for all sectors?
- Do you think these tensions can be resolved?
 - If so, how and in what ways?
- Do you think the 2012 Marikana incident has impacted upon the relationship between management and labour in other sectors?
 - If so, how and in what ways?
- According to your own understanding, has the 2012 Marikana event has an impact in your sector? Or;
 - Do you think that Marikana will impact upon negotiations in your sector in the future?

Intra-union conflict

- One of the outcomes of the Marikana incident was that we saw divisions within NUM with regards to the role that the Union should be playing. Do you think that this was an important development for the future of Industrial Relations in South Africa?
 - If so, how and in what ways?
- What do you think was the cause of this conflict within the NUM?
 - Do you think these causes are widespread?
- From a business perspective, what are the implications of a divided union when it comes to negotiations?
 - Is this a concern for your sector?
- What do you think the implications of conflict within unions will be for the South African Industrial relations landscape?

Inter-union conflict

- The rise/emergence of AMCU was one of the consequences of Marikana. Do you think that competition amongst unions is good for the Industrial Relations System as it currently operates?

- If so/not why do you think so?
- What do understand to be lying at the centre of the hostilities between the unions involved in the 2012 Marikana strike incident?
 - What are the implications of this hostility?
 - Is this a continuing concern in your sector or others?
- Do you have any ideas around how hostilities could be managed/reduced?
- What do you think that the implications for the Industrial Relations System as a whole will be if such hostilities continue?
- Is a competition amongst unions a concern for your industry?

Appendix 17: Sample Interview Transcript

Sample Interview Transcript: Participant 4

Purpose of Interview: Masters Research Project

Date: 11 November 2014

Interviewer: Ntembeko Nqapela

Interviewee: P4

Introduction and Building Rapport

Participant: Hey Youngman [smiling], I'm glad you arrived safe, the weather is dancing between the rain and some bit of sun today.

Researcher: Thank you for agreeing to see me, it's such an honour.

Participant: I am sorry you waited downstairs, I had an impromptu engagement here but I told myself I am not going to miss your time. How much time did you say you want again? Forty five to an hour, is that right?

Researcher: Yes, we might take 45 or 50 minutes. Oh no don't please worry about the wait, I was also a bit earlier.

Participant: Would you appreciate some coffee, tea, hot chocolate or juice?

Researcher: Coffee please, thanks for the offer.

Participant: With milk?

Researcher: That would be nice.

Participant: [calling his Personal Assistant] please get the gentleman some coffee with milk ... and also the same for me. So you are from ... not WITS ... your background.

Researcher: I am from the Eastern Cape, in East London from a township called Mdantsane. I migrated to Jo'burg to pursue my postgraduate studies with Wits wherein I resided in Northgate in a suburb called Northriding.

Participant: That's fine chief; I know you have briefed me about your study over the email; but what do you want to achieve?

Researcher: I think there is a lot that has not been done on conflict and conflict resolution in South Africa and I am seeing a niche in terms of adding value to the work that has been done. If you look at the unfolding of industrial related unrests, you still see things you would have thought were alien and I think studying conflict in industrial relations will always be interesting and profitable for as long as there is an employer and an employee in the equation. Their interests are different but they coexist and neither can survive without the other.

Participant: That's brilliant chief; you know we want people like you, people who are not shy at taking on the big topics. It says a lot about who you are Chief. Yes, you are right, the South African industrial or labour relations sphere has been characterised by a lot of unrests and violence and sometimes lines have been blurred between industrial and social unrests because of our past.

So yah, we can start.

Researcher: Let's start by doing some administration ... we need to sign the ethics forms before we start.

Participant: Don't worry about the ethics Chief, you have sent me the things on line and I know exactly what I am getting myself into. If I can't find the ones I already printed, we will sign later after we are done with the interview.

Researcher: Okay.

Perceived role of stake holders

Researcher: Just to get started, the Marikana incident has been in the news for at least two years now and a lot has been said about it, I think there are processes that are unfolding based on the Marikana thing. If we could maybe first start on the general themes around the Marikana thing, especially in terms of your own views, in terms of what do you think should have been, what do you think should have been the roles of government, even business, and the union in terms of leadership?

Participant: Yah, listen, maybe if I didn't work in the mining sector I would have held a different view but I worked there. So I would say that Marikana was a disaster waiting to happen.

Researcher: Is it?

Background to Marikana

Government and business faults: short-sighted administration and instant gratification or short-term benefits

Participant: Yah, uhm there are two things that happened there that precipitated in Marikana. If you go back to how mines were structured it had more to do with socio-economic factors in two ways. Mines in the past were very strict in terms of being committed in providing housing and looking after the welfare of employees, so typically what they would do right or wrong they would go to Lusikisiki in the Eastern Cape and they used what they called TEBA-The Employment Bureau of... but it was an agent that worked for the mines to recruit people. So they go to Lusikisiki or to Lesotho or wherever with a bus, take on strong men and they will bring them here, get them into hostels and they would feed them, these guys will work and December time these guys go back. In most cases they even provided transport back, so that system insulated the miner from you know, the immediate socio-economic conditions, very important. If you are insulated and your family support structure has not changed, you support one family back home, so your wage is used minimally during the year because you get free housing, free food and everything from the mines. Once a year, you get given a bonus you go back home with a lump-sum you get there and do what you have to do at home and you then go back. Then came the concept of the total cost to company, the companies- Oh! Then in 1994 the government said "*Phantsi*" [down] with hostels and more with uhm, family dwellings. The government didn't get it there, so the government is at fault because these were the migrant labourers and to assume that migrant labourers were ready to bring the family is wrong... [Interruption]

Participant: So what government did was when they opted, when they forced the mines to consider family units there was no uptake. Remember there was a family unit, the workers

said “no I won’t bring my family, you won’t tell me, and I am happy where I am. But then politically it was not okay to maintain you know, single dwellings, it was not okay, it was not politically correct. What did the mines do? We’ll create housing units and we’ll take you out of the hostel, will give you an option. So you either, uhm you buy a house we will assist you with a company built house or we will give you a leaving out allowance. Right, a leaving out allowance, so what did workers do because they don’t want to being their families here they take a leaving out allowance and then they go outside they set-up an informal structure, what happens with the informal structure. So all of a sudden I am not insulated anymore, my wife is down on the other side and now I have to find a second wife. Whereas I was being looked after there by... everything was regulated in the mines even the social structure there used to be routines- *Indlamo* and everything over the weekend you could drink... [Interruption]

Researcher: Traditional entertainment and stuff?

Participant: Yes, even if you drink you know you are going to have a decent meal in the evening and in the mornings you will be feeling strong and you will go down and do your work. Go outside, this guy is on his own so he has to compete. The leaving out allowance has to compete against booze and prostitutes and so these guys ended up leaving a double life, because I have got a family to provide at home, but I have got another now- “*Makhwapheni*” [*extra-marital affair*] and nobody is going to tell me that I am making noise. So the social environment deteriorated, the mines didn’t care as long the guy was here in the morning. The unions were happy with the leaving out allowance because it gave the members the option, but they didn’t look at the social consequences. The government was happy because politically hostels were berthing but they didn’t consider the consequences of leaving out allowance and people shacking up in dwellings that were unhealthy, so that is that was the pillar to Marikana. So now I am supporting two families, right effectively I have got a wife, a girlfriend and a wife at home, so what happens to my expenditure? It dries and it goes up. So all of a sudden no wages is never enough for me because I am supposed to... [Interruption]

Researcher: So there are two structures now?

Consequences of an unstructured mining environment and un-skilling of employees

Participant: There are two structures now, so I need more and saw the demand for higher wages took up like that, so it was not going to stop because the more they got the more they spent and nobody was looking after them in terms of giving them advise and whatever. These are guys that left the- most of them are uneducated and left the rural areas and get into a mining environment that is not structured. They were dying of AIDS, they were dying ...some were becoming alcoholics but AIDS was the biggest killer mostly. The third was that the families were being destroyed because you meet a *Makhwapeni* and you stop going home, families were destroyed. So what you saw in Marikana was an accumulation of these three things. The government and the unions and the employers didn't see it coming, they thought they were solving a problem but they were creating it. The unions were not in touch, they were happy too, they were not there, their own structure change, so they became more bourgeoisie than workers, so they were detached with what was happening in the squatter camps and so the problem escalated to where it was. I remember in the late 2009, 2010 Anglo Platinum, they used to build houses at the rate of 120 dwellings a year and that number just went down because there was no uptake and the employees, people who now were interested in houses were more your artisans guys and the rest of the work force were going into informal dwellings.

Researcher: The actual miners?

Participant: Yah, the actual miners and so things were getting worse for them, because what happens is I leave two lives, I booze most of the time, I have got a second wife and came in the biggest problem, the loan sharks came and said "I can give you money" and they got into that cycle. HR guys are supposed to track the mine workers. I track my workers here ...every cheque. Any guy who earns, who takes home too little I asked him, I have to call him and say "hey go to the guys that can help you with financial advice". You find that those guys are locked up in loan sharks, loan sharks kill those guys, because if you are getting charged 35% interest you will never survive so most of those guys will end up giving the loan sharks their ID's and their ATM cards and so on, when these guys don't pay. So if I don't get paid anything I self-destruct, I self-destruct and that was bound to happen, so when they faced the police on that day there was much stake on that day. It was 12 000, because they thought I need to survive or I can die because what I am coming out with is not enough to survive. That's my summary of it.

Researcher: Okay.

Participant: It may be wrong.

Significance for Industrial Relations: The need for a new IR, HR, and Union path

Researcher: Okay, do you think that this carries any significance for the industrial relations frame-work in South Africa?

Participant: Absolutely, it does have significance in a big way. The whole- the labour market economics it has more implications for it. I think unions think, if unions think they fight for the leaving wage is still a worthwhile fight, they must think again, because if they think, if they are concerned only about the leaving wage and instead of concerning themselves about the welfare of the employees in terms of their lifestyle then they are missing the point. Our models in the past and we are going back there even today our senior employees, some companies are reintroducing company cars, reintroducing housing allowance ...err instead of the costs to company concept which says saying we will give you lump-sum you will see what you do with it. Because, err... you then ...financial education is the biggest weakness that we, we have as an economy, we don't educate people on finance and unions underestimate that.

So if I were to get money and I don't know how to use it, you know the story "*poor dad rich dad*" – Robert's book. It holds true for every worker and every professional I don't care, if we don't know money it doesn't matter how educated you are. So the structure of our wage, or of our pay favours those that know how to use money and probably that is 20% of the work force across categories including management. So I think if there is anything that should be considered the implications for the future, for the labour market, both unions and employers - I know there is an Indaba that I was invited to at Gallagher estate where they were talking about these things and regrettably COSATU is still pushing for a leaving wage, I am saying that battle was won long time ago. Nobody now is below the leaving wage level, uhm... maybe in industries like farming there you still find that, but those are marginal industries in the economy they could focus there. Generally you don't, that does not obtain in our industries and elsewhere so they should be looking at the whole chain, so what can employers do, because obviously the unions are not going to change at all. Is it that employers should

start the conversation; I have started with the conversation. For example I know we employ 7000 employees. I have been interested in where all of them stay and whether or not they stay with families or are they migrant. Those statistics are important to structure your package deal and employee deal that suit their circumstances. I will make an example of housing; we found that most of the guys are from Katlehong, most of them stay in Katlehong. But most of them stay in the backrooms because some of them either come from the Eastern Cape or KZN; the local guys have got houses. But the bulk of the guys are still migrants even in this age. In any tough industry, I don't know how much you know of the township mentality the township youngsters don't like the tough industries, they don't because here you work with steel and it's hard work, so you end up attracting people from outside. So I was interested in- okay, where do these people stay, some stay in mostly- because they can, they don't need to stay in an informal settlement ... some stay in *Mukhukhu [Iron sheet house]* because some of them would stay in backrooms, uhm you know, some don't qualify for RDP's for example, because they earn more, but they don't qualify for bonds at the same time.

Researcher: They don't have enough.

Participant: So where I am, we are looking at consulting with the unions and the scheme, looking at whether or not we can't develop a housing scheme for these guys because it's a fair amount of them. Whether we can approach and say to government okay you won give them RDP, but they are still first time buyers give them the subsidy so that you know- My concern is about stretching the purchasing power of the worker's money, uhm and how can I protect him from the loan-sharks and how can I make sure that his expenditure patterns reflect his family situation and that dollar that he gets can be stretched longer. That is everybody's responsibility, I don't think that the unions are doing a good job. I am having dinner with the NUMSA Investment Company tonight and one of the things we will be discussing is that, but you know ... more can be done; more can be done, instead of just looking at wages.

Political significance

Researcher: Now in terms of political significance, do you think they, do you think they have an implication?

Participant: Yah! They do, I mean AMCU being a non-aligned union, and COSATU, being an ANC alliance union, it was a significant shift and it sub-staged NUM and the mining has always been its power base, so its eroded the power base and obviously it threatens the ANC, SACP, COSATU alliance so it is significant, will continue, yes I think it will. Because in our industry we have got NUMSA who on Thursday will probably be kicked out of COSATU. Uhm why because, they are in dissolution with the tripartite alliance as well. Why, because the government is not responsive as it should be to some of the issues that I was talking about issues that lead to Marikana. Why, because ...the ANC has become elitists and so the workers pick that up, that you know when the alliance are- they are not going to care, we are not to gain anything and they have allowed the free market enterprise to reign, the free market enterprise favours those have access to capital. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer. So the implication politically is that there is a much stronger social agenda being pushed, uhm EFF is pushing it and NUMSA is clear on it. You are looking for a more robust, exposition of the worker agenda in South Africa you won't find it anywhere else either than in NUMSA, if you read NUMSA documents they are, they are well articulated. I think they are... [Interruption]

Researcher: I read the August and September publication, the Marxian theory, and the 21st century in South Africa, something like that?

Participant: Yah, they are, the way I heard it, so they will be fired on Thursday and that is going to change the game. We are worried as an industry, because if NUMSA leaves they have 340 000 members they are the biggest COSATU affiliate. It's going to create instability in that we will see now COSATU trying to form another union that is going to try come in the industry. You know better the devil you know than you don't know. I mean Jim I respect he is sharp, Irvin Jim is sharp, I respect him...we differ but hey he understands the bigger agenda, he is been in the entity for years, so even though we would fight, but we will still understand the issues. Can't deal with Mathunjwa because he is still wet here and he is reckless and to us that is a risk. We want somebody that has been around that knows the limitations of power play and Mathunjwa doesn't know the

limitations of power play, anyone can hold out, he doesn't care about anybody else, about the need of the agenda, so we are worried about that. Because change is coming, it's gonna impact us.

Labour-Management Conflict

Researcher: Okay, but then do you think now, the tensions that led to the 2012 Marikana incident between labour and management, do you think that those issues are specific to the mining sector?

Participant: They are not, they are generic. We had the longest strike in the industry for weeks is the longest ever in the metals industry. Mining can afford that, mining can take a long strike because remember they produce precious metals, key difference, they produce precious metals, those metals don't drive the economy, they produce for export. Those precious metals they dig to reserve, you know. We [company identifying details deleted] ... use, so when we don't [company identifying details deleted], for a week we can manage, but after a month we are going to start struggling to get parts for your car because everything runs on our outputs. Do you understand what I mean?

Researcher: Yah.

Participant: So Mathunjwa does not understand that, Jim understands that he comes from the motor industry for example, so he understands. So there are other sectors that cannot afford prolonged strikes and other unions, the small unions understand, new unions understand that the economy would, if this industry was to be on strike for two months ...everything will come to a grinding halt. Power stations, we supply these [products produced] to the power stations, to power your electricity so the minute we cannot supply, Eskom struggles and motor sector struggles, the building sector struggles because we supply the building sector, the construction sector. I mean the rail network and everything else, bridges, the rail enforcements for the housing sector everything that we produce is for day to day use; whereas the mining sector produces gold to halt and to preserve value. They can afford, even platinum is still a precious metal it's not something we can use immediately. You use it in some parts, so significant differences I think that

it- Marikana has implications for us and AMCU is in the metal sector. I know [competitors name], she is our competitor, I know that they have got presents there, and so that has impacted us. Are there factors that are at play here, that were at play at Marikana and have affected us? Yes. Allowing the loan-sharks to access our workers and we don't care about educating our workers in terms of finances and make sure that, as long as we don't concern ourselves with the lifestyle they lead with their families you are going to have that situation.

Implications on negotiations

Researcher: Now in terms of the relationship between management and labour, especially if we are talking about now the negotiations and stuff like that, do you think that the Marikana thing impacted them?

Participant: It could have, although it was more towards- it did and normally it doesn't but it did in that there was a clear deliberate attempt by Lonmin to undermine AMCU in favour of NUM and so when you went into- it had happened a year earlier whereby AMCU went for the majority for the first time. The handing over of power from NUM to AMCU took too long because they managed to- management dragged its feet because it did not want to negotiate with them. So those soured relationships absolutely lead to what happened partly because management didn't have respect for AMCU; they were a young and upcoming union so they underestimated their power.

Intra-union Conflict

Researcher: Now in terms of- especially when you say AMCU, now one of the consequences of the 2012 thing was their emergence. They emerged in power, what do you think lead to their emergence?

Participant: Simple, NUM became complacent; Baleni and his crowd were driving c-classes. In the mining industry there is a worry, its worrying because it's a practice that the union leaders are treated as managers in terms of pay. So if I start earning R900 000 to a R1000 000 I am not going to work, so what affects my constituencies does not affect me, so I

will be eager to please the hands that feeds me and that looks after me. And which is the bigger hand. The subscription money or the company money that looks after me? So it worked for the mines for a long time but it led to Baleni and his crowd becoming complacent and Mathunjwa saw the gap and he went down to grassroots and said guys they have forgotten me. So if there is any lesson for the union guys is that they must stay in touch with the grassroots level and keep it real.

Researcher: Meaning in the future we may see the same trends if unions are not in touch?

Participant: Mathunjwa already is, he is being driven around with big cars and you know, so it's going to continue, it is going to continue. We are seeing NUMSA and its investments corporation, those guys don't even want to come here. We are meeting them at Melrose Arch over dinner tonight. They don't want to come here, they do not want to see themselves as workers. Those guys are driving big cars. Most of them drive cars that are even bigger than my car.

Researcher: So this divides unions?

Participant: It does, it does. The same thing that has infected the ANC, it has infected them- Everyone wants to drive a big car, it changes your agenda.

Implications of negotiating with a divided union

Researcher: Now in terms of, from a business perspective does this have any implications in terms of negotiations with divided unions?

Participant: It does, I mean you always prefer to deal with the- even if they are stronger one that is matured and understands power play and that understands the industry ...That can educate its shop-stewards on the ground floor; to embrace values that build- NUMSA is good at that they have got political school for training their shop-stewards. Also, we also do our training of shop-stewards but then they have got a decent base in terms of training. The minute you have got a lot of unions, you have got a lot of noise in the system; there is going to be competition for membership and that will lead to reckless actions where one union is going to call a strike, just to prove its muscle and make unreasonable demands of twelve and a half thousands just to prove its muscle.. Then you will have a

strike ... than when you have one union that understands your industry, understood its limitations.

Researcher: Is this a concern only for your sector or it must be a concern for everyone?

Participant: It must be a concern for everyone. I mean they would not be having the Indaba today, with Cyril Ramaphosa, I think involved as well ... if it was not a concern for everybody. We also have our own metals Indaba next year; we are inviting unions just to talk about the future of collective bargaining going forward. Marikana has redefined it forced has forced us to re-examine whether the model is working.

Inter-union conflict

Researcher: Now, with AMCU now and we still have COSATU and which is a federation of other unions and AMCU towing a very different angle from that of COSATU and NUMSA ...the likelihood of NUMSA stepping out of COSATU, so now we are talking about inter-union rivalry now. How is it relevant, how is it a concern to business?

Participant: Like I was saying you see a lot of wildcat strikes, making unreasonable demands and because these guys are just looking for membership that is unhealthy. You will see less-always when there is rivalry you see radicalism being on the increase. The guy that demands the most and that can fight the most is the guy is the guy that workers tend to follow and so we are concerned about that. Instead of the normal salary increases, we have unreasonable increases.

Researcher: What can you attribute as the centre of this inter-union rivalry?

Participant: Power play, Power play. Listen, I mean it doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out that the COSATU alliance is under threat, so the non-alliance unions will be wanting to take a step at COSATU that's probably. But also their alliance with the ANC has been challenged. So all the COSATU alliance have been challenged for relevance to the worker agenda another consequence there. You will see this increasingly because the ANC is being seen more as elitist that does not concern itself with grassroots. Does the alliance represent worker interests; the biggest union will argue differently, that is

NUMSA. If they fire them on Thursday the message will be very loud and clear. And the biggest unions under COSATU would then be the government controlled union... which are all the employees on the public sector, NEHAWU... which says these are servants under the masters and they don't have a say anymore and that could be the death of unionism as we know it, there will be- out of that there will emerge more radicalism. NUMSA would become more radical to prove its point and so is AMCU.

Researcher: Now in terms of this hostility is there any way that it can be reduced or managed?

Participant: It won't because, in unions sadly money is involved. Mathunjwa is becoming a millionaire overnight I mean he doesn't have an umbrella body to regulate how much he takes home, so he controls his own kingdom and so some guys who are observing that will say I can also push and get a slice of the action with my own union. So that does not bode well for the future, so we are worried about that. And the ANC- I mean COSATU as a federation can't redeem themselves. Because if you look at Vavi the general secretary; he is employed by the union. He is paid by the union. The President of COSATU is employed by the state, he is a worker, Sdumo, he is a health worker and so he is reliant on the employer and he is forcing the employer agenda on COSATU. Vavi is employed by the union and he accounts to the membership and the subscription that they bring. Because that subscription directly pays his salary. They have got this divided loyalty and until COSATU resolves that. You will when they collapse and as they collapse more unions will come.

Closing and Reflections [Feedback]

Researcher: Now in terms of- I think we have touched a lot of things that I wanted to us to talk about is there anything we didn't touch and would like to bring that to light?

Participant: It's the politics of the day; and whether the ANC is going to shape where the unions are going to go and whether or not we are going to have Marikana in future. The Reconstruction and Development Programme did not work. The GEAR didn't work. ASGISA did not work. Now they have got the National Developmental Plan, which is a total disaster because it favours big businesses and I am a business person but I am a South African citizen, you can see when things are going peer-shaped. NUMSA calls

them monopoly capitalists, they say monopoly capital. So does EFF. We say are a free enterprise right? That everyone is equal in terms of Adam Smith' definition of free enterprise the invisible hand controls the market or goods.

Researcher: It regulates the market itself?

Participant: Does it? No. We are a monopolist economy, everything is controlled by four big players. Banking sector four big boys, insurance sector four big boys, retail sector four big boys and construction sector four or five, where is the small business person? At the periphery or being bulldozed. Where is the ANC in this? They don't care they are sitting boards on these big boys. What is happening to Gini coefficient in terms of disparity; it is inequality ...is just growing bigger and bigger.

Researcher: Are these inequalities growing within populations or between populations that is between races black and white?

Participant: Actually it is between populations, black and white it is growing further.

Researcher: Okay.

Participant: White people are better off today than compared to 1994, they are well secured. Because they have got two key things, access to capital and land. Land of 87% is still in their hands hey, it has not changed. Capital still goes to JSE; you will see it is still controlled by them. ANC is not doing anything. Because they are benefitting from this, it is a disaster waiting to happen. So if Marikana was a water shared moment, I believe it's not, it was not, we have not seen it. The ANC is still in power after five years.

Perceived changes post Marikana

Researcher: So it has not changed?

Participant: We will see, we will see real disaster because the National Development Plan has got preserved. So what do we need? To take the economy back, maintain key industries like the Afrikaners did. Send your young employers to the best schools, universities across the world. Let them access and read on new technology and come and set up new industries. That is what the Afrikaners did. The big industries that we have in manufacturing were built by the Afrikaners. Sasol was a government project it's one of

the biggest petroleum companies, amongst the biggest in the world. It's a Broederbond project; ISCOR or ArcelorMittal now, is a Broederbond project. Government gave it away to the Indians, because they can be bought, they were bought. So we are not, as an economy we are not in control of our economy, the mining sector, the Anglo "European" our minerals in broad day light. Communities are ...they sign the labour plan, social labour plan, but they don't conform and no consequences. No mining license has been withheld because they fail to deliver on the social and the plans that they signed up for in the mining charter. I know, because I was in that industry. They sign and commit to five years in dealing; they don't conform and nothing happens. So this economy favours those that can take the money out. Our manufacturing base is less than 20%, sitting at say 16%. China's manufacturing base is sitting at almost 70%. That is why they can create employment.

Researcher: Their own local?

Participant: Yes. They produce their own. We don't. We dig and send and you buy your ring that has been hand crafted from overseas when this metal was dug here. Where is the long term plan of the government to make sure that we extend the value chain forward integration and backward integration? There is none. They are thinking five years. I mean, it's like take as much as I can and then we go. So as business people, we are very worried as black business people. White capitalists don't care they are far ahead. In fact I spend a lot of time with executives, white executives most of them have got houses set up in Europe and elsewhere. They would leave on an instant if things went wrong, barely shaped. On an instance they well be re-established elsewhere. That is an ambition of every South African senior manager, white South African senior manager. Establish myself, get dual citizenships either in Australia or the UK or the US, have a presence there, have a holiday home there so that when things go wrong we can take the first available flight. I am established, I will have enough, to settle in the US you need to have, you need to have- not as an immigrant, but as the easiest way to become a US citizen is you must bring with you 10 000 000 cash. Also these South African citizens in the US. In

Australia they can get a job there it is easier, in the UK it is easier. But all of them...
[Interruption]

Researcher: Aspire?

Participant: They have planned, they aspire to leave. They are just waiting, so they will rip as much as they can. And we still think that they are interested in this country and concessions and tax breaks and wasting our time instead of taking young people from Wits like you sending them to Harvard and to the Silicone Valley and to Germany and get the best technology education. And come and set up industries here for our people. We are still relying on mines and mining is not a business man. There is nothing complicated as mining. Mining it's just digging and selling. It is the most primary, primal as in less evolved business in the whole business chain it is prime. It belongs in the 90's, I mean in the 19th century, but they are still relying [on it] - instead of growing the industrial base here and expanding it to Africa. Who cares? Zuma cares about Nkandla and nothing else. Cyril he is well looked after and Tokyo's got shares in Man U [United], err he's got this house in South of France, he doesn't care. By the way Cyril has a house also in Europe. So there are similarities that are beginning to emerge in our own ANC leaders and white South Africans.

Researcher: Hence, Floyd Shivhambu calls them the *comprador bourgeoisies*.

Participant: Oh yah!

Researcher: By the way thank you for your time.

Participant: You are most welcome.

END OF TRANSCRIPT.