



The impact of Gift Policy on elite formation and consequences of greater distancing between union leadership and members in NUM

Ramatsinele Prudence Makau

Student Number: 573117

Research report submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law, and Management at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS School of Governance) in line with the criteria for the degree of MASTER OF MANAGEMENT in the field of Governance

Supervisor: Prof. Robert Van Niekerk

January 2024

ABSTRACT

This research was conducted to investigate whether the Gift Policy incentivizes elite formation within the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and with what consequences for union leadership and the union's rank and file members. One method to assessing the essence of the policy is to analyse the logic for its adoption. Was the Gift Policy in its policy construction an intended or unintended consequence of the leadership of the union's approach to incentivizing members through differential benefits or something else? The research project aligns with Anyebe (2018) that some policies undermine the solidarity for which unions were formed because the formulation and implementation of internal policies, such as gift policies in the case of the NUM, tend to only reflect the values and preferences of leadership members as the policy in question benefits only a select few and not everyone. Employing a semi-structured interview with leaders and members of the National Union of Mineworkers, this inquiry intended to address concerns relating to the essence and significance of the Gift Policy, and the process by which the Gift Policy was developed, the Gift Policy's influence on working relationships, the Gift Policy's impact on the creation of positions of authority and whether it influences privilege between the union's leadership and ordinary union members.

The researcher noted a wide diversity of viewpoints on the Gift Policy. Interpretations range from functional incentivization, which entails improving the transport mobility of the union executive members to perform their tasks with reliable transport to issues of elitism and differential power between leadership and rank and file. This study has significant limitations. Firstly, qualitative research is mostly subjective because it relies on researchers to comprehend respondents' own perceptions (Field, 2013). Secondly, this study focuses solely on the Gift Policy within NUM. Consequently, the findings of the study cannot be generalised to other policies within the union or other political organisations. Thirdly, the study's sampling consisted of 15 participants of whom only four were females and 11 were males. Moreover, only male participants were in leadership positions. To address these limitations, future studies may employ random sampling techniques on a broader sample to address generalizability issues. When using telephone interviews in their study design, researchers should keep these privacy concerns in mind. Therefore, future researchers will be in a better position to perform a comprehensive qualitative study employing theme analysis, ensuring

trustworthiness, and delivering significant findings if these limitations are considered and these recommendations are followed.

Findings from this study serve as a useful guide for the formation and implementation of incentive policies that will make employees at all levels feel valued, included, and equipped with resources to undertake their tasks as well.

DECLARATION

I, Ramatsinele Prudence Makau, declare that this research report on **THE IMPACT OF GIFT POLICY ON ELITE FORMATION AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF GREATER DISTANCING BETWEEN UNION LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERS IN NUM** is entirely my originally written work, that I possess the copyright to it (unless specifically stated otherwise), and that I have never previously submitted it, in its entirety or components, for any qualifications at any other university. It is presented to fulfil the requirements for the Master of Management in Governance degree at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

Date signed:

24 January 2024

DEDICATION

This research study is dedicated to my parents. Your love and support saw me through my achievements and setbacks. I would not have gotten this far without your advice and confidence. I love you very much.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to start by thanking God for giving me the opportunity to continue my studies. You are truly worthy of praise, and may your name be forever praised and honoured in my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my family and friends, who patiently listened to me talk endlessly about my research, writing, and dreams and never once complained. Thank you for always understanding and providing support and motivation at just the right moments. I appreciate each of you.

I must acknowledge the invaluable contributions of my supervisor, Prof. Robert van Niekerk. This research report is truly meaningful with your knowledge, encouragement, enthusiasm, practical assistance, constructive criticism, and dedication. Thank you for holding my hand along the learning and writing journey. Your patience and support have been invaluable during the sometimes-challenging research and writing process. I consider myself fortunate to have been one of your students.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
LRA	Labour Relations Act
NEC	National Executive Committee
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
OST	Organisational Support Theory
POS	Perceived Organisational Support
SARS	South African Revenue Service

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction to the research problem	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Background of the study	1
1.3. Problem statement	5
Research Purpose	6
Primary Research Question	6
Research objectives	7
1.3.1. Significance of the study	7
1.4. Research Methodology	8
1.4.1. Phenomenology	8
1.4.2. Sampling	9
1.4.3. Data Gathering	10
1.4.4. Proposed data processing, analysis, and interpretation.	10
1.4.5. Research Ethics	11
1.5. Preliminary framework of the study	11
Chapter 2: Literature Review	13
Policy Development and Consultation	18
Policy Implementation	19
Organisational resources	23
Conditions required for effective policy implementation	25
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework	27
Chapter 4: Research Methodology and Design	33
4.1. Introduction	33
4.2. Research Methods	34
4.3. Research Philosophy	35
4.4. Research Design	37
4.4.1 Phenomenology	37
4.4.2 Advantages and limitations of phenomenology	38
4.4.4 Sampling	38
4.4.4.1. Purposive sampling strengths and weaknesses	40
4.5 Data Gathering	40
4.6 In-depth interviews	41
4.6.1 Interview Duration and Respondent Overview	41
4.6.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity	42
4.7 Data Analysis	44

4.8 Trustworthiness and Credibility	45
4.9 Research ethics and informed consent	46
4.10 Study limitations	46
4.11 Conclusion	47
Chapter 5: findings and data analysis	48
5.1 Introduction	48
Theme 1: Policy Approach	49
Theme 2 – Relationship Construction	52
Theme 3 – Power and status	56
Theme 4 – Unity	59
Chapter 6: Discussion	63
Chapter 7: Limitations and Recommendations	71
Chapter 8: Conclusion	73
Reference List	76
Bibliography	86
Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet	91
Appendix B: Informed Consent	93
Appendix C: Permission Letter	95
Appendix D: Ethics Certificate	96
Appendix E: Interview Questionnaire	97

Chapter 1: Introduction to the research problem

1.1. Introduction

This research is titled "The impact of Gift Policy on elite formation and consequences of greater distancing between union leadership and members in NUM". The research aims to investigate the political conditions within the union movement that legitimize the use of the Gift Policy to secure a privileged position. Elite formation in complex political conditions, such as Trade unions is a recent and understudied phenomena in South Africa. Furthermore, elite formation is naturally challenging. Michels (1996) states that leadership itself is not compatible with the most essential postulates of democracy, but leadership is a necessary phenomenon in every form of society, just as elites are a necessary phenomenon in any form of political regime. Ugwuanyi and Chukwuemeka (2013) argues that many Trade Unions operate under ineffective and corrupt political leadership, where many leaders abuse organisational opportunities for their personal aims by using their locations in the organisations to create means and organisational processes that benefit them personally. This study intends to concentrate on the nature and consequences of the Gift Policy and whether its formulation incentivizes elite formation within the NUM and with what consequences for union leadership and the union's rank and file members. The study brings to light some policy implementation inefficiency in the Trade Union.

1.2. Background of the study

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) played a key role in opposing the apartheid government's policies during the 1980s, using varied approaches to advance the struggle for basic workers' and Trade Union rights during this period and to ensure social and political freedom and the rights of workers and the society in which they operate (Monyatsi, 2013). The Labour Relations Act (LRA), No 66, 1995 defines the term Trade Union as an organisation of workers who work together to protect and improve their collective interests and who have joined together for the purpose of organising relations between themselves and their employers (Monyatsi, 2013). This has been demonstrated in Trade Unions organising to improve workers' livelihood standards through negotiating employment terms and working conditions,

adequate remuneration and further benefits including medical and pension to name a few (Manamela, 2015).

With the demise of apartheid, the core function of Trade Unions has evolved over the years to transform South African society and its institutions by representing the aspirations and interests of their members in the context of a democracy by, developing and implementing a variety of social policies aimed at redressing historical injustices and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is no different (Monyatsi, 2013).

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is considered one of the most influential unions in South Africa (SA) and is the largest affiliate of COSATU (Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu, 2011). NUM has re-directed its focus to coordinating mine workers' concerns and advocating for a better life for members in the context of the democratic Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), which frames the existence and functioning of Trade Unions and empowers them to formulate and implement various policies which impact on the livelihood of mine workers (Bhoola, 2002) such as home ownership policy and others that have had a positive impact on the quality of life of the majority of union members (Mangset, Engelstad, Teigen & Gulbrandsen, 2019).

Of direct relevance to understanding such livelihood concerns of mine workers, during the national congress of NUM in 2015, the secretary of the Gauteng region, Mpho Phakedi stated that NUM has “progressive policies” such as the Gift Policy. However, they had not been effectively implemented (Mail & Guardian, 2015). The Gift Policy within NUM is designed as a type of fixed car allowance where members of the National Executive Committee (NEC), two members composed of an elected chairperson and a secretary from each of the eleven regions of NUM, purchase union-subsidised motor vehicles to equip NEC members with resources they need to provide adequate services to union members. The policy also provides that when the NEC members have served a period of five years of their elected term and above and want to leave NUM, they get to keep the car for free hence entitled “Gift”. However, the Gift Policy has been perceived to have been ineffective since its implementation in 2009, with the issue stemming from how the policy was conveyed or presented, resulting in a mismatch between policy and implementation, thus producing outcomes other than those originally planned for during the policy development phase. The intended effect

of the Gift Policy was to address the lack of resources of union leadership to provide adequate services to the union's rank and file members. However, implementation of the policy saw NEC members subverting this intention through corruption and self-interested agendas with the aim of using the Gift Policy to secure their own positions within the union.

According to Phakedi (cited in Mail & Guardian, 2015), like other public policies, policies within the National Union of Mineworkers are occasionally developed through emotion, discretionary judgement, and discontent, and often through a mixture of these three factors (Arshed, Carter & Mason, 2014). Whether the response is based on emotion, logical discourse, or dissatisfaction with an issue or a social matter, NUM's policies as they relate to remuneration need to be subjected to critical scrutiny to consider the impact of selective policies such as the Gift Policy on the leadership and decision-makers and how these impact on ordinary workers and/or the public from an equitable perspective (see also Phakedi, 2015 as cited in Mail & Guardian, 2015). Currently, as part of the policy process, NUM policies are developed through consultations with employees, especially senior managers in the affected departments of the union, followed by awareness campaigns within the organisation where workforce members are consulted to ensure that policies are tailored to their needs and interests and that they know and understand the content of the policies so that leadership can elicit the participation of members to actively support and participate in the policy implementation process (Arshed, Carter & Mason, 2014).

Although there is general agreement that the obligations under the Gift Policy are well-defined and that NEC members clearly understand the policy's objectives, effective implementation proves difficult in the face of corruption and self-interest (Koehn, 2010). According to Corruption Watch (2012), the union members reported that majority of corruption activities included the exploitation of finances, with members accusing union leaders of misusing benefits and shop stewards of accepting bribes from management and these claims were motivated by the notion that union officials were not serving their members.

According to Reta (2021), the non-accountable behaviour of leaders is often a problem in political organisations and is responsible for ineffectiveness in policy implementation and weak organisational structures that fundamentally lead to corrupt activities. In

particular, the centralisation of power with inadequate accountability mechanisms gives leaders too much discretion (Rocha Menocal, Taxell, Johnsen, Schmaljohann, Montero, De Simone & Tobias, 2015) and creates the conditions in which corruption can flourish. This means that organisations such as NUM themselves reflect internal power dynamics between the leadership and the rank and file members, as no matter how ostensibly democratic the establishment and functioning of organisations, evidence suggests that NUM has increasingly transformed into a bureaucratic oligarchy run by individuals who have greater influence over the decisions made, who dominate the power structures of the organisation, resulting in elites within the organisation (Monyatsi, 2013). By controlling who has access to information, elites can successfully centralise their power, often with little accountability which is important for understanding the conditions that enable corruption and self-interest (Rathgeb, 2021).

There is a growing recognition that policies are by no means inherently successful or ineffective and that it is generally not possible to determine all the potential consequences that a given policy might have. Rather, its evolution depends on the context in which it is constructed for and implemented and on policy makers and leaders, who tend to prioritize their own interests over the interests of those who elected them to positions (Mangset, et al., 2019). As a result, Anyebe (2018) contends that some policies undermine the solidarity for which unions were formed because the formulation and implementation of internal policies, such as the Gift Policy in the case of the NUM tend to only reflect the values and preferences of leadership members as the policy in question benefits only a select few and not everyone (Makinde, 2005).

These are indicators of the complicated political context of NUM and the contradictory outcomes of its efforts to formulate and implement strategies and policies that serve the interests of its members. This issue of the Gift Policy in NUM, which is the focus of this research study, raises a broader set of issues about the relationship between Trade Union leadership and rank and file members, as well as the process by which elites form within the union movement and how they secure privileged statuses and position themselves as elites, which has an impact on the organisation and governance of union members and union leadership.

1.3. Problem statement

Despite the volume of research conducted on elite formation in political institutions such as government or military institutions (Francis, 2011), insufficient research has been conducted about the conditions in complex political environments such as Trade Unions that legitimize leaders use policies to secure their privileged status. Of particular interest is the formation of elites in the union leadership and the consequences for accountability of greater distancing between leaders and rank and file union members. This distancing is potentially illustrated in the example of the National Union of Mineworkers' Gift Policy. Studies of elite formation in political contexts draw attention to how differentiated power and status which is unaccountable underpins the emergence of corrupt and self-interested behaviours (Bloomrosen, et al, 2011). In the South African context, little research has been conducted to explore elite formation in the union movement and how this is articulated, either as an intended or unintended consequence as represented in status awards such as the Gift Policy in the case of the National Union of Mineworkers. Studying the impact of the Gift Policy on elite formation within the union and the intended or unintended consequences and how these consequences represent the distancing of the union's rank and file members from union leadership is therefore essential for numerous reasons. Organisations focus on policies that are considered of institutional value (such as work incentives and so forth to improve effectiveness and productivity) but frequently overlook the possible unintended consequences of such policies and how these policies can be compromised by corrupt and self-interested elites, subsequently undermining the solidaristic purposes of Trade Unions and the intentions of policies. Conversely, there is a growing public concern as reflected in the media about union leaders in South Africa leading quite extravagant lives and having access to benefits and privileges that ordinary rank and file members do not. In this way, investigating the impact of the Gift Policy on elite formation in the NUM could guide union policy makers to create and/or improve safeguards at early stages of policy development and implementation to diminish possibilities that a policy such as the Gift Policy may produce unintended consequence and ensure incentives achieve their desired outcome and as intended by the policy (Maluleke, 2011).

Research Purpose

The purpose of this research is to investigate whether the Gift Policy impacts elite formation within the National Union of Mineworkers with what consequences and how it represents the distancing of the union's rank and file members from union leadership. By analysing the formulation and implementation of the Gift Policy in NUM as well as the political conditions within the union movement that legitimate the use of the Gift Policy to secure privileged positions, the study intends to provide insights on the extent to which the implementation of the Gift Policy in NUM is a vehicle for incentivizing elite formation and the intended or unintended consequences for union leadership and union's rank and file members. Considering this, this study aims to respond to the following research question:

Primary Research Question

Does the Gift Policy incentivize elite formation within the National Union of Mineworkers and with what consequences for union leadership and the union's rank and file members?

The purpose of this question is to determine whether the Gift Policy has had a detrimental impact on the establishment of self-interested leadership roles within the National Union of Mineworkers. Furthermore, given the importance of power and status, the question investigates their influence on relationships between union leaders and ordinary members.

Sub questions:

What is the role of Gift Policy in constructing relationships between union leaders and rank and file members?

By detailing the relationships since the implementation of the policy, this question will explore whether the Gift Policy has affected working relationships between ordinary workers, shop stewards and executive leadership.

Was the Gift Policy in its policy construction an intended or unintended consequence of the leadership of the union's approach to incentivizing members through differential benefits?

The purpose of this question is to examine members' understanding of whether the Gift Policy was constructed as well as the policy's goals. Furthermore, whether the Gift Policy benefits affect privilege between union leadership and rank and file members.

Research objectives

Emerging evidence indicates that the National Union of Mineworkers' Gift Policy has influenced the organisation's primary tasks and the balance of power between the leadership and rank and file members (Hirschsohn, 2011). The aim of the study is to focus on the current issues with how the Gift Policy is implemented and the consequences of that implementation. As a result, the study aims to:

- I. To establish whether incentives, particularly the Gift Policy incentive for the purpose of this case study, were constructed with the intention to incentivize members through differential benefits.
- II. To critically examine whether the Gift Policy influences the creation of positions of authority in the National Union of Mineworkers, and.
- III. To further explore the complexities of leadership and ordinary members' interpretations of functional incentivization and the ultimate impact of elitism and differential power between leadership and rank and file members.

1.3.1. Significance of the study

Leadership roles and functions are underpinned by certain attributes which impact the organisation, such as those pertaining to public service goals. Therefore, leaders are essential to achieving the aims and objectives of the organisation, and their actions have an impact on the organisation (Priyodorshi, 2007). Thus, Trade Unions are organisations that are not immune from these concerns. In the context of the South African case, numerous allegations, including privilege and self-interest, have been levelled at the organisation of the Trade Unions, facing Trade Unions leaders as evidenced in Monyatsi (2013). As evidenced by the available literature, a conflict of interest between the union leader and rank and file members is a prevalent issue with Trade Unions (Uys & Holtzhausen, 2016). There is frequently an assumption that one side would act in the best interests of the other.

This research study is significant in both academic and political public contexts given that it is intended to investigate the essence of elite formation using the Gift Policy within the National Union of Mineworkers and provide insight into whether this phenomenon in NUM simply maximised power dynamics for leadership and rank file members or whether preference aligns. Similarly, the study aims to comprehend whether the emergence of elite groups influences the implementation of the Gift Policy, which is critical. When it comes to how Trade Unions function in South African politics, their staying in power, status and privilege, inconsistency between policy construction and execution and the pursuit of power are significant themes that deserve scholarly attention.

Additionally, the purpose of this study was to learn more about how different people within the organisation understand the intention of implemented policies, which can range from perceiving them as a tool to stimulate improved performance to concerns about elitism and power disparities between leaders and rank and file members. Incentives and decision-making research also shed light on how decision-making processes and leadership decisions might lead to incentive advantages. These benefits are greatly determined by how closely people's choices correspond to the organisation's actions and policies.

Policies, however, may not always be well understood or easily executed in some organisational contexts due to issues such as supply constraints and organisational restrictions. Leaders may have lost significant support from their subordinates and union members while in positions of leadership. This raises worries regarding the Gift Policy's long-term efficacy and stability.

1.4. Research Methodology

1.4.1. Phenomenology

A phenomenological approach was used as the research investigated elite formation as a phenomenon. According to Worthington (2013), a phenomenological design is a unique qualitative technique for identifying the shared essences of a social

phenomenon's underlying structure. According to Mouton (2011), case study designs are frequently used for researching businesses or organisations (Makgale, 2020).

The use of descriptive codes in relation to describing matters connected to elite formation, the procedure used to formulate and implement the Gift Policy and the consequences for leadership and the union's rank and file members. To make the information easier to understand, data interpretation was done using a data display. Coding data into categories aided in the discovery of themes and/or patterns that emerged from the data.

1.4.2. Sampling

Purposive sampling was used for the study's sample selection. The goal was to guarantee that the study gave an in-depth understanding, which is fundamentally what qualitative research does (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). Research participants were identified from the National Union of Mineworkers Trade Union, namely national executive committee members from NUM's 11 regional branches, human resources department members, finance department members and the union's rank and file members.

The list included but was not limited to:

1. 5 x National Executive Committee members
2. 1 x human resources manager
3. 1 x human resources administrator
4. 1 x finance manager
5. 1 x finance administrator
6. 6 x rank and file members of the union

The selection of these participants ensures an extensive understanding of the Gift Policy from diverse viewpoints inside the organization. Furthermore, an intentional choice of participants will yield valuable and relevant information. With that said, leaders were chosen because they are directly involved in developing and implementing the Gift Policy, rendering their input essential to understanding the

policy's intent, execution, and overall effectiveness. Whereas the selection of human resources department employees pertains to them being in charge of the policy's day-to-day impact on staff members, thus, offering important perspectives on regulations employee reactions, and administrative issues. Moreover, finance department personnel were selected as they are responsible for reviewing the policy's financial ramifications, as well as offering critical input on benefits, and possible resource misuse. Finally, union members were chosen because they are the major beneficiaries or subjects of the Gift Policy, and their personal views are critical for understanding how it affects their work environment and feelings of justice. This wide selection of participants provides a full investigation of the Gift Policy from many perspectives, thereby boosting the study's depth and validity.

1.4.3. Data Gathering

Individual in-depth semi-structured interviews were used in the study to investigate the concept and reality of elite development within the National Union of Mineworkers. According to Jong and Jung (2015), in-depth semi-structured interviews are useful when you want thorough information about a person's opinions and experiences or wish to delve deeply into new subjects. The interviews were used to collect primary information that would not have been available in documentary data sources, as well as to analyse the correctness, reliability, and trustworthiness of the material received through interviews.

1.4.4. Proposed data processing, analysis, and interpretation.

The interviews were used to gather data. Both handwritten and recorded detailed notes were made. The notes were transformed into readable drafts that could be updated to give an accurate account. To determine the consistency with which significant constructs materialize, themes were identified by looking for word repeats and keywords in interview sources. This mechanism was successful in processing data to determine the nature of the Gift Policy, whether it incentivizes elite formation, and with what consequence for the union leadership and rank and file members.

1.4.5. Research Ethics

Relevant authorities within the National Union of Mineworkers granted permission and/or approval for the research to be conducted. All participants were informed properly of the institution the researcher is registered with. The goal and advantages of the study were presented before the participants agreed to participate. The participants' consent to participate in the study was requested, and each party was properly advised of their ability to decline or withdraw.

1.5. Preliminary framework of the study

Chapter One: Background of the study

Chapter One outlines the research problem by reflecting on the complex political context such as Trade Unions that legitimize leaders using policies to secure privileged status. This chapter presents scholarly research and publicly available political viewpoints. This chapter provides a concise overview of the research methodology techniques and the significance of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the existing research on leadership, elite formation, and effective policy formulation and implementation. The chapter delves into academic and public discourse about South Africa's present political environment, allowing the researcher to establish an academic connection and provide some analysis of any potential gaps in the elite formation debate and literature in the context of South African trade unions.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This section explored the conceptual and theoretical framework that underpins this research study, citing academic literature to help the research answer the research topic and sub-questions.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This section delves further into the research study's methodological strategy, the defined research philosophy, and the sampling mechanism. The chapter also goes

over the data gathering procedure, data analysis, research limits, and data reliability and validity.

Chapter Five: Findings and Data Analysis

This chapter provides and summarizes the primary findings of the study, which are based on interviews.

Chapter Six: Discussion

This chapter highlights the most important results that have emerged overall.

Chapter Seven: Limitations and Recommendations

This chapter outlines the study's limitations and offers recommendations for academic and political domains.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion.

This chapter concludes the entire research paper, summarising key findings and insights offered throughout the study

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Politics constantly revolves around the issue of who rules or leads a community since power is not equally distributed (Ekundayo, 2017), and it is no different in Trade Unions. According to Fairbrother and Webster (2008), Trade Unions are a distinct type of social movement that incorporates both progressive and accommodating elements. Further contending that Trade Unions are social movements born of the relationship between the market and society. This suggests that all unions originate by organising members of society, basically as social movements. Therefore, this concept serves as the foundation for the establishment of Trade Unions in South Africa (Fairbrother & Webster, 2008). A Trade Union is a collection of workers who band together to promote and preserve their common interests. According to the 2007 Labour Relations Act, it is any group of workers in each organisation or sector who get together to manage their relationships with their employers for a variety of reasons.

Manamela (2015) states that Trade Unions were essential throughout the apartheid transition period from 1990 to 1995 for a variety of reasons. Firstly, Trade Unions were effective advocates for workers' rights, contesting unfair labour practices and advocating for better working conditions. Additionally, Trade Unions played an important role in the larger anti-apartheid campaign, organising labour forces in anti-apartheid marches and strikes. Finally, their participation in the transition to democracy discussions was critical, leading to the demise of apartheid practices and the formation of a more inclusive democratic system. Overall, they are significant for advocating workers' rights, creating anti-apartheid unity, and actively moulding the democratic environment of post-apartheid South Africa. According to Monyatsi (2013), Trade Unions are increasingly concerned with more than only wage negotiations and working conditions, but also through the development and implementation of numerous social policies aimed at redressing historical injustices, they have fought to transform South African institutions and societies by representing their members' aspirations and interests in a democratic setting and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is no different (Monyatsi, 2013).

According to Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2011), the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in South Africa is amongst the largest and most persuasive Trade Unions

presently active in the nation. It was founded in 1982 during the height of apartheid in South Africa where it played a substantial role in the labour movement during that time. According to Monyatsi (2013), the NUM is associated with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which is the major Trade Union federation in South Africa. COSATU is well-known for its connection to the African National Congress (ANC), which is the nation's present ruling political party (Mathekga, 2015).

Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2011), posit that the NUM mainly represents mine workers who work in coal, diamond, platinum, and gold mines. The membership emerges from diverse regions and backgrounds and the leadership consists of several prominent figures throughout the nation's history including Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who is the current President of South Africa. President Ramaphosa is among the founding members of NUM and has served as the general secretary of the union before diverting into politics (Misra, 2008). Monyatsi (2013) posits that the NUM has been part of several labour-related strikes and industrial action over working conditions, wage disputes, as well as job security. The NUM is tied to COSATU and therefore the ANC, which has had substantial influence in shaping the labour policies in South Africa in its promotion of the rights of mine workers (Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu, 2011). The NUM remains a major player in the nation's labour movement, promoting the well-being and rights of mine workers as well as contributing to the wider political scene in the nation (Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu, 2011).

Mangset, Engelstad, Teigen and Gulbrandsen (2019) state that, the challenge with the National Union of Mineworkers as with other unions is that they tend to prioritize membership growth above addressing issues affecting their own members. Moreover, the contemporary political atmosphere in Trade Unions as per (Fairbrother & Webster, 2008), is fraught with factionalism, and there is a widening schism between members and leaders. As policies are developed and implemented within the union, and as the gap between union leaders and ordinary members widens, the possibility is that there may be issues of differential power between union leaders and ordinary members and a conflict of interest where one side is intended to act and make decisions in the best interest of the other half. Of direct relevance to understanding this divide between leaders and ordinary members, Arslan (2005) posits that society and organisations today frequently exhibit inequalities in the distribution of money, power, and status. Although total political equality, majority rule, and free elections are "myths," they are

crucial components of an open ruling class, according to the Italian sociologist and political scientist Professor Gaetano Mosca (Arslan, 2005).

In his seminal work "The Ruling Class" (Mosca,1997), Gaetano Mosca outlined that all societies and organisations eventually split into two unequal groups in terms of social standing and functional roles, namely the ruling class and the managed class. The former are always limited in number, manage all political duties, consolidate power in their own hands, and have predetermined privileges. The second class, which is large and is ruled by the first, gives the first class the material resources required for the existence of a political organism.

When investigating the notion of the 'ruling class' and its implications for comprehending elites, it is critical to consider the viewpoints of prominent theorists such as Mosca's *The ruling class* (1997), Marx's *Capital (Das Kapital)* (1992), and C. Wright Mills's *The Power of Elites* (Gillam,1975). According to Juraev and Ortikova (2021), Marx's argument concentrates on economic factors and class conflict, emphasizing the importance of ownership and control over the means of production. While C. Wright Mills develops the notion of a power elite, emphasizing the connectivity of political, economic, and military domains in modern civilizations (Juraev & Ortikova, 2021). Mosca's comments, on the other hand, provide various aspects to the discussion. His concept of the "political formula" emphasizes the importance of common political ideas in legitimizing the ruling class's authority (Martinelli, 2009). This broadens the study by including the ideological underpinnings that support elite power. Furthermore, Mosca's focus on organized minorities elucidates how certain groups inside organisations exert power, offering a mechanism for the ruling class's continuation (Martinelli, 2009). This organisational viewpoint supplements Marx's economic emphasis and Mills' concern about a centralized power elite. As a result, the addition of Mosca's political formula analysis gives Mosca's framework more explanatory power in describing elites, relative to this study. By including these components in the comparison with Marx and Mills, this analysis demonstrates the breadth of Mosca's approach in revealing the complexity of elite dynamics.

The term "elites" sometimes includes the term "leadership", and these terms are usually used interchangeably. However, there are some differences between them. In this context, leader refers to individuals who have been assigned or appointed into a

formal position of authority within an organisation and leadership refers to a process in which one person influences a group of individuals to reach a common purpose (Alias & Ismail, 2017). This definition emphasizes many fundamental features of leadership: it is a process, it includes influencing people within a group, it strives for objectives, and these goals are shared by leaders and ordinary members (Underdal, 1991). In this study, individuals in positions of leadership are referred to as leaders, while those they lead are referred to as ordinary rank and file members. Both are required for the existence of a leadership process. Both leaders and ordinary rank and file members have an ethical obligation to address each other's needs and concerns during this process (Skjaerseth, 2016). However, because the study focuses on leadership, leaders' ethical obligation to those they lead will be stressed, which makes them an effective leader

According to Fatma and Zafer (2020), effective leaders are those who are prepared to put the interests of the organisation and ordinary rank and file members ahead of their own, and who guarantee that ordinary rank and file members are better represented in the organisation's decisions and policy development planning thus fostering unity and belonging. Therefore, when it comes to policy development and implementation, an effective leader will put the interest of others before their own when determining how resources are to be allocated and who should receive the resulting advantages and disadvantages (Burns 1978, cited in López, 2013) briefly put, the word leader refers to an actual exercise of power and leaders use power to do or get done what is not done for the needs of their followers (Ford & Polin, 2021).

Elites in this context, refer to individuals who occupy key positions in a hierarchy and those who hold privileged positions, allowing them to influence organisational decisions and outcomes regularly and significantly (Diah, 2017). In another aspect, Mosca (1961) presents a new point of view through the phrase "ruling class" originally coined by Karl Marx (1845). The term "ruling class" refers to an organized minority that monopolizes decision-making authority in society and organisations. Therefore, these 'ruling class' people are seen as great leaders capable of advancing both society's moral and material goals (Korom & Planck, 2015). In accordance with the above, Pareto in his seminal work *The Mind and Society* (1935) describes elites as those with the greatest capacities in their profession, they include prominent and "established" leaders like high-level civil servants, and top politicians, as well as to varying degrees

in various societies, relatively transient and lesser-known leaders of mass organisations like Trade Unions (Higley, 2008), thus emphasising the importance of efficiency in order to preserve their top position by making the best use of limited resources for social benefit (Korom & Planck, 2015). According to this definition, elites have access to resources and control them and they have the power to control decision-making processes and have influence over the overall outcomes (Yetkin, 2008; Parry, 2005 as cited in Diah, 2017).

It is critical to emphasize that this notion of elites according to Putnam (1976) is constrained and distinctly political. It is only open to those at the very top of the political, economic, and social power pyramids. It does not define all members of a society with high levels of vocational, educational, or cultural prestige as political elites. National political elites are not as numerous as characterized (Higley, 2008).

Like leadership, power is understood as the capacity to persuade people to do what you want by influencing their ideas, attitudes, and conduct. On the other hand, power can also be coercive which goes against the principle of persuading people to collaborate toward a common goal and might have unintended and undesirable consequences. Nonetheless, power is central to the concept of elite and policy implementation (Tittenbrun, 2013). In organisations, there are two basic forms of power that are considered: position power, derived from holding a certain post or rank, and personal power, which is derived from being perceived as well-informed and likeable. Kotter (2008). state that, when leaders have both position and personal power, they should employ personal power first, as utilizing position power too much might limit their potential to influence others. However, knowing when and how to use position power when appropriate is critical in that elites often possess resources and control these resources (Rice and Moore, 2005, cited in López, 2013). Having said that, power has two faces: one that serves personal ambitions at the expense of others in the organisation, and another that tries to accomplish group goals even if it means sacrificing the leader's own aims. Nevertheless, both the terms "elite" and "leader" refer to individuals who play a central role in a society or organisation's policy-making process.

According to Eldredge (1980), policy is a declaration that serves as a guide for decision-making by organisation members entrusted with the duty of running the

organisation as a system. Accordingly, Theodoulou and Cahn (1995) assert that an organisation's policy is what it states and its actions in response to the alleged issues that it and its stakeholders are experiencing. Therefore, policy is a sign of a predetermined objective, defined aim, or plan of action and the entire purpose of the organisation is to identify the requirements of its stakeholders and take fitting actions to address those needs to diminish and/or improve them. Therefore, for a policy to be effective, it must address the root cause of the problem (Mokhaba, 2006). Typically, the policy process has been conceptualized to include six primary steps: First, issues are diagnosed, second, a casual diagnosis is established. Third, policy formulation where plans are devised, and specific courses of action are proposed. Fourth, a political choice on reform effort is taken (the adoption of a policy). Fifth, policy implementation takes place, addressing the way in which policy will be fulfilled. Finally, policy evaluation focuses on assessing the impact of the policy and whether it has been achieving the stated goals (Campos & Reich, 2019). It should be highlighted that the scope of this study is limited to the Gift Policy implementation stage. The selection of this emphasis does not deny that other stages of the policy process have an impact on the implementation stage.

Policy Development and Consultation

Choi and Wong (2023) state that earlier definitions of policy formation described it as a multi-stage, top-down, bureaucratic process dominated by a small number of policy elites with little external impact. These out-of-date frameworks present discrete policy stages, assume rational decisions aimed at the public good (Birkland, 2007 as cited in Choi & Wong, 2023), and view policy-making as taking place within a 'iron triangle' of congressional committees, federal bureaucracy, and lobbyists, excluding ordinary citizens. Contemporary approaches, such as policy enactment theory among others (Ball, Maguire, and Braun, 2012 as cited in Choi & Wong, 2023) emphasize the involvement of various political and social actors in the policy process while acknowledging the state's power. They emphasize the necessity of citizen monitoring, pointing out that agenda-setting in a complex society is sometimes illogical and unreasonable (Ball, 2012 as cited in Choi & Wong, 2023). These methods acknowledge that politicians may lack crucial information and act in self-serving ways. Kingdon's (1973, 2003 as cited in Choi & Wong, 2023) work and policy enactment

studies highlight the unexpected nature of agenda-setting and decision-making, emphasizing the need of various players negotiating policy proposals.

Having said that, Inshyn, Danilova, Pavlichenko, Kayda, and Komarnytska (2022) argue that discussions are critical to achieving a truly participative implementation process. If the interests and views of those affected are not factored into the policy-making process, the resulting policies and their execution will simply not function for the larger society, nor will they ensure that no one falls behind.

Currently, as part of the policy process, NUM policies are developed through consultations with employees, especially senior managers in the affected departments of the union, followed by awareness campaigns within the organisation where workforce members are consulted to ensure that policies are tailored to their needs and interests and that they know and understand the content of the policies so that leadership can elicit the participation of members to actively support and participate in the policy implementation process (Arshed, Carter & Mason, 2014). Inshyn et al (2022) state that receiving constructive input on suggestions is usually beneficial, especially if it comes from employees who will have to execute or are affected by the plans. This enables possible problems to be addressed in advance and offers management the opportunity to receive informed input from personnel on the ground. With that said, the intended effect of the Gift Policy was to address the lack of resources of union leadership to provide adequate services to the union's rank and file members.

Policy Implementation

Under their policy implementation and failure research, Hudson, Hunder and Peckham (2019) found that to implement policies more effectively, it is necessary to understand the reasons why they become ineffective, since this knowledge may help to inform prospective solutions and their future implementation (Osasona, & Onimisi, 2021). As such, Mwendera, de Jager, Longwe, Kumwenda, Hongoro, Phiri, and Mutero (2019) state that policy implementation frequently experiences structural problems and these structural problems include inadequately skilled staff, deficient supervision, insufficient resources, absence of association with the intended population, and one-sided policy implementation. All things considered, effective policy implementation as per Lindqvist

(2019) requires cooperation and interaction between important stakeholders both inside and outside of the organisation (Osasona, & Onimisi, 2021) considering this information, there are various ways in which policy implementation is specified and observed. Ajulor (2018), observes policy implementation as bringing articulated goals to reality through feasible strategies with a combination of financial and physical resources. In this sense, policy implementation involves a clear vision and takes on a practical approach by way of deliberately reacting or striving to attain the intended change and set goals. Theodoulou (2004) on the other hand regards policy implementation as an operational stage in which the organisation's decision on topics is converted into tangible action with the goal of resolving certain stakeholder concerns. In a broader sense, policy implementation has been defined as an ongoing process of decision-making by key actors who work in complex policy and institutional contexts to bring policy mandates to reality (Francis, 2011). Given the above, Campos and Reich (2019) posit that motivation, flow of information, and balance of power and resources among stakeholders influence policy implementation processes (Campos & Reich, 2019).

Monyatsi (2013) states that policy implementation, particularly in Trade Unions encounters impediments because of political uncertainty, red tape, declining member involvement in union affairs, insufficient organisational capacity, a lack of a clear vision, and the fact that most union leaders are now motivated by individualism and a desire for upward mobility. In supporting the above argument, Delican (2000) posits that many leaders exploit organisational opportunities for personal gain by exploiting their positions inside organisations to build mechanisms and organisational processes that are geared toward advancing their own self-interest. In corroboration, Ugwuanyi and Chukwuemeka (2013) argue that many Trade Unions function under ineffective and corrupt political leadership, with union officials using their positions for career development in certain circumstances, while some unions have been implicated in direct corruption scandals. (Kenny, 2020). A survey of 3030 COSATU members conducted in 2012 found that union members believe that their leaders are corrupt, a feeling reflected in 2011 to 2016 literature (Uys & Holtzhausen, 2016). Moreover, trade union officials are increasingly accused of corruption and losing contact with their members, stating for instance that shop stewards frequently prioritize personal benefit, which members perceive as a sell-out to management and abuse of finances.

Furthermore, the disparity between highly compensated union officials and average members has grown, fueling distrust (Uys & Holtzhausen, 2016). With that stated, Khuwaja, Ahmed, Abid, and Adeel (2020) posit that leaders have the capability to influence organisational policy using power or by acts and the exercise of this power or conduct may have a detrimental influence on overall organisational policy control and information manipulation, allowing the aims of the most powerful to triumph over the goals of the overall organisation.

Leadership is considered vital for effective policy implementation (Campos & Reich, 2019). According to Muhammad (2014), leadership and policy implementation have a mutual relationship, and their execution and practices have far-reaching repercussions on one another, on which the achievement of policy development goals is dependent. Muhammed (2014) further states that leadership is a cornerstone of policy implementation, and the application of implementation competencies fosters effective leadership, which leads to successful policy implementation and sustainability. Dewan and Myatt (2007 as cited in Muhammed, 2014) on the other hand offer an intriguing take on a key aspect of policy implementation: communication. According to the writers, a strong leader should have outstanding communication skills and be able to communicate effectively, allowing others to grasp what is being said and what it implies for their policies or actions.

Mavrogordato and White (2020) on the contrary argue that leader perception, comprehension, communication, and execution of policies occur in a specific context that needs to be understood, such as organisational and societal norms as well as experience and social networks. Therefore, individuals are impacted by organisational norms, regulations, and definitions that govern and permit activity, as acknowledged by the institutional theory (Mavrogordato & White, 2020). Furthermore, resources and support, as well as the economic and political climate in which the policy is implemented have an influence on the process of policy implementation (Mavrogordato & White, 2020).

In support of the above, Spillane, Gomez, and Mesler (2012) argue that organisations do not execute policies; rather, individuals do, and the organisations in which they work affect or structure their sense-making and actions. The idea of structure, though widely employed in sociology and related sciences, has definitional issues. According

to Spillane, Gomez, and Mesler (2012), scholars such as (Lopez & Scott, 2000) focus on institutional structure, others on relational structure, and still others on embodied structure, while some perspectives from (Althusser, 1971) overemphasize the determinism of organisational structure stifling human agency. Although structure is required for human practice, Spillane, Gomez, and Mesler (2012) state that it should not be interpreted as exclusively defining organisational practice but should be considered as both a medium and consequence of practice.

As per Spillane, Gomez, and Mesler (2012), organisational structure defines practice by providing the norms and resources on which it is founded. At the same time, practice is a component of organisational structure since it is generated, reproduced, and possibly altered through interaction by human agents (Giddens, 1979). and it is through these interactions that are influenced by various factors which can be considered as resources that organisational practice emerges.

The examination of policy implementation within the trade union provides a context to investigate the concerns of the research questions through a case-study approach. The literature has shed light on a few difficulties and dynamics inside Trade Unions that may have a substantial influence on policy implementation. The highlighted constraints, such as political instability and individualistic leadership motives to name but a few points to a complex situational environment in which policy implementation is confronted with a variety of challenges. The synthesis of the findings in the conclusion draws attention to the complex interaction of internal and external variables impacting on policy implementation inside trade unions. These factors will guide a more nuanced examination of the study issues, highlighting the need to investigate both the organisational dynamics and the larger socio-political framework in which trade unions operate. Furthermore, the study of Mosca, Marx, and C. Wright Mills' viewpoints on the 'ruling class' provided significant insights and concerns relevant to my research objectives. Their complex views have pushed the study to critically examine the varied nature of elite dynamics.

Mosca's emphasis on the "political formula" has emphasized the importance of shared ideas, prompting the researcher to investigate the role of political beliefs in comprehending elite power's persistence. Mosca's focus on the organized minority has also called attention to the structural complexities that contribute to the

reproduction of a ruling class. This comparative study has made the researcher realize how important it is to do a thorough assessment of political factors in this research on elite formations. It emphasizes the significance of delving into Mosca's organisational and ideological features, as well as C. Wright Mills' interrelated power spheres. This larger viewpoint will enhance this study by offering a more comprehensive grasp of the mechanisms that perpetuate elite influence in society.

Organisational resources

Spillane, Gomez, and Mesler (2012) posit that the resources available and their influence on how things are done affect organisational structure. This resource-focused strategy has two major advantages. First, it emphasizes that organisational structure is dynamic and evolves over time. Second, seeing organisational structure in terms of resources allows for a better understanding of how it is generated and how it influences real-world circumstances. According to Mavrogordato and White (2020), resources enable the linking of many perspectives on how organisations work in practice, which is especially important for successful policy implementation. Physical, financial, human, and social assets are examples of resources that individuals employ to accomplish outcomes in organisations. These resources must be available and known to organisational members for them to have an impact on the organisation's outcomes. Lastly, members must be aware of these resources to make appropriate use of them (Mavrogordato & White, 2020). This study focuses on material resources, more particularly motor vehicles that are provided in the form of a differential benefit.

According to Shiftan, Albert and Keinan (2012) subsidized motor vehicles are viewed as job-related benefits that assist employees in performing important official activities and should be regarded as an investment by the organisation (Mangale, 2017). From a tax perspective, these motor vehicles are regarded as an additional non-monetary compensation, also known as fringe benefits. The term fringe benefits refer to additional remuneration and/or incentives that organisations award to their employees in addition to normal salaries (Budd, 2004). In relation to the above, under SARS (South African Revenue Service) Tax Administration Act Section 95, fringe benefits are regarded as non-monetary perks provided to employees that do not represent

cash compensation. Therefore, some fringe benefits as per Scott, Currie, and Tivendale (2012), are awarded to all employees, while others are primarily provided to executives. Shiftan, Albert and Keinan (2012) state that in many organisations where this benefit is available, it tends to cover all expenditures associated with a vehicle, which include petrol, insurance, and maintenance amongst others.

Kristal, Cohen and Mundlak (2011) argue that although fringe benefits are essential components of a worker's total compensation, they can be a fundamental source of inequality in that there seems to be a broad consensus that benefits are linked to a job's characteristics. The hierarchical roles within sectors that decide who receives benefits as per Kristal, Cohen and Mundlak (2011) result in groups of workers with major variations in their well-being. Benefits also signify a person's social standing, which is tied not just to their work but also to their organisation's competitive position in the market.

According to Kristal, Cohen and Mundlak (2011), there are various challenges associated with non-monetary incentives. Firstly, employees sometimes come to expect these benefits just for being employed in an organisation rather than performing tasks. While these benefits may assist people in their positions, they do not necessarily make them more motivated or improve their performance. Secondly, employees tend to have an entitlement mindset when it comes to benefits and incentives, considering the above, Kristal, Cohen and Mundlak (2011) state that employees with an entitlement mindset are less satisfied and driven than those who must work harder to have those benefits. Another major impediment with non-monetary incentives is that, in some organisations, incentives are awarded to the wrong people for the wrong reasons sometimes. While resource-based incentives are beneficial, they will not be effective if they are offered to the wrong people and for the wrong reasons. In certain organisations, seniority is incentivized above exceptional performance and performers. In these settings, some positions are highly rewarded even if they are not performing the tasks. Lastly, the presence of demotivators. According to Kristal, Cohen and Mundlak (2011), demotivating factors such as frustrating working conditions and injustice in the incentive system undermine the efficacy of incentives in that people are more sensitive to what they do not receive than to what they do receive. Employees find it upsetting, regardless of how much they are paid, when they discover disparities between their incentives and those of others, both inside and outside the organisation.

In settings like this, rewards are frequently regarded with cynicism and scorn rather than appreciation. (Kristal, Cohen & Mundlak, 2011).

Conditions required for effective policy implementation

Stofile (2008) argues that in many circumstances, whether a policy succeeds or fails is determined by the agreed-upon success criteria or the established objectives. Ingram and Schneider (1990 as cited in Stofile, 2008), for example, describe effective implementation as adhering to legal criteria, satisfying success indicators, and attaining policy objectives. This strategy is frequently utilized by people who regard policy implementation as a simple procedure with the purpose of meeting the given targets. Thus, research conducted into implementation techniques has revealed two key approaches that are thought to be the most successful ways to investigate and describe how ideas are put into practice. These techniques are sometimes referred to as "top-down" and "bottom-up" because they focus on distinct areas of the implementation process. These models seek to describe what implementation is, how to research it, and the circumstances required to realize the policy's objectives (Tebele, 2016). This research will focus on the "bottom-up" approach

Stofile (2008) states that "bottom-up" advocates, such as Berman (1980), Hjern and Porter (1981), Hjern and Hull (1982 and 1987), Elmore (1980), and Lipsky (1978), offer a strategy that begins at the grassroots of implementation. Hanf, Hjern, and Porter's (1978) bottom-up approach begins by evaluating the network of persons participating in the actual implementation site and inquiring about their aims, tactics, actions, and relationships. This technique, according to Sabatier (2005), permits information to flow from people at the bottom, and implementers to policymakers at the top.

Berman (1980), Hjern and Porter (1981) and others contend that comprehending policy implementation is more realistic when the perspective of those who must put it into effect and offer the services is considered. They contend that the ability of local implementers is more important than the efforts of central government officials in ensuring successful implementation. On a larger scale, central actors devise government programs, but at the local level, groups respond to these plans by developing their own programs and putting them into action (Signé, 2017).

According to Cerna (2013), while a bottom-up method is beneficial for identifying significant participants in a policy area, Sabatier (2005) contends that it should be linked to a coherent theory that takes into consideration the social, economic, and legal aspects that impact how these actors perceive, access resources, and make decisions.

The bottom-up approach sees policy implementation as a crucial part of the policy-making process. It considers policy formulation and implementation as interconnected processes that involve back-and-forth interactions. Policy implementation is seen as all the actions and interactions directly tied to achieving the intended policy goals (Signé, 2017).

In conclusion, various insights emerge that are significant to understanding policy implementation within organisations, such as resource accessibility and implementation process awareness add context and concerns to the research questions. Furthermore, the literature emphasizes the importance of equally distributed incentives based on merit to ensure their motivational impact. These insights contribute to a nuanced understanding of the role of resources in policy implementation and shed light on potential challenges associated with non-monetary incentives, emphasizing the need for strategic and fair approaches in organisational policies. Moreover, the insights from the literature on the circumstances necessary for effective policy implementation give major views on policy implementation, notably the significance of success criteria and the contrast between "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches. This understanding implies that a well-defined set of success criteria is critical for measuring the efficacy of policy implementation. Tebele (2016) adds context by stating that both the "top-down" and "bottom-up" methods try to define what implementation is, how to research it, and the circumstances required to achieve policy objectives. By using a "bottom-up" approach, this study is positioned to analyse the practical intricacies and contextual elements that impact policy implementation, providing a more nuanced and contextually grounded investigation.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The overarching theoretical framework for this research report is anchored in Elite Theory. According to Francis (2011), elite theory is about power and influence, with elites having varying degrees of power and influence on the masses or decision-making processes. As a result, the masses are non-elites who obey the elites and the decisions they make. Having said that, the seminal work of classical theorist Robert Michels (1962) viewed the masses as generally immobile and passive, and in need of a leader to guide them. Throughout his book titled: *Political Parties*, Michels attempted to demonstrate how, in general, the masses, even when organised within a party, were apathetic about the running of their own affairs. Furthermore, they do not appear to be especially interested, and attempts to hold referendums inside the party have been catastrophic failures due to relenting incompetence and limited time (Michels, 1962 as cited in Drochon, 2020). Mills (1956) in support of Michels's idea, argued that ordinary people or the public are placed at the lowest levels of society, and at this level, they have very little actual power (Francis, 2011).

O'Neil and White (2018) argue that the formation of elite groups is inescapable in modern societies and genuine democratic systems are impossible because there will always be self-interested elites who will out-organise and outwit the people. In essence, Michels (1962 as cited in Odubajo & Alabi, 2014) states that complex and large organisations such as political parties and Trade Unions tend to lead to the emergence of self-serving, conservative elites, called oligarchies and the emergence of these elites within a political party or union is due to the fact that, even if the organisations are founded on ideals of equality or radical change, a small group of leaders must eventually emerge at the centre and manage power, delegate tasks, and establish clear structure and belief. Michels (1962) states that, although these leaders are critical to keeping things operating and achieving goals, it might lead to a disconnect between ordinary members and decision-makers as well as decision-making processes. This is regarded as problematic, even though it is often unavoidable (Michels, 1962). Given the above, Michels and current populists believe

that the schism between ordinary members and leaders goes against democracy's essential values (Drochon, 2020). Mills (1956 as cited in Francis, 2011) supports this by suggesting that the way elites are organised and structured is what gives them power to control and impact society. In essence, Michel characterises all organisations as elitist since their structures inherently encourage conservatism. This conservatism occurs because when individuals obtain power by organising themselves, they frequently become more concerned with safeguarding their own interests rather than enacting meaningful change (Odubajo & Alabi, 2014). However, Michel does state that an efficient organisation requires a structured system with distinct functions and a hierarchy. This is important for both practical reasons, such as ensuring seamless operations through delegation, and tactical reasons since democracy might be too sluggish to adapt to rapid political developments. This organism system, on the other hand, might result in a small number of individuals, the bureaucracy, accumulating control and becoming an oligarchy, a self-serving elite. As a result, the larger and more complicated an organisation becomes, the less democratic it becomes. Simply said, when organisations develop, they frequently become less democratic because they rely more on structured bureaucracy, which can result in a concentration of power in a few hands (Drochon, 2020).

It should be made apparent that Michels (date) maintained a "Rousseauian" view of democracy as per Drochon (2020), in which members of a party actively make decisions, and he disliked the concept of representation, in which certain individuals make decisions on behalf of others. However, the elite theory model, despite the assumption that pluralism is meant to promote justice in how power and influence are distributed in society, choices and actions frequently favour the interests of the ruling elite and the demands and actions of the broader population have little impact on the decisions and policies that leaders choose to implement (Anyebe, 2018). Essentially, the elites feel they are the only ones who can decide what is best for the public's well-being, and they develop rules and policies to reflect this belief. These policies are then passed down from the elites to the ordinary public. Elite policies often reflect their own ideals and frequently support keeping the present system over making significant changes (Okoye, Anazodo, Izueke, & Eze, 2012). As stated, elite theory suggests that policies are primarily formed by a small number of influential individuals, reflecting their own beliefs and aims, which may include a desire to serve the wider population. This

theory, however, has a limitation in that it presupposes society and organisations are highly organized and separated into distinct groups. Elite ideals and identity may be weaker in communities and organisations where these distinctions are not well delineated. In Trade Unions, for example, certain elite members may identify more with the aspirations of ordinary people in their immediate communities than with other elites. In such instances, environmental beliefs may influence policy decisions more than elite interests (Anyebe, 2018).

In the context of South Africa, the connection between labour unions and elitism can be complex and occupy different levels. Labour unions such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) have in the past played an important role in advocating for the rights of workers, more so during the anti-apartheid struggle (Andresen, 2021). However, discussions pertaining to elitism may arise in several ways in the labour movement.

In terms of the leadership structures, elitist leadership is regarded by literature that in certain labour unions leadership structures exist concentrated power among a few individuals, potentially forming an "elite" within the union (Michaud, 2019). This tends to lead to concerns pertaining to representation and whether the leadership does indeed reflect the varying needs of the larger membership (Michaud, 2019). Following the passage of the apartheid era, questions have emerged pertaining to how effectively the unions adapted to the new economic and political landscape and if certain leaders have entrenched themselves in positions of power (Padayachee & Van Niekerk, 2019).

Norbert and Andrew (2018). argues that in terms of inclusivity and representation where elitism versus representation, it may be argued in Trade Unions about whether the leadership represents the larger membership as well as if it tends to be more exclusive, potentially leading to accusations of elitism.

As the leadership structures of Trade Unions have been scrutinised, if leadership positions are perceived as being held by the same individuals for long periods of time, concerns about representation as well as inclusivity may emerge (Andresen, 2021). Problems pertaining to race, gender, and diversity in leadership positions become pivotal in determining whether a union truly is representative of its membership (Matjie, Maleka & Allais, 2021).

Matjie, et al. (2021) assert that Trade Unions in South Africa deal with the challenge of balancing the interests of different sectors of the workforce. If for instance a union is perceived as prioritising or aligning itself too closely with the needs of certain industries, occupations, political elites, or economic interests, it might be suspected of favouring an elite within the larger working class (Campbell, & Fishman, 2016). As such the level at which unions deal with issues of informal and unstable employment also influences the perception of elitism (Okoye, et al., 2012.).

With regard to access to opportunities, labour unions that are seen to show a preference for certain segments of the workforce rather than others with regard to benefits or opportunities may be confronted with accusations of elitism (Lichtenstein, 2019)). Furthermore, if the organisation's leadership focuses more on the needs of certain industries or professions to the detriment of others, the union again may be accused of elitism (Campbell, & Fishman, 2016)

As South Africa's Trade Unions have historically had close connections to the struggle against apartheid, in the post-apartheid era, Trade Unions have had to navigate relationships with elites in politics (Botiveau, 2017). As such accusations of alignment with selected political factions or serving their interests have the potential to lead to debates regarding the union's genuine independence (Botiveau, 2017). In certain instances, Trade Unions may be scolded for having close relations with political elites, which understandably has the potential to influence decisions or policies in manners that are beneficial to a specific group within the larger population (Botiveau, 2017).

According to (Matjie, et al., 2021) Trade Unions that advocate effectively for social justice as well as equality in the sectors they engage in, across their membership workforce place themselves in a good position to mitigate being perceived and accused of elitism. Norbert and Andrew (2018) assert that if a union addresses issues of workplace discrimination, income and inequality, code of good practice and access to opportunities for all workers, the union then strengthens its position in its capacity as a representative.

With regards to social justice advocacy (Michaud, 2019) posits that unions that can reconcile elitism with social justice through the advocacy for the rights of all employees, regardless of the workers' background, position themselves well to counter perceptions of favouritism (Michaud, 2019).

There have been significant changes in South Africa's economy, these include shifts in industries as well as a notable progression into the gig economy (Forsyth, 2022). Labour unions have, however, faced difficulty in adapting to these changes as well and representation of the interests of workers evolves at the same pace as employment structures (Forsyth, 2022).

Although elitism has been detected in the current results pertaining to NUM, it is important to note that the dynamics at play within Trade Unions tend to vary greatly, and as such not all unions contend with the same criticisms (Blissett, 2018). Furthermore, the political landscape, historical context as well as economic circumstances at play in South Africa influence the nuanced relationship between the country's Trade Unions and issues pertaining to elitism (Blissett, 2018). Rhetoric pertaining to these issues often intersects with discussions and debates regarding economic justice, representation, and democracy in the country.

According to (Forrest, 2015) transparency in decision-making processes is crucial and a catalyst to maintaining accountability to the membership. As such labour unions that engage their members by communicating decisions through a high degree of transparency, and democratic participation, easily builds trust and reduces perceptions of elitism (Rajab, 2017).

With the above said, the relationship between labour unions and elitism in the South African context is multilayered and complex. The complexity is influenced by historical legacies, political dynamics, and economic shifts (Forsyth, 2022). Furthermore, the persistent struggle for representation, inclusivity as well as social justice remains the main element surrounding the role of labour unions in the nation (Forsyth, 2022; Rajab, 2017).

It is the researcher's hypothesis that the Gift Policy is developed for the benefit of the elite. However, this does not imply that the policy is wholly opposed to everyone's well-being; rather, it places the responsibility for the general welfare on the elite. In terms of its nature and implementation, the researcher will present further evidence to support the notion that the Gift Policy is tailored toward the elite (Okoye, Anazodo, Izueke, & Eze, 2012). Central arguments within the literature review reveal that privileged access to additional resources by union leaders may contribute to the growing disconnect between the union's rank and file members and union leaders,

thus opening the door to populist practices and a growing distance between “the people” who endure their elected leaders’ decisions and “corrupt elites” who prioritise self-interest over members’ interests, thus undermining the moral credibility of the union (Rathgeb, 2021). Furthermore, the very existence of the Gift Policy undermines the solidarity that the union was formed to represent in that the development of the Gift Policy can be argued as reflecting the values and preferences of union leaders and the fact that it is meant to benefit some union members and not others legitimate their power and positions (Anyebe, 2018).

Chapter 4: Research Methodology and Design

4.1. Introduction

Chapter one of this study provides the research problem which the research aims to address and the significance of the research. The National Union of Mineworkers implemented the Gift Policy with the intention of addressing the lack of resources union leadership encountered in their quest to provide adequate services to the union's rank and file members. However, implementation of the policy saw beneficiaries subverting this intention through corruption and self-interested agendas with the aim of using the Gift Policy to secure their own positions within the union.

The research seeks to investigate the impact of the Gift Policy on elite formation and the consequences of greater distancing between union leadership and members in NUM. To efficiently tackle this issue, one research question and two sub-questions were established. The stipulated questions are the focal point of this research. This chapter indicates the research methods and research designs undertaken to address the research question and its sub-questions and it also provides the data collection techniques used to grasp onto the themes of policy approach, power and status and relationship constructions as intertwined elitism conceptions.

I recognise some of the current viewpoints in social science research regarding the case study technique. These different viewpoints are referred to as misconceptions by Flyvbjerg (2006). He draws attention to the fact that theoretical knowledge is generally regarded as superior to practical knowledge and that one cannot draw general conclusions from a single case study. He does however add that there are situations when a case study's goal is to learn something rather than to prove something. Therefore, the Gift Policy within the National Union of Mineworkers was a single case study on elite development which might potentially offer useful policy formulation and implementation learnings, hence the case study method was ideal for this topic.

4.2. Research Methods

The approach for the study was qualitative research. This approach was used to investigate the study participants' views and comprehension of the National Union of Mineworkers' Gift Policy through direct interaction with them. According to Patton (2015), the purpose of qualitative research is to examine the way in which people decipher and make meaning. Therefore, this approach is often employed as an inquiry to investigate a particular phenomenon and as a process of analysis for grasping and studying a phenomenon in the context and setting in which it takes place, in hopes of understanding perspectives and meanings from those who experience it (Mohajan, 2018). Taking that into consideration, interviews, focus groups and observations are some of the data collection methods used in a variety of circumstances in qualitative research to capture participants' experiences as told via their own words.

In contrast to having it pre-framed by the researcher, Braun and Clarke (2013) highlight that a qualitative research technique enables the researcher to maintain attention on people's own perspectives around topics and their comprehensiveness. They add that qualitative research is “exploratory, organic, open-ended”, and it generates rich, in-depth data that may be used to support assertions. This field of study can be broadly divided into two camps: experiential and critical. Therefore, using experiential qualitative research for this study as stated by Braun and Clarke (2013), is motivated by an inclination to understand people's own perspectives and meanings, form an impression, so to speak and to make these a priority when putting together the research report. Therefore, research is an act of gathering such information, organising, and interpreting the information to make sense of it. Considering the foregoing, experiential qualitative research aims to interpret the way people see, understand, and experience the world. Researchers employ language as a means of accessing and making sense of the inner world because it is considered as though it offers a window into the person's interior and is understood as the simple method by which individuals express their experiences, practices, and meanings. Analysis produces “rich” or “thick” descriptions of meaning and experience, which is what is meant when researchers talk about mapping or giving voice to the rich tapestry of people's lives (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the collected data as noted by Alhojailan (2012). Thematic Analysis is a process of analysing classifications and presenting themes and/or patterns connected to the data. It uses interpretations to deal with a variety of topics while providing in-depth data visualization (Braun & Clarke, 2013). As per Alhojailan (2012), thematic analysis enables the researcher to pinpoint the connections between ideas and compare them to duplicated data from interview data sets. Additionally, coding was employed to organise and provide meaning to the collected data. Coding, the commonly used phrase for data categorising entails the identification of patterns in the data and segmenting of the information to provide more clarity on its specific material and thus patterns are coded to achieve this (Joffe & Yardley, 2003). Therefore, by categorising the data, distinctions are made between various features of the material.

In addition to gathering and analysing data, qualitative research alludes to a variety of approaches that provide frameworks for conducting research and producing reliable information. A qualitative paradigm teaches us that by examining meaning with tiny samples, relevant information may be produced, and that the researcher should not conceive themselves as absent or distanced from this process. Additionally, it places knowledge in relation to certain theoretical and methodological commitments, and it always has a context (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

According to Khan (2014), it is crucial to remember that ethical difficulties can, regrettably, not perpetually be anticipated. However, ethics is a matter that needs to be considered throughout the whole study process. To guarantee that the rights of people are protected, the study would not be conducted in secret. The research didn't conduct its search for the truth at the expense of other people or society. The study's objective methodology guaranteed that the information gathered wouldn't be manufactured or manipulated.

4.3. Research Philosophy

The consensus is that a researcher's (sometimes implicit) philosophy, or view of the nature of the universe and how it should be researched, is often seen to be at the foundation of any study design and methodological choice (Graue, 2015). Therefore,

depending on the dominant research topics, the researcher should adjust their paradigmatic view and, consequently, their choice of research methodology. This indicates that philosophical presuppositions influence the scope and design of any research, including case study research (Bhatta, 2018).

Regarding research technique, Easterby-Smith et al. (1997 as cited in Crossan, 2003) list three reasons why philosophical inquiry may be important: Firstly, it can aid in the researcher's ability to explain the general research strategy employed in the study as well as to fine-tune and specify the research methodologies to be used in a study. Included in this would be the kind of data obtained, where it came from, how it was analysed, and how it contributed to resolving the research questions stated. Secondly, understanding research philosophy will help the researcher assess various techniques and methodologies and prevent improper usage and pointless effort by quickly recognising the limitations of various approaches. Thirdly, it may aid the researcher in choosing or adapting techniques that were previously outside the scope of their expertise (Crossan, 2003).

Since the researcher is attempting to understand the policy and political environment from the participant's perspective and take into account the participant's perception of the world, the current research ultimately relies on an interpretative research paradigm (Khan, 2014). Furthermore, states that an interpretive approach is dependent on both the participant's and researcher's perspective of reality in order to ascertain the substance and significance of a particular action or provide clarification and make others understand the meaning of the particular action. It must be derived and understood in a way that is simple for others to comprehend. While interacting with the outside world, people construct their own realities.

Participants give the environment around them meaning, and for the researcher to comprehend that meaning, the researcher ought to approach them while interpreting that meaning (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991 as cited in Crossan, 2003). Regarding whether the Gift Policy incentivizes elite formation, the researcher chose an interpretative strategy as is most suited for gathering data within an interpretive paradigm; as a result, the researcher for the current study did not develop an original qualitative method but undertook the research based on semi-structured interviews. The elements of analysis and interpretation were vital in establishing the validity of the

study's findings. Rich and in-depth data may also be very helpful in comprehending the phenomena being studied as well as in explaining and answering the research questions.

4.4. Research Design

4.4.1 Phenomenology

Hein and Austin (2001) assert that phenomenology is fundamentally concerned with how our interactions with society influence our worldviews and that it is based on the idea that all our knowledge and understanding of the universe are derived from our experiences. In other words, how we experience things and the meanings those experiences provide us (Spencer, Pryce & Walsh, 2014).

Those who employ the phenomenological technique do so to make these "taken-for-granted-ness" assumptions that underlie our experiences clear. In essence, there is no such thing as an objective reality; rather, our reality is made up of our lived experiences, which are heavily influenced by our social environment, and our interpretations of these lived experiences. Furthermore, phenomenologists hold that behaviour is a mirror of our past experiences; we behave in accordance with our temporal and spatial recollections of the past, or, as Keen (1975) put it, "behaviour is an expression of being in the world" (Spencer, Pryce & Walsh, 2014).

The concept of intentionality, which holds that every experience is a reaction to or tied to a previous experience, is related to this assertion of behaviour. Accordingly, from a phenomenological standpoint, seeking to analyse the experience as "in the moment" misses the distinctive understanding the person brought to the current experience (William, 2021).

Phenomenology is a research approach that focuses on how we interpret our experiences, or our "participant perspectives" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 26). As a result, researchers cannot presumptively understand the meanings that various occurrences have for different persons thus it remains their task to find out what individuals take for granted by uncovering things that participants might not even think

to express in an interview and discovering questions that would normally not think to ask since researchers presume participants think like them (Groenewald, 2004).

This study focused on the National Union of Mineworkers as an organisation with the aim of uncovering leaders' and the union's ordinary members' understanding and experiences regarding the Gift Policy.

4.4.2 Advantages and limitations of phenomenology

The phenomenology approach has its strengths and limitations just like any other method. A phenomenological qualitative approach, according to Alhazmi and Kaufmann (2022), enables the tracking of empathy and recognition of both the subjectivity of the participant and the researcher in connection to the phenomenon under study. Additionally, the design aims to give the researcher and the audience a chance to assess and experience the phenomena through explanations of the event's essential elements. By emphasizing exploration as a primary goal, the researcher induces flexibility—the kind of flexibility that enables changing between lines of questioning to uncover the experience's structure for the researcher. Another benefit of this method can be seen in the descriptions of the answers given and in the participants' assistance in reviewing the transcribed interviews and adding or correcting data (Alhazmi & Kaufmann, 2022).

One of the limitations of the phenomenology approach is that participants in the study struggle or fail to effectively communicate their opinions owing to issues such as language barriers or cognition. Additionally, Delve and Limpaecher (2022) state that this study methodology may make it challenging to establish validity and reliability. Lastly, researcher-induced bias may influence the study's results.

4.4.4 Sampling

Sharma (2017) defines sampling as a technique that researchers make use of to systematically choose a comparably smaller size of people from a predetermined populace to be used in accordance with the goal of the study as research subjects.

According to Alvi (2016), the two main categories of sampling techniques are probability sampling methods and non-probability sampling methods. Accurately explained by Landreneau and Creek (2009), probability sampling involves using some type of random selection to pick the components.

With this kind of sampling, each component of the population has an equal and independent probability of being chosen during the selection procedure making use of one of its four primary approaches which include Simple random, stratified random, cluster, and systematic. Non-probability sampling on the other hand refers to the selection whilst making use of non-random techniques. The likelihood that this sampling will yield representative samples is lower than that of probability sampling. Although this is the case, non-probability samples are nevertheless used by researchers. Convenience, quota, and purpose are the three basic approaches. Compared to probability sampling, this sampling method has a lower probability of producing representative samples. Even though this is true, non-probability samples are still used by researchers. There are three basic approaches: (1) convenience; (2) quota; and (3) purposeful.

Having said that, this study used a purposive sample approach. According to Robison (2015), it is regarded as a helpful kind of non-probability sampling approach since informants are intentionally chosen based on their capacity to explain a certain subject, concept, or phenomenon. In corroboration, Etikan and Bala (2017) state that to generate insight and a thorough grasp of the subject of interest, participants who are pertinent to the study undertaken from the researcher's perspective are purposefully chosen. The research problem, purpose, design, and practical consequences of the research topic were therefore the basis for the sampling criteria. According to Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger (2010), events, occurrences, and experience were also considered key factors in the sample criteria for the current study. The respondents were reached through the researcher's connections.

The researcher identified the National Executive Committee as the recipients of the Gift Policy, the human resources and finance department and members who are responsible for employee benefits and resource allocation and rank and file members who elected the NEC members to represent and act in their interest. The study question can be best and most accurately answered by this target group.

4.4.4.1. Purposive sampling strengths and weaknesses

There are various advantages of using purposeful sampling. According to Etikan and Bala (2017), purposive sampling is both time and cost-effective since it includes a smaller pool of participants, hence conserving resources. Moreover, it gives high-quality, bias-filtered information that is suited to the researcher's specific requirements. It is adaptable and may be used in a variety of scenarios, and this technique frequently yields high-quality replies because it comprises devoted participants who are experts in their disciplines. Therefore, by picking the best-fit candidates based on certain criteria, this strategy decreases the margin of error, making the acquired information more relevant and representative of the audience (Alvi, 2016). However, like any great sampling technique, purposive sampling has its drawbacks. It may result in the exclusion of crucial subgroups from the study, perhaps leaving out valuable viewpoints. The strategy works well for small groups and certain niches; it may not be suitable for large-scale research. Because subgroup exclusion and researcher bias might impact the conclusions, the specificity of purposive sampling raises concerns regarding the validity of the data. While eliminating researcher bias is difficult, it can be decreased by forming a diverse and skilled team to plan and perform the study, reducing the influence of personal judgment (Sharma, 2017).

4.5 Data Gathering

Data collection methods, according to Johnson and Christensen (2012), are approaches to collecting information from field participants to address research issues. As previously mentioned, the phenomenological technique was utilised in this study with the aim of collecting data to gain an understanding of participants' experiences of the Gift Policy and elite formation phenomenon and this was done by making use of the only sort of data collection strategy or method used in the phenomenological approach, which is an interview (Kekeya, 2021).

4.6 In-depth interviews

Interviews, as defined by Kvale (1996), are discussions on themes or subjects of shared interest among two individuals. They are one of the many forms of human interaction in which we get to know others by way of conversations, gain an understanding of their dreams, experiences and feelings and gain an accurate and deep understanding of the societies in which they live. In a similar vein, qualitative research interviews aim to comprehend the world from the viewpoint of study subjects. As stated by Ruslin, Mashuri, Rasak, Alhabsyi and Syam (2022) the conversation aims to reveal the significance of their experiences and their lived environment. Having said that, exploratory interviews, often known as semi-structured interviews, allow a researcher to delve deeply into a discovery. According to Flick (2002) and Kohli (1978), the interview is typically used to delve into a person's or a group of people's life narrative. The premise is that it is connected to the anticipation that interviewees' opinions are more likely to be communicated in an environment that is moderately freely constructed than in a questionnaire-style talk. (Ruslin, et al, 2022)

The researcher was able to develop questions using this data collection technique that urged participants to provide open-ended answers for more in-depth information (Jong & Jung, 2015). The flexibility of semi-structured interviews also gave interviewees the chance to further elaborate on their responses while allowing the researcher and/or interviewer to stray from the pre-scripted line of questions and probe where necessary. Participants were also able to present, through the construction of a narrative, for example, what the Gift Policy benefit means to them and how it influences them.

Furthermore, the open-ended question format allowed for clarifications and elaborations as opposed to close-ended questions, where interviewees are given a predetermined list of possible responses and are thus limited to using only those responses without the chance to elaborate on them (Jong & Jung, 2015).

4.6.1 Interview Duration and Respondent Overview

From June to August 2023, a total of 15 respondents were questioned. The total number of minutes spent in 15 interviews was 510, with an average duration of 50

minutes. The duration of the longest interview was 1 hour 20 minutes, while the shortest was 35 minutes.

Table 1: Study Overview

Overview	Quantity
Number of Interviews	15
Duration of interviews	510 minutes
Average duration	50 minutes
Minimum duration	35 minutes
Longest duration	1 hour, 20 minutes

4.6.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity

According to Oliver (2003), researchers in the social science field are required to abide by ethical standards, which include maintaining the confidentiality and anonymity of their research participants. All information that participants disclose is kept confidential and is not publicised or made accessible to anyone. According to Lobiondo-Wood and Haber (1997) and Polit and Hungler (1998), anonymity is the protection of informants in a study such that no one, even the researcher, can identify the subject with the information provided. The researcher took care to present the data in such a manner that it is impossible to correlate certain data points with a specific individual. Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured by ensuring that the data acquired were used in such a way that no one other than the researcher knew who provided it (Makgale, 2020).

This indicates that the data were not identified by the participants' names. Polit and Hungler (1999:36) state that promising confidentiality to participants is a pledge that any information the participants offer won't be disclosed to the public or made available to parties other than those engaged in the research. The informants were simply given

number identification to protect their privacy and identities. 15 research participants in all were interviewed. There were just 4 women among the total of 11 participants. The topic that this research and organisation are looking into is extremely political, and the absence of female representation raises the possibility that males still dominate politics in South Africa. These participants form part of the leadership and ordinary union's rank and file members within the National Union of Mineworkers (Makgale, 2020).

Table 2: Demographic and role data of participants

Participants were comprised of 5 National Executive Committee members, 2 human resources department members, 2 finance department members and 6 rank and file members.

Participant	Gender	Participant Category	Participant designation
Participant 1	Male	Leadership	Principal Leader
Participant 2	Female	HR	Administrative Support
Participant 3	Female	Rank and file	Ordinary Worker
Participant 4	Male	HR	Department Head
Participant 5	Female	Rank and file	Ordinary Worker
Participant 6	Female	Finance	Administrative Support
Participant 7	Male	Leadership	Coordinator
Participant 8	Male	Rank and file	Workplace Representative
Participant 9	Male	Finance	Department Head
Participant 10	Male	Rank and file	Ordinary Worker

Participant 11	Male	Leadership	Coordinator
Participant 12	Male	Rank and file	Workplace Representative
Participant 13	Male	Rank and file	Ordinary Worker
Participant 14	Male	Leadership	Principal Leader
Participant 15	Male	Leadership	Principal Leader

4.7 Data Analysis

According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996:189), qualitative data analysis must be conducted meticulously and carefully. Data analysis in phenomenological research starts as soon as the first data are gathered and necessitates that researchers spend time with or get immersed in the data. This allows for a knowledge of the phenomena being studied while preserving the distinctiveness of each participant's lived experience. Reviewing and re-examining the word-for-word noted responses or transcription comes after listening to the participants' descriptions in this process. The researcher identifies and extracts noteworthy comments as they grow more and more engrossed in the material. If the final description is to be thorough and extensive, it is crucial to pinpoint how assertions or major themes turn out and relate to one another (Sileyew, 2019).

The researcher made use of a recording device and took notes to capture participants' interview answers. This method allowed the researcher to concentrate on listening and responding to the participants without being distracted by needing to write extensive notes (Stuckey, 2014). The recordings were digitally transformed into verbatim written account digitally and by listening to and/or watching the data and writing out the verbal content of interactions, without any specific themes.

After completing the initial rough transcription process, the researcher was able to return to the transcripts to identify and document emerging codes and themes that

seemed to best reflect the features of the data that needed to be analysed in depth, a concept known as thematic analysis (Sileyew, 2019).

4.8 Trustworthiness and Credibility

Streubert and Carpenter (1999:330) assert that participants' recognition of the presented study findings as their own experiences and activities is evidence of credibility. Lincoln and Guba (1985:290–330) state that prolonged participation, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy, and member checking increase the likelihood that trustworthy results will be generated (Vilakati, 2003).

The researcher conducted member checking with three participants in relation to the data obtained and interpretations, to determine if the participant's viewpoints and experiences were accurately recorded and reflected, the researcher conducted member checking with relation to the data obtained and interpretations. Member checking is said to be the most important method for creating credibility, according to Vilakati (2003), it involves information, analytical categories, interpretations, and conclusions validations to determine if the participant's viewpoints and experiences were accurately recorded and reflected. In this case, three participants were given an opportunity to respond as to whether the reconstruction of the provided information was an accurate representation of their experience.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) and Streubert and Carpenter (1999:330), guaranteeing the credibility of the findings satisfies the dependability criteria, which is used to gauge the trustworthiness of qualitative research. Proof of the former is necessary to demonstrate the latter since validity cannot exist without reliability, and vice versa (credibility cannot exist without dependability). The researcher made sure that the participants' knowledge of what they were told was confirmed. This eliminated any chance of participants' comments and experiences being misrepresented. For this study, 15 interviews were done using the methodologies, approaches, and techniques stated above. The researcher provided the raw data to three participants to validate its validity and make sure that the data was accurately obtained (Vilkati, 2003)

4.9 Research ethics and informed consent

Both quantitative and qualitative research must consider ethical issues, according to Punch (1998), but because qualitative research methods can intrude on the personal dimensions of the interviewees' lives, ethical considerations are more crucial in this type of research. For this reason, Neuman (2011, p. 143) made each researcher accountable for maintaining high standards of research ethics. It is the moral and professional responsibility of the individual researcher to be ethical, even when study participants are not aware of or bothered about ethics (khan, 2014)

According to Streubert and Carpenter (1999:44), the researcher had a moral duty to rigorously consider the rights of the informants who were expected to offer this information. The researcher thought it was crucial to build rapport with the participants and treat them with respect as autonomous people to provide them with the freedom to make wise judgments (Burns & Grove 1998:104; Polit & Hungler 1999:33-38; Streubert & Carpenter 1999:44). The study was conducted with the consent of the appropriate authorities and the researcher upheld the participants' study rights to confidentiality, privacy, and anonymity and to pull out of the study at any time.

Francis (2009, referenced in Dolgobrodova, 2016) states that due to the nature of qualitative research, it is ethically necessary to consider any potentially sensitive material that may be revealed during an interview. Considering the foregoing, the researcher provided participants with an informed consent form to sign. Vilakati (2003) recommends including a written information sheet detailing the goals of the study, participant requirements, how their data will be managed and utilized, and how results will be communicated.

4.10 Study limitations

Participant bias: The main participants in this study are situated in a political environment where the National Union of Mineworkers leadership and regular union rank and file members are connected to politics. Politicians tend to give more importance to what their organisation stands for and has pledged to accomplish by the nature of their profession. This implies that they concentrate on the organisational goals and the promises they made to the public in the organisation's official plan and

manifestos and this reality has the capacity to skew perceptions and is extremely subjective.

Accessibility and availability of participants: Because of the participants' undoubtedly demanding schedules, the researcher had a difficult time reaching them. Additionally, the researcher could not secure an interview with the General Secretary of the union. The researcher tried multiple times but to no avail.

4.11 Conclusion

The research methods, designs, techniques, and strategies used in this study were detailed in this chapter. The chapter concentrated in-depth on the research philosophy and the essential benefits that it provides for a research endeavour. This chapter outlined the interpretive research paradigm as the study's chosen philosophical framework. The study design was explored in more detail in the chapter, explaining why qualitative research the method of choice is. As a method for locating study participants, purposive sampling was highlighted. In-depth semi-structured interviews were employed as a data-gathering strategy to establish empirical evidence. 15 participants were interviewed. The material gathered through interviews was analysed using thematic analysis.

Chapter 5: findings and data analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and summarises the study findings, which are based on interviews with 5 National Executive Committee members, 2 human resources department members, 2 finance department members and 6 rank and file members of the union. To acquire a full understanding of the results, the study's findings were separated into a cluster of themes and sub-themes, and responses to questions asked to participants. The findings have been arranged into four subject themes, including the sub-themes that emerged from the data. This chapter's analysis is primarily based on evidence, or results gained firsthand from the sources interviewed. Therefore, the results are based on evidence gathered from interviews and it is supported with a survey of secondary literature on the elite.

Through a series of interviews with relevant stakeholders, this chapter aims to answer the research question by focusing on four major themes identified in the interview data. Namely the themes of Policy Approach, which details the intention of the Gift Policy and the processes by which the Gift Policy was determined; Relationship Construction, which chronicles the impact that the Gift Policy has had on working relationships since its implementation, Power and Status, which evaluates whether the implementation of the Gift Policy has had an impact on the creation of positions of authority in the NUM and influences privilege and Unity, which evaluates the values of the union leadership and ordinary members since implementation and on the Gift Policy. Figure 1 below illustrates the extracted themes along with the sub-themes derived from the participants.

Theme 1: Policy Approach Leadership support and empowerment Responsive and accessible leaders Remuneration strategy Consultation
Theme 2: Relationship Construction Impact relationships Self-interest Overlooked and undervalued Perceptions of hierarchy Privilege and inequality
Theme 3: Power and Status Status and power imbalance Elected leadership and incentive to maintain leadership role beyond tenure Privilege and inequality Power/status symbol
Theme 4: Unity Trust and solidarity Policy extension

Figure 1: Overview of emerged themes and subthemes

Theme 1: Policy Approach

The first theme focused on gaining a greater knowledge of NUM's Gift Policy and its purpose, the goal behind its formation and implementation, as well as the process by which the Gift Policy was determined. The first theme emerged from participants' replies to the following questions: Can you please explain your understanding of the Gift Policy in NUM and its Purpose, what do you think was the intention?; Could you explain your understanding of the process by which the Gift Policy was determined? Table 1 provides an overview of their understanding and impression of the Gift Policy.

Table 1

Theme 1: Policy Approach

Sub-theme	Response
Leadership support And empowerment	<i>"The Gift Policy is meant to empower the leadership with resources like transport mode so that they are able to visit provinces or branches as some of them may not be able to purchase cars for themselves, but the Gift Policy enables them to purchase cars with a certain provision that the union has made means available". (Participant 1, Male - Principal Leader).</i>
	<i>"Certain members qualify to be assisted with purchasing a vehicle. So, the Gift Policy is a way to support these certain members in their roles with seemingly needed resources." (Participant 5, Female - Ordinary Worker).</i>
Responsive and accessible leaders	<i>"The intention was to make sure that there is mobility, leaders can move between provinces and branches and the Gift policy is also informed amongst other things by another policy that states that we need to have responsive leaders. So, when leaders are required to attend to calls, they should be able to go there without any hesitation. Whereas someone without a car would not be able to go, so the Gift Policy is an enabler." (Participant 4, Male - Department Head)</i>
	<i>"The trade union itself is meant to serve its members and members are those who are in branches as well as other provinces. So, the Gift Policy was decided that it would be an important tool that would make leaders more responsive and adhere to the organisation's mission, which is to serve its</i>

	<i>members by putting them first". (Participant 12, Male - Workers Representative)</i>
Remuneration strategy	<i>"Positions are structured to deliver to the organisation's strategy, goals and objectives and some positions also have benefits such as the Gift Policy vehicle purchase structured into the reward mechanism. These benefits that are structured into certain roles ensure that those who occupy these positions have the necessary tools to perform their duties and the Gift Policy is considered the best approach to addressing any transportation issues that those who occupy these positions face (Participant 2, Female - Administrative Support)</i>
	<i>"I think it was a smart remuneration strategy, paying leaders large salaries does not serve the organisation as well as presenting the cost to the company that includes a benefit, to which the benefit incentivizes the worker to invest in one of the crucial tools of the trade, being transportation." (Participant 9, Male - Department Head)</i>
Consultation	<i>"The Gift Policy was communicated upon implementation and reports about it are included at the congress to help better maintain trust and transparency between leadership and members." (Participant 2, Female - Administrative Support).</i>
	<i>"I can imagine in one of the meetings that are regularly held. A challenge pertaining to transport was probably highlighted which entailed the use of vehicles or private vehicles. I believe given the circumstances; this must have been the best approach to address the problem." (Participant 15, Male - Principal Leader).</i>

The replies revealed a wide diversity of viewpoints on the Gift Policy. Some regard it as a crucial functional tool in the profession, meant to help executives become more responsive and accessible while aligning with the organisation's objective. In this view, the policy is viewed as a method of strengthening the link between leaders and their roles.

Another set of participants perceive the Gift Policy, on the other hand, as an essential component of the organisation's overall compensation system. From this perspective, it is desirable for the organisation to include vehicle subsidies as part of leaders' total compensation packages. This way, the organisation seeks to strike a balance between avoiding paying excessively large monetary compensation to leaders and having functional resources that can be made use of in alignment with the organisation's objective, thus resulting in a mutually advantageous agreement for both the organisation and the Gift Policy beneficiaries. Moreover, participants stated that the Gift Policy was established with clear communication and that updates on it are provided at congress meetings on a regular basis. This implies that the policy was designed to address specific organisational demands and difficulties. In essence, the Gift Policy is viewed as a deliberate approach to ensuring that executives are adequately remunerated while also encouraging alignment with the organisation's objective. Where one of the participants remarked: *"Some organisations may not want to pay you a higher salary, so they come up with benefits, policies and offerings such as the gift policy to ease the financial burden on all parties involved, themselves included"* - (participant 7, Male - Coordinator).

Theme 2 – Relationship Construction

The second theme chronicles the impact that the Gift Policy has had on working relationships since its implementation. The theme emerged from participants' replies to the following questions: In your view, how has the implementation of the Gift Policy influenced the working relationship between ordinary workers, shop stewards and executive leadership? Could you describe the role that the Gift Policy plays in influencing relationships between union leaders and ordinary members? And how would you describe the relationship between union leaders and ordinary members since the implementation of the Gift Policy? Table 2 below provides an overview of

their perceptions on the impact the implementation of the Gift Policy has had on working relationships in the union and its intended or unintended consequences.

Table 2

Theme 2: Relationship Construction

Sub-theme	Response
<i>Impact relationships</i>	<i>"The Gift Policy has positively influenced the working relationship between leaders and shop stewards in that often shop stewards are approached with issues but have limited resources to attend to them, in this case, a vehicle to travel from one branch to another in the same province or across provinces. So, leaders can assist with escorting and meeting up with shop stewards and members. Thus, fostering a more personal relationship and are able to cooperate and work together smoothly and shop stewards and members feel motivated that their cases are being attended to and leaders consider their issues." (Participant 2, Female - Administrative Support).</i>
	<i>"I think that the implementation has had a slightly negative influence on the working relationship between NEC members and shop stewards. Shop stewards are meant and are the ones who represent and advocate for the interest of the workers and are on the field and do basically all the groundwork to ensure that members' rights are taken seriously and that issues are reported timeously and resolved. So sometimes knowing that others are being subsidized with resources that they essentially also need to carry out their duties causes strain on the relationships and faces challenges in maintaining to support leaders whilst they feel side looked at. Feel undervalued and sometimes dampen their enthusiasm in serving members." (Participant 3, Female - Ordinary Worker).</i>
<i>Raises questions of Self-interest</i>	<i>"I believe union members value trust and solidarity within the union and the presence of a Gift Policy that benefits only the NEC members I feel has impacted the trust that ordinary members</i>

	<i>have in their leaders and the solidarity among members. It has of course raised questions as to whether NEC members are prioritising their personal interests, whether the decisions and actions taken by NEC members prioritize their personal gains rather than the overall wellbeing of the union and whether they can be relied on for support.” (Participant 5, Female - Ordinary Worker).</i>
	<i>“Union leaders are expected to represent and advocate for the interests of all members, including ordinary union members. The provision of benefits to union leaders can enhance their effectiveness in decision-making and representing the interests of ordinary members. Better resources and support can enable leaders to carry out their roles more efficiently. However, if perceived as benefiting only a select group, may raise concerns about whether leaders are effectively representing the broader membership's needs and concerns”. (Participant 11, Male - Coordinator).</i>
Overlooked and undervalued	<i>“I think that the implementation has had a slightly negative influence on the working relationship between NEC members and shop stewards. Shop stewards are meant and are the ones who represent and advocate for the interest of the workers and are on the field and do basically all the groundwork to ensure that members’ rights are taken seriously and that issues are reported timeously and resolved. So sometimes knowing that others are being subsidized with resources that they essentially also need to perform their duties causes strain on the relationships and faces challenges in maintaining to support leaders whilst they feel overlooked. Feel undervalued and sometimes dampens their enthusiasm in serving members (Participant 3, Female - Ordinary Worker)</i>
	<i>“Certain roles such as shop stewards’ roles do need a vehicle desperately to perform their duties effectively and as such are</i>

		<i>influenced. It is my opinion that shop stewards in this case feel that they are not treated equally and not considered despite the need for such a benefit. So, there is a level of unfairness.” (Participant 7, Male - Coordinator)</i>
Perception of hierarchy	of	<i>“The way this policy is designed, communicated, and implemented can shape perceptions of power dynamics and hierarchies. Given that the Gift Policy primarily focuses on providing exclusive benefits to leadership or top-tier employees, it reinforces the hierarchical structure within the organisation, emphasizing the perceived distance between leadership and other employees, potentially leading to a sense of power disparity.” (Participant 14, Male - Principal Leader).</i>
		<i>“Well, because it is only NEC members or a leader that occupies a certain level of the hierarchy who qualify to be a beneficiary of this policy, I feel it contributes to the perception of disparity because it creates a distinction between NEC members and ordinary members by providing benefits that are exclusive to one and not the other. And you know when ordinary members feel excluded or sidelined, they may begin to perceive that the leadership is detached from their concerns and interests.” (Participant 10, Male - Ordinary Worker).</i>
Privilege and inequality	and	<i>“I think it’s a bit unfair that not all levels are afforded some degree of the policy. I mean it doesn’t have to be the same amount for junior members, but it should at least exist. But since they are the decision-makers, it’s hardly a surprise that they have decided to only look out for themselves. This has cast a negative shadow towards the senior members in that they are perceived as typical politicians who only think about themselves” (Participant 12, Male - Workers Representative).</i>

	<i>“Being in leadership has a bundle of benefits. The Gift Policy is simply one of them. One of many benefits. So, it pays to occupy such positions” (Participant 13, Male - Ordinary Worker).</i>
--	--

Participants' responses to questions concerning the influence of the Gift Policy on working relationships in the union varied. Some participants reported positive benefits, implying that the policy promoted cooperation and collaboration between leaders and shop stewards by providing tools for leaders to help shop stewards handle member concerns, building a more personal relationship. Other participants, however, voiced worry that the policy would have a detrimental impact, notably on NEC members and shop stewards. They thought the implementation of the policy put a strain on relationships and generated self-interest concerns because shop stewards were not included in the benefit structure, thus making them feel devalued and neglected.

The Gift Policy also prompted concerns about organisational hierarchy and privilege, since it disproportionately benefits executive staff, reinforcing the sense of power disparity and inequality. Some participants argued that this led to a sense of hierarchy and privilege among leaders, perhaps leading to a sense of alienation from regular members' concerns and interests.

In essence, the replies show a variety of viewpoints on how the Gift Policy has changed relationships inside the union, with both good and bad consequences indicated. The policy's design and implementation have altered perceptions of power dynamics, hierarchy, and privilege inside the union.

Theme 3 – Power and status

The third theme evaluates whether the implementation of the Gift Policy has had an impact on the creation of positions of authority and whether the policy has impacted privilege. The theme and subthemes emerged from participants' replies to the following questions: in your view, has the Gift Policy had an impact on the creation of positions of authority in the NUM? and in your view, how do the benefits of the Gift Policy influence privilege between the union's leadership and ordinary union members? Table 3 below provides an overview of their perceptions of power and status.

Table 3

Theme 3: Power and Status

Sub-theme	Response
Status and power imbalance	<i>"The benefit that has earned them the prestige that comes with luxury cars does create a level or layer of disconnect between them and the comrades they serve. It is my impression that they now think that we serve them, and the organisation is there to serve them when in fact it is the other way around" (Participant 8, Male - Workers Representative).</i>
	<i>"I do feel that the gift policy further increases the gap between the haves and the have-nots". (Participant 5, Female - Ordinary Worker).</i>
Elected leadership and incentive to maintain leadership role beyond tenure	<i>"The gift policy has no bearing in the creation of positions or placing of leaders in any key/leadership position as that solely relies on voting outcomes. But the policy has an impact on the retention of experienced leaders within the union because the benefit is linked to tenure which in most cases it encourages leaders to stay in their positions for longer durations and campaign to be re-elected" (Participant 11, Male - Coordinator)</i>
	<i>"The trade union does not operate like a corporate company. The trade union operates per membership. So, the leaders in the trade union or the executives in the trade union do emerge through the voting process so you can't create a position in the trade union unless you have been voted in by the members. So that is how members emerge in the trade union, they do not emerge through making an application" (Participant 1, Male - Principal Leader)</i>
Privilege and inequality	<i>"There is a disparity between access to privilege. The expensive cars do provide a point of departure of dignity towards the leaders even before you know which office they occupy. So, it affords the leaders more privilege" (Participant 9, Male - Department Head).</i>

	<i>“The Gift Policy influences privilege between the unions’ leadership and ordinary union members in several ways, which has led to disparities in treatment and perceptions of favouritism. The Gift Policy has created a sense of privilege among union leaders and has led to perceptions of preferential treatment and privilege and perceptions of inequality. Ordinary members feel that leadership is receiving special treatment and that they are not equally valued within the union. Lastly, Leaders as recipients might be more inclined to make decisions that preserve their privilege or benefit their own interests, potentially impacting the overall welfare of the union and its members” (Participant 13, Male - Ordinary Worker).</i>
Power/Status symbol	<i>“The dynamic is obvious. Due to the subsidized affordability of the vehicles, union leaders tend to now purchase expensive vehicles. Although most are not boastful, the expensiveness of the vehicles is apparent, and one cannot ignore the fact that to some degree it is a status symbol. In terms of power, they already have that due to the authority of the office they occupy” (Participant 9, Male - Department Head).</i>
	<i>“Ordinary members perceive beneficiaries of the Gift Policy as having higher status and importance, which contributes to a hierarchical mindset which in turn affects collaboration and communication between different levels of employees and contributes to a lack of open dialogue within the organisation” (Participant 13, Male - Ordinary Worker).</i>

Participants voiced concerns over an obvious power and prestige imbalance because of the Gift Policy's perks, notably expensive vehicles. According to Participant 8 - Worker's representative, these privileges may cause a schism between union leaders and regular members, where leaders may begin to feel that people serve them, inverting the organisation's intended hierarchy. Participant 8-Workers Representative agreed, pointing out that the Gift Policy exacerbates the divide between the rich

leadership and the less privileged members, eventually deepening the difference. Regarding the formation of leadership roles, the agreement among participants, as seen by replies from Participants 1 - Principal leader and 11- Coordinator, is that the Gift Policy has no direct impact on the first appointment of leaders. Leadership positions are decided through democratic voting methods. However, it was highlighted that the policy may have an influence on the retention of experienced leaders because the benefits are related to tenure, thus encouraging leaders to stay in their posts for longer periods of time and campaign for re-election.

Privilege and inequality surfaced as major issues. Participant 9-Department head stated that the expensive vehicles provided under the Gift Policy impart a feeling of dignity and privilege on union officials, even before considering their official positions. Furthermore, Participant 13-Ordinary Worker recognised various ways in which the Gift Policy encourages privilege, including preferential treatment and perceptions of inequity. According to the comments, this privilege may affect the decisions and actions of union officials, thereby compromising the general welfare of the union and its members. Finally, the Gift Policy was said to have made expensive automobiles into status symbols among union officials, with some caution in displaying them. This comment, made by Participant 9-Department Head, adds another depth to the privilege debate. Furthermore, Participant 13-Ordinary Worker stated that the perception of leaders benefiting from the Gift Policy having higher status could lead to hierarchical thinking and hinder open dialogue within the organisation, further complicating relationships, and communication among different levels of employees.

In conclusion, these participant comments show the Gift Policy's diverse influence at NUM. While it may not directly impact the formation of leadership roles, it does considerably contribute to power imbalances, privilege, and the construction of status symbols among union officials. These dynamics can have an impact on the relationships and decision-making processes inside the union, possibly threatening its basic principles and aims.

Theme 4 – Unity

The fourth theme evaluates the values of the union leadership and ordinary members since the implementation of the Gift Policy. The theme and subthemes emerged from participants' replies to the following questions: How would you describe the values of

union leadership and ordinary members since the implementation of the Gift Policy and are there any observations you would like to share on the Gift Policy over and above what has been discussed in the context of this interview? Table 4 below provides an overview of their observations of the values of the union leadership and ordinary members since the implementation of the Gift Policy.

Table 4

Theme 4: Unity

Sub-theme	Response
<i>Trust and solidarity</i>	<i>" The gift policy in my opinion has generated perceptions of privilege and inequality, which can have implications for the effectiveness of the union. It has impacted trust, and solidarity among others and in a way hinders the union's ability to effectively advocate for the interests of its members and achieve collective goals because employee morale and motivation have been affected. (Participant 11, Male - Coordinator).</i>
	<i>" The Implementation of the Gift Policy has enhanced the trust and solidarity among ordinary union members. They have come to recognise that the policy is designed to benefit the entire union and that leadership is mindful of ordinary workers' interests. (Participant 15, Male - Principal Leader).</i>
<i>Policy extension</i>	<i>"If possible or if the resources are available, it should be extended to the shop stewards because that is where things are happening. At the shop stewards level, it is often referred to as the coal face of service delivery (where everything happens) because if you just implement the policy at the national level, the impact is not much like when it could be at the shop steward level. So, it is a good observation that it should be extended but where resources are available" (Participant 1, Male - Principal Leader)</i>
	<i>"They should ensure that subordinates like shop stewards receive some sort of benefit even though they may not be of the same value. But everyone in the organisation should receive some sort of benefit to enable and motivate them to carry out</i>

	<i>their tasks/duties and so that other level managers like shop stewards do not feel sidelined.” (Participant 8, Male - Workers Representative)</i>
--	--

The participants' replies provide a varied and often contradicting picture of the influence of the Gift Policy on the ideals of union leadership and ordinary members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Participant 11-Coordinator expresses worry that the approach has created impressions of privilege and inequity, potentially undermining member trust and unity. These beliefs may have an influence on employee morale and motivation, undermining the union's capacity to successfully fight for its members' interests and collectively achieve its goals. Participant 15, on the other hand, is more optimistic, claiming that the Gift Policy has increased trust and unity among regular members. They regard the policy as a show of leadership concern for the interests of rank and file workers.

This response duality illustrates the imperative work inside NUM. The Gift Policy could increase trust and solidarity by displaying leadership's commitment to the well-being of all members, as well as fostering views of privilege and inequity that might undermine these ideals. It emphasizes the necessity of communication and openness in how the policy is executed and viewed by various union stakeholders.

Concerning the policy extension, all participants agree on the potential benefits of expanding the Gift Policy to include shop stewards. Participant 1-Principal Leader, adds that such an expansion might have a more significant impact, understanding the critical role that shop stewards play in the service delivery process. Participant 8-Workers Representative, adds that it is critical to guarantee that advantages, even if of variable value, are offered to all members to preserve motivation and avoid feelings of exclusion.

This agreement on the need for expanded inclusion reflects a recognition among participants of the policy's ability to increase motivation and participation within the union. The intention to guarantee that shop stewards, who are on the front lines of service delivery, benefit from the policy emphasizes the idea that the inclusion and acknowledgement of all members may contribute to a more peaceful and successful union.

In summary, the replies demonstrate the complex interaction of perceptions, values, and the possible influence of the Gift Policy on trust, solidarity, and inclusion within NUM. It underlines the significance of balancing rewards with the need to prevent perceptions of privilege, as well as the possibility for greater inclusion to boost motivation and cohesiveness within the organisation.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The general objective of the research was to investigate whether the Gift Policy impacts elite formation within the National Union of Mineworkers and with what consequences and how it represents the distancing of the union's rank and file members from union leadership. The results indicated layered complexities emerging in terms of leadership and ordinary members' interpretations of what the Gift Policy is and its intention as well as the process by which it was determined. Participants' interpretations range from functional incentivization, which entails improving the transport mobility of the union executive members to perform their tasks with reliable transport to issues of elitism and differential power between leadership and rank and file. Furthermore, through examining the results it became clear that participants are concerned about the impact that the Gift Policy has had on relationships in the union, especially between NEC members and shop stewards, with both positive and negative consequences indicated. Additionally, it has emerged that the formation and implementation of the Gift Policy has altered perceptions of power dynamics, hierarchy, and privilege inside the union. Moreover, participants' responses indicated the Gift Policy's diverse influence at NUM, while it may not directly impact the formation of leadership roles, it does considerably contribute to power imbalances, privilege, and the construction of status symbols among union officials. Additionally, the participants' responses demonstrated the complex interaction of perceptions, values, and the possible influence of the Gift Policy on trust, solidarity, and inclusion within NUM.

As such, the study found that there is a need for balancing rewards with the intention to prevent perceptions of privilege, as well as the possibility for greater inclusion to boost motivation and cohesiveness within the organisation.

The first objective of the study was to establish whether incentives, particularly the Gift Policy, was constructed with the intention to incentivize members through differential benefits. Interviews were used to obtain participants' subjective insights. Based on the data gathered and analysed, it was concluded that the participants had varying viewpoints on the intention of the Gift Policy as an incentive upon construction.

In the execution of this objective. The content of support and empowerment for leaders was significantly expressed by research participants, in that the construction of the Gift

Policy was intended as a crucial functional tool which entails improving the transport mobility of the union executive members to perform their tasks with reliable transport. Empowerment practices and incentives are seen as investments in resources that give employees unique abilities to achieve organisational goals (Ilyana & Sholihin, 2021). Therefore, Study participants reported that solving transportation issues that union leaders faced in this manner resulted in the creation of personal relationships between leaders, shop stewards, and rank and file members. However, the results show support and empowerment may be the most neglected area as a means of the union providing the much-needed resources that employees generally need to perform their tasks. Participants expressed the lack of provision of the necessary resources for shop stewards as well, the ones on the field and doing all the union groundwork. Considering this, some participants expressed feeling overlooked and undervalued upon noting that the Gift Policy empowers the elite few and beneficiaries are defined solely in terms of leadership positions held within the union and not in terms of the general type of position and responsibilities. According to Jing-Zhou, Xiao-xue, and Xia-qing (2010), the Organisational Support Theory (OST) suggests that as employees navigate their work environment, they develop a holistic understanding of how their contributions are evaluated and whether the organisation prioritizes their well-being. This knowledge, known as Perceived Organisational Support (POS), is formed by employees' impressions of organisational factors such as culture, incentives, punishments, processes, perks, and compensation. Employees respond positively when they believe their organisations care for, support, and respect them. Therefore, focusing on the NUM and the awarding of the Gift Policy to only a select few emphasises that the union should not just provide functional tools to leadership but also shop stewards in this case to prevent employee dissatisfaction and frustration when faced with task-related challenges (Jing-Zhou, Xiao-xue & Xia-qing, 2010).

On the other hand, some comments by research participants on the construction of the Gift Policy suggested that it was constructed with the intention of a remuneration strategy which means that the subsidized vehicle represents a substantial fraction of total compensation packages. According to Haron and Khadijah (2023), it is common for incentives to be considered as part of the monthly salaries. The fact is that the incentives are relevant to everything that has to do with personnel motivation. From the participants' perspectives, the construction of the Gift Policy incentives includes a

vehicle subsidy paid directly as part of a salary package to supplement the salary that the unions offer to its workers. This might be because, according to Matema (2016), public salaries are insufficient to cover the living expenses of individuals who now work in public service industries, or it could be difficult for NUM to pay leaders a certain amount of money owing to limited funds, rigid position categorisation and union restrictions, which may limit and tightly organise their remuneration structure. Nonetheless, this strategy is mutually beneficial for the employer as well as the employee. The employer gets the employee to fulfil their tasks thus improving the effectiveness of the employee, while the employee receives the means to be able to fulfil the task.

One interesting finding was that, although some participants felt that the construction of the Gift Policy and its intention to benefit the select few may be unfair, participants indicated that the formation and implementation of the policy took place through consultation where issues pertaining to transportation challenges faced by leaders when it came to attending to member issues and meetings, be at various branches issues were raised in regular meetings. Considering the above, the evidence suggests that NUM leadership favoured transparency in communicating the Gift Policy. Daniel (2019) argues that incentive schemes must be transparent so that staff members affected should be able to easily understand the mechanics of the calculation. Moreover, people have “constructive intent” as per Schein (2010), a rational loyalty to organisational goals and shared commitments. Therefore, withholding information and taking part in power dynamics deviates from the principles of transparency and fairness which could subject an organisation to public scrutiny. Accordingly, organisations should rather communicate openly about the incentive such as the criteria to qualify for the reward and the identification of reward participants (Matema, 2016).

The evidence suggests that the Gift Policy was constructed with the intention to incentivize members through differential benefits. However, NUM could further improve the incentivization area by strategically including shop stewards to also have access to functional tools in the form of vehicles and/or company cars so that they too are more responsive and accessible to members' needs and can effectively attain organisational objectives. This means that there is still an opportunity to boost performance and the quality of work and better to motivate employees. Furthermore,

special attention should be paid to selecting the Gift Policy beneficiaries. It is likely that the decision to include beneficiaries based on their job requirements and not solely on position will be understood and supported by the union members and it should have a positive influence on the working relationships between leaders, shop stewards and rank and file members.

The second objective of the study was to critically examine whether the Gift Policy influences positions of authority in NUM. In the execution of this objective, one of the assumptions mentioned earlier describes leaders being elected to key positions. Participants indicated that the formulation and implementation of the Gift Policy have little to no impact on creating positions of authority. Instead, their views suggest a conviction that leadership positions are solely determined by the election process. In hierarchical organisations, such as NUM, elected leaders are at the top, rank and file members are at the bottom, and shop stewards are in the middle (Mabasa, 2018). Accordingly, by virtue of their positions, executive members are allocated power, which ordinary members should concede to explicitly and it is expected of executives to use this power and influence to inspire employees to go beyond their own self-interest to accomplish organisational objectives in the one hand and to use the power if not obligation to represent members' interests and bring about social change on the other hand (Drouvelis, Nosenzo & Sefton, 2017). Therefore, it can be argued that once elected to positions, leaders are given opportunities and resources in this case to make decisions to change situations and their positions compel them to act and make decisions that align with something that is greater than themselves, which is to act in the best interest of members. Accordingly, the research findings indicate that executives have a legitimate power which is inherent in a position or job title. As a result, a leader's influence on subordinates and decisions is determined by the legality or source of power in appointment and election. In essence, authority is acknowledged and valued when people who are led realize and accept the leader's power to influence and make choices. Therefore, by virtue of being appointed to occupy their positions, they are empowered to exercise legitimate power and may use the power to influence decisions and ultimately employees to achieve the goals of the organisation. However, the results show that perceptions of disparity may be the most neglected area as a means of bridging the gap between leadership and ordinary members. Participants' responses indicate that the implementation of the Gift Policy primarily focuses on

providing benefits exclusively to individuals at a certain level in the organisation thus reinforcing the hierarchical structure within the organisation. Considering the above, Mabasa (2018) states that members' interpretations of leadership's power and authority are motivated by their decisions and actions and in instances where there is a purported imbalance, other members will perceive a sense of unfairness and betrayal and the gap between union leaders and ordinary members may widen. Monyatsi (2013) concurs, stating that there is increasing evidence in South African unions of oligarchic tendencies, creating a gap between top leadership and the members, which hinders the pursuit of socialism.

In terms of power and status symbol, research participants' responses indicate that the Gift Policy beneficiaries are perceived as having a higher status and importance than all other union members. The findings indicate that participants regard the benefit as prestigious and the expensiveness of the subsidized resource is apparent. This might be argued that, unlike monetary benefits that only the recipient can see, incentives such as the Gift Policy subsidized vehicles are very visible. Therefore, the results show that visibility, which is the symbolic value of non-financial tangible incentives, is higher than other incentives as they are noted, and employees perceived them as extra rewards (Schein, 2010). Moreover, participants appear to be treating the visible Gift Policy benefits as acquired social property, which serves as a basis for perceived increased status and power. Although the findings indicate that participants regard leaders benefiting from the Gift Policy as having a higher status and show the existence of a hierarchical mindset among different levels of employees, the information pertaining to the Gift Policy and the reason for awarding the beneficiaries is clear.

In addition to the findings of status symbols, some participants asserted that the visibly expensive subsidized vehicles have created a sense of privilege for union leaders and perceptions of favouritism. The findings reveal that the participants have come to expect rewards and benefits because others are receiving them. This may be argued that ordinary union members like any other employee are committed to the organisation, and they devote their time and energy to fulfilling their on-the-job responsibilities and obligations with the expectation of reciprocation. That is, according to (Vance, 2006) employees assume that in exchange for their commitment, the organisation would provide forms of value in return such as rewards and benefits.

Therefore, when an organisation fails to come through with the expected exchange, the commitment erodes thus leaving the employees feeling undervalued and unrecognized as expressed by research participants. Accordingly, Buhlungu (2010:98, in Hurt 2014:102 as cited in Uys & Holtzhausen, 2016) cautions of the dangerous effect which may result from trade union leaders becoming 'even more isolated and vulnerable to charges of being a privileged and self-serving minority that does not speak for the rest of the working class'. Therefore, it is evident from the findings that the union needs to consider how they will address the challenge of perceptions of privilege, thereby acting as a stronger voice for members and their interests.

The third objective was to further explore the complexities of leadership and ordinary members' interpretation of functional incentivization and the ultimate impact of elitism and differential power between leaders and rank and file members. In the execution of this objective, The content of the functional and problem-solving tool was strongly emphasized by research participants, who saw the Gift Policy as a tool for problem-solving transportation difficulties encountered by union leaders in order to improve their performance in their responsibilities. In the context of participants' interpretation of the Gift Policy as a problem-solving policy, participants regard the concept of policy as guidance that is essentially concerned with providing answers to problems, such as leadership mobility concerns (Nudzor, 2009). Mutereko (2009) contends that politicians and policies carry out mandates to solve organisational issues within the complicated arena of bureaucracy. However, these measures have the potential to cause future difficulties. As a result, policies change in reaction to new issues.

In the instance of NUM's Gift Policy, research participants strongly indicated the content of self-interested leaders as a present and/or future issue that the implementation may affect, in that some participants pointed out that the Gift Policy benefiting only a select group, may raise concerns about whether leaders are effectively representing the broader membership's needs and concerns or whether leaders are prioritising their own interests and gains. According to Monyatsi (2013), there is a tendency for elected officials to start running the union in a way that favours a small elite over time, focusing more on their own economic interests than on serving the members. Therefore, unions are organisations that operate because of members, they are constructed of members, and they serve their members' interests. Thus, NUM

should implement strategies that safeguard members from leaders who may fail to act in the best interest of members and to improve and support members' welfare (Uys & Holtzhausen, 2016).

One interesting finding was the duality in participants' responses when commenting on trust and solidarity. Some participants claimed that the implementation of the Gift Policy has increased trust and solidarity among union leaders and members. Others expressed worry that the implementation of the Gift Policy has created impressions of privilege and inequality which potentially undermines members' trust and solidarity. The reason for this duality may be argued by the common phrase "an injury to one is an injury to all" that Activist Staughton Lynd talks about in his book "Solidarity Unionism: Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below 23" (2d ed. 2015 as cited in Crain & Matheny, 2018) when pointing to the idea of labour solidarity. Solidarity in the union context means members joining forces as a group and stop competing among themselves and it goes beyond the promise to help each other but emphasises that supporting one another benefits both the individual and the group collectively (Lynd, 2nd ed. 2015 as cited in Crain, & Matheny, 2018). As such, it can be argued that the allocation of the Gift Policy to executive members as a means of reliable transport to carry out their responsibility of serving members and attending to member issues at various branches relates to the very concept of solidarity that animates unionism on the other side and some participants' concern about the allocation of the Gift Policy to exclusively leaders being regarded as an attempt to replace the true power of solidarity unionism. The study finds that Gift Policy incentive is being exclusively represented and allocated to leaders.

Overall, the findings show that union members have a pragmatic perspective of the Gift Policy while a considerable number are concerned about the elitism that the policy incentivizes. This pragmatism was unforeseen yet intriguing as it contradicts prior expectations and assumptions that members might view the Gift Policy as unfair and believe that they too should benefit from this organisational policy. However, the data shows that union members take on the Gift Policy with a practical mindset, using it tactically to support the roles and tasks of leaders and, hopefully, that of shop stewards as well. This unanticipated pragmatism adds richness to our knowledge of how union members interact with organisational policy, indicating that their attitudes may be more strategically oriented than previously imagined. Furthermore, this unexpected

pragmatism necessitates a deeper investigation into the motives and concerns influencing union members' involvement with the Gift Policy in particular. An alternative analysis is that union members, aware of the constraints and complexities within the Trade Union organisational framework, carefully positioned the Gift policy as a process to accomplish a goal rather than it being the ultimate goal. This pragmatic viewpoint poses concerns regarding the fundamental factors influencing members' perceptions and decisions. According to the data, union members see the Gift Policy as a functional, instrumental, and problem-solving tool enacted to improve leaders' effectiveness in advocating for their interests and well-being by removing transportation challenges.

Chapter 7: Limitations and Recommendations

This study has limitations which need to be acknowledged. Firstly, qualitative research has a strong subjective dimension because it relies on researchers to comprehend respondents' own perceptions (Field, 2013). Therefore, unintentional bias might emerge because researchers may interpret the same data differently, depending on their conceptual framing. Lincoln and Guba (1985:290–330) state that prolonged participation, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy, and member checking are some of the strategies that increase the likelihood that trustworthy results will be generated (Vilakati, 2003). The researcher conducted member checking in relation to the data obtained and interpretations to determine if the participant's viewpoints and experiences were accurately recorded and reflected. To further address this limitation, future studies may employ triangulation, a strategy that involves combining many data sources or methodologies to validate results. According to Vilakati (2003), the triangulation method could produce a more full and robust understanding of the topic under consideration, hence reducing the effect of personal biases.

Secondly, this study focuses solely on the Gift Policy within NUM. Consequently, the findings of the study cannot be generalised to other policies within the union or other political organisations. Thirdly, the study's sampling consisted of 15 participants of which only four were females and 11 were males. Moreover, only male participants were in leadership positions. According to Uys and Holtzhausen (2016), despite intentions to manage gender inclusion through constitutional and rule-book measures, and significant work by women trade unionists themselves to change this, a minority of women find themselves in union leadership structures and other union committees around the world. Uys and Holtzhausen (2016) further state that union programs and services are not gender oriented, and consequently fail to address the special needs and interests of female members. As a result, the findings are not generalisable to women in the union, the NUM, even though the organisation operates in a male-dominated industry. To address this limitation, future studies may employ random sampling techniques on a broader sample to address generalizability issues. Moreover, Interviews were the sole data-gathering method employed in this research study. Other data collection methods, such as group interviews or focus groups, may

give further information on the Trade Union employees' perspectives on the Gift Policy impacting the creation of positions of authority and elite formation within the organisation.

Another limitation of this study was the accessibility and availability of participants because of their demanding schedules. Therefore, some interviews were conducted telephonically. Azad, Sernbo, Svärd, Holmlund and Björk Brämberg (2021) argue that telephonic interviews provide flexibility in terms of when and where interviews are conducted, which increases anonymity and reduces distraction for participants, thus improving the provided information. However, telephone interviews are often shorter and less conversational and thorough compared to in-person interviews. Furthermore, the lack of a physical presence makes it more difficult for researchers to create a friendly and favourable setting for participants to freely communicate their perceptions. This limitation may have an impact on the depth and openness of replies, perhaps resulting in partial or guarded information (Azad, et al, 2021). When using telephone interviews in their study design, researchers should keep these privacy concerns in mind. Therefore, future researchers will be in a better position to perform a comprehensive qualitative study employing theme analysis, ensuring trustworthiness, and delivering significant findings if these limitations are considered and these recommendations are followed.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Trade Unions have played an important part in South African labour relations and the evidence suggests that they will most likely continue to do so in the foreseeable future. NUM is a complex political organisation that operates in a dynamic political context, with a variety of circumstances impacting these ties. Their primary function as a Trade Union is to represent their members' aspirations and interests in the context of democracy by developing and implementing a variety of social policies aimed at redressing historical injustices and "progressive policies" for the well-being of union members, as well as the Gift Policy, which is a subsidised motor vehicle intended to address the union leadership's lack of resources to provide adequate services to the union's rank and file members. However, the Gift Policy has been perceived to be ineffective since its implementation in 2009, in light of growing public concern, as reflected in the media, about union leaders in South Africa living quite extravagant lives, having access to benefits and privileges that ordinary rank and file members do not, and subverting policy intentions through corruption and self-interested agendas with the goal of using the Gift Policy to secure privileged positions.

The objective of the research was to explore the impact of the Gift Policy on elite formation and the intended or unintended consequences of the greater distance between union leadership and members in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). In-depth interviews were conducted with fifteen respondents, including National Executive Committee members, human resources and finance department staff members, and rank and file union members.

Firstly, discussing elite formation, policy formulation, and implementation within trade unions in the literature review section, in addition to elite theory in the theory section, has resulted in an extensive understanding of how policies and organisational dynamics have contributed to elite formation within the union. Furthermore, the theory section offers an orderly structure for the study's research questions and methodology. Whereas, the theoretical framework guided and facilitated the interpretation of data, allowing for a more in-depth examination of the Gift Policy's implications for organisational leadership decisions and member perceptions.

Based on the research objectives and study findings, it is possible to infer that the National Union of Mineworkers' Gift Policy has significant consequences for the organisation's dynamics and the relationships between its leadership and rank and file members. The objectives of the research were met by conducting a thorough examination of the Gift Policy's implementation and effects. The study effectively demonstrates that the Gift Policy was developed to incentivize members through a differential benefit, revealing a deliberate effort to influence and reward certain individuals and positions in the organisation. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that the Gift Policy does actually impact the development of positions of authority, adding to power imbalances and feelings of privilege within the union. By investigating the intricacies of leadership as well as ordinary members' perceptions of functional incentivization, the study reveals insight into the influence of elitism and differential power. It has become clear that the Gift Policy has resulted in many interpretations and perceptions, which contribute to complications in trust, solidarity, and the union's general cohesiveness. The theoretical section, together with the empirical data gathered through interviews, offers useful insights into the motives, perspectives, and experiences of union members and leaders about elite development within the NUM. It improves knowledge of how policies such as the Gift Policy may alter the dynamics of the organization, decision-making processes, and interactions between leaders and rank and file members.

The study found that the implementation of the Gift Policy within NUM has substantial consequences for elite formation, power, and status within the organization. Participants shared firsthand perceptions of how the Gift Policy has impacted working relationships between rank and file workers, shop stewards, and senior leadership. Furthermore, the study discovered that the policy had the potential to incentivize corrupt ethical behaviours by demonstrating that leaders' unaccountable behaviour frequently resulted in unintended consequences, such as greater distancing between leadership and rank and file members and weakened the organization's ideal of equality. Furthermore, the study indicated that union members' pragmatic perspective on the Gift Policy defied earlier expectations, demonstrating a more strategic approach toward organizational policy. These findings supported the theoretical paradigm by illustrating how elite dynamics and policy development are intertwined.

The study emphasizes the need to take a balanced and inclusive approach to incentivization inside the organisation in order to ascertain that the Gift Policy fulfils the interests of all members while maintaining unity and trust. The results give useful insights for the National Union of Mineworkers in addressing the issues and ensuring fair and equal policies for all members.

Furthermore, the limitations and challenges indicated in the study, such as participants' rigorous schedules and a low representation of female participants, are essential concerns for future research in this field. Future research may use random sampling approaches to solve generalizability difficulties, as well as alternative data-gathering methods, such as group interviews or focus groups, to gain a larger spectrum of opinions.

In conclusion, this study adds to our understanding of the complicated political setting of trade unions, the dynamic of elite formation, and the consequences of policy implementation inside a union organisation. The study's findings shed insight into the NUM's complex power dynamics and linkages, identifying areas for future investigation and potential regulatory reform. Moreover, the findings have consequences not only for the National Union of Mineworkers but also for trade unions in general, providing vital insights into the influence of organisational policies on power dynamics and relationships inside union structures. The findings serve as a foundation for future research and suggested treatments to overcome the study's problems. This study contributes to the larger knowledge of elite formation and power dynamics inside trade unions, and it gives significant insights that may drive future policy development and execution within the NUM and related organizations.

Reference List

Alence, R., & Pitcher, A. (2019). Resisting state capture in South Africa. *J. Democracy*, 30, 5.

Alhazmi, A. A., & Kaufmann, A. (2022). Phenomenological qualitative methods applied to the analysis of cross-cultural experience in novel educational social contexts. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13, 1495. Retrieved from: <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.785134/full?fbclid=IwAR364C5RnAK8g1pTcbarBU-vEv4a0xzkGcanGMt3o8PeRDzNrYZqsDzz1B0>

Alhojailan, M. I. (2012). Thematic analysis: a critical review of its process and evaluation. In WEI international European academic conference proceedings, Zagreb, Croatia. Retrieved from: <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=0c66700a0f4b4a0626f87a3692d4f34e599c4d0e>

Alvi, M. (2016). A manual for selecting sampling techniques in research. Retrieved from: https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/70218/1/MPRA_paper_70218.pdf

Andresen, K. (2021). A “Negotiated Revolution”? Trade Unions and Companies in South Africa in the 1980s. *Studies in Global Social History*, 41, 286-302.

Anyebe, A. A. (2018). An overview of approaches to the study of public policy. *International Journal of Political Science*, 4(1), 8-17. Retrieved from: <https://www.kharagpurcollege.ac.in/studyMaterial/23209Study-material-of-Political-Science-3rd-sem-Paper-3.2-15-10-2020.pdf>

Arshed, N., Carter, S., & Mason, C. (2014). The ineffectiveness of entrepreneurship policy: is policy formulation to blame?. *Small Business Economics*, 43, 639-659.

Azad, A., Sernbo, E., Svärd, V., Holmlund, L., & Björk Brämberg, E. (2021). Conducting in-depth interviews via mobile phone with persons with common mental disorders and multimorbidity: the challenges and advantages as experienced by participants and researchers. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(22), 11828. Retrieved from: <https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/18/22/11828>

Botiveau, R. (2017). *Organise or Die?: Democracy and Leadership in South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers*. NYU Press.

Bhatta, T. P. (2018). Case study research, philosophical position, and theory building: A methodological discussion. *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12(1), 72-79. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/download/60745399/22182-Article_Text-69820-1-10-2018123120190930-3050-1srykuo.pdf

Blissett, E. (2018). Fatally divided? An analysis of the role micro-political divisions played in the trade unions' loss of the 1986–1987 News International dispute. *Labor History*, 59(5), 571-592.

Budd, J. W. (2004). Non-wage forms of compensation. *Journal of Labor Research*, 25, 597-622. Retrieved from: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12122-004-1013-x>

Campbell, A., & Fishman, N. (2016). *Miners, Unions and Politics, 1910–1947*. Routledge.

Campos, P. A., & Reich, M. R. (2019). Political analysis for health policy implementation. *Health Systems & Reform*, 5(3), 224-235. Retrieved from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/23288604.2019.1625251>

Cerna, L. (2013). The nature of policy change and implementation: A review of different theoretical approaches. *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report*, 492-502.

Choi, T. H., & Wong, Y. L. (2023). Does public consultation affect policy formulation? Negotiation strategies between the administration and citizens. *Journal of Education Policy*, 39(3), 455–479. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2023.2269373>

Corruption watch (2012). *UNION LEADERS PERCEIVED AS CORRUPT*. Corruption news. Retrieved from: <https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/union-leaders-perceived-as-corrupt/>

Crain, M. C., & Matheny, K. (2018). Labor unions, solidarity, and money. *Emp. Rts. & Emp. Pol'y J.*, 22, 259. Retrieved from: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1149&context=law_scholarship

Crossan, F. (2003). Research philosophy: towards an understanding. *Nurse Researcher* (through 2013), 11(1), 46.

Daniel, C. O. (2019). Effects of incentives on employees productivity. *International Journal of Business Marketing and Management*, 4(1).

Delve. Ho, L., & Limpaecher, A.(2022c, March 17). What is Phenomenological Research Design? Essential Guide to Coding Qualitative Data. <https://delvetool.com/blog/phenomenology>

Dolgobrodova, K. (2016). Exploring the positive psychological aspects of video-gaming: A thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews. Retrieved from: <https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/583507/1/Dissertation%20-%20Katya%20Dolgobrodova.pdf>

Drochon, H. (2020). Robert Michels, the iron law of oligarchy and dynamic democracy. *Constellations*, 27(2). Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.12494>

Drouvelis, M., Nosenzo, D., & Sefton, M. (2017). Team incentives and leadership. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 62, 173-185. Retrieved from: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0167487016304354>

Etikan, I., & Bala, K. (2017). Sampling and sampling methods. *Biometrics & Biostatistics International Journal*, 5(6), 00149.

Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American journal of theoretical and applied statistics*, 5(1), 1-4. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ajtas.20160501.11>

Fairbrother, P., & Webster, E. (2008). Social movement unionism: questions and possibilities. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 20(4), 309-313.

Forrest, K. (2015). Marikana: bold recommendations embedded in timidity. *International Union Rights*, 22(3), 6-7. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/77543697/Marikana_bold_recommendations_embedded_in_timidity

Forsyth, A. (2022). *The Future of Unions and Worker Representation: The Digital Picket Line*. Bloomsbury Publishing. Retrieved from: [https://books.google.co.za/books?hl=en&lr=&id=qj9cEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Forsyth,+A.+\(2022\).+The+Future+of+Unions+and+Worker+Representation:+The+](https://books.google.co.za/books?hl=en&lr=&id=qj9cEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Forsyth,+A.+(2022).+The+Future+of+Unions+and+Worker+Representation:+The+)

Digital+Picket+Line.+Bloomsbury+Publishing.&ots=Xr35S77n -
&sig=oKVv46RXeXqjlstsTRrxA7qmEPs&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Forsyth%2C%
20A.%20(2022).%20The%20Future%20of%20Unions%20and%20Worker%20Repre
sentation%3A%20The%20Digital%20Picket%20Line.%20Bloomsbury%20Publishing
.&f=false

Francis, S. (2011). Institutionalizing elites: Political elite formation and change in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature (Vol. 23). Brill. Retrieved from: <https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/access/item%3A3144794/view>

Graue, C. (2015). Qualitative data analysis. International Journal of Sales, Retailing & Marketing, 4(9), 5-14. Retrieved from: <https://www.circleinternational.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/IJSRM4-9.pdf>

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. International journal of qualitative methods, 3(1), 42-55. Retrieved from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/160940690400300104>

Haron, H. I., & Khadijah, K. (2023). Effect of Incentives on Employees Performance In The Public Sector, Ministry of Local Administration Case-Study of Jordan. Revista iberoamericana de psicología del ejercicio y el deporte, 18(1), 79-86.

Hirschsohn, P. (2011). The “hollowing-out” of trade union democracy in Cosatu? Members, shop stewards and the South African Communist Party. Law, Democracy & Development, 15.

Inshyn, M., Danilova, M., Pavlichenko, O., Kayda, N., & Komarnytska, M. (2022). Trade Union Factors in the Implementation of Environmental Policy in Framework with the SDGS, International Environmental Agreements: The Example of the CIS Countries. InterEULawEast: Journal for the international and european law, economics and market integrations, 9(1), 193-228.

Jing-Zhou, P., Xiao-xue, Z., & Xia-qing, Z. (2010). The role of leadership between the employees and the organisation: a bridge or a ravine?-an empirical study from China1. Journal of management and marketing research, 5, 1. Retrieved from: <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=786a7f1c0ffa9b63d6a05d721f2e08a965347a5>

Joffe, H., & Yardley, L. (2003). Chapter four: content and thematic analysis. *Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*. Marks D, Yardley L (ed): Sage Publications, London, 56-68. Retrieved from:

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313157845 Content and thematic analysis](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313157845_Content_and_thematic_analysis)

Juraev, N., & Ortikova, N. (2021). Theoretical Sources Of The Concept Of The Political Elite: A Comparative Analysis. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, 18(7), 1953-1961. Retrieved from:

<https://archives.palarch.nl/index.php/jae/article/view/8345/7789>

Kekeya, J. (2021). Qualitative case study research design: The commonalities and differences between collective, intrinsic, and instrumental case studies. *Contemporary PNG Studies*, 36, 28-37. Retrieved from:

[https://www.dwu.ac.pg/en/images/All Attachements/Research%20Journals/vol_36/4 . J.Lingawa.pdf](https://www.dwu.ac.pg/en/images/All_Attachements/Research%20Journals/vol_36/4_J.Lingawa.pdf)

Kenny, B. (2020). The South African labour movement: A fragmented and shifting terrain. *Tempo Social*, 32, 119-136. Retrieved from:

<https://www.scielo.br/j/ts/a/z9bfxnkcmrvztWSFmCK8hwJ/?format=pdf&lang=en>

Khan, S. N. (2014). Qualitative research method-phenomenology. *Asian Social Science*, 10(21), 298. Retrieved from:

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286504139 Qualitative Research Method - Phenomenology](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286504139_Qualitative_Research_Method_-_Phenomenology)

Khuwaja, U., Ahmed, K., Abid, G., & Adeel, A. (2020). Leadership and employee attitudes: The mediating role of perception of organisational politics. *Cogent Business & Management*, 7(1), 1720066. Retrieved from:

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338752105 Leadership and employee attitudes The mediating role of perception of organizational politics](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338752105_Leadership_and_employee_attitudes_The_mediating_role_of_perception_of_organizational_politics)

Koehn, D. (2010). *Living with the dragon: acting ethically in a world of unintended consequences*. Routledge

Korom, P., & Planck, M. (2015). Elites: History of the concept. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 7, 390-95.

Kotter, J. P. (2008). Force for change: How leadership differs from management. Simon and Schuster.

Landreneau, K. J., & Creek, W. (2009). Sampling strategies. Retrieved from: <https://www.natco1.org/assets/1/6/SamplingStrategies.pdf>

Lichtenstein, N. (2019). Are Trade Unions and Their Members “Populist”? IdeAs. Idées d'Amérique, (14).

Mabasa, T. R. (2018). Relationship between leadership styles employee commitment and business performance: A study of black top managers in state-owned enterprises (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria). Retrieved from: https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/67781/Mabaso_Relationship_2018.pdf?sequence=1

Michaud, T. A. (2019). leadership elitism–idealism vs. realism. *Studia Philosophiae Christianae*, 55(3), 81-103. Retrieved from: https://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.desklight-23345dd7-ea5f-421a-813a-fcf94b46bda5/c/SPCh_2019_3_Michaud_T_A_81-103.pdf

Makgale, B. (2020). Coalition politics and urban governance in Johannesburg's housing policy (Doctoral dissertation, Master's dissertation. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand). Retrieved from: <https://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/server/api/core/bitstreams/98131b23-f548-4b56-bc4e-a4067abed760/content>

Manamela, M. E. (2015). The social responsibility of South African trade unions: A labour law perspective (Doctoral dissertation, University of South Africa).

Mangale, N. M. (2017). The Effects of Compensation on Employee Productivity a Case Study of Kenya Literature Bureau, South C Nairobi (Doctoral dissertation, MUA). Retrieved from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/157498154.pdf>

Martinelli, C. (2009). Gaetano Mosca's Political Theories: A Key to Interpret the Dynamics of the Power. *Italian journal of public law*, 1, 67-93. Retrieved from: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/<https://www.ijpl.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Martinelli-Mosca-Theories.pdf>

Marx, K. (1992). Capital: volume III (Vol. 3). Penguin UK.

Matema, M. (2016). Perceptions of Incentives and Leadership Styles in Innovative Cultures: A Study of South Africa's Financial Services and Insurance Industries (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Faculty of Commerce, Law, and Management). Retrieved from: <https://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/server/api/core/bitstreams/02fe634f-8dac-4cf2-be1c-a27f8fd82866/content>

Mathekga, M. J. (2015). Fighting the battles of the mine workers: the emergence of the association of mineworkers and construction union (AMCU). South African Journal of Labour Relations, 39(2), 190-204. Retrieved from: <https://journals.co.za/doi/abs/10.10520/EJC179263>

Matjie, M., Maleka, M., & Allais, C. (2021). Challenges faced by shop stewards in two South African unions. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Mokgata-Matjie/publication/354727064_Challenges_faced_by_shop_stewards_in_two_South_African_unions/links/6149e76a519a1a381f75caa9/Challenges-faced-by-shop-stewards-in-two-South-African-unions.pdf

Mavrogordato, M., & White, R. S. (2020). Leveraging policy implementation for social justice: How school leaders shape educational opportunity when implementing policy for English learners. Educational Administration Quarterly, 56(1), 3-45. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X18821364>

Misra, N. (2008). Strategic Unionism: the political role of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in South Africa and what it means for black workers (Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology). Retrieved from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/4411103.pdf>

Mokhaba, M. B. (2006). Outcomes-based education in South Africa since 1994: Policy objectives and implementation complexities (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria). Retrieved from: <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/28077/Complete.pdf?sequence=10>

Monyatsi, G. (2013). The role and challenges of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa: the case of the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from:

https://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/17303/Monyatsi_G.pdf;sequence=1

Mosca, G. (1997). The ruling class in representative democracy. V E. Etzioni-Halvey (ur.): *Classes & Elites un Democracy and Democratization*, 53-62.

Muhammad, F. (2014). Leadership, governance, and public policy implementation competencies in the broader public sector. *European Journal of Business Management*, 6(36). Retrieved from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234626052.pdf>

Mutereko, S. (2009). *Policy implementation and street-level bureaucrats' discretion, autonomy and coping mechanisms: a case study of national curriculum statements at a school in Pietermaritzburg* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from: <https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/server/api/core/bitstreams/6ca66840-f508-46fa-9547-e10118e56cb4/content>

Norbert, C., & Andrew, O. O. (2018). Elitism, Organised Labour, and Good Governance in Nigeria. *Nnamdi Azikiwe Journal of Political Science*, 5(1), 214-227.

Nudzor, H. (2009). What is “policy”, a problem: solving definition or a process conceptualisation. *Educational futures*, 2(1), 85-96. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344338350_What_is_policy_a_problem-solving_definition_or_a_process_conceptualisation

Odubajo, T., & Alabi, B. (2014). The Elite Factor in Nigeria's Political-Power Dynamics. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 8(1). Retrieved from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229607386.pdf>

Okoye, J. C., Anazodo, R. O., Izueke, E. M., & Eze, S. C. (2012). Monetization of workers fringe benefits: the journey so far in Nigeria federal civil service. *Public Administration Research*, 1(1), 50. Retrieved from: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1eb9/daa7650bdbc85d01f069b316a5ac50b09507.pdf>

Onimisi, T., & Osasona, S. H. (2021). Factors affecting effective policy implementation in Nigeria: focus on federal character principle. *Zamfara Journal of Politics and Development*, 2(1), 12-12. Retrieved from:

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/352029043> factors affecting effective policy implementation in nigeria focus on federal character principle

Padayachee, V., & Van Niekerk, R. (2019). *Shadow of Liberation: contestation and compromise in the economic and social policy of the African National Congress, 1943-1996*. Wits University Press.

Pareto, V. (1935). *The mind and society* (Vol. 1). Рипол Классик.

Rajab, K. (2017). *A Man of Africa: The Political Thought of Harry Oppenheimer*. Penguin Random House South Africa.

Ruslin, R., Mashuri, S., Rasak, M. S. A., Alhabsyi, F., & Syam, H. (2022). Semi-structured Interview: A methodological reflection on the development of a qualitative research instrument in educational studies. *IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education (IOSR-JRME)*, 12(1), 22-29. Retrieved from: <https://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jrme/papers/Vol-12%20Issue-1/Ser-5/E1201052229.pdf>

Schein, E. H. (2010). *Organisational culture and leadership* (Vol. 2). John Wiley & Sons. Retrieved from: http://www.untagsmd.ac.id/files/Perpustakaan_Digital_2/ORGANIZATIONAL%20CULTURE%20Organizational%20Culture%20and%20Leadership.%203rd%20Edition.pdf

Scott, R. A., Currie, G. V., & Tivendale, K. J. (2012). *Company cars and fringe benefit tax—understanding the impacts on strategic transport targets* February 2012. Wellington, New Zealand: NZ Transport Agency. Retrieved from: <https://www.nzta.govt.nz/assets/resources/research/reports/474/docs/474.pdf>

Sharma, G. (2017). Pros and cons of different sampling techniques. *International journal of applied research*, 3(7), 749-752. Retrieved from: <https://www.allresearchjournal.com/archives/2017/vol3issue7/PartK/3-7-69-542.pdf>

Shiftan, Y., Albert, G., & Keinan, T. (2012). The impact of company-car taxation policy on travel behavior. *Transport Policy*, 19(1), 139-146. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2011.09.001>

Signé, L. (2017). Policy implementation—A synthesis of the study of policy implementation and the causes of policy failure. OCP Policy Center, 9-26. Retrieved from: <https://www.policycenter.ma/sites/default/files/OCPPC-PP1703.pdf>

Spillane, J. P., Gomez, L. M., & Mesler, L. (2012). Reframing the role of organisations in policy implementation: resources for practice, in practice. *Educational Leadership: Context, strategy, and collaboration*, 131-144.

Stofile, S. Y. (2008). Factors affecting the implementation of inclusive education policy: A case study in one province in South Africa (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape).

Stuckey, H. L. (2014). The first step in data analysis: Transcribing and managing qualitative research data. *Journal of Social Health and Diabetes*, 2(01), 006-008. Retrieved from: <https://d-nb.info/1183543484/34>

Tebele, M. M. (2016). Problems and challenges related to public policy implementation within the South African democratic dispensation: A theoretical exploration (Doctoral dissertation, North-West University (South Africa), Potchefstroom Campus). Retrieved from: https://repository.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/25883/Tebele_MM_2016.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Ugwuanyi, B. I., & Chukwuemeka, E. E. (2013). The obstacles to effective policy implementation by the public bureaucracy in developing nations: the case of Nigeria. *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 33(856), 1-10

Vance, R. J. (2006). Employee engagement and commitment. *SHRM foundation*, 1, 1-53.

Vilakati, C. Z. (2003). Mozambican women's experience of labour pain (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from: <https://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/1452>

Worthington, M. (2013). Differences between phenomenological research and a basic qualitative research design. Retrieved from: <http://a1149861.sites.myregisteredsite.com/DifferencesBetweenPhenomenologicalResearchAndBasicQualitativeResearchDesign.pdf>

Bibliography

Ajibade, O. E., & Salako, O. A. (2021). Incentive Schemes And Employees' productivity In Private Organisations In Nigeria. *Journal Of Public Administration, Finance & Law*, 22, 140-155.

- Alias, N., & Ismail, A. (2017). The Construct of Policy Leadership: A Conceptual Framework. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 7(3), 624-634. Retrieved from: https://hrmars.com/papers_submitted/2764/The_Construct_of_Policy_Leadership_A_Conceptual_Framework.pdf
- Bezuidenhout, A., & Buhlungu, S. (2011). From compounded to fragmented labour: Mineworkers and the demise of compounds in South Africa. *Antipode*, 43(2), 237-263. Retrieved from: https://www.ukzn.ac.za/wp-content/noticeFiles/Bezuidenhout_Buhlungu_Antipode.pdf
- Bhoola, U. (2002). National labour law profile: South Africa. *International Labour Organisation*. Available online at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/ifpdial/info/national/sa.htm>.
- Burger, W. (2018). Key Variables that Affect Policy Implementation. *Administration Publica*, 26(2), 65-90.
- Cohen, A. (1981). The politics of elite culture: explorations in the dramaturgy of power in a modern African society. Univ of California Press.
- Diah, A. M. (2017). *The politics of patronage in intergovernmental financial transfer: the role of local elites in East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia* (Doctoral dissertation, Victoria University). Retrieved from: https://vuir.vu.edu.au/33750/1/DIAH%20Ahyar%20-%20thesis_nosignatures.pdf
- Ford, J., Ford, L., & Polin, B. (2021). Leadership in the implementation of change: Functions, sources, and requisite variety. *Journal of Change Management*, 21(1), 87-119. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348504289_Leadership_in_the_Implementation_of_Change_Functions_Sources_and_Requisite_Variety
- Gande, T., & Hlophe, C. (2023). Assessing the Impact of Leadership on Strategy Implementation in a Telecommunications Company: The Case of Botswana Telecommunications Corporation. *American Journal of Industrial and Business Management*, 13(5), 345-370.

Gumbrell-McCormick, R., & Hyman, R. (2019). Democracy in trade unions, democracy through trade unions?. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 40(1), 91-110.

Health Policy Project (2014) "Capacity Development Resource Guide: Implementation Barriers." Washington, DC: Futures Group, Health Policy Project. Retrieved from: https://www.healthpolicyproject.com/pubs/272_ImplementationBarriersResourceGuide.pdf

Ibsen, C. L., Ellersgaard, C. H., & Larsen, A. G. (2021). Quiet politics, Trade Unions, and the political elite network: the case of Denmark. *Politics & Society*, 49(1), 43-73. Retrieved from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0032329220985748>

Karabushchenko, P., Rekesheva, F., & Podvoisky, L. (2021). Elite education and problems of forming professional elites. In *SHS Web of Conferences* (Vol. 98, p. 04008). EDP Sciences.

Lamm, K. W., Randall, N. L., Lamm, A. J., & Carter, H. S. (2019). Policy Leadership: A Theory-Based Model. *Journal of leadership education*, 18(3). Retrieved from: https://journalofleadershiped.org/jole_articles/policy-leadership-a-theory-based-model/

Libebe, E. L., & Warikandwa, T. V. (2022). The Agency Problem in Trade Unions: A Case for Enforcing Trade Union Leadership Accountability in Namibia's Labour Laws. *Obiter*, 43(2), 375-393.

López, M. (2013). Elite theory. *Sociopedia. isa*, 1, 12. Retrieved from: <file:///C:/Users/Pmakau/Downloads/Elitetheory.pdf>

Mangset, M., Engelstad, F., Teigen, M., & Gulbrandsen, T. (2019). The Populist Elite Paradox: Using Elite Theory to Elucidate the Shapes and Stakes of Populist Elite Critiques. In *Elites and people: Challenges to democracy*. Emerald Publishing Limited.

Menocal, R. A., Taxell, N., Johnsen, J. S., Schmaljohann, M., Montero, A. G., De Simone, F., & Tobias, J. (2015). Why corruption matters: Understanding causes, effects and how to address them. *Evidence Paper on Corruption, Department for International Development*.

Monyatsi, G. (2013). The role and challenges of Trade Unions in post-apartheid South Africa: the case of the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (Doctoral dissertation).

Njie, B., & Asimiran, S. (2014). Case study as a choice in qualitative methodology. *Journal of research & method in Education*, 4(3), 35-40.

Odubajo, T., & Alabi, B. (2014). The Elite Factor in Nigeria's Political-Power Dynamics. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 8(1). Retrieved from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229607386.pdf>

Parra, A. (2015). The influence of leadership on policy implementation: A comparative analysis between Pakistan and South Korea. *Leiden University*. <https://studenttheses.universiteitleiden.nl/access/item%3A2664232/view>

Reta, M. A. (2021). The Influence of Leadership Styles on the Effectiveness of the Public Policy Implementation Process in Ethiopia: The Case of Addis Ababa City Government. *American Journal of Management Science and Engineering*, 6(5), 142-160. Retrieved from: <file:///C:/Users/pmakau/Downloads/10.11648.j.ajmse.20210605.12.pdf>

Rhodes-Purdy, M., & Rosenblatt, F. (2021). Raising the Red Flag: Democratic Elitism and the Protests in Chile. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1-13.

Staff reporter (2015). New NUM leaders 'have a mountain to climb. *Mail and Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://mg.co.za/article/2015-06-06-new-num-leaders-have-a-mountain-to-climb/>

Starman, A. B. (2013). The case study as a type of qualitative research. *Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies/Sodobna Pedagogika*, 64(1).

Surji, K. M. (2014). The positive affect of leadership on employee performance and its impact on improving workplace environment in addition to organisational culture. *European journal of business and management*, 6(25), 105-161.

Tep, O. (2015). Exploring the importance of employee incentives and their effectiveness in improving quality performance in a Cambodian public organisation.

Tuckett, A. (2004). Qualitative research sampling-the very real complexities. *Nurse Researcher*. 12(1): 47-61.

Williams, H. (2021). The meaning of "Phenomenology": Qualitative and philosophical phenomenological research methods. *The Qualitative Report*, 26(2), 366-385.

Yetkin, D. (2008). Elites, power sources and democracy (Master's thesis, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü). Retrieved from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11741708.pdf>

Zainal, Z. (2007). Case study as a research method. *Jurnal kemanusiaan*, 5(1).

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Ramatsinele Prudence Makau and I am a Masters in management specialising in governance student at the University of Witwatersrand. As part of my studies, I must undertake a research project and I am exploring *The impact of Gift policy on elite formation and consequences of greater distancing between union leadership and members in NUM* under the supervision of Prof. Robert van Niekerk

The aim of this research project is to investigate whether the Gift Policy impacts on elite formation within the National Union of Mineworkers and with what consequences and how it represents the distancing of the union's rank and file members from union leadership. By analysing the formation of elites in NUM as well as the political conditions within the union movement that legitimate the use of the Gift policy to secure a privileged position, the study intends to provide insights on the extent to which the effective implementation of the Gift Policy in NUM is a vehicle for incentivizing corrupt ethical practices, either intentionally or unintentionally.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This activity will involve answering questions pertaining to NUM's Gift policy and will take 45 minutes to an hour. However, please feel free to clarify and elaborate on your responses. With your permission, I would also like to audio record the interview using a digital device. This recording will be stored in compressed Zip folders with password protection and only the researcher will have access to this recording. It will be deleted after the completion of the research project.

Please note that your participation in this interview is voluntary and you understand the intent and purpose of this research. If, for any reason, at any time, you feel uncomfortable to respond to any question(s) during the interview, kindly indicate so

we can proceed to the next question and/or withdraw your participation from the interviews without any penalties. There are no known or anticipated risks of participation in this research.

Kindly note that this interview is confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you (optional). With your permission the data collected from this research project may be used by other researchers in an anonymized format. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours Sincerely,

Ramatsinele Prudence Makau

Researcher: Ramatsinele Prudence Makau

573117@students.wits.ac.za

062 954 8695

Supervisor: Prof. Robert van Niekerk

robert.vanniekerk@wits.ac.za

011 717 3583

Appendix B: Informed Consent

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



CONSENT FORM

Research Title: exploring the impact of Gift policy on elite formation and consequences of greater distancing between union leadership and members in NUM

Name of researcher: Ramatsinele Prudence Makau

I,, agree to participate in this research project.
The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be. used in an anonymized format after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.	YES	NO

Printed Name and Surname
Date

Signature

Name and Surname (Researcher)

Signature

Date

Appendix C: Permission Letter

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

7 Rissik Street
Cnr Frederick
Johannesburg
2000



HEAD OFFICE

HUMAN RESOURCE

P.O. Box 2424
Johannesburg, 2000
Tel: (011)377 2002
Fax: (011)836 9615

8 June 2023
Enquiries: Mr P Maoko
Tel: 011 377 2022

The University of the Witwatersrand
School of Governance
1 Jan Smuts Avenue
Braamfontein
Johannesburg
2000

Dear Sir/Madam

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT NATIONAL UNION OF
MINEWORKERS (NUM)**

The purpose of this letter is to inform you that I have granted Ramatsinele Prudence Makau permission to conduct the research entitled "The impact of Gift policy on elite formation and consequences of greater distancing between union leadership and members in NUM."

It is understood and trusted that the information gathered will be treated with utmost confidentiality, and will not be used for any reason other than academic purposes.

Yours Sincerely


William Mabapa
Acting General Secretary

President: Joseph Montisetse, Deputy President: Phillip Vilakazi, Treasurer General: Mpho Phakedi

Appendix D: Ethics Certificate



SCHOOL OF GOVERNANCE ETHICS COMMITTEE

CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE: WSG-2022-85

PROJECT TITLE: The impact of Gift policy on elite formation and consequences of greater distancing between union leadership and members in NUM.

INVESTIGATOR

Ramatsinele Prudence Makau

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR

School of Governance

DATE CONSIDERED

25 November 2022

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

RISK LEVEL

Minimal Risk

EXPIRY DATE

Date of submission of the Research Report

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE 15 June 2023

CHAIRPERSON *Rekgotsofetse Chikane*
Rekgotsofetse Chikane

cc: Supervisor: Prof. Robert van Niekerk

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. Makau'.

Signature

Date

15 / 06 / 2023

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix E: Interview Questionnaire

Indicative List of Semi-structured interview Questions: Gift Policy and NUM

Good day, thank you for agreeing to participate in the research study. My name is Ramatsinele Prudence Makau. I am a postgraduate student at Wits School of Governance, and I am interested in studying the Gift Policy of the National Union of Mineworkers.

I'd like to indicate that participation in the interview process is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the interview process at any stage should you wish to do so.

The interview is scheduled to take approximately an hour. With your permission I would like to record the interview session with an electronic recorder to ease transcription and ensure I accurately record your interview responses. Do I have your permission to undertake the audio recording?

Both the transcripts and audio recordings will be made available to you upon your request. Please note that everything discussed during the interview session will be kept entirely confidential.

Do you have any questions of clarification before I commence the interview?

Indicative Semi-structured interview Questions:

1. Can you please explain (a) your understanding of the Gift Policy of the National Union of Mineworkers and its purpose? (b) What do you think was the intention of the Gift Policy?
2. Could you please explain your understanding of the process by which the Gift Policy was determined?
3. In your view, how has the implementation of the Gift Policy influenced the working relationships between the workers (ordinary union members) and shop-stewards and executive leadership (hierarchy) within the National Union of Mineworkers?

4. In your view has the gift policy had an impact on the creation of positions of authority in the National Union of Mineworkers?
5. Could you describe the role of the gift policy in influencing relationships between union leaders and ordinary union members? [power and status of particular concern]
6. How would you describe the relationship between trade union leadership and union's rank and file members since the implementation of the gift policy?
7. In your view how do the benefits of the gift policy influence privilege between the unions' leadership and ordinary union members?
8. How would you describe the values of union leadership and ordinary union members since the implementation of the gift policy?
9. Are there any observations you would like to share on the gift policy over and above what has been discussed in the context of the interview?