

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION GROWTH

1979 TO 1991

presented by

ANDREW FROST

22 JANUARY 1993

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE
BACHELOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCE (HONOURS) IN INDUSTRIAL
SOCIOLOGY.

PREFACE

This thesis forms part of a research project initiated by Ian Macun, Department of Sociology, UCT, and was guided strongly by the requirements of the project. The length of this dissertation is therefore a product of the project's endeavours. The number of appendices also reflects this bias.

In the course of the project a sizeable number of requests were put to persons in the labour movement, in business organisations and in state agencies. After continuous hounding for two months many requests were turned down, directed elsewhere or ignored. The absence of the views of these people lessen the quality of analysis of the reasons for trade union growth in this country.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Mr Ian Macun for his assistance in this project, his patience with me and his crusade into the financial jungle.

In addition I am grateful to him for allowing me the opportunity to work as a research assistant on the project on South African Trade Union growth. The scope of this work was enlarged dramatically which made it all the more rewarding.

Gratitude is also expressed to the HSRC's Centre for Science Development for sponsoring my Honours degree; to the Department of Sociology for financial support and patience; to the interviewees who gave up their time; to Anthony Whyte for printing facilities and to Dr JB Frost for photocopying facilities.

And lastly I would like to thank my sanity for remaining with me into the dark hours of despair.

GLOSSARY

A/R - Annual Report
CASE - Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CAWU - Construction and Allied Workers Union
COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPI - Consumer Price Index
CPS - Current Population Survey
CSS - Central Statistical Service
CWIU - Chemical Workers Industrial Union
DOM - Department of Manpower
FAWU - Food and Allied Workers Union
GDP - Gross Domestic Product
LRA - Labour Relations Act
LRS - Labour Research Service
MAWU - Metal and Allied Workers Union
MICWU - Motor Industries Combined Workers Union
NAAWU - National Automobile and Allied Workers Union
NACTU - National Council of Trade Unions
NICISEMI - National Industrial Council for the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries
NMC - National Manpower Commission
NUMSA - National Union of Metalworkers of SA
PPWAWU - Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union
RAWU - Retail and Allied Workers Union
SEAWU - Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union.
SACOB - South African Chamber of Business
SALDRU SA Labour and Development Research Unit
SEIFSA - Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa
SFAWU - Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union.
TURP - Trade Union Project, University of Natal, Durban.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
PREFACE	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
GLOSSARY	
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	-1-
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	-7-
CHAPTER THREE: ASSESSING DATA	-31-
CHAPTER FOUR: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS	-54-
CONCLUSION:	-67-
REFERENCES	
APPENDICES	

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

South African labour relations literature abounds with comments noting the very substantial rise in the levels of trade union membership experienced by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) affiliates and their predecessors in the period since the Wiehahn reforms.

Baskin (1991) cites COSATU as possibly the fastest growing trade union federation in the world in recent times. Webster calculates an increase in the registered trade union membership in the country as rising a massive 310% from 1976 to 1989. This at a time when most other countries have experienced declining union membership (Webster, 1991:50).

However, the South African literature is sketchy in presenting a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for this growth. Furthermore, there is little analysis of union growth within sectors of the economy, or attempts to identify changing membership densities.¹

[1] 'Union growth' is an ambiguous term in that it can refer to *changes in the number of union members, changes in character of a union or changes in the concentration of unions*. The working definition for this thesis, following Bain and Price (1980) is a change in the number of union members. Union density, on the other hand, refers to actual union membership as a percentage of potential union membership.

An additional concern is the validity of official South African labour statistics. Many commentators point out omissions, inaccuracies and limited definitions among a host of indictments leveled at the official (Central Statistical Services and Department of Manpower) labour figures². Without accurate labour statistics developing a nuanced, sophisticated insight into the rationale for union growth becomes treacherous. Not only is there anxiety over the official statistics but also the unions' figures and the informal sources on union size³ remain untested.

This dissertation aims to address the following concerns: to assess the international and domestic literature on trade union growth to establish the level of debate; to investigate and problematise sources of union membership figures and related statistics; to present a summation of the patterns of recent union growth; to provide a limited analysis of the growth patterns and to identify areas of future growth.

To ask what the reasons are for the growth in certain South African trade unions in recent times is to beg the further question of why is it important to have a thorough understanding of such a phenomenon? There are two facets to that answer.

In the first instance it is necessary to differentiate between the growth in **number** of members and growth in the **development** (changes in the character) of a union. Bain and Price put this clearly: "although the 'growth... and

[2] See Chapter Three for details.

[3] These would be the consultancies' information documents (for instance Andrew Lévy and Associates)-and the trade union handbooks such as the SALDRU trade union directory and the Industrial Relations Handbook.

development' of unionism often influence each other, they are clearly conceptually distinct phenomena. They are also analytically distinct: the same set of factors does not explain them. To use them interchangeably, therefore, is to breed confusion." (Bain & Price, 1980:1) In South Africa, union growth tends to be conflated with union power and this has been particularly evident since the formation of COSATU. While union growth and power are broadly related they cannot be seen as synonymous. (Macun, 1992) For instance, increasing union density could be considered mere 'paper growth' if it reflected no genuine intensification of trade union consciousness (Beaumont, 1987:3) It can therefore be argued that union growth is a necessary condition for increases in union power and following such an approach, the study of union growth offers a starting point for assessments of union influence and representivity.

In justifying their study on union *change* in Britain Undy et al (1981) make the following point, "There must be a wide understanding of factors affecting change in unions, partly to prevent past misunderstandings and misconceptions." This philosophy has guided the approach taken in this dissertation. Associated with this last notion is the hope that a study into union growth over the past decade will complement demands for valid labour statistics. This is significant in that such data facilitates greater understanding of the position and nature of trade unions in South Africa, it addresses issues relevant to the circumstances in the recent and huge Numsa strike, and it also provides a basis for predicting areas of future growth and for asking questions about recruiting and organizing strategies of the unions.

Methodology

Scope:

Firstly, the focus is on trade union growth in South Africa since 1979, but most attention is given to the 'emerging' or 'independent'⁴ unions. Within those parameters there is a specific focus on Cosatu union in the manufacturing sector. These unions were chosen because of the phenomenal union growth rate in the post Wiehahn period (that is, after the 1979 labour reforms), the brunt of which was taken up by Cosatu unions. The more established unions appear to show signs of decline. Traditionally protective measures of union membership such as the closed shop and racially oriented industrial councils.

The emphasis on manufacturing stems from multiple factors. Firstly, the project has been influenced by international changes in the labour market and labour process. Most of these changes have occurred within the manufacturing sector. (Edwards et al, 1986; Baglioni, 1990) Secondly, the most impressive union membership increases after 1979 appeared to be in manufacturing (the growth in the National Union of Mineworkers is the exception). Thirdly, it was believed that manufacturing employment series would be more accurate and clearly defined by sub-sector than other sectors. Lastly, union organisation has been *relatively* easier in

[4] The terms 'emerging', 'independent' and 'progressive' are used interchangeably to describe the predominantly black trade unions that grew out of the seventies and eighties. They were mostly progressive and belonged eventually to the Cosatu or Nactu camps. Ironically, the names 'emerging' and 'independent' are now somewhat outdated as these unions are now the 'established' ones. Independent also takes on a new meaning in light of trade unions - party political alliances.

manufacturing than in other sectors since 1979, owing to a network of factors stemming from apartheid rule.

Data interrogation:

The objectives of the data interrogation was primarily to provide information on selected union membership levels according to the divisions stipulated by the Standard Industrial Classification. The reliability of the data necessary to calculate union density was complementary to this aim.

Influenced by the Bain and Elshiekh union growth model which adopted an econometric approach, statistics on unemployment, wages, the inflation rate and other factors was also pursued. Owing to the unreliability and short term bias to the South African data, the objective of undertaking regression analysis, similar to Bain and Elshiekh (1976), was dismissed.

The empirical data was assembled using the official sources: CSS Labour Statistics and South African Statistics as well as their monthly Statistical News Release. Department of Manpower Annual Reports and National Manpower Commission Annual Reports were used for union membership figures. Other sources for union membership figures were Cosatu figures, and those from various industrial relations reports and trade union directories.

Further figures, as well as qualitative impressions on union growth were gained through interviews with a variety of persons active in unions, employer bodies and the state.

Further discussion on data analysis is continued in Chapter Three.

Synopsis

Chapter two offers an outline of the most significant international frameworks, theories and models on union growth plus it investigates the local literature on the subject.

Chapter three presents the empirical findings on union growth and density and related indicators and assesses the sources of the figures and their accuracy, while **Chapter four** provides an analysis of the reasons for the growth experienced over the past decade and it presents ideas on future growth.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

PART A: THE INTERNATIONAL THEORY

Introduction

The range of explanations for trade union growth is vast and often nation and time specific. Unfortunately, much of the analyses mentioned here are of western, industrialised countries. Investigation into less developed and newly industrialised nations may reveal more readily comparable industrial relations systems, labour market conditions and economic activities. Consequently the union growth analysis may have greater explanatory power. This is a suggested area for future research.

The structure of this section aims not to be glib about models and theories of growth but rather to present them as holistically as possible in order that a more thorough application for South African condition is possible.

Measures of Union Growth

Following the definition of union growth arrived at in Chapter One, growth can be divided into absolute and relative terms. The latter being the density, compiled as the percentage of union members to potential union members. These two measures should be viewed as complementary in that convey different, but necessary information. As Bain and Price note: "...Changes in union density need not necessarily imply anything about actual union membership or *vice versa*; for example, union density may be increasing while actual union

membership is decreasing. Hence a complete description of union growth requires the use of both measures." (1983:4)

Obtaining data to employ these measures of union growth raises further questions: what constitutes a trade union? Who is a union member? And a potential member? Answers to these questions reveal numerous cross national differences that can bias trends as well as levels.

Firstly, the definition of a trade union for official membership series varies as do the sources of those series. In the US, for instance, the basic requirement for inclusion in the Bureau of Labour Statistics membership series is affiliation with the major union centre (AFL-CIO), or if a union is unaffiliated it requires collective bargaining agreements with different employers in more than one state. Australia, Denmark, Sweden and others generally exclude unions which are not affiliated to a major union federation (Bain and Price, 1980:3). Also of concern is whether professional associations and other employee organisations should be included in a membership series. Their status is imprecise and they are often disregarded. (ibid, pg 2)

Further examples of the bias in sources are: the British data which "may *understate* the 1980's fall in density because some unions exaggerated membership to maintain high representation on the Trades Union Congress Executive Committee and in the Labour Party." (Blanchflower and Freeman, 1992:59) Italian figures may *overstate* the 1980s drop in density because of the rise in non-affiliated unions and membership amongst "foremen and lower level management." (ibid, pg 60)

Secondly, membership of trade unions continues in some unions for substantial periods after retrenchment or retirement. In other unions there is a precise cut off point.

Lastly, potential membership depends, for a large part, upon the scope of labour legislation. For instance: are the essential service employees and armed forces personnel allowed to unionize? Other considerations relate to the admittance of managerial employees into unions, or the self employed. (Bain and Price, 1980 & 1983) Therefore; the scope of this category will vary according to practice. Accordingly, density comparisons become slightly unreliable.

The result of such imprecision is that comparing international and national data of this sort should be treated with caution and attempts at greater precision are required. However, it does not mean that there is no use for these comparisons, merely that they should be interpreted carefully along with other quantitative and qualitative information.

Other measures applicable to studying trade union growth are: the flow of workers into and out of unions as opposed to the stock of unionized workers (Hirsch and Addison, 1986:45); and the division of membership data by sector, industry, blue and white collar and sex (Bain and Price, 1983). Such information would provide additional insight as to why unions grow at specific points in time.

The divergence associated with membership collection while a hindering to comparing union growth, should be used as a resource to discover more effective means of establishing accurate data in South Africa. Further investigation into this subject is potentially fruitful.

The literature survey conducted for this dissertation revealed no writing on defining a trade union member other than a tangential reference to the limits placed on "essential service" employees in terms of their right to strike. The Labour Relations Act does not cover such workers but "there is nothing to prevent workers in the excluded categories from forming or joining a union, but such a union will not be able to register as a union." (Official SA Trade Unions Directory, 1991:21)

For the purposes of this study, a trade union member will be defined as those defined by registered and unregistered trade unions as a member.

Explanations for Union Growth

This section will not aim to provide a comprehensive account of the literature on union growth, but will rather review some of the more prominent hypotheses.

At the broadest explanatory level for trade union growth are the **structuralist** and **functionalist** approaches. Jackson illustrates this line of thinking by noting that, "Some writers would see **industrialization** as the crucial element in the development of trade unions. For them industrialization created a new need that had to be filled..." (Jackson, 1982:13-4). Others in this fold have suggested that trade unions are a development dependent on capitalism.

Another, and quite popular grouping, links trade union growth firmly to economic conditions. The basic assumption made is that the decision to join a union is carefully weighed-up by

the individual of the costs and benefits of membership. From this basis a variety of theories were developed: the **prosperity theory** proposes that the level of economic activity and hence the corresponding level of 'prosperity' can be related to the rate of union growth. This is because the labour market is seen as more favorable to workers' collective bargaining position in these conditions. (Jackson, 1982; Davis, 1941).

The **price theory** contends a correlation between levels of trade union membership and the movement of prices. The reasoning is that wage increases tend to lag behind price increases, and therefore workers organise to protect their wages or standard of living. In a period of rapidly rising prices, employers can pass costs onto the consumer without added surplus value extraction from employees. Furthermore, fast rising prices usually means expanding production coupled with decreasing unemployment. These factors will all strengthen the unions' collective bargaining position and hence the attractiveness to join the union. (Davis, 1941)

A fault with the reasoning of these theories is that the assumption unions will 'bounce back' in cyclical upswings is premised upon the false notions that, firstly, management strategies towards the union will remain constant. Secondly, it assumes that the extent and nature of the economic upswing will essentially be similar to those preceding it. (Beaumont, 1987:4)

Davis attempted to modify these economic theories by identifying particular cycles affecting union growth. The favorable side is characterised by "major new grievances" and "an improving position in the labour market". On the negative side when labour has no new major grievances and is weakening

In the labour market, even though some grievances exist and facilitate organisation, there will be a decline in union membership. (*Ibid*)

Although Davis appears rather rigid he does make an important break with the structuralist approach in that he posits non-economic influences, leadership and the governmental encouragement, as significant determinants of union growth. This dichotomy in his thinking adds credence to his views for the structuralist/functionalist theories are too determinist, as Jackson (1982) notes. He argues that they see growth as an inevitability given certain other conditions. This ignores the role of the individual as an agent of social change. It also becomes too general an explanation that presents conditions favorable to growth but does not theorise systematically about the direct causality for that growth (*Ibid*).

Notwithstanding these criticisms, much attention over the past twenty years has been focussed on econometric techniques (part of the structuralist thinking) to evaluate growth. These models rely primarily on economic variables, while some do include social and political elements. For example: the Ashenfelter and Pencavel model uses factors such as the consumer price index, the unemployment rate, the proportion of employment that was previously unionized in the more unionized sectors, and the number of Democrats in the House of Representatives. (quoted in Hirsch & Addison, 1986:52)

The most prominent of these approaches is the Bain and Elshiekh 'business cycle' model. The model 'explained'¹ changes in membership in four countries over the first seventy years of this century. The **rate of change of union membership** is related to the rate of change of retail prices, the rate of change of money wages, the level and/or rate of change of unemployment, together with the existing level of union density.

One of the more pertinent problems with this model, and one that is perhaps valid for other longitudinal econometric studies using the business cycle, is that it often fails to explain short run 'explosions' in membership which bear no relationship to the activity of the business cycle. The exclusion of non-economic factors is a reason cited for this weakness. (Hobsbawm cited in Bean and Holden, 1992; and Bean, 1985)

While the structuralist, economic models and theories provide some useful insight into the phenomenon of growth, there are two important implications arising from their apparent shortcomings. (see Jackson 1982; Bean and Holden, 1992) Firstly, there is a need for a multi-causal even eclectic approach which is sensitive to statistical data. Secondly, A more systematic and penetrating investigation of

[1] 'Explained' in this case refers to explaining between 65% to 80% of the variation in annual aggregate union growth rates when matching the model against the empirical data. (Bean & Holden, 1992:52)

workers' consciousness is required to endeavour to explain "workers' awareness and interpretation of their situation." (Bean, 1985:45) This point touches the agency - structure debate and moves to support a greater role for the agent in social change.

Regarding the first point, many writers have compiled lists of determinants of growth. Price and Bain (1983) attempt to answer two questions arising from their presentation of the data on growth. What factors account for growth from one *period* to another, and what factors account for variations at any particular moment? The determinants are designed to incorporate most of the possible influences noted in the literature on growth under the headings: the composition of the potential union membership, the business cycle, employer policies and government action with respect to union recognition, personal and job related characteristics, industrial structure, and union leadership.

Some other factors that are mentioned in the literature are demographics and regional changes; increasingly effective management resistance to union organisation (a recurrent theme in the U.S.) often located in a situation of increasing pressure on profits; union expenditure on organising/recruiting; the proportion of women in the workforce; the age structure; the proportion of blue to white collar employment; educational level of the individual; capital intensity; average firm size; industrial relations structure and the degree of 'leftist' orientation of the government. (Hirsch & Addison, 1986; Kelly, 1988; Disney, 1990; McDonald, 1992) Another imaginative theory is that unions have been the beneficiaries of natural disasters. The rapid union growth experienced during wars and in the

reconstruction phases is shown as evidence of this inclination (Beaumont, 1987:4)

Bain and Elsheikh have argued that the large number of determinants is problematic for although most of the conceivable factors have been listed, "very little indication has been given of their relative importance. Indeed, it has not even been clearly demonstrated that all the factors which have been listed actually are determinants of aggregate union growth." (1976:25) This critique is valid as some analyses use determinants in an unsystematic fashion to evaluate aggregate growth. However, the Bain and Elsheikh attack is lodged within the context of providing a longitudinal, cross national aggregate union growth model. Much of the literature on union growth confines itself to specific countries, time periods and unions. Specifics which the business cycle model is unable to grasp, as Hobsbawm pointed out. These specifics would include the ability to explain disaggregated patterns of union growth and to signify the role of the individual in aggregate growth. Thus the role of the eclectic approach remains significant, if not primary for the purposes of this study. The challenge is to systematise, even prioritise, those determinants, to provide adequate periodisation and mould the analysis of the long term trends with the rapid short term-fluctuations.

To elaborate on the debate over agency one needs to consider the issue of awareness or consciousness. As Jackson puts it, "...it is not enough to say a factor exists: one also needs to know whether the people concerned appreciate its existence." (1982:22) This theoretical understanding may lead to a total rejection of structural influences while concentrating entirely on the individual's thoughts and actions.

In order to avoid extremism in this structure-agency³ debate Banks introduces an integrated model which, put simply, argues for a 'step-by-step' approach that assesses the changing conditions under which unions develop, plus the trial-and-error pattern associated with the construction and direction of the union. (Banks, 1974 cited in Jackson, 1982:24-5) Banks' stress on avoiding static analysis is a useful one.

Further debate on determinants (especially the leadership factor) will continue in the South African literature review.

Recent Trends

Much of the contemporary literature of the state of trade unions comments upon profound structural changes in the economy and labour market affecting the industrial society and hence the trade union and its development. (see Baglioni, 1990; Edwards, 1986; Kelly, 1988) Such changes have global ramifications and therefore affect the South African industrial framework. Hence the need to identify these new trends and to define the challenges facing trade unions around the world.

[3] Banks argues that the crux of this debate centres on theories that enable us to see how much of history is determined by processes beyond human control, and how much is consciously willed.

In very simple terms the performance of the industrialised economies staggered in the early 1970s, and has since not reached the levels of growth associated with the post-war boom. The impact of these changes conditions is keenly felt by workers' organisations with certain transformations in the labour market. These are broadly of two kinds: changes affecting the supply and demand for labour, and changes introducing new patterns of employment.

In terms of supply and demand the most striking feature has been the persistently high unemployment irrespective of economic improvements in some countries. (Edwards, 1986) A second dimension has been the alteration in the structure of the labour market illustrated by the relative decline of traditional or 'core' industries (steel, automobile, mining, shipbuilding) where union density was highest in the boom period after the second world war. In contrast, there has been expanding employment in the service sector, in areas such as banking, finance, business service, the computer industry, etc. This has meant a rise in the proportion of white collar workers.

Growing employment in small manufacturing companies, an increase in part-time work and in some countries and industries a growth in sub-contracting are manifestations of the new patterns of employment that are apparent in the 1980s.

While these profound new social dynamics clearly have and will have a tremendous impact on industrial society, it must be noted that, "[S]tructural changes in employment and industrial composition is clearly a major part in any such explanation, but it is not a sufficient explanation." (Hirsch and Addison, 1986:55)

PART B: THE SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE

Introduction

The South African literature on trade union growth is sparse, most probably because of the assumption that the rapid growth was a natural course without much complexity, or because the phenomenon of growth was never isolated and thoroughly explored in and of itself. In the previous section we see an array of factors advanced which often attempt nuanced analyses of trade union growth. Domestic accounts have been more narrow and rigid stressing the legislative and specific organisational facets that facilitated growth among the 'emerging' unions. And it is proposed here that this narrow focus has been correct but inadequate. What is required is a more eclectic understanding that will form a basis for a more sound analysis of factors influencing union growth in a post apartheid South Africa.

Generally speaking South African authors have assessed the **character** of the 'emerging' unions as their primary focus (see for instance, SA Labour Bulletin articles by Lewis and Randall, 1985; Von Holdt, V15, N6, 1991). To this end growth analysis has been sandwiched into multi-faceted accounts of union activity. Whereas the specific starting point for this study is trade union growth, this section will attempt to mould the 'relevant' diversity of comment on trade unions into a discussion on that growth. As most of the articles do not readily lend themselves to such an endeavour [definitely the problem of the conflation of 'growth' and 'development'] the structure is likely to be slightly unwieldy.

The section is exploratory and it will therefore ignore the counsel of Bain and Elsheikh on prioritising factors of growth. Instead it will attempt to encompass a range of broad elements identified in the literature affecting the growth of unions in South Africa.

Assessing the union growth

Recent debate (Marie, 1992; Vavi, 1992; Von Holdt, 1992 etc) has made it clear that among the 'emerging' unions new challenges have been posted and new dynamics operate within those organisations. It is equally obvious that varying conditions (structural - cyclical, objective - subjective) have affected the direction of growth of the unions at different times. Blanket assertions about the growth of trade unions without proper contextualisation will then lead to unnecessary generalisations. It is therefore imperative to introduce periodisation into an analysis of the development of the unions. The style of this section does not always follow that guideline, which makes for a slightly static analysis.

The position of the legal reforms of 1979 in affecting trade union growth has been difficult to quantify. Certainly conventional wisdom has argued that the combination of access to registration after 1979 and the low base from which black trade unions functioned precipitated the significant increases in membership. The NMC 1982 Annual Report notes that with the extension of trade union rights to all persons,

"a real need has been met. This is clear ... from the increasing use by the various population groups of the opportunity to establish and register trade unions ..." (NMC, 1982:10) And later on, "One notable result of the Government's decision to alter the definition of 'employee' was the intensive campaign by existing and new trade unions to recruit as members the unorganised workers from the ranks of the Black population groups." (ibid)

It would appear that while many analysts have not dismissed the importance of those factors they have rather argued, like Morris and Erwin (1988), that the impressive growth of the non-racial trade unions cannot be ascribed to legislative changes alone.

On an **organisational** level most attention has been directed at the role played by the shopsteward in the 'strong factory floor organisation' which according to many commentators, has greatly facilitated the task of *expanding* the unions (Morris and Erwin, 1988; Webster, 1988; Lewis and Randall, 1985; Vavi, 1992). This is particularly true of the nascent days of the emerging union movement. Webster identifies the key role played by the rapidly increasing numbers of shop stewards in the "*consolidation* of union growth", especially in the context of a relatively small number of paid full time officials. (Webster, 1988:76)

Also important has been the geographical expansion of the 'emerging' unions to constitute themselves as **national industrial** unions. Webster (1988) again sees the organisational depth of the unions as pivotal in facilitating this extension, while Lewis and Randall (1985) locate

external forces as the stimulus in the development of **national** unions. "The tendency towards increasing concentration of ownership in the economy, meant that unions also needed to organise in all plants belonging to a particular firm, and indeed throughout the sector, in order to maximise their bargaining strength and prevent undercutting or relocation to non-unionised sectors." (Pg 77)

Looking at Cosatu's phenomenal membership increases during the late 1980s Baskin comments that "A precondition of this growth... has been the merger campaign under the 'one union, one industry' banner. The strict and sometimes harsh, enforcement of merger policy created unions which were stronger numerically and organisationally, and better able to make rational use of their resources and personnel. Strong nationally-organised industrial unions were the foundation for both quantitative and qualitative growth in membership." (1991:448)

At the time of its 1988 Special Congress, Baskin (1991) has this to say about Cosatu growth, "...total paid-up membership had dropped 3% in 10 months... However, for a number of reasons the drop in membership can be traced to a stricter application of the rules by the credentials committee rather than a significant decline in strength... Cosatu's rapid growth during 1986 and 1987 had been largely the result of it being well placed to ride the wave of popular insurrection and worker militancy. Henceforth, Cosatu and its affiliates would not grow automatically. Planning, coherent policies and growth strategies would become increasingly important." (og's 282/3)

In addition to these effective organisational dimensions the issue of **political consciousness** and the role of unions in

overt political action is a major area in which other reasons for growth are located. Unlike "phases" of conservative government overseas that may be hostile to unions for a short period of time, the South African political terrain is marred by many decades of oppressive and racist apartheid rule. The political dimension is therefore a long term one with a multiplicity of peculiar ramifications. Its applicability for assessment using overseas union growth models is therefore problematic, and South African writers identify often unique factors influencing trade union development.

The link between trade union involvement, political consciousness and union growth is, however, far from clear. To this end Webster (1988 and 1991) and Seidman (1990) have used the notion of social movement unionism which goes beyond the more narrow economism associated with many unions in the advanced capitalist countries. It was a concept used to "explain the relationship between the trade union movement and the new social movements in the townships" and between the "trade union movement and the struggle for national liberation." (Webster, 1991:57) And this linkage is integral to understanding the appropriate form of union organisation adopted. Webster cites factors such as changes in the labour process, workers' cultural formations, patterns of industrialisation and political traditions of resistance among black workers giving rise to this type of unionism.

The CASE survey of Cosatu Shop Stewards¹ (1992) reveals a complex set of factors regarding shop stewards attitudes towards politics and political organisations. One outstanding result was that of the 80% of respondents that believed Cosatu should maintain their involvement in politics, 53% thought that "politics is too complicated for workers to

understand". In addition, 70% of the interviewees wanted Cosatu to represent their interests in the negotiating process. (1992:56)

From such findings does one infer that political consciousness is developed within unions (Morris and Erwin, 1988:305) and is therefore not a significant concern in explaining why workers join Cosatu and other unions? And then what of the role community organisations such as civics or religious groupings in shaping a political consciousness? Is the notion of political consciousness merely a derivative of other more primary factors for explaining union growth?

These questions have no straight answers.

Morris and Erwin (1988), while accepting the organisational and political dimensions to growth, argue that these two factors alone could not account for the growth in membership. Their focus is on the **position of workers, in general, within the economy** and particularly non-unionised workers. This position has not "improved sufficiently" and as a result "workers see unions as the most important factor protecting their interests." (Pg 301) They refer specifically to wages as the example of interests.⁴

Their argument continues but the focus shifts to the issue of rights. "Unionists contend that a major reason for the growth in membership has been their ability to negotiate grievance and disciplinary procedures and thereafter to use those procedures effectively." (ibid, pg 302)

[4] The word interests is used in conjunction with the notion of rights. Although these terms are legalistic, they provide for some categorisation of the difference between wanting higher wages and wanting certain collective bargaining arrangements firmly rooted in company practice.

Indeed Mailer's (1992) study found that the majority of respondents joined the Cosatu unions in an effort to 'defend workers rights'. Improving their material conditions (wages and the conditions of service) received much less support.

Can one then separate the economic deprivation suffered by many in the working class from the apartheid system? Baskin's emphasis is on the material interests of workers when he asserts that "[W]orkers join unions for a variety of reasons, the most important being to improve their material conditions. This is not to promote the idea that there is somehow a 'bread-and-butter' unionism in contrast to political unionism. The two are integrally connected. However, without the ability to deliver economic improvements political unionism is meaningless." (1991:448)

The ambiguity surrounding this particular debate has not been resolved; its explanatory power for union growth purposes is thereby reduced.

Looking to the labour market, Hemson contends that the growth in monopoly capitalism and the concentration of production in large-scale highly mechanised factories resulted in a black working class "neither differentiated in traditional skills nor having experienced the benefits of reform." (Hemson D 1976, quoted in Webster 1988) With this changing industrialisation pattern the material conditions for the new independent shop floor-based industrial trade unionism were created by the early seventies through this coalescence of numerous workers into large production units. (Webster, 1988:178)

An article by TURP and Klerck (1991) warned of the dangers to the trade union movement of the increasing casualisation of

labour and subcontracting in many sectors of the economy. Such forms of work organisation are often explicitly designed to exclude any trade union presence while simultaneously maintaining low remuneration levels and little or no benefits. (SALB, 15(7): 1991)

But once again the precise effect on trade unions, and particularly their growth, is unclear.

Economic conditions in the eighties and nineties have not been favourable in the traditional sense for union growth. Factors such as retrenchments, falling rates of profit, negligible investment levels, manufacturing employment slowing down, decline of prominence of minerals, severe drought that knocked agricultural unemployment, rapidly increasing CPI, are all too familiar. Under this heading of economic conditions union growth and wage gains plus union growth and retrenchments will be commented upon.

Hindson laments the absence of detailed information on occupations and corresponding earnings that should come from the CSS and thus serve as a guide on the position of **wage gains**. (Hindson, 1991:233) Morris and Erwin are pessimistic with regard to the emerging unions ability to effect high wage gains. They present a probable scenario which contests that the 'emerging', more effective unions have just managed to protect their members against declines in real wages. (Morris and Erwin, 1988:302) However, Hindson attributes the increasing real wage gains of black workers to pressure from the trade union movement, but also to a management response designed to curb worker militancy by "shedding black unskilled workers and simultaneously upgrade, promote and pay higher wages to the reduced workforce." (Hindson, 1991:233)

In addition, the blanket assertions on effects on wage levels fail to grasp the immense changes that have occurred in the occupational wage structure with definite advances in closing the racial wage gap being made, particularly in African wages at the semi-skilled and unskilled levels. Although it was here that the union presence was strongest and management's reaction was most severe. (Ibid: 234)

Lewis, J. and Randall's analysis of the **relationship between retrenchments and union growth**, is one that remains relevant. Their premise is that while the recession has affected unions in a negative fashion (retrenchments and limitations on "winning further gains"), union recruitment has not been undermined. They argue that the increase in Mawu's paid-up membership is related to workers joining for protection against retrenchment. Furthermore, unions have consolidated and strengthened in this period as a result of "sound factory-floor organisation". (1985: 67-74)

Dave Lewis, writing in 1983, emphasises the uneven nature of the effects of recessions, in terms of sectors, timing and location⁵ (1983:20). His approach assumes cyclical qualities of a recession. Two years later Lewis and Randall point to indications of structural features of the recession, especially regarding retrenchments (1985:67). Therefore, in 1985 with the formation of Cosatu, retrenchments have become a firm feature of the capital - labour relationship.

[5] This approach is corroborated by a recent Finance Week article that argues the Western Cape was affected later and less severely by the current recession than other regions in the country. (Finance Week, October 15-21, 1992)

Lewis' paper goes further by positing differentiated effects of recession on organising the unorganised and on stabilising existing organisation. The first factor was likely to be enhanced during a recession: firstly, the very poor working conditions meant that many employees were not risking satisfying, well paid employment (as workers in advanced industrialised countries may do) by joining a union.

Secondly, unemployment is such a salient factor, obvious in the preceding boom, that the threat of unemployment is not perceived as greater in a recession. Thirdly, there is a strong political imperative to joining a progressive trade union. Lastly, while established unions will survive a recessionary period, smaller, sometimes "unscrupulous" unions will have greater potential to increase membership. This is because the larger unions will need to devote resources to service membership, while smaller unions can focus energies on new organisation. However, if the new unions fail to deliver upon extravagant promises, the result will be a disillusionment with trade unionism as a whole. Consequently re-recruitment of those workers becomes problematic.

Stabilizing existing organisation is complicated in a recessionary environment because it becomes more difficult to win wage demands; industrial action may be less effective; retrenchments have a particularly demoralizing effect; and employers' response is one that attempts to reverse the gains already made by the unions(s) (Lewis, D, 1983).

The effects of a recessionary climate on union growth has not been accurately documented over time. Cyclical symptoms have given way to massive, prolonged and pervasive retrenchments. This at a time of sustained union growth since 1980. Dave

Lewis' assertions on the low (remuneration) base of (black) workers, the consistently high unemployment, and the political motive serve as the most useful hypothesis put forward. Whether such an analysis will hold up in current circumstances has not been discussed.

The **role of leadership** is one often posited in the international literature as significant in determining growth. (Davis, 1941; Hirsch and Addison, 1986; Bain and Price, 1983; Undy *et al*, 1981) There are two levels at which leadership impacts: "[u]nion *incidence* of growth, that is, which union succeeds in organising a given group of workers" (Bain & Price, 1983:30), and *aggregate* growth. The former is regarded as strongly influenced by leadership, the latter is problematic.

Methodologically, it is difficult to "isolate the independent effect of leadership", hence, to argue for a critical role of leadership is to ignore ambiguity surrounding its effect on aggregate union growth (*ibid*). Hyman suggests that "Their role [leadership's] in aggregate union growth....is vigorously to exploit the opportunities which are generated by the determinants of union growth....but it is a role which is tightly circumscribed by these determinants." (cited in Bain & Price, 1983:31) This is why Bain and Elshiekh categorise leadership as a 'secondary and derivative' determinant (*ibid*).

In South Africa it has been argued that national leadership played a successful role in consolidating unions and developing strategies to resist employer and state repression. In addition, this grouping also provided an analytical and administrative base for the emerging unions (Erwin and Morris, 1989: 288). However, it was the active

shop floor leadership and not the national leadership of the 'emerging' unions where much of the credit for union growth (not consolidation or administration, although these are linked to growth) has been directed. (Webster, 1988 & 1991) Especially with regards to 'recognition battles' taken forward by active shop-floor leadership, and the practice of democratic operation which attracted workers to these unions. (Erwin and Morris, 1988:289)

Emphasis on the stabilising role of leadership ignores Lewis' observation about 'unscrupulous' unions that take advantage of depressed economic circumstances and use outlandish promises to win rapid increases in membership, only to lose them again (Lewis, D, 1983). Although it can be argued that such instances were mere short-lived fluctuations against a long term trend of union consolidation into the larger national industrial unions.

Conclusion

If the South African literature is compared to the international dialogue the focus and level of debate appears quite distinct. The international debate has a more developed and nuanced approach to the issue of trade union growth. While remaining abstract, they have nevertheless provided a *more comprehensive range of variables affecting union size* than local analysis, which culminates in the search for models of growth.

The South African literature has not been subject to much controversy and critique. Indeed, it often assumes something natural about this extensive growth once there is recognition of certain organisational requirements. Factors such as the

price of subscriptions, the subsidization by foreign funders of numerous unions, the quality of leadership, price theory, the age and sex of members and potential members, recruiting strategies, the labour market, the racial orientation of unions, the place of artisan unions, the violence in the country, are either ignored or inadequately assessed as issues contributing to trade union growth or decline.

Following from Baglioni and others, the tendency to avoid rigid analyses facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of trade union development. So while the stresses on the black semi-skilled operative, the role of the shop steward and the fight against retrenchments are vital for an understanding of character and growth of the 'emerging' unions, they appear to remain too narrow for a satisfactory inquiry. Hence, the compulsion in this paper to focus primarily on trade union growth which caters, methodologically, for a more eclectic and delicate approach. Such an analysis will be taken further in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER THREE

ASSESSING THE AVAILABLE SOURCES OF AND DATA ON UNION GROWTH AND RELATED STATISTICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to outline the various sources of union membership and related characteristics, the problems associated with those sources and finally to mesh the data into a 'picture' of South African trade union growth since 1979.

The Department of Manpower, the Central Statistical Services and trade unions are the sources discussed in the chapter.

Industrial Councils and employers are two other sources of union figures. Although the research project identified some ways in which these bodies collect membership figures, spatial requirements limit a discussion of their role.

The last section describes union growth and related characteristics using the information amassed in the course of the project. It is designed to provide an overview of the changes that have occurred in the relevant series. The conflict between the spatial limitations of the thesis and the legacy of the research project is that some parts of this section will be ignored in the analysis that follows in Chapter Four.

Sources of Union Membership Data

1/. The Department of Manpower

The 1979 Industrial Conciliation Act (ICA) and the 1981 Labour Relations Act (LRA) extended trade union rights to almost all workers in the country and granted autonomy to unions in respect of their membership. (The Official Trade Union Handbook, 1991-2:20) These rights included that of registration with the Department of Manpower (DOM) which allowed for, amongst other things, membership to an industrial council and easier access to stop-order facilities.

In terms of the LRA, unions must supply the DOM's Industrial Registrar with membership figures as part of the registration process. In turn the DOM's published figures are relied upon by numerous actors in the labour relations field. The reliance on the accuracy of those numbers is consequential in that significant decisions are based upon membership levels. Such decisions could be anything from deciding industrial council membership applications; to the legality of strike action which requires a majority vote by union members; to policy decisions by government planners.

To register with the DOM a union is obliged to complete an LRI form (see Annexure 1) which requests information on the names and addresses of office bearers, the areas in which it will operate, membership of the union (paid and signed up) and the constitution of the union depicting its scope. It is then the duty of the regional labour inspectors to verify the

membership which is usually done by matching the registration certificate with that of membership on the unions records.

If a union wishes to extend the scope of its activities it must register this with the DOM. Again, a labour inspector will verify membership as above, but only for the members in the new scope.

The mechanics of membership collection by the Industrial Registrars office works as follows. Towards the end of each year the DOM sends out an LR7 form to all registered unions and as many unregistered unions it knows of. See (Annexure 2) The form requests the total number of members of the union in good standing and also the total *not* in good standing to be presented to the Department no later than the last day of March the following year. Members in good standing (ie. paid up) as defined by DOM rules are those that have paid their dues according to the constitution and are not more than three months in arrears. Union membership figures are taken from these documents.

An LR45 form is sent out annually to union federations (See Annexure 3). This document requires information on the addresses of affiliates and the numbers of members they represent. No demarcation is made for paid-up and signed-up members. The totals for the federations are then calculated from the figures for affiliates on the questionnaire.¹ In numerous instances these figures do not correspond with the LR7 numbers (see Table A).

[1] The data in the industrial registrar's current files only concerns 1989 to 1991.

With regard to union and federation membership returns the Industrial Registrar's office reported problems with the collection of these documents and the figures, but noted that over time the situation had improved. The onus for accuracy was on the unions, who were becoming more "specific" in their approach and thus equipping the department to be better able to produce more reliable data (Interview with R Scheefer)

A small test of the consistency of published union figures was to compare the DOM's Cosatu manufacturing unions figures to those gleaned from Cosatu and other sources. (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2 and Table F) This reveals relatively similar figures and trends up to 1989, and then an inverse pattern thereafter, with the membership difference being 67 049 in 1990 and 42 582.

There has been no change in the manner of collection since 1956 (Interview with R Scheefer). However, the statistics are meant to exclude the TBVC states and hence the area of collection must have altered since that time to accommodate the change.

This is problematic in that it is not clear whether the unions count their membership from these 'bantustans' and how such collection affects the accuracy of membership. How will it affect density? Do all manufacturing unions' figures include the TBVC states?

One of Kelly's (1988) approaches to measure trade union strength was an analysis of annual financial audits. It would also seem fairly logical that such research could provide insight into membership subscriptions and therefore size of

membership. However, the DOM does not allow public scrutiny of these documents in order not to offend the unions.

Unregistered unions are required to furnish membership data to the industrial registrar annually. On the basis of returns an estimated figure for all unregistered unions' membership is made (not all unregistered unions return the forms). The accuracy of these membership estimates is unknown.

Unregistered unions are allowed to operate without major differences from registered ones. It may be useful to combine registered and estimates of unregistered to gain an overall unionisation number.

The division between the two types of unions is further blurred by certain Cosatu affiliates, for instance, who are unregistered. Checking Cosatu density against registered unions is, therefore, slightly unwieldy.

There are clear problems with the validity of DOM figures for trade unions in South Africa. This is evidenced by the absence of any real attempt to verify unions' stated membership levels and the inconsistency between union and federation data. Ascertaining whether improvements have taken place regarding accuracy can only be determined by assessing the unions' method of collecting membership data.

The reliance by sources such as Andrew Levy and Associates' Annual Reports and Nactu² on DOM union figures is therefore somewhat troubling.

[2] M Skhosana, Assistant General Secretary of Nactu, noted that one source of membership figures for the federation's credentials committee (see next section for a definition) was DOM data.

3/. Trade Unions³

"As with most of South Africa's statistics, the figures of trade union membership are not reliable. The aftermath of racial legislation and the political controversy surrounding the rights of African workers has led to limited co-operation with the State by the larger non-racial unions and federations" (Erwin and Morris, 1989:291)

This outline will have some general application with regards to methods by which Nactu and Cosatu unions collect membership figures , but alternative mechanisms may well exist.

The stress on paid up membership within Cosatu and increasingly so in NACTU means, according to Baskin, a more controlled membership count and a far more accurate one. (Interview with Ian Macun, 1992)

Cwiu & Fawu, and it would appear Numsa, have roughly similar procedures. Usual practice seems for signed stop-orders to get sent to the union head office who then distribute funds to the branches. The amount of money received from subscriptions plays some role in allowing the union to determine its membership. By dividing its balance by the subscription rate, a membership figure can be determined. Questions regarding irregularities in membership will be sent down to the branch where the officials and/or shopstewards will investigate membership numbers or delayed payment etc.

 [3] The following information was derived from interviews with officials from SEIFSA, CWIU, FAWU, COSATU and NACTU.

This mechanism for calculating membership was criticized by Shortt, who also noted the Supreme Court's dissatisfaction with this method as a reliable source of membership data. The flow of union members into and out of the union, plus retrenchments and late dues allow for many inconsistencies in this approach.

A comprehensive attempt at determining the exact number of members was made by Fawu in 1992. Branches were involved in supplying information on membership levels at all companies. The finished product was impressive, but upon publication members disputed figures as the flow of workers took their toll on accuracy. This latest figure, 153 206, will not be used in an assessment of union growth because it has not been scrutinised by either a Fawu or a Cosatu Congress. Furthermore, employment figures for the food, beverage and tobacco sector for 1992 are unavailable which disqualify density calculations for that year.

Another method for gauging membership of the union comes through regional and national congresses. Union congresses require a presentation of the state of affairs by the secretariat, and the number of union members is a significant component. Mtayi pointed out improvements in membership collection in Fawu for the last union congress. He was dubious of the reliability of earlier statistics. Fawu's recent congress hired 'outside help' to assist in the compilation of the congress report which included the membership figures. It is not clear, though, whether this move towards professional accounting techniques is widespread in Cosatu and Nactu. Numsa was audited by Arthur Andersen Ltd. in 1992 but still had problems in determining membership levels.

Federations' congresses place great significance on membership because voting rights are proportional to size of membership. For Cosatu Regional Congresses, it is the task of the regional secretary to sort out delegates and hence membership levels for the quarterly regional congresses. This is done by requesting membership data from the regional office of each affiliate, which is then checked against affiliate head office data. Finally, the Cosatu head office is requested to verify the figures from their data bases.

Nationally the credentials committee serves as the watchdog on union size for the federation. Baskin (1992) cites the efficacy of this Cosatu subcommittee as one of the major reasons for the projected decline in membership for 1988. Stricter credentials for membership were applied resulting in a more accurate picture of federation membership, that was incidentally lower than the previous year.

According to M Skhosana, Nactu's credentials committee gets the federations membership by the subs/balance calculation; checking wage/recognition agreements with major factories; DOM figures and internal report of affiliates.

The unions collection of membership statistics came into the spotlight in 1992 during the strike by Numsa at Seifsa member companies. The issue was taken to the Supreme Court for an interdict by Seifsa on the grounds that Numsa did not have a sufficient mandate for strike action. Such a claim goes to the heart of accurate membership levels as Numsa was forced to prove the accuracy of its membership records.

Numsa was criticized for the tardiness of its membership records. An outline of the case shows rather disturbing trends of Numsa's membership which pose some awkward

questions about the reliability of union membership figures as a whole, given the fact that Numsa is regarded as one of the best organised unions in the country.

Shortt has criticized the fashion in which Numsa collects its statistics of membership. He argues for a computer listing linked to something like the industry's sick benefit fund, and for the accurate listing of retrenchments as they occur. The latter is feasible as Numsa people are always present in retrenchment procedures.

Although the trend towards more accurate membership collection is discernable, very real inaccuracies remain. A disturbing consequence of past invalid aggregation by unions, is that explanations for union growth can only be regarded as tentative.

A last matter of some concern was the apparent reluctance of the union federations to divulge union membership figures. After assurances that such data was available, the officials contacted did not declare membership levels over time or the latest figures. This after two months of requests.

2/ The Central Statistical Services.

The CSS provides a multiplicity of information; the most relevant being on employment and unemployment. It is from those series that various union densities and the economically active population is calculated. The accuracy of their figures impacts on the ability to explain union growth.

Consequently a thorough understanding of the status of the CSS series' is necessary. This is the objective of the section on the CSS.

"At present the available (manpower and other) statistics are of extremely dubious quality, and any person using them does so at their own peril" (Meth, 1988)

The ambiguity surrounding the reliability of official sources sheds much doubt over the validity of employment and unemployment series. While this paper aims to note the numerous criticisms of those figures (Barker, 1992; Sadle, 1991; Moll, 1986; Meth, 1988; Hindson, 1991) and their impact on an assessment of trade union growth, the scope here is limited. This begs a fuller investigation of the issue. Suffice to say that no labour statistic (official or otherwise) should be considered unproblematic.

Meth (1988) notes a large disparity between the **CSS' Monthly Survey of Employment, Salaries and Wages** (for Manufacturing, Construction and Electricity) and the **CPS** with regard to mining and manufacturing employment statistics, which are, he notes, usually considered reliable. The monthly surveys are considered more reliable than the CPS as the information is compiled by employers who are unlikely to put employees in the wrong industry. He goes on to cite the CPS 'workers by industry' tabulations as analytically useless.

It was for this reason that employment figures were taken from the Labour Statistics, which is quite separate from the CPS mechanisms and results. Officials of the Labour Statistics department described the accuracy of their monthly manufacturing census as satisfactory. Controls in the survey are used as past respondents forms are checked against new

ones submitted. Problems do occur for firms that close down or start up and are not recorded in that department's figures. The universe is corrected through the Manufacturing Census which is held every several years. Surveys are conducted through questionnaires that are sent out to at least four firms per sub group of the SIC. (The SIC is being revised in accordance with International guidelines.) The survey is not regionally oriented and does not include the TBVC areas. Figures for the TBVC countries are available only for 1980 and 1989 which does not allow for analysis over time. Furthermore, the surveys do not cover workers that are on strike. The extent to which this may render a sample invalid is unknown, but in the case of the recent, large Numsa strike problems could arise.

Further doubts on the usefulness of the CSS employment series arises from the qualifications given for the annual publication of employment statistics: "The estimates for the period January 1980 to December 1989 have been adjusted to correspond with the results of the latest census.

"The figures as from 1976 are not comparable with previous years as a result of the inclusion of the SABC and passenger good and transportation from 1976."

The implications therefore are that the information is not consistent over long periods of time, that is past 1976. Secondly, if the results of the monthly surveys are adjusted to correspond with Census information that is distinctly tainted, are the corrections more or less valid?

To summarise: the manufacturing employment data, while beset with certain problems, does seem to maintain some sense of credibility. The extent of its accuracy is debatable.

Calculations made for density later in this chapter are forced to overlook the absence of TBVC employment figures. The reason being that this study was unable to ascertain the membership of registered unions operating in the TBVC areas. Density levels should thus be regarded with caution. Further investigation into this quandary would prove useful.

Regarding **unemployment figures** the Current Population Survey (CPS) produces a set of figures different to those produced by the Labour Statistics. The latter merely reproduces DOM data on registered unemployment.

Sadie asserts that the Central Statistical Service's (CSS) CPS doesn't accept that only the desire to work [excluding active searching] should qualify those as strictly unemployed, which he notes is against the recommendation of the International Conference of Labour Statisticians. Furthermore, the data collected in censuses in conformity with the CPS definition cannot present a comprehensive picture of labour supply. The population censuses are flawed in that not all the inhabitants of South Africa are included in the enumerations. (Sadie, 1991)

Moll criticises the CPS' definition of unemployed in the way it defines the notion of work, the age limits it imposes and the restriction it sets of one month of job seeking. The latter category assumes good labour market channels and a reasonable chance of getting a job. Those not fitting into that definition are considered not economically active. (Moll, 1986)

Hindson (1991) agrees with these criticisms, but still uses the CPS data on unemployment to gain impressions of the

trends in unemployment since 1980. This latter approach while fairly useful in assessing impressions of trade union growth using unemployment trends as a factor, is inappropriate for models of growth such as the Bain and Elsheikh approach.

The most obvious consequence of these distortions is the rejection of unemployment levels as a valid measure for union growth.

Problems with alternative membership sources.

In the search for Cosatu manufacturing unions' membership over time, many published sources were readily available⁴. This was not the case with other federations. However, such a wealth of sources brings a wealth of contradictions. Correlations for a union for a particular year were rare. The reasons being that membership was recorded at different times of the year, and sometimes even different years; in some cases figures were rounded off; and primary sources varied between direct correspondence with unions, the DOM and Congress figures.

The approach taken in this study was to recognise the disparities, but to be as consistent as possible in selecting membership figures. For the most part the data comes from Cosatu Congress sources. In the absence of a Congress year,

[4] The following sources were used in this study: Baskin, 1992; SALB; Andrew Levy Annual Reports, 1990 and 1991; CASE Cosatu shop stewards survey; SALDRU Trade Union Directory, 1991; NMC Annual Report, 1991)

prior to 1985, in 1986 or in 1990, alternative arrangements were used. Pre-1985 the sum of members from unions present at the founding Congress was taken. In 1986 it was only Fawu that had a founding Congress. A process of elimination was engaged for 1990. Based on the assumption that growth would be progressive, figures for 1990 less than the previous year or than 1992 were disqualified. Of the remaining figures the NMC ones were chosen first (primacy to the official source), and then those with a correlation.

This method is regarded as entirely unsatisfactory and in need of more scientific direction. Under the circumstances it was necessary, but to mention it once again, the figures for Cosatu unions in manufacturing presented here are precarious in their validity.

Problems with tracing back Cosatu unions before industrial affiliate status.

An example of the complexity of tracing union membership of the COSATU affiliates since 1979 is the Food Sector, which includes Beverages and Tobacco. Since 1986 this sector has been organised by Fawu, whose membership records are displayed in Figure 7.3.

COSATU's policy of 'one industry, one union' meant that mergers and integrations of unions into and in the COSATU fold occurred on numerous occasions. An example is that at present there are fourteen Cosatu industrial unions (excluding the HWU soon to merge with NEHAWU) whereas at the founding Congress in 1985, 33 were represented.

For instance, the formation of the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) in 1986, was the product of membership from the Food and Canning Workers Union (Including the African Food and Canning Workers Union), the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union, the Retail and Allied Workers Union, the General Workers Union of South Africa and the South African Allied Workers Union. It would seem common sense to trace each of those unions' memberships back to 1979 or their formation to gain an idea of the membership levels in the Food Sector since 1979. However, there are a number of problems associated with doing this.

Firstly, between 1979 and 1986 there were mergers associated with the predecessors to Cosatu which makes the task of gathering membership statistics more difficult, if not impossible. An example is the SFAWU merger with the Eastern Cape SWFAWU in 1981 (Saldru Trade Union Directory, 1985).

Secondly, not all the members of unions participating in the mergers joined the new union. In many cases merger partners merely shed members working in the sector concerned and continued organising in other sectors. Thus in order to trace all food workers one would need to locate the number of members in those general unions who worked in the food sector and chart their numbers over time. Such data appears elusive, either from Manpower records or the records of the specific unions.

Thirdly, the reliability of figures in those times is open to question. The trend as regarded by unionists, employer bodies and the Department of Manpower is that the accuracy of the membership figures is improving but that their validity in the earlier part of the decade is extremely dubious. The stricter credentials committee regulations and the paid up

membership system seem part of the explanation in this regard.

Measuring Trade Union Growth using Union Density

Union density has been generally characterised as a useful and unproblematic measurement of union growth in the international literature. Writers presenting data on union membership levels will, almost invariably, apportion a primary explanatory role to changes in union density. (Bain and Price, 1980 & 1983; Webster, 1988; Beaumont, 1987; Blanchflower and Freeman, 1992)

Bain and Price argue that union density, rather than absolute membership levels, is an essential component of industrial power. The reasoning is that "the ultimate sanction of union power is the ability to undertake strike activity and impose losses upon the employers in an industry." (Bain and Price, 1980:161-2) Workers must be able to go on strike and prevent strike breaking which implies basic solidarity. The response to such a strike call is likely to be greater, *ceteris paribus*, the greater the level of unionisation, that is density (*ibid*).

Erwin and Morris contend that the use of density without clarifying the nature of the labour market leads to skewed measurements not reflective of union strength. As the study of union growth is closely connected to the extent of union power such a critique is significant. In South Africa, "[C]omparing total organised workers to the total employment

In the industry does not reflect union strength because the bulk of the membership lies within the producers responsible for most of the production." Furthermore, "[w]hilst the number of organised workers as a proportion of the total workforce is relatively low, and whilst there are certain very poorly organised sectors, the potential impact of unions on bargaining and the economy is greater because of the current strategic location of union organisation." (Erwin and Morris, 1987:292-3)

This assertion challenges a uniform analysis of union density figures and impresses an approach that accounts for stages of union growth in relation to union industrial power.

However, in practical terms measurements of individual Cosatu unions' densities is problematic. The reason being that the scope of union organising is indistinct, and does not follow the SIC guidelines upon which the employment series are based. Hence there is an overlapping effect which is clearly indicated by the LRS' 'Organising Potential for Cosatu' document (see Figure 5.3). The overlapping of union membership is of such an extent that, except in the case of Fawu, attempting to chart the densities is a futile exercise. The Fawu example is more straightforward because its scope does not extend beyond that of the Food, Beverages and Tobacco sectors, except to organise farmworkers outside food processing. The assumption made in this study (although it was not confirmed with the relevant statistics) was that the farmworker component of Fawu's membership was minimal and a reasonable presentation of changes in Fawu's density was possible as a case study.

Attempts to identify Cosatu affiliate membership in the specific manufacturing sectors and sub groups according to

the SIC was unsuccessful. The aim, for example, was to separate the Cotton Farmworkers membership of Sactwu from the main body of members to get a purely manufacturing series. The same applied to Ppwawu's forest worker members and Fawu's farmworker members.

The last issue around density concerns questions of colour and occupation. Given the history of a workforce divided by colour, caused primarily through apartheid policies, the constituency of the emerging unions was not likely to be white workers. These workers held 'higher' occupation and received much greater remuneration. Hence, measurements of density could take colour and occupational status in account to present trends more reflective of actual union recruiting and organising practice. *use the phrase representative sample.*

South African Trade Union Growth: 1979 - 1991

Registered Trade Union membership stood at 406 971 in 1956. In 1976 it was 673 000. In 1979 it had jumped to 701 758. By 1985 when Cosatu was launched and Tucsa disbanded membership had bypassed the million mark to reach 1 391 423. In 1991 the figure had leaped to 2 718 970. All in all an increase of 568 percent. Between 1979, the year of the Wiehahn reforms, and 1991 there was a 287.5 percent growth. In addition to the registered unions the DOM estimated that in 1991 there were an estimated 300 000 members in unregistered unions in the country. If added to the total membership the percentage increase in membership since 1979 is 330 percent. (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2)

The growth in the 1980s shows a fairly steady upward climb. A negative percentage change was recorded for 1985, and below five percent increases occurred in 1983 and 1989. Huge growth spurts transpired in 1981 with 30%, 1986 22%, and around 15% in 1980, 1982 and 1990 (see Figures 1.3 and 1.4).

Union density since 1979 also reveals a remarkable upward inclination. While the rate of increase in non-agricultural employment declined gradually between 1979 and 1991, the total (registered) union density rose dramatically from 15.37% to 52.92%. 1981 and 1986 were, of course, the years with the most significant rises. (see Table B, Figures 2.1 to 2.3)

Cosatu membership increases reflect the rises in general membership. Its share of the total registered 'cake' was 33% in 1985 and 46% in 1991 (see Figure 2.5 and Table C). This means that currently approximately one in every 2 registered union members belongs to a Cosatu affiliate. Cosatu membership itself recorded a 54% increase between December 1985 at their launch and their first Congress in 1987 (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2) Cosatu density against the total non-agricultural employment reveals the size of the union in relation to the labour market. At its founding Congress it was 9%, but by 1991 it had risen to over 24% with steady increases recorded each year. (see Figure 2.4)

Manufacturing employment between 1985 and 1991 remained relatively constant at around the 1 430 000 mark. Black employment levels mirrored the fluctuations in the entire sector (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2 and Table D). However, Cosatu affiliates operating in the manufacturing sector, Cwiu, Fawu, Numsa, Sactwu, Ppwawu, revealed a rapid aggregate increase.

Absolute growth was from 147 672 in 1985 to 672 951 in 1991. Relative growth over the same period reveals a base of roughly 10% for all employees and 13% for black employees only. In 1991 the former figure has jumped to 47% and for black employees who are Cosatu's main constituency the level is 60.27%. (see Table E and Figures 4.3 to 4.7) This means a level approximately 35% higher than the density of non-agricultural black employees and Cosatu. The importance of these figures lie in their opposition to general global trends in which the highest sectorial densities usually occur in the public sector. (Bean and Holden, 1992)

Although the density for black workers in manufacturing is greater than the total manufacturing employment, the rate of increase of the two reflects similar trends as shown in Figure 4.6.

Within Cosatu manufacturing unions the DOM figures illustrate Numsa's dominance of this grouping with Sactwu amassing the second largest membership and Fawu the third. (Table G and Figure 6.1) However, the most noticeable trend is that the cumulative rate of increase is declining. (see Figure 5.2)

Employment in the food sector, which includes beverages and tobacco, has remained fairly constant since 1984 at around 220 000. The only remarkable trend is the decline in employment across the board in 1990 and 1991, with an 8% drop for white workers and 1.86% for black employees. (see Table H and Figures 7.1 and 7.2)

By contrast **Fawu membership** more than doubled in that time, from almost 50 000 to 129 000. Increases were most noticeable in 1990 (20%) and 1991 (38%). (Figure 7.3 and 7.4) The rise in density of Fawu in the industry is also impressive.

Density against total employment started at 27% in 1986 and reached 58% by 1991. The same series for black employment shows a surge from 32% to 68%. (see Figure 7.5) Again, the increases in densities reflected similar trends.

Comparisons between Cwiu and Fawu, the two oldest Cosatu manufacturing unions, was an attempt to ascertain whether the Cosatu unions experienced similar growth patterns, and if so could that assist in explaining their growth? (see Table I and Figures 7.6 and 7.7) The results were that the rate of increase was remarkably different and the only conclusion to be made is that unions are likely to experience varying growth paths.

Turning now to **exclusively white trade unions**, their total membership has dropped from above 350 000 in 1981 and 1982 to approximately 230 000 by 1990. The decline is not uniformly negative though with membership increasing between 1984 and 1986 and then dropping off in the last five years. (see Table J and Figure 8.1 and 8.2)

Industrial Councils' statistics register a decline from 1984 to 1990 in the number of employees covered by agreements. This trend is reversed in 1990 when the figure leaps from 515 000 to 761 000. Figures for the number of white employees extends only until 1989. From 1981 until that point the workers covered by industrial Council agreements fell from 212 000 to 158 000. (see Table K and Figures 9.1 to 9.3)

Unregistered union membership fluctuated without a discernable pattern. (see Table L and Figure 10.1) Their levels combined with registered statistics produce a 58% union density against non-agricultural employment. (Figures 10.2 and 10.3)

Unemployment in this country remains a 'grey area' according to the CSS Labour Statisticians. Any figures used in this section are going to be unreliable. However, the trend marked by the approximated levels presents a rough guideline for assessing the impact of unemployment. Moll estimates the percentage of people in the workforce (the economically active population) 'without formal work' to be 25.8% in 1975 and 31.5% in 1980. In 1985 this is 37.7% and in 1988 42%. (see Table M and Figures 11.1 and 11.2)

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) showed a marked decline in the rate of increase for the 1980s, relative to the 1960s and parts of the 1970s.

(Figure 12.1)

The **Consumer Price Index (CPI)** shows steep increases from 1983. (see Table N and Figure 13.1) The **rate of change of average salaries and wages for black workers** in manufacturing remained around twenty percent for 1980 to 1982 and then dipped to a low in 1985 of just over 12%. Subsequently it rose and remained above sixteen percent up until 1991. (see Figure 13.2) The use of this measurement is problematic in that it is an average for the three apartheid colour groups of 'Asian', 'Coloured' and 'Black'. The CSS data indicates that 'Asians' earned consistently more than the other groups, while 'Coloureds' earned more than 'Blacks'. A simple average of the three would not then reveal the changes within a group. However, as a general indicator of the rate of change of 'money wages' in the Bain and Elsheikh tradition, it illustrates a particular economic condition affecting unions' membership.

Strike action became a prominent feature associated with the progressive trade union movement in the 1980s. The DOM figures on strike action exclude political stayaways and illegal strikes. And so while Figure 14.1 denotes a move towards greater strike action in the late 1980s, a broad definition of a strike would propel those numbers even higher in the 1990-1 period. It would appear from Figure 14.2a that the intensity of strike action is increasing. Figure 14.2b provides an interesting insight into the reasons for 'economic' strike action. 'Wages' was by far the priority since 1980, with 'disciplinary measures' playing a prominent role until 1985 and then decreasing in importance. 'Working conditions' assumed a more significant position from 1985.

Conclusion

By all accounts, trade union growth has been spectacular (particularly Cosatu unions) over the past decade. The accuracy of the figures is problematic, but I doubt whether the trend is invalid. This section has, in many instances, clarified the problems associated with membership collection and accuracy. The issue of measuring density is now qualified. The position of unregistered union remains a slight troublespot.

In addition to the suggestions for further research it would be useful to measure South African density levels over the past decade with those in other countries. This may provide us with a type of status giving credence to the tremendous advances of the progressive labour movement.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION GROWTH, 1979 - 1991: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS.

Introduction

The methodology designed for this section fell short in its endeavour to canvass qualitative impressions from a wide spectrum of the country's major industrial relations 'players'. What this chapter represents is, firstly, a bid to unravel some of the dynamics of South African trade union growth using the international literature and theory, the South African data (as fragile as it may be) and some domestic impressions on growth. It does not strive to explain union growth in any comprehensive fashion. Secondly, recognizing the limits of this analysis, ambiguous issues will be identified and left as problems for further investigation.

Determinants of Union Growth

The legal reforms of 1979 which, among other things, allowed unions to register irrespective of the colour of their membership, played a pivotal role in laying the foundations for union growth in South Africa. This assertion has gone uncontested in the literature. To argue that legislative

alterations were directly responsible for growth. Is to assume that workers join unions for the sake of doing so, which is invalid. It is therefore necessary to look beyond a transformed legal framework to other factors, whether they be **parametric** (as was the legal reform) or **direct causal mechanisms**. In simple terms, the former may constitute the long term elements that result in growth (*facilitative*), and the latter immediate or short term factors (*causal*). The division is not absolute, though.¹ Both dimensions are essential for a comprehensive analysis. In a sense they are complementary, one cannot exist without the other.

Furthermore, certain legislative provisions restricted union activity in specific cases: the public service, agriculture, domestic workers and the TBVC states, to name a few. However, these restrictions were not static forces and through particular activities waged by a number of unions and changes in state policy (amongst other influences) union representivity increased in size and power over time.

And so the complexity of explaining union growth is revealed. A trade union is an intricate and dynamic social organisation, responding to a multiplicity of influences. To

[1] This understanding in some ways follows Bain & Price (1983) where they categorise determinants into those accounting for growth from one period to another, and those explaining variations at any one moment. This chapter will use the terms parametric and facilitative interchangeably.

attempt to prioritise determinants, after the Bain and Elshiekh (1976) criticisms, runs the risk of being arbitrary and of negating the 'agent', unless the focus is clear. An added complication, demonstrated above, is that of periodising the influences on growth. This requires a relatively detailed account of trade union history; something this thesis is unable to undertake.

It has proved impossible to present, in this chapter, a qualified analysis of the structural transformations in the economy and labour market in the style and sophistication of Edwards *et al*, Beaumont and Baglioni. A few comments will have to suffice.

The impact of such dynamics on the growth of the labour movement remains obscure. Symptoms such as the decline of core industries, the expansion of sub-contracting and casual labour, an increasing tertiary/service sector, rising and prolonged unemployment, are discernable, but appear to manifest in different ways.

Mining² and perhaps agriculture are the obvious core industries in decline in South Africa. Aggregate manufacturing employment in the 1980s remained relatively static, expanding in the early eighties and then declining. But the simultaneous reaction was a huge increase in absolute and relative union growth. (see Tables E and D) Investigation

[2] In 1987 employment in mining and quarrying was at 763 319, by February 1992 it was at 618 114. This latest figure is below the 1973 level which stood at 684 743. (CSS Labour Statistics, 1992) Although these figures may be somewhat misleading in that there was substantial growth in employment levels in the earlier part of the decade.

into trends within sectors of manufacturing would allow for further analysis into shifts in employment and new patterns of employment, and their effect on the relevant unions.

Sub-contracting and casualisation outside the building and retail trades is difficult to quantify, and was rejected as a significant activity by some (Sacob interview; Cosatu interview, 1992), but not by others (Baskin interview; Colin Rani interview, 1992).

Expansion in the **tertiary sector** from 50% in 1980, to 54% in 1988 (Hindson, 1991) may have limited the 'emerging' unions' growth in some way, but may have enlarged constituencies for white-collar unions.

The growth in **unemployment** was induced not only by a lack of new job opportunities arising from a depressed economy but also by stagnant industries laying off workers. Lewis' (1983) analysis of workers' attitudes towards retrenchments avoided a structuralist tendency to argue that the threat of joblessness would deter union growth. And indeed, it has not. Unemployment rates have increased while absolute union growth, especially by Cosatu unions, has risen rapidly. (see Figures 1.1, 11.1, 2.5)

This rise in membership in the face of a huge reserve army of labour is an anomaly to current international theory on the state of workers organisations. (see Edwards *et al* 1986; Beaumont, 1987) Shortt argues that in South Africa **security of employment** was the major issue which drew black workers into trade unions in the early eighties. The unions used the industrial court machinery to entrench retrenchment rights for workers and also to curb unfair dismissals. (Shortt interview, 1992)

However, in light of escalating retrenchments in the last two years commentators have doubted whether unions could sustain previous growth rates or even grow at all. (Bezuidenhout interview, 1992; Cape Times, 19/10/1992) The data shows the rate of increase for Cosatu manufacturing unions to be slowing somewhat (see Figure 4.6). But it remains unclear whether the declining rate is a result of the fear and membership subtraction function of retrenchments, or whether a saturation effect has been achieved. Density for black workers in manufacturing stands at over sixty percent. (see Figure 4.5)

Can it therefore be concluded that the structural factors mentioned in this section were, at best, impediments to increasing union membership, and not detractors of union membership itself?

The **price theory, prosperity theory and Davis' theory** of union growth are unable to capture the reasons for the country's union growth. The former may be correct in assuming that workers joined unions to protect their standard of living³, but it based this idea (along with the prosperity and Davis rationale) on a cyclically expanding/contracting economy. Structural unemployment and prolonged recession render it invalid.

[3] The majority of strikes in the 1980s were around wage demands. (see Figure 14.1)

The South African literature appears scant on the relationship between **industry characteristics** and union size. Erwin and Morris (1988) touched on this subject in their discussion on density and union power, but fail to identify a causal mechanism.

Foreign writers, Hirsch & Addison (1986) and Bain & Price (1983), find a positive correlation between **firm size and unionisation**, but at a decreasing rate. "[S]o that an establishment which is twice as large as another does not, other things being equal, have twice the level of unionisation." (Bain & Price, 1983:27) The justifications put forward are that, firstly, unions organising costs *per capita* are lower and they can better organise new members in large groups, hence the union's interest. Secondly, the bureaucratic nature of large establishments creates a need for a worker organisation to protect its constituents interests. Lastly, employers may be encouraged to recognise unions to assist in the regulation of rules and to stabilise the labour - capital relationship. (ibid, pg 27-8; Hirsch & Addison, 1986:61-2)

Furthermore, Hirsch & Addison (1986) contend that there are likely correlations between union membership and both **industry concentration and capital intensity**. (pg. 60-1)

The local data required to verify such relationships is not currently available, and so comment can only be speculative. In this vein it may be useful to assess some of the Cosatu

unions (Rani interview). Otherwise, this area remains one for further research.

While international writers examine the **proportion of women in the labour market and in unions**, plus the **age structure** of the workforce to determine the effects on union growth (Hirsch & Addison, 1986; Bain and Price, 1983), the local situation remains silent through inadequate data and empirical research.

The strength of the South African Labour analysis lies in its assessment of the character, especially the **organisational slant**, of the progressive trade unions. The literature review in Chapter Two has demonstrated this propensity.

Assuming that the organisational function plays a definite role in union growth, the issue to be addressed in this study is whether the organisational dynamic and its ramifications is parametric to union growth and/or a direct causal mechanism.

In terms of growth there seems to be two organisational elements a union must master. The first is its aptitude to recruit new members, the second its ability to retain and develop those members. Therefore, the question is asked: do workers join a union because there is good recruiting and stay because it is well organised?

In the case of Cosatu, officials from the federation and affiliates⁴ unanimously agreed that recruiting activity has

[4] Interviews with B Nkosi, V Mtayi, C Rani and J Arendse. In the case of Nactu, M Skohsana stated a similar trend occurred with the federation's affiliates. This was not confirmed.

been minimal, and the primary reason for the swelling of membership was a result of workers "knocking on the unions' doors" wanting to sign up. It is my assertion that workers have stayed in Cosatu unions in large numbers, not because of efficient and democratic organisation (although such practice has facilitated internal development) but because the unions have addressed members' needs and aspirations at a variety of levels. Struggles for political, social and economic 'Justice' have served to stabilise the flow of members out of the organisation.

Hence, the organisational dimension appears parametric. Cosatu is presently engaged in discussion over new organisational dilemmas. A fresh approach to organisational challenges is being mapped out. This will serve as a reworked framework to facilitate the federations growth, but perhaps in a more animated manner as active recruitment replaces the flood of outside requests for membership. This organisational function may then change from a parametric to a direct causal mechanism.

The proposition that the consolidation of Nactu and Cosatu, plus development of national industrial unions, linked to merger processes, provided an additional spurt to union growth, is a popular one (Baskin, 1992; Lewis & Randall, 1985; Erwin & Morris, 1988; Macun, 1992), but not without limitations. Taking this argument to its logical conclusion would be to say union growth would have been at a lower rate of increase in the absence of this consolidation.

The rate of change of registered unions' membership reveals no obvious additional upward trends after 1985/6 (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2), and so there is no readily available empirical

evidence for this argument. Its status must then be regarded as facilitative.

Impressions gleaned from some local unionists provide more 'grassroots' accounts for the growth. Rani speaks of 'growth during negotiations', whereby workers join the union to bolster the collective bargaining position but at the first sign of conflict membership levels drop again. (Interview with C Rani, 1992)

Nkosi and Skhosana point out the restriction to growth caused by the violence in the country. The killings of union shop stewards and near-war conditions in some areas are huge obstacles to union organisation. (Interviews, 1992)

Successful strike action by members of a union is a great spurt to growth in that it effectively markets a trade union. Mtayi identified Fawu strikes after which membership increased noticeably. (Interview with V Mtayi, 1992)

Mtayi, Skhosana, and Nkosi all refer in some way to the political consciousness of workers having some effect on union growth. (Interviews, 1992) The issue is no clearer, though, than the discussion presented in Chapter Two.

These four determinants, with the possible exception of the last one, are categorised as 'causal' and not parametric, owing to the direct impact on growth.

The desire to improve wages and working conditions must be relatively widespread as the reasons for strike action in the 1980s reveals. (Figure 14.3) The relationship between union growth and the aspiration for better wages is a significant one that requires careful analysis. The absence of such a

discussion in this section is regrettable, and further research into the matter is urged.

Agency

The more brief the analysis of union growth, the more structuralist it is forced to be. For it has to ignore the individual event in favour of approximation and patterns. Volumes in the traditions of Friedman's 'Building tomorrow today' and Baskin's 'Striking Back - A history of Cosatu' are appropriate sites to present a more comprehensive account of trade union growth, in that the specific strikes and campaigns, wage increases and retrenchments can be recounted and their effect on union membership assessed.

The basis for the inclusion of factors such as the awareness of the individual worker and the influence of leadership on union growth has been established in Chapter Two. But, the exact extent of the impact on social change made by the individual requires large scale ethnomethodological research. The CASE survey of Cosatu shop stewards is a useful example of this approach.

The accent of this research has been on structural determinants and consequently discussion on agency is tentative.

The mere fact that numerous workers have approached Cosatu affiliates to join the union concerned means that there is an awareness on the part of numerous workers of the need for specific representation. The marches, stayaways and boycotts characteristic of the 1980s and 1990s again indicates willingness to engage in union sponsored activity. Members

perceive the need to challenge, *inter alia*, the state and use unions as a mechanism to do so.

The 1980s was a decade rife with repression targeted at progressive trade unionists and unions within a more general societal oppression. Therefore, the role of many union organisers and shop stewards was one, not only of extraordinary courage and dedication, but also of extreme skill in generating such large and powerful organisations within the context of apartheid ideology, state repression and management resistance. The role of leadership in union growth has been discussed in Chapter Two and I have nothing further to add.

Bland assertions labelling the political climate as the reason for the militancy and hence the growth of unions in a phase of 'immaturity'⁵ fails to recognise the parametric nature of the contention. It falls into the trap of assuming uniform awareness and action in response to a general stimulus.

Future Growth

As parts of the labour market near what may be saturation points, Cosatu and Nactu are restructuring themselves to meet the organising challenges of the next few years. (Interviews

[5] See Webster (1988) for a critique of the union maturity thesis.

with B Nkosi & M Skhosana 1992, and SALB V16 N8) The poorly organised areas with potential for extensive growth are: wholesale, retail, catering and hotels (LRS, 1992 and Figure 5.3); the public sector (B Nkosi interview, 1992); the TBVC areas once a unitary state is formed (M Skhosana interview, 1992); recent legislation will facilitate the process for agricultural and domestic workers to organise into unions.

The impact of the introduction of 'new technology' and novel forms of work organisation on union growth is unclear. A great deal will depend on the extent and the intensity of the introduction of such methods. (Freund, 1992)

The introduction of the percentage wage subscription in many Cosatu and possibly Nactu unions may affect growth amongst workers in the higher earning grades. (J Arendse interview, 1992) The extent to which it will is unknown.

The potential for unorganised white workers to join the Cosatu and Nactu affiliates is lodged at the speculative level. Shortt did not entirely dismisses such propositions, while Nkosi did not disregard the few white workers that were in the Cosatu unions, that may assist in drawing other white workers in. Bezuidenhout argued that the time will come when the racial categories will fall away and the economic imperative will drive union growth. (All from interviews, 1992)

Conclusions

The usefulness of examining union growth with the facilitative-causal paradigm is that one is able to a

significant degree, to avoid prioritising determinants of union growth. Once that process begins, the risk of being arbitrary becomes great and the denial of agency too familiar. Also avoided was the constant use of the facilitative or causal question to each determinant mentioned.

This chapter failed in two important respects: firstly, to periodise and contextualise phases of union growth, general and Cosatu manufacturing, and in doing so retain a clear focus. Secondly, it did not, in all cases, match the hypothesized determinant identified in Chapter Two, with the data on growth. While both are necessary for a comprehensive analysis, space limits restricted further debate.

CONCLUSION

It is believed that the research project into trade union growth in South Africa comprises much original work. This thesis is hopefully a reflection of that. However, the spatial constraints limited in depth analysis into certain crucial areas; the subjects of which have been mentioned through out the chapters. Notwithstanding these limitations, certain research questions were clarified.

The overview of international literature posited some useful mechanisms for understanding South African growth. Business cycle factors were primary among them. The division between the role of agency and structure was also clearly demarcated.

The South African literature was tangential, at best. With 'Cosatu at the crossroads' of development paths, the topic of union growth will become more ripe for academic debate.

The Numsa strike in 1992 revealed grave inadequacies regarding membership figures in the country. The validity of official and unofficial sources is presently extremely questionable. Further investigation into alternative methods for membership collection may assist in diverting similar crises.

Union growth in the 1980s has been overwhelming. Cosatu's thrust within that increase is remarkable. Its growing proportion of registered union members will mean that in future, union growth may mean Cosatu growth.

The general decline in the economy meant that 'related characteristics' played a less apparent role than those for the Bain and Elshiekh study (1976). In the medium term future this may change.

The investigation into union growth has just began, the surface has been scratched, and a new field is opening to the South African industrial sociologist.

REFERENCES**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

Colin Rani: Branch Secretary, Cape Town, CWIU. 23-10-1992

Jeremy Baskin: ex National Organiser, COSATU. 12-10-1992.

Viva Mtayi: Information Officer, FAWU. 14-10-1992

G. Bezuidenhout: Manager, Industrial Relations, SACOB.
18-11-1992.

P Shortt: Manager, Industrial Relations, SEIFSA. 19-11-1992.

Mr Martell: Deputy General Secretary, NICISEMI.
13-01-1993

M Skokhosana: Assistant General Secretary, NACTU.
19-11-1992

B Nkosi: Communications Officer, COSATU Head Office.
18-11-1992

J Arendse: Regional Secretary, COSATU Western Cape.
04-11-1992.

R Scheefer: Industrial Registrar's Office, DOM. 16-11-1992

Mrs de Jager: Labour Statistics Department, CSS. 12-01-1993

BIBLIOGRAPHY**Books and Journals**

- BAGLIONI, G 1990 'Industrial Relations in Europe in the 1980s', in G Baglioni & C Crouch (eds) European Industrial Relations - The Challenge of Flexibility. London. Sage Publications.
- BAIN, GS 1978 'Union Growth and Public Policy in Canada' The Labour Gazette Nov/Dec 1978. Vol LXXVIII
- BAIN, GS & ELSHEIKH, F 1976 Trade Union Growth and the Business Cycle - an econometric analysis. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.
- BAIN, GS & ELSHEIKH, F 1978 'Trade Union Growth: a Reply', in the British Journal Of Industrial Relations Vol XVI No 1.
- BAIN, GS & PRICE, R 1976 'Union Growth Revisited: 1948-1974 in perspective', in the British Journal of Industrial Relations Vol XIV No 3.
- BAIN, GS & PRICE, R 1980 Profiles of Union Growth. A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.
- BAIN, GS & PRICE, R 1983 'Union Growth: Dimensions, Determinants, and Density' in G Bain (ed) Industrial Relations in Britain. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.
- BARKER, FS 1992 The South African Labour Market: Critical Issues for transition. Van Schaik, Pretoria.
- BASKIN, J 1992 Striking Back - A History of COSATU. Ravan Press. Johannesburg.
- BEAN, R 1985 Comparative Industrial Relations: an Introduction, London. Croom Helm.

- BEAN, R & HOLDEN, K 1992 'Cross-national differences in trade union membership in OECD countries' in Industrial Relations Journal 23(1)
- BEAUMONT, PB 1987 *The Decline of Trade Union Organisation*. Croom Helm. Wolfeboro.
- BLANCHFLOWER, D & FREEMAN, R 1992 Unionism in the United States and other advanced OECD countries, in Industrial Relations Vol 31 No 1
- BURKITT, B & BOWERS, D 1979 *Trade Unions and the Economy*. MacMillan. London.
- COOPER, D 1991 'Historical patterns of industrialisation and "political" trade unionism in South America: Some comparisons with South Africa and Tropical Africa'. Paper presented to the 22nd ASSA Conference, 1991
- DAVIS, HB 1941 'The Theory of Union growth', in McCarthy, WEG (Ed) 1972 'Trade Unions'. Penguin. Harmondsworth.
- DISNEY, R 1990 'Explanations of the Decline in Trade Union Density in Britain', in the British Journal of Industrial Relations 28: 2 July 1990
- EDWARDS, R; GARONNA, P & TODTLING, F 1986 *Unions in Crisis and Beyond - Perspectives from 6 Countries*. Auburn House. Dover.
- ERWIN, A & MORRIS, M 1987 'Trade Unionisation in South Africa' in Nattrass, J. (ed) The South African Economy: its growth and change. Cape Town. Oxford University Press.
- FARBER, HS 1990 'The Decline of Unionization in the US: What can be learned from previous experience?', in the Journal of Labour Economics Vol 8 No 1(2)

- FREUND, B 1992 'A new Industrial revolution? Technological change and the implications for SA labour' in Social Dynamics 18 (1) 1-19 1992
- HINDSON, D 1991 'The restructuring of the labour markets in South Africa: 1970s and 1980s', in Gelb (ed) South Africa's economic crisis. Cape Town, David Phillip.
- HIRSCH, B & ADDISON, J 1986 The economic analysis of unions: New approaches and evidence. Allen & Unwin. Boston.
- JACKSON, M 1982 Trade Unions. Longman. London.
- KELLY, J 1988 Trade Unions and Socialist Politics. London, Verso.
- LABOUR RESEARCH May 1992: Small Unions happy to fight on April 1992: Employment Law
June 1992: Where Union Membership is best
- LEWIS, D 1983 'Trade Union Organisation and Economic Recession', in the South African Labour Bulletin Vol 8 No 5
- LEWIS, J & RANDALL, E 1985 'The State of unions in South Africa' in the South African Labour Bulletin Vol 11 No 2
- MALLER, J 1992 Conflict & Co-operation: Case Studies in Worker Participation. Ravan Press. Johannesburg.
- MCDONALD, C 1992 US Union Membership in Future Decades: A Trade Unionist's perspective, in Industrial Relations Vol 32 No 1
- METH, C 1988 'Sorry, Wrong Number! A critical examination of African labour force estimates, 1970-87'. Research Monograph No. 4. Economic Research Unit, University of Natal, Durban.
- MOLL, T 1986 An overview of the source of labour and employment statistics for regional planning. Pretoria. HSRC.

- NATTRASS, J 1988 The SA Economy: Its growth and change. Cape Town. Oxford University Press.
- RACE RELATIONS SURVEY, VARIOUS EDITIONS. SAIRR, Johannesburg.
- RICHARDSON, R 1977 'Trade Union Growth: a review article of Bain & Elshiekh's Union Growth and the Business Cycle', in the British Journal of Industrial Relations Vol XV No 2
- RICHARDSON, R 1978 'Trade Union Growth: a rejoinder', in the British Journal of Industrial Relations Vol XVII No 1
- ROUX, R 1991 Options for employment creation in P. Moll, N. Nattrass, and L. Loots, "Redistribution - How can it work in South Africa?". Cape Town. David Phillip.
- SADIE, JL 1991 The South African Labour Force, 1960-2005. Bureau of Market Research, Unisa. Pretoria.
- SALDRU The Directory of South African Trade Unions. *Various Years*. Saldru, Economics Department, University of Cape Town.
- SEIDMAN, G 1991 'The Emergence of Political Unionism in Brazil and South Africa', in the SA Sociological Review (3) 1
- UNDY, B & McCARTHY (eds) 1981 Change in Trade Unions. London. Hutchinson.
- UPCHURCH, M AND DONNELLY, E 1992 Membership pattern in USDAW 1980-1990: survival as success, in Industrial Relations Journal Vol 23 No 1
- WALKER, M 1992 'No arresting the sad decline of organised labour' in the Guardian Weekly.?????????

- WEBSTER, E 1988 'The rise of social movement unionism: Two faces of the black trade union movement in South Africa', in Frankel P, Pires N & Swilling M (eds) State, Resistance & Change in South Africa. Croom Helm. Kent.
- 1991 'Taking Labour Seriously', in the SA Sociological Review (4) 1
- WOOD, G 1992 'Worker struggles and the wage issue' Paper presented to the 23 Annual ASSA conference.
- YOUNG, G 1985 'South African Trade Unions - A Growing Force', in the Directory of South African Trade Unions. SALDRU. UCT.

Government Publications

CENTRAL STATISTICAL SERVICES. Government Printer, Pretoria.

'South African Labour Statistics'. *Various Years*.
 'South African Statistics' *Various Years*.

DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER Annual Reports. *Various Years*.
 Government Printer. Pretoria.

NATIONAL MANPOWER COMMISSION Annual Reports. *Various Years*
 Government Printer.
 Pretoria.

Journal Articles

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR BULLETIN

Vol 16 No 1. Von Holdt, K. 'Cosatu Congress'.

Vol 16 No 3, Sitas, A & Zikalala, S. 'Numsa president accused of spying'.

Vol 16 No 5, Marie, B. 'Problems facing the union movement'.

Vol 16 No 8, Von Holdt, K. 'What is the future of labour?'.
 Vavi, Z. 'The name of the game is membership'.

WIP 85 Oct 1992 . 'Red tape trips up right to strike'.

Other

ANDREW LEVY ANNUAL REPORTS 1990 & 1991

CAPE TIMES 19-10-1992 'Retrenchment hits Cosatu'.
 02-11/1992 'Recession's 250 000 Jobs toll'.

CASE COSATU Shop Stewards Survey 1992 ????????????????????

FINANCE WEEK 29/10 - 04/11 1992 'Metal Fatigue', Simon
 Segal.

15/10 - 21/10 1992 'Boom in the Boland', Simon
 Segal.

LABOUR RESEARCH SERVICE 1992 'Organising Potential for
 Cosatu'

MACUN, I 1992 'Trade Union Growth - Some methodological,
 comparative and South african dimensions'.
 Unpublished paper, Department of Sociology,
 UCT.

THE OFFICIAL SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS DIRECTORY AND
 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS HANDBOOK 1991 Johannesburg

ANNEXURE LR 1

[Regulation 2 (1)]

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION OF A TRADE UNION

- N.B.—**(i) The application must be submitted *in triplicate* and should not be made earlier than three months after the date on which the union was established [*vide* section 4 (1) of the Act].
- (ii) The application must be lodged either by the personal delivery thereof at the office of the Regional Director or by forwarding it to him by registered post.
- (iii) The requirements under the Act are indicated in this form, and careful completion is essential to avoid undue delay.

Name of Trade Union

.....

Address

.....

(IN TRIPLICATE)

The Regional Director, Department of Manpower

P.O. Box/Private Bag

.....

Dear Sir,

1. We hereby, in accordance with the provisions of section 4 of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, apply for registration of this trade union.

2. Three copies of the constitution of the union, including all amendments, are attached, duly authenticated by the signature of the chairman and the secretary as being true copies.

3. The following particulars are supplied:

(a) The name of the union is that stated above.

(b) The date on which the union was established is..... 19.....

(c) The interests in respect of which the union desires registration are set out in clause..... of the constitution.

(d) The area(s) in respect of which the union desires registration is/are.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(Insert names of magisterial districts, municipal areas, etc.)

(e) The magisterial district(s)/municipal area(s) in each of which the union has enrolled members is/are

.....

.....

.....

.....

- (f) The official address of the union will, until further notice, be that given above.
- (g) The designations, names and addresses of the office-bearers and the officials of the union, and of its executive committee or committee of management are as follows:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Postal Address</i>
Chairman.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Secretary

- (h) The membership of the union, the standing of members, and the number of persons eligible for membership but not enrolled, are at this date:

	White persons	Coloured persons, excluding Asiatics	Asiatics	Black persons	Totals
No. of members
No. of members whose entrance and membership fees are not in arrear in terms of the constitution
Estimated number of persons eligible for membership but not enrolled

- 4. Attached is a list of branches setting out in the areas in which they operate, giving in respect of each branch, information similar to that required under subparagraphs (g) and (h) of paragraph 3. (If no branches have been formed, state "Nil".)

Yours faithfully,

.....
Chairman

.....
Secretary

Witnesses:

1.

2.

Date 19.....

FOR DEPARTMENTAL USE ONLY

I hereby certify that I have investigated the statements made on this form and am satisfied that the particulars are substantially correct. The application was lodged with me on the 19.....

.....
Regional Director

Date 19.....

Place

ANNEXURE LR 7
[Regulation 2 (6)]

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

STATEMENT IN TERMS OF SECTION 11 (2)/SECTION 11 (2) (a) AS APPLIED
BY SECTION 11 (6) OF THE ACT

Name of Trade Union/Employers' Organisation.....
.....
.....

Address.....
.....
.....

(IN TRIPLICATE)

The Regional Director, Department of Manpower

P.O. Box/Private Bag
.....

Dear Sir,

In accordance with section 11 (2) (a)/section 11 (2) (a) as applied by section 11 (6) of the Act, the subjoined statement of the number of members of this union/organisation as at 31 December 19..... is submitted:

- (a) { The total number of members of the organisation as at the said date was.....
The number of members of the organisation *not* in good standing as at the said date was
 - (b) { The total number of members of the union as at the said date was
The number of members of the union *not* in good standing as at the said date was
- | | | |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| White
persons | Coloured
persons | Black
persons |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|

We, the undersigned, being chairman and secretary of the union/organisation hereby certify that the statement above is in accordance with the union's/organisation's records.

Yours faithfully,

.....
Chairman

.....
Secretary

Witnesses:

1.

2.

Date..... 19.....

NOTES

- (i) Delete (a) or (b), whichever is inapplicable.
- (ii) The Act requires the statement to be forwarded not later than the last day of March in each year.
- (iii) In terms of the Act a member is in good standing if he has paid the entrance fee (if any) laid down in the constitution and is not more than three months in arrear with his membership fees [vide section 1 (2) of the Act].

ANNEXURE LR 45
[Regulation 12 (2)]
LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

STATEMENT IN TERMS OF SECTION 80 (7)

Name of federation.....

Address.....

(IN TRIPLICATE)

The Regional Director, Department of Manpower

P.O. Box/Private Bag

Dear Sir,

As required by section 80 (7) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, we furnish the following information in respect of the year ended the 31st December 19....., in regard to the above-named federation:

	<i>Name and address of member</i>	<i>No. of persons the member represents in the federation</i>
(1)
	
	
(2)
	
	
(3)
	
	
(4)
	
	
(5)
	
	

Name and address of member

No. of persons the member represents in the federation

(6)
.....
.....

(7)
.....
.....

(8)
.....
.....

(9)
.....
.....

(10)
.....
.....

(11)
.....
.....

(12)
.....
.....

Yours faithfully,

.....
President/Chairman,

}
of the
federation.

.....
Secretary,

Date 19.....

NOTES

(i) The above statement must be forwarded to the Registrar not later than the last day of March in the year following that to which the information relates.

(ii) If the space provided in this form is insufficient, attach a supplementary statement.

TABLE A

DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP FIGURES.

A CORRELATION BETWEEN RETURNS SUBMITTED BY COSATL MEMBER UNIONS AND THOSE SUBMITTED BY COSATU AS A FEDERATION. 1989 - 1991.

THE COLUMN ON THE LEFT REPRESENTS FIGURES SUPPLIED BY THE UNION, THE IN THE MIDDLE BY THE FEDERATION AND THE RIGHT SIDE IS THE DIFFERENCE.

1989

	<u>Union</u>	<u>Fed</u>	<u>Diff</u>
CWIU	40 028	40 000	28
FAWU	89 017	93 000	983
NUMSA	220 508	220 805	figures misplaced?
PPWAWU	32 000	36 000	4 000
SACTWU	189 665	189 000	665

1990

	<u>Union</u>	<u>Fed</u>	<u>Diff</u>
CWIU	45 147	40 913	4 234
FAWU	128 535	83 000	45 535
NUMSA	243 000	240 000	3 000
PPWAWU	42 430	38 000	4 430
SACTWU	189 655	198 000	8 345

1991

	<u>Union</u>	<u>Fed</u>	<u>Diff</u>
CWIU	43 906	45 147	1 141
FAWU	147 770	129 480	18 290
NUMSA	220 000	273 241	53 241
PPWAWU	42 430	42 962	532
SACTWU	176 263	185 740	9 504

FIGURE 11.

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

Registered totals from official sources

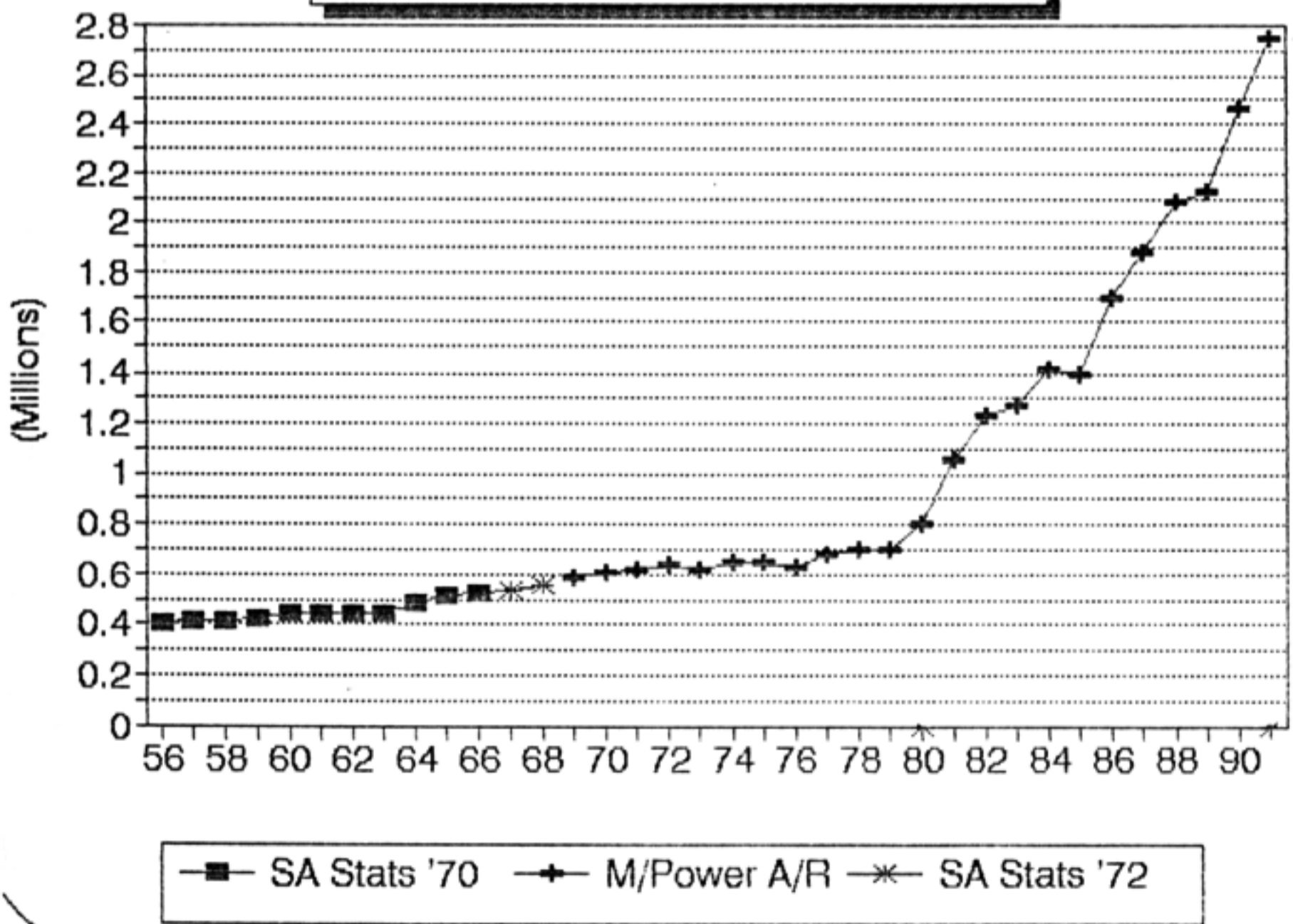
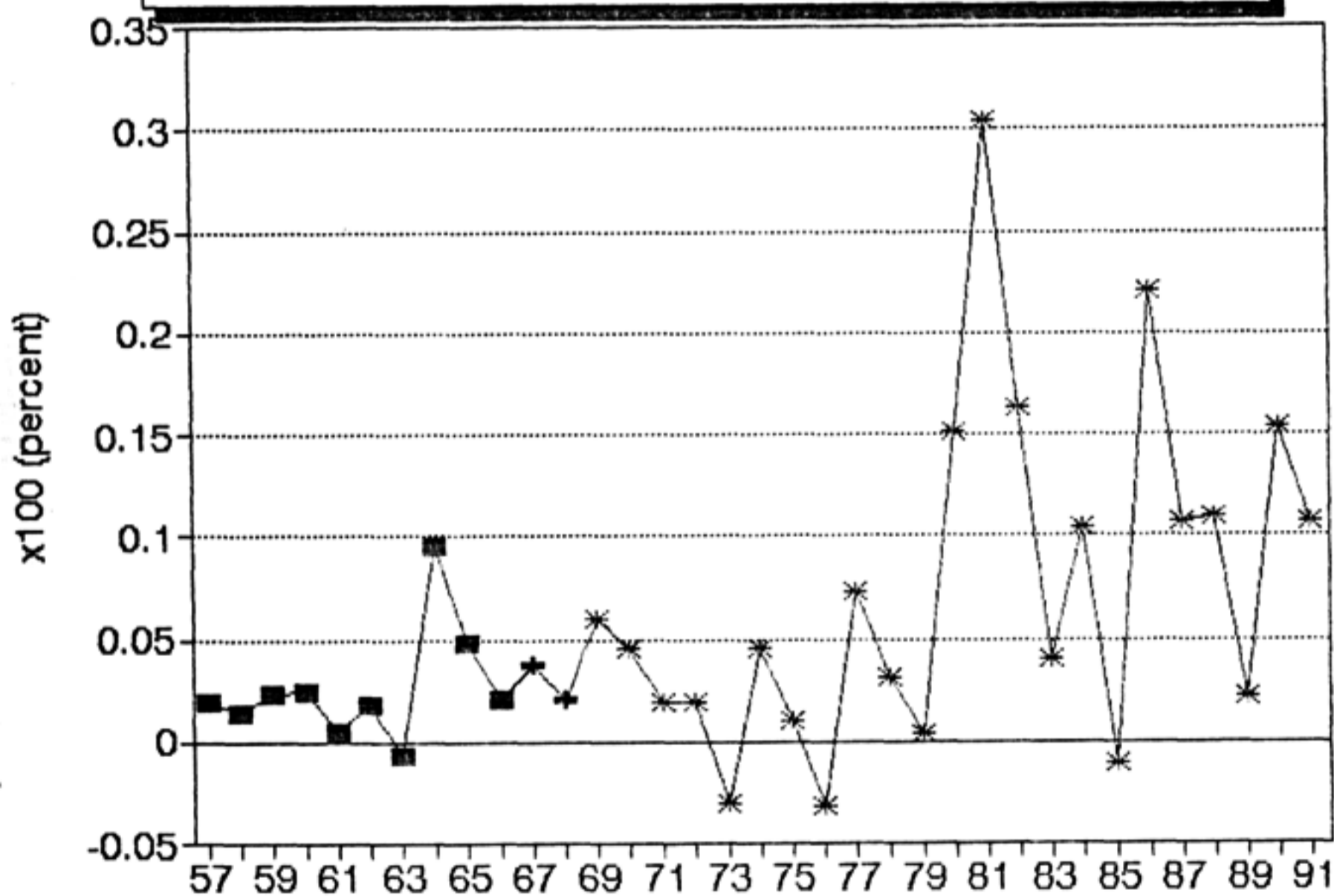


FIGURE 1.2.

REGISTERED TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

Percentage change for registered unions



Source: Dept of Manpower A/R

FIGURE 1.3.

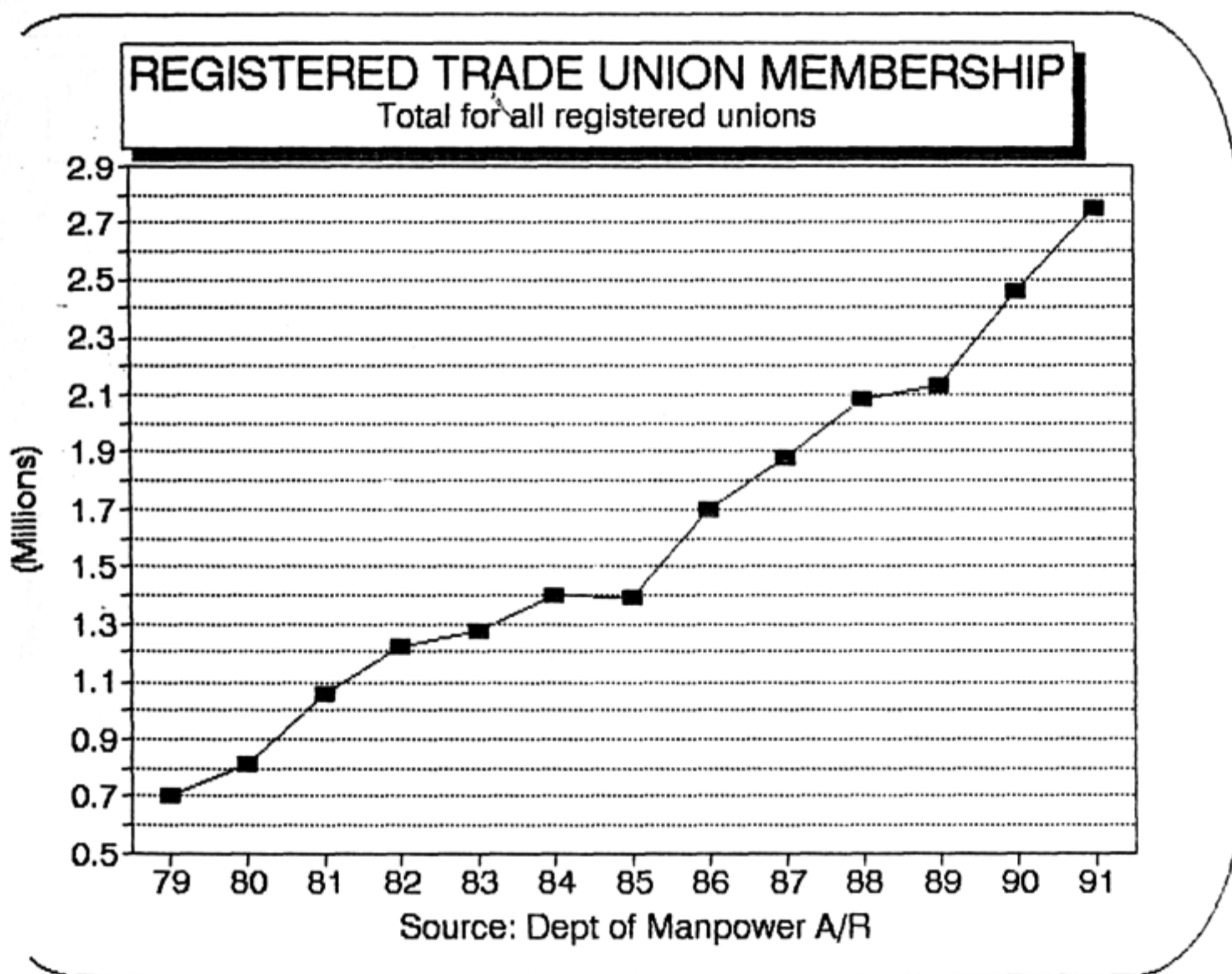
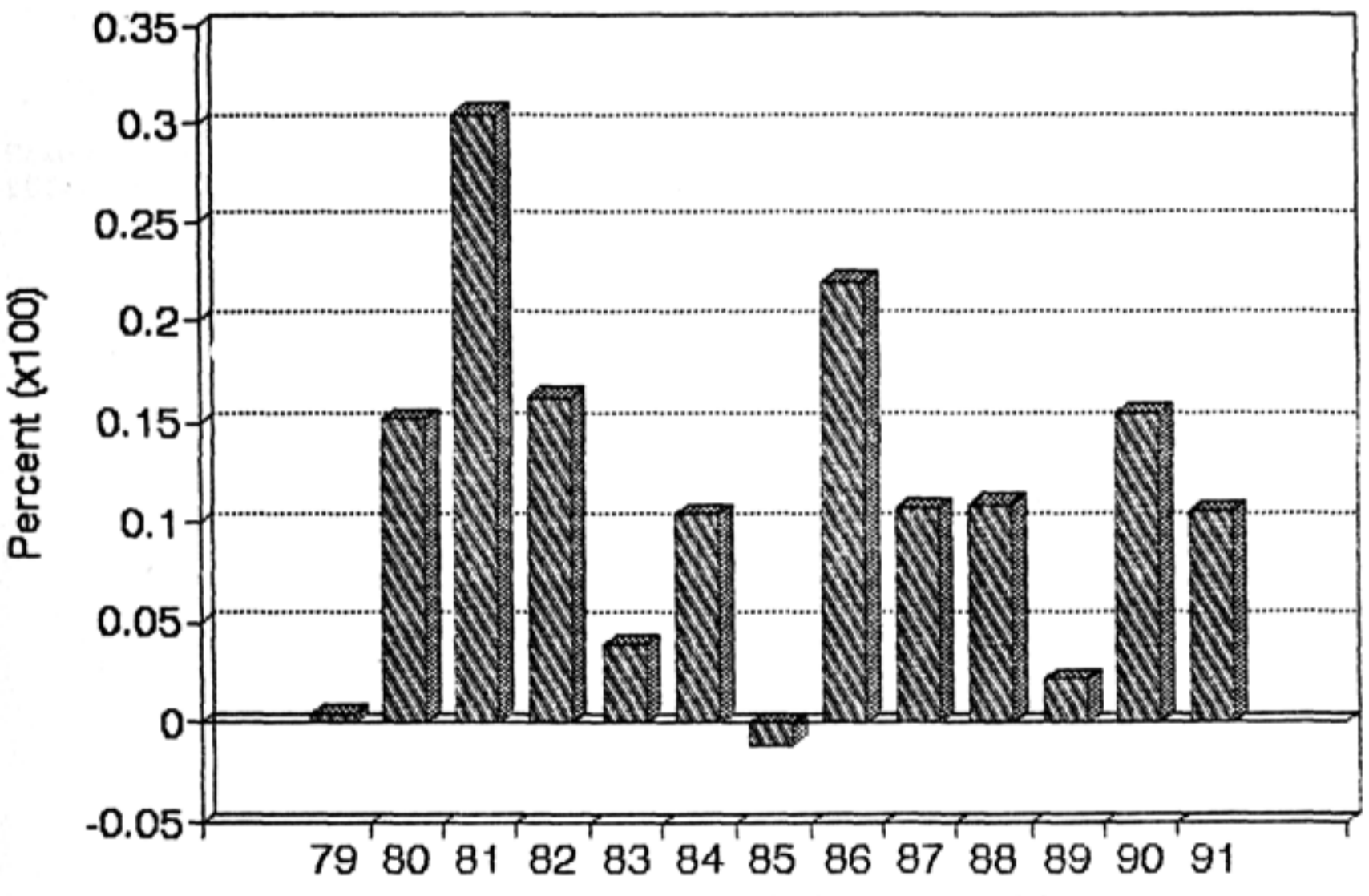


FIGURE 1.4.

TOTAL REGISTERED TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP
Annual percentage increase



Source: Dept of Manpower A/R

TABLE B

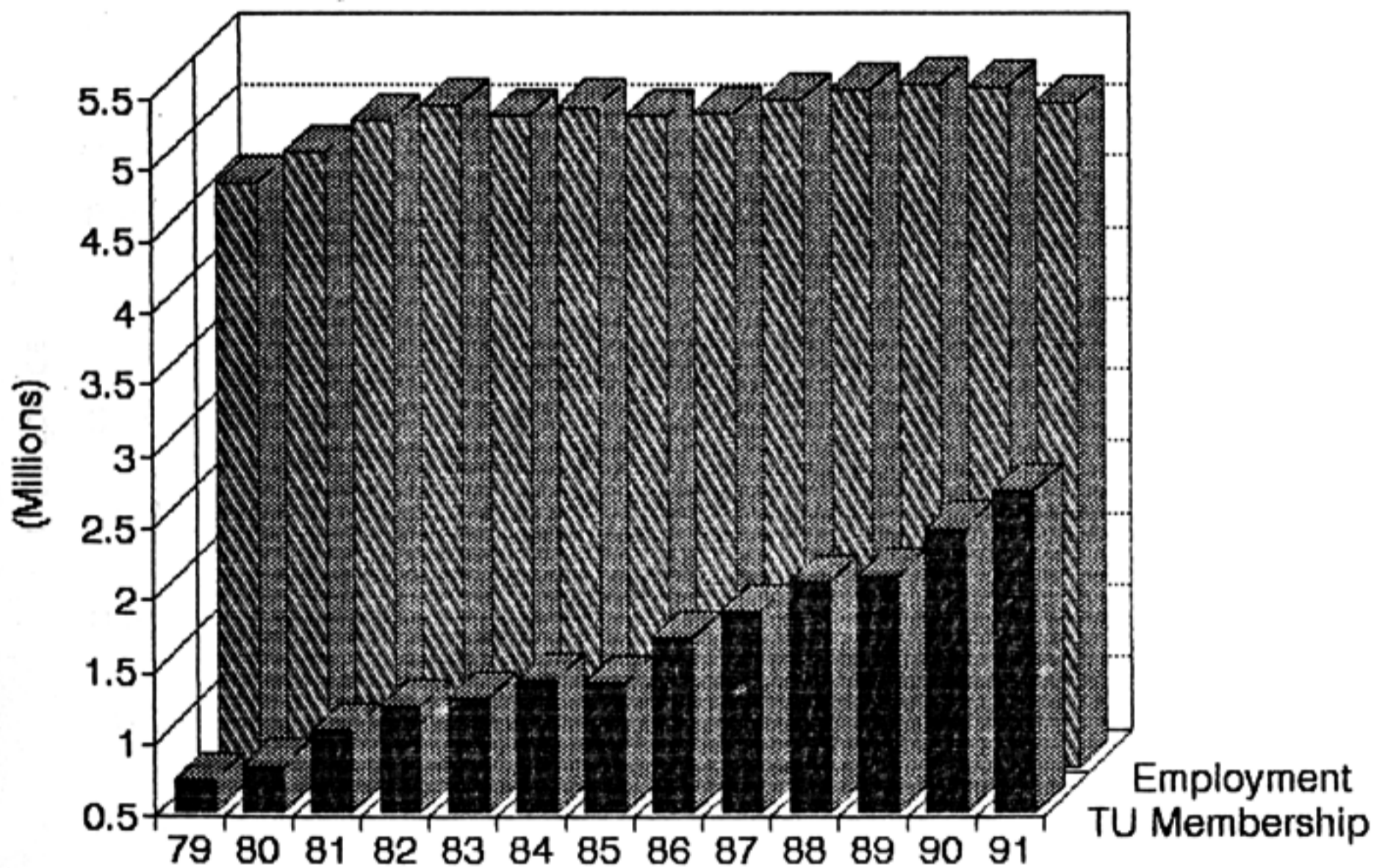
NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT, REGISTERED TRADE UNION
MEMBERSHIP AND UNION DENSITY: 1979 - 1991

Year	Employment [non-agric]	% Change	Trade Union Membership	% Change	Density
79	4566033		701758		15.37%
80	4787343	4.85%	808053	15.15%	16.88%
81	5006151	4.57%	1054405	30.49%	21.06%
82	5113263	2.14%	1225454	16.22%	23.97%
83	5043375	-1.37%	1273890	3.95%	25.26%
84	5109660	1.31%	1406302	10.39%	27.52%
85	5036393	-1.43%	1391423	-1.06%	27.63%
86	5066462	0.60%	1698157	22.04%	33.52%
87	5143005	1.51%	1879400	10.67%	36.54%
88	5220544	1.51%	2084323	10.90%	39.93%
89	5261562	0.79%	2130117	2.20%	40.48%
90	5238329	-0.44%	2458712	15.43%	46.94%
91	5137849	-1.92%	2718970	10.59%	52.92%

Source: Adapted from the South African Labour Statistics 1992
[CSS] and from DOM Annual Reports

FIGURE 2.1

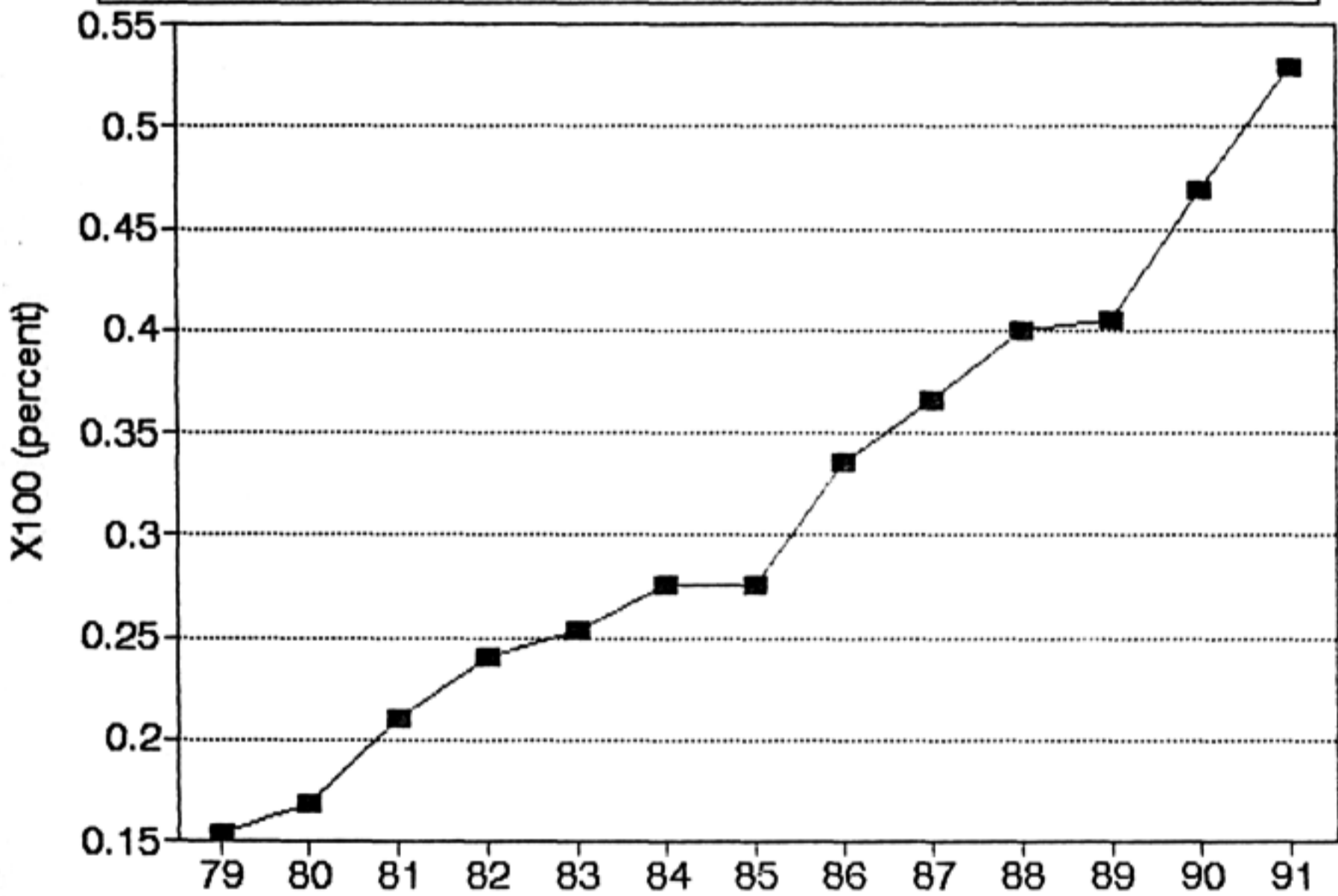
NON-AGRIC EMPLOYMENT AND UNIONISATION (Registered Trade Union Members only)



Source: Lab Stats '92 & DOM A/R's

FIGURE 2.2.

NON-AGRIC EMPLOYMENT & UNION DENSITY (Registered Trade Union Members only)

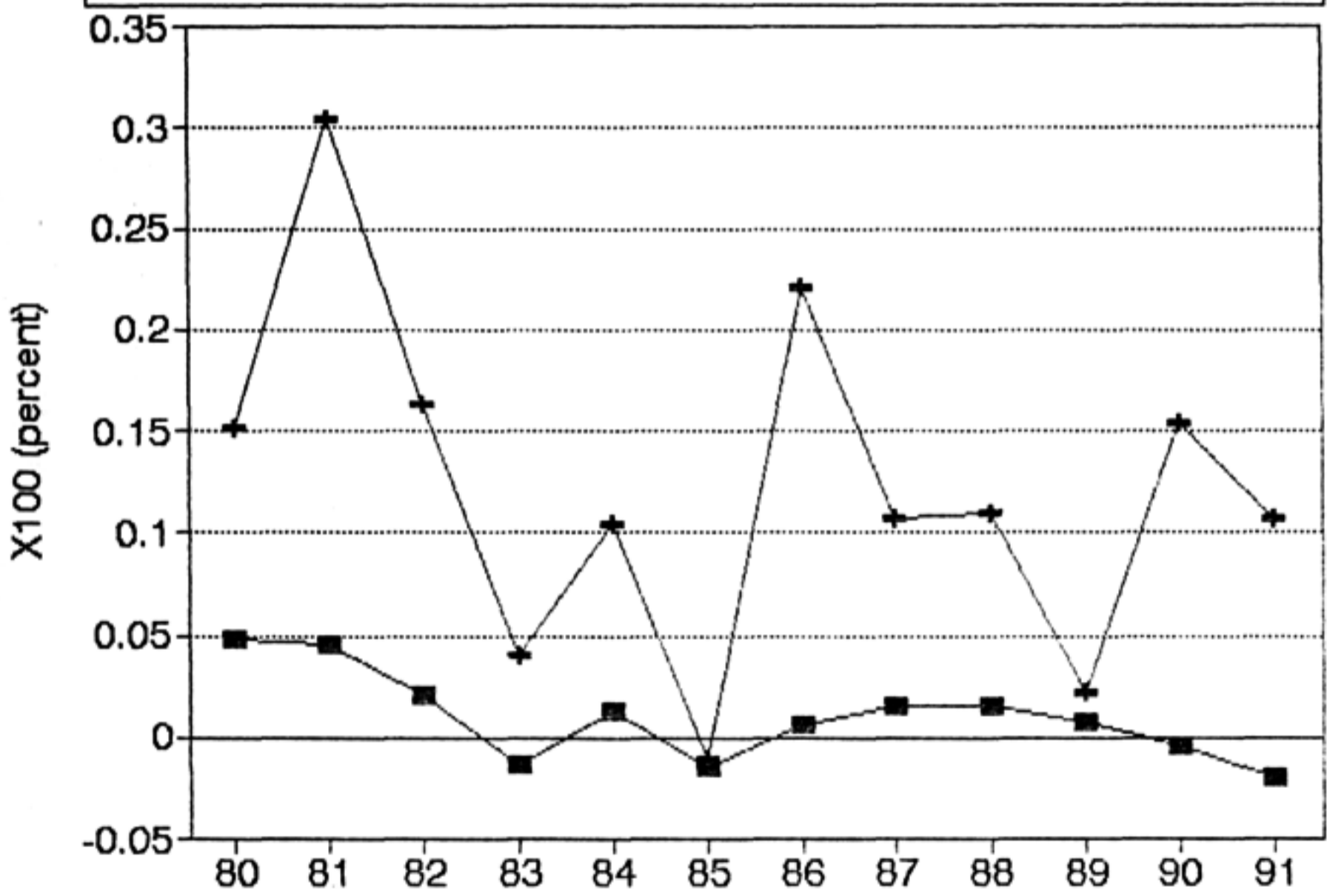


Source: Lab Stats '92 & DOM A/R's

Figure 2.3

NON-AGRIC EMPLOYMENT & TU MEMBERSHIP

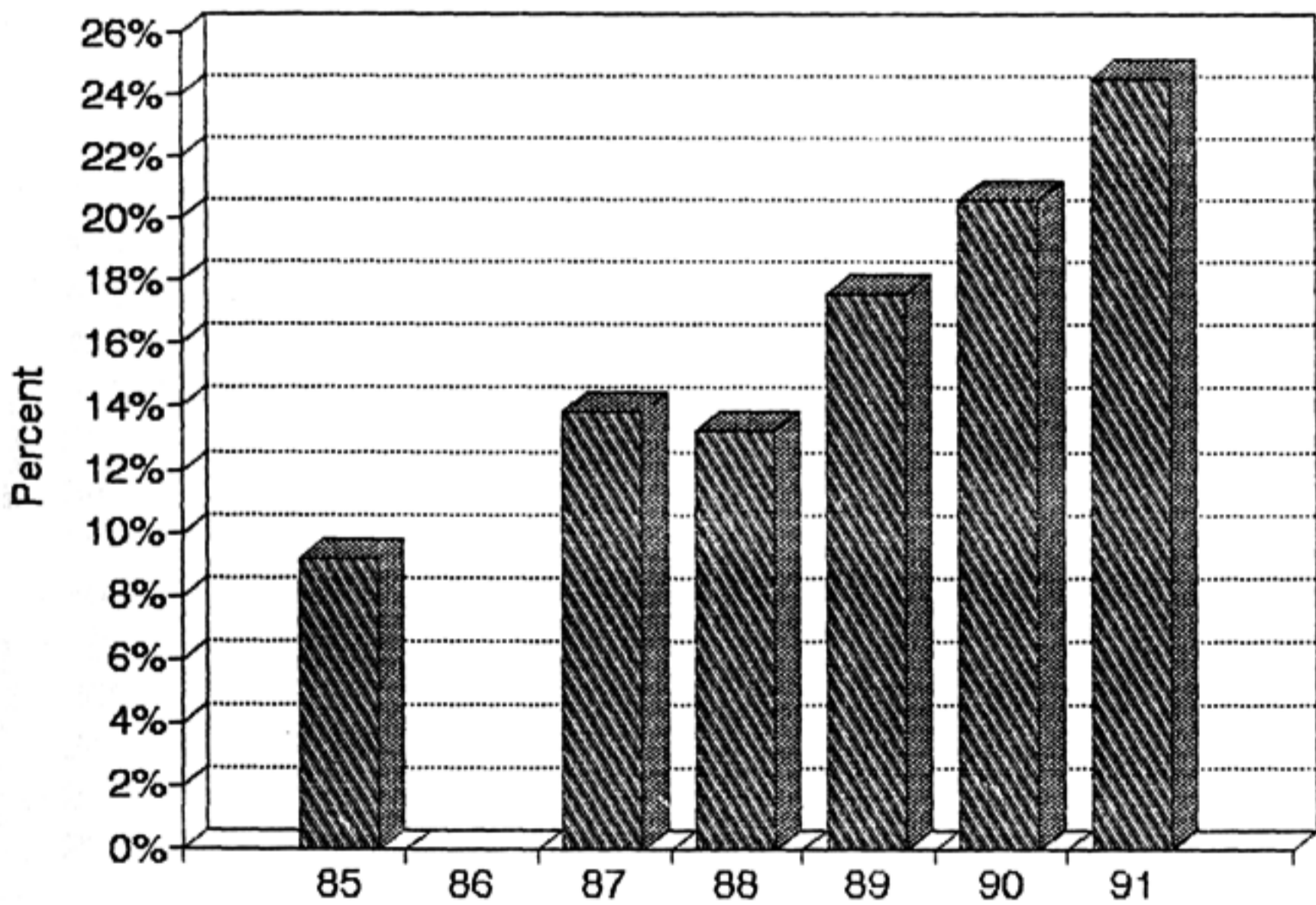
Percentage Change. Registered TU's only



Source: Lab Stats '92 & DOM A/R's

FIGURE 2.4.

NON-AGRIC EMPLOYMENT & COSATU DENSITY



Source: Lab Stats '92 & DOM A/R's

FIGURE 2.5.

COSATU & TOTAL REGISTERED MEMBERSHIP
Cosatu's proportion of that total

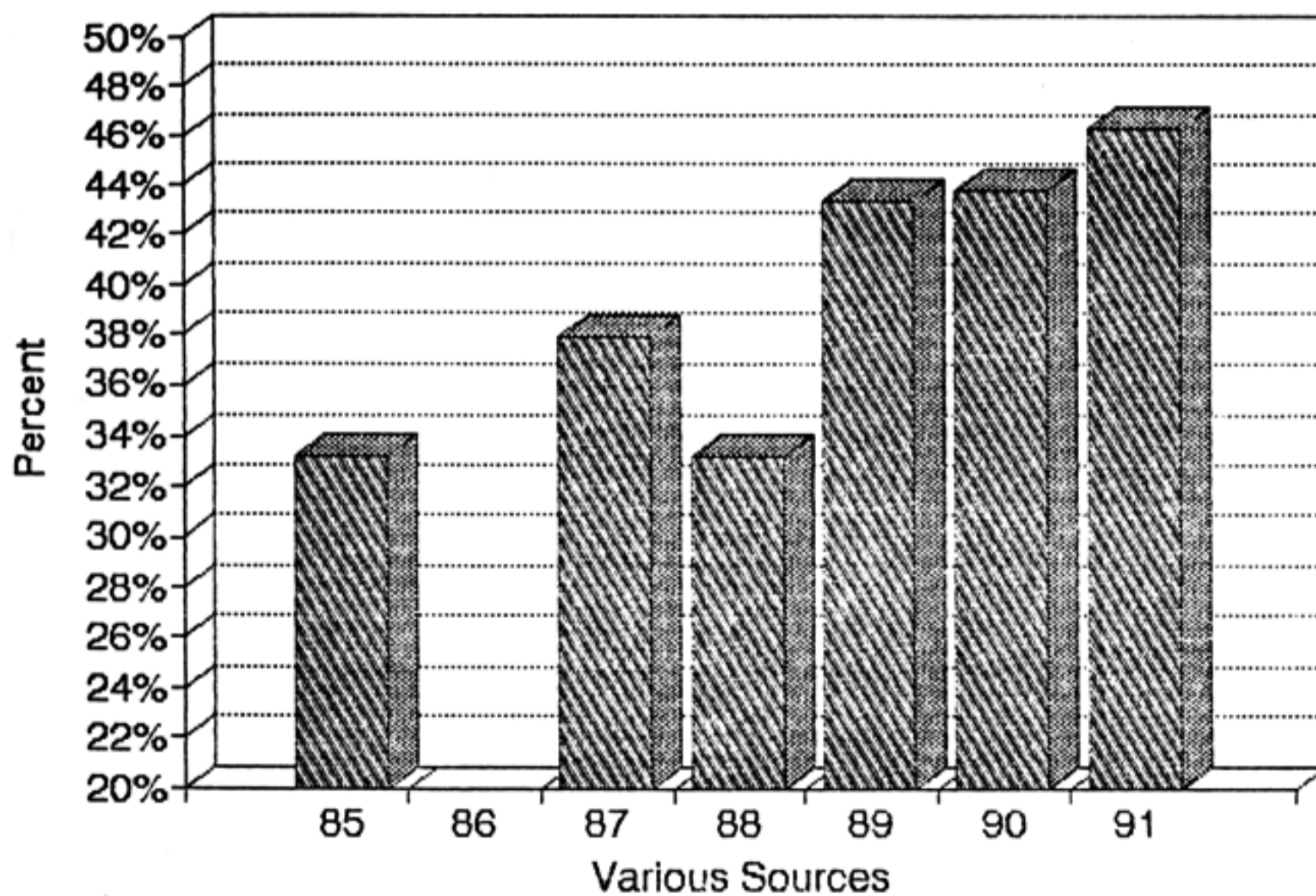


TABLE C

COSATU GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

COLUMN ONE IS TAKEN FROM:

TAKEN FROM BASKIN 1992

THE '91 FIGURE IS FROM THE CASE SURVEY

THE '90 FIGURE IS FROM THE NMC '90 A/R

THE '92 FIGURE IS TAKEN FROM AN ESTIMATE BY B. NKOSI

Year	COSATU	% Increase	Registered Union Membership	% Increase	Cosatu as a proportion of Reg Union Membership
85	462359		1391423		33.23%
86					
87	712231	54.04%	1879400	35.07%	37.90%
88	691151	-2.96%	2084323	10.90%	33.16%
89	924499	33.76%	2130117	2.20%	43.40%
90	1077835	16.59%	2458712	15.43%	43.84%
91	1258853	16.79%	2718970	10.59%	46.30%
92	1300000	3.27%			

Year	Cosatu	Cosatu Manuf Membership	Cosatu Manuf/ Total Membership
85	462359	147672	31.94%
86			
87	712231	281922	39.58%
88	691151	380283	55.02%
89	924499	543873	58.83%
90	1077835	581718	53.97%
91	1258853	672951	53.46%
	1300000		

FIGURE 3.1.

COSATU GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

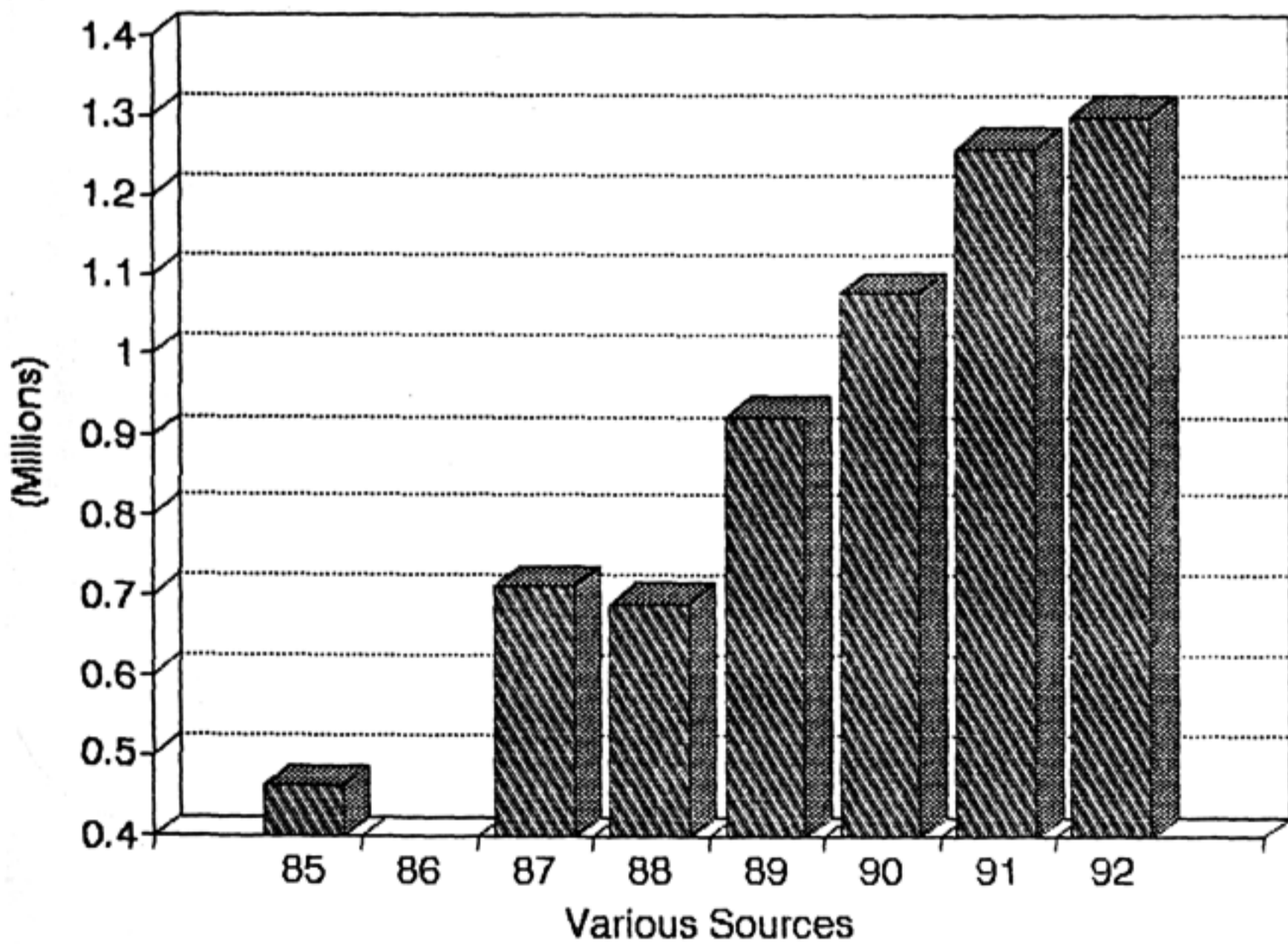


FIGURE 3.2.

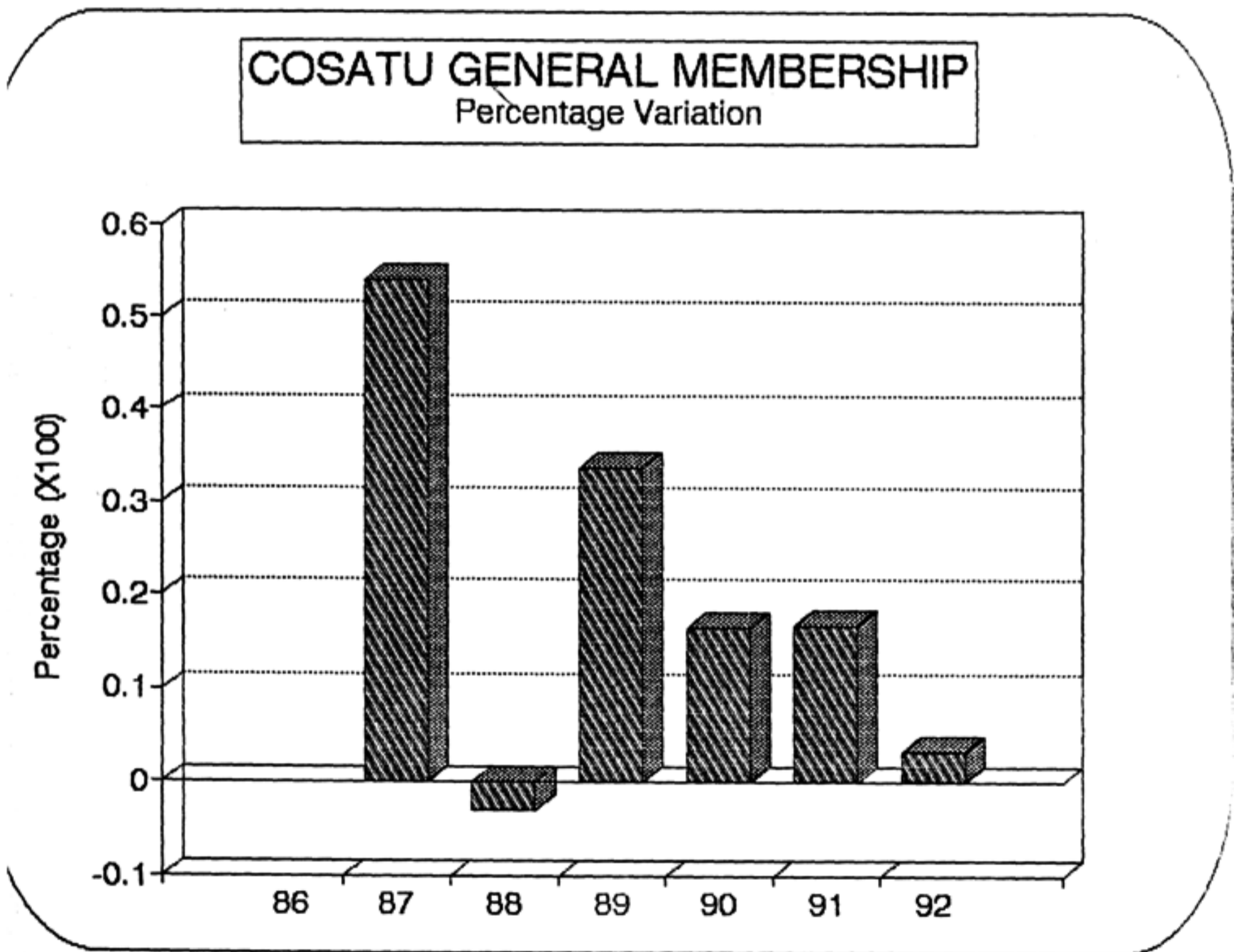


TABLE D

MANUFACTURING STATISTICS: 1979-1992

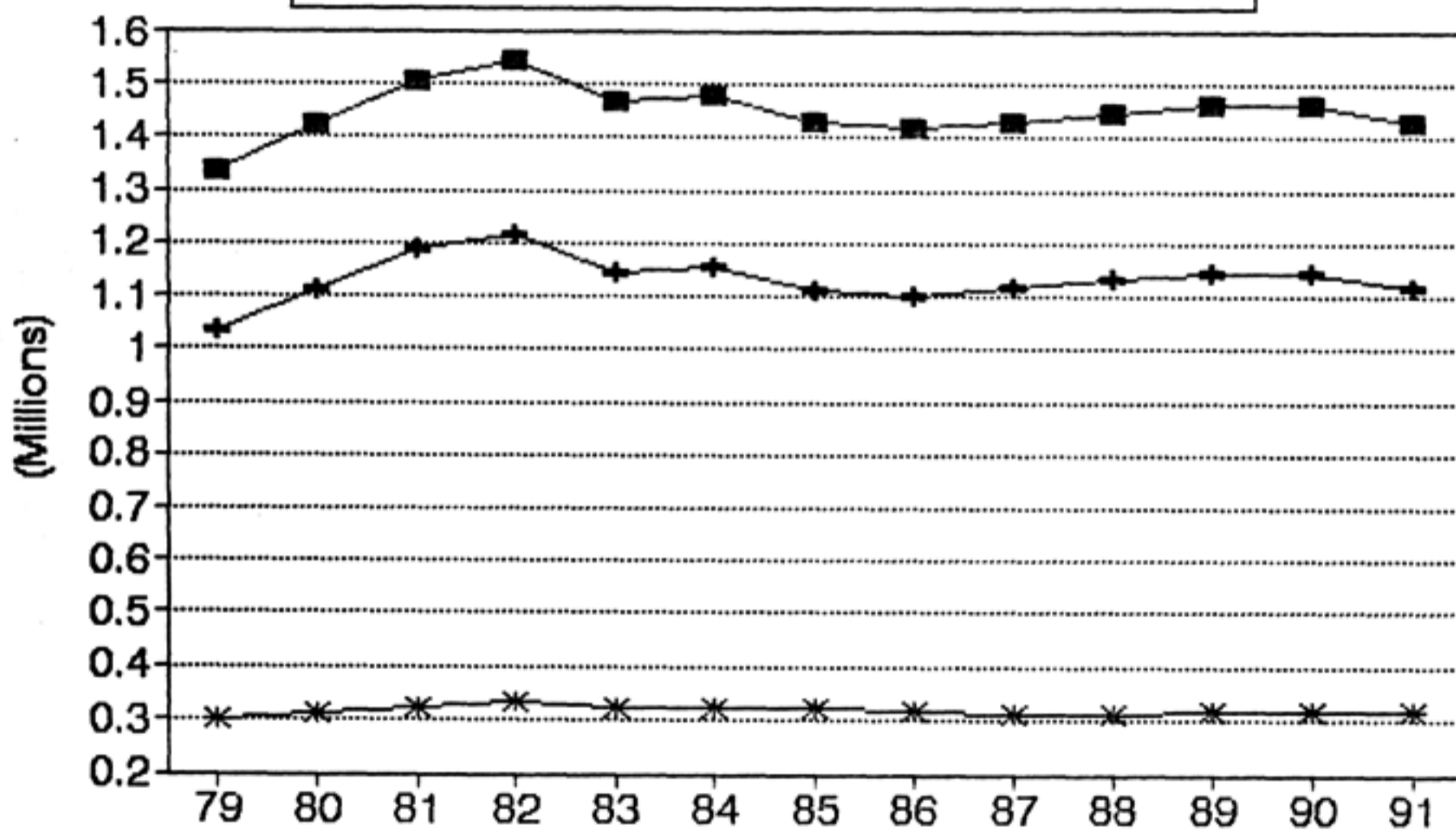
SOURCE: SA LABOUR STATISTICS 1992

Year	Total Employment	% Change	White Employment	% Change	Black Employment
79	1332743		300234		1032509
80	1421400	6.65%	309400	3.05%	1112000
81	1508322	6.12%	321500	3.91%	1186822
82	1542618	2.27%	329438	2.47%	1213180
83	1465827	-4.98%	321100	-2.53%	1144727
84	1477940	0.83%	322700	0.50%	1155240
85	1428988	-3.31%	320502	-0.68%	1108486
86	1415536	-0.94%	316100	-1.37%	1099436
87	1427826	0.87%	312600	-1.11%	1115226
88	1448531	1.45%	313400	0.26%	1135131
89	1458831	0.71%	314200	0.26%	1144631
90	1462118	0.23%	317500	1.05%	1144618
91	1430818	-2.14%	314200	-1.04%	1116618
92					

% Change	Years	Average Salaries & Wages per Month for Black Workers	% Change	Cosatu Manufacturing Membership	% Change
	79	220			
7.70%	80	262	19.09%		
6.73%	81	316	20.61%		
2.22%	82	380	20.25%		
-5.64%	83	436	14.74%		
0.92%	84	497	13.99%		
-4.05%	85	558	12.27%	147672	
-0.82%	86	655	17.38%		
1.44%	87	761	16.18%	281922	90.91%
1.78%	88	895	17.61%	380283	34.89%
0.84%	89	1068	19.33%	543873	43.02%
-0.00%	90	1244	16.48%	581718	6.96%
-2.45%	91	1451	16.64%	672951	15.68%

FIGURE 4.1

MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT Total, Whites and Blacks



Source: SA Lab Stats '92

■ Total + Blacks * Whites

FIGURE 4.2.

MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT Rate of Change: Total & Blacks

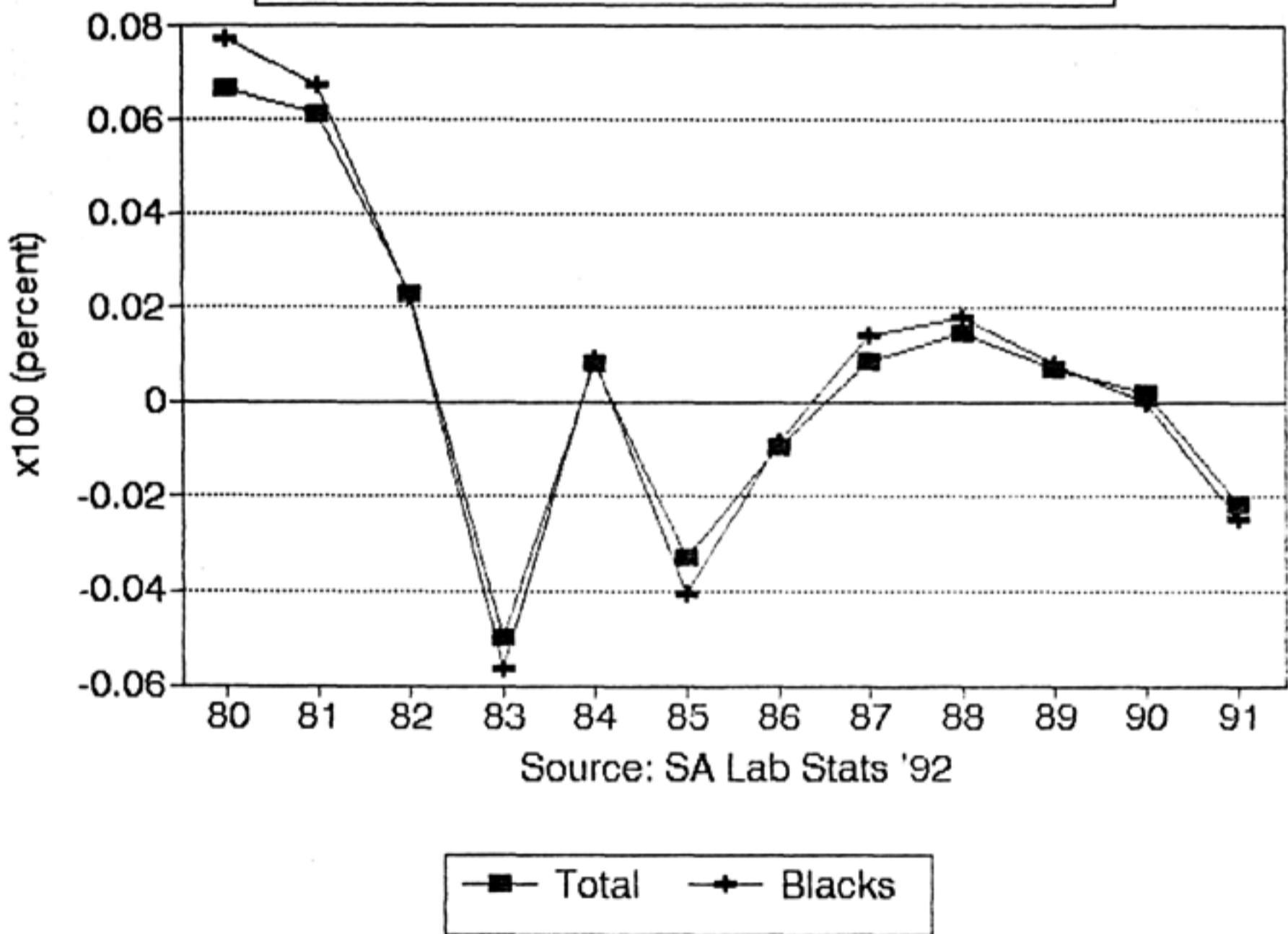


TABLE E

Cosatu Manufacturing Membership	% Change	Cosatu Density in Manufacturing Total	Cosatu Density in Manufacturing Black Workers	Year
147672		10.33%	13.32%	1985
			0.00%	1986
281922	90.91%	19.74%	25.28%	1987
380283	34.89%	26.25%	33.50%	1988
543873	43.02%	37.28%	47.52%	1989
581718	6.96%	39.79%	50.82%	1990
672951	15.68%	47.03%	60.27%	1991

FIGURE 4.3

TRADE UNION GROWTH
COSATU MANUFACTURING UNIONS

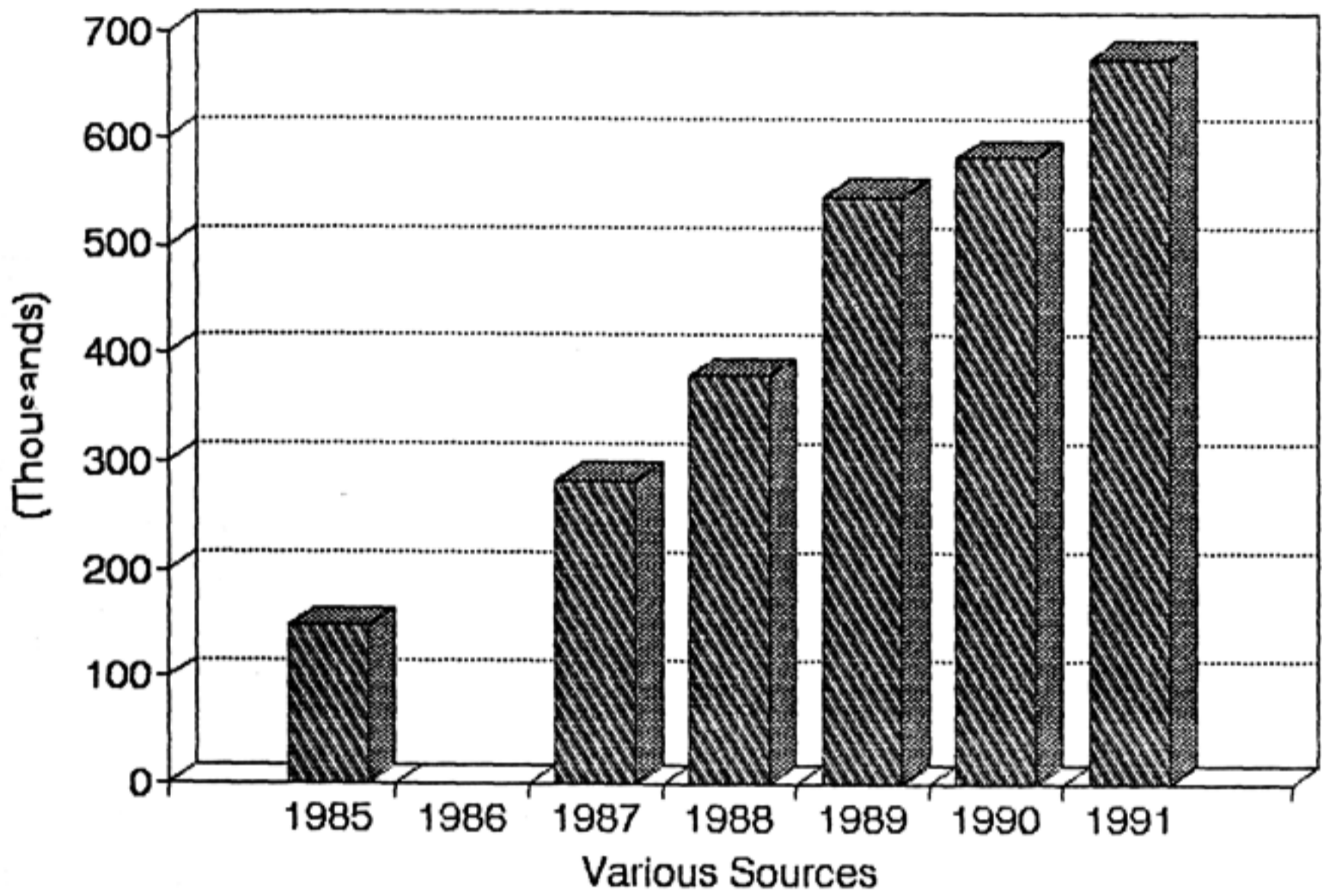
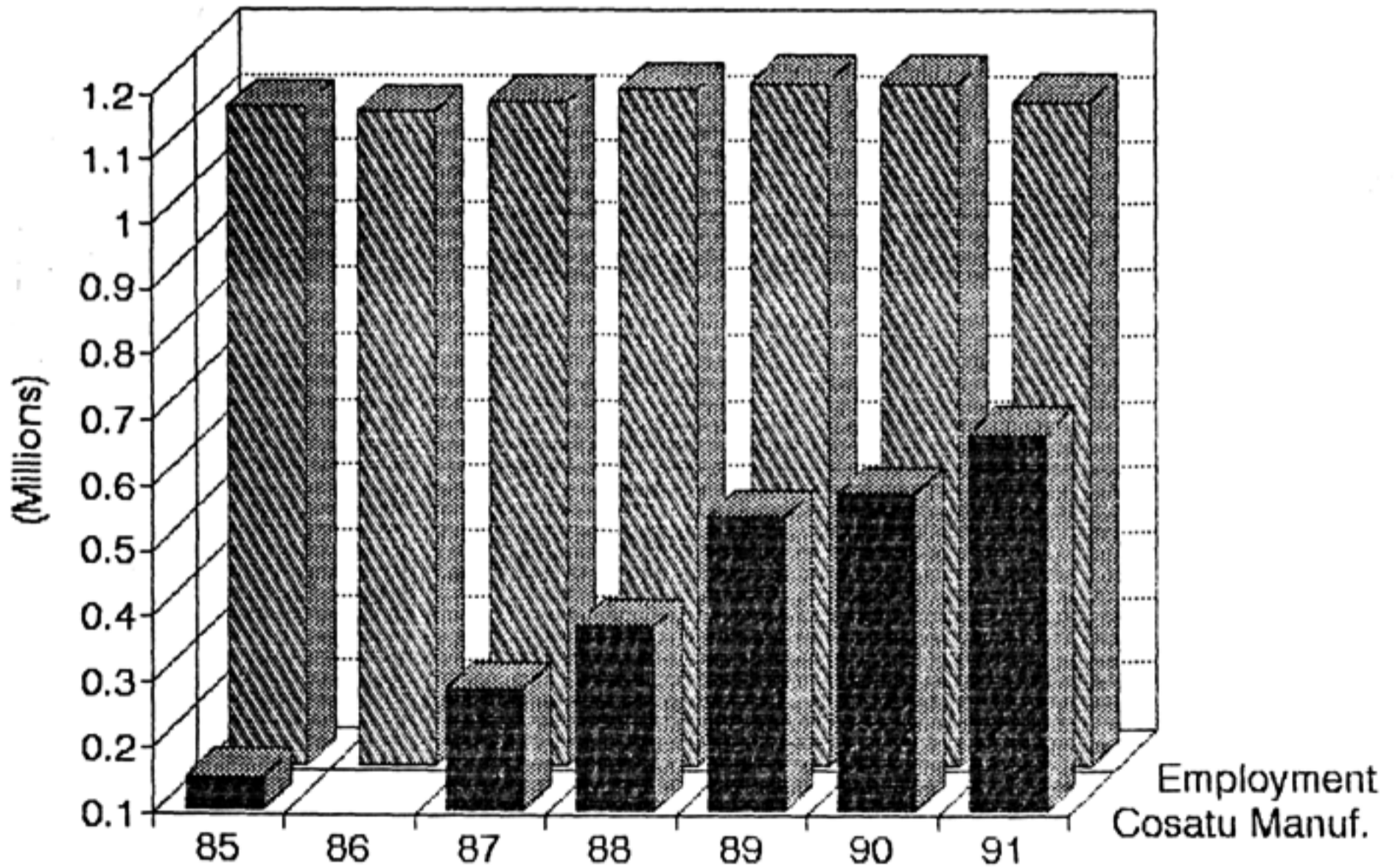


FIGURE 4.4

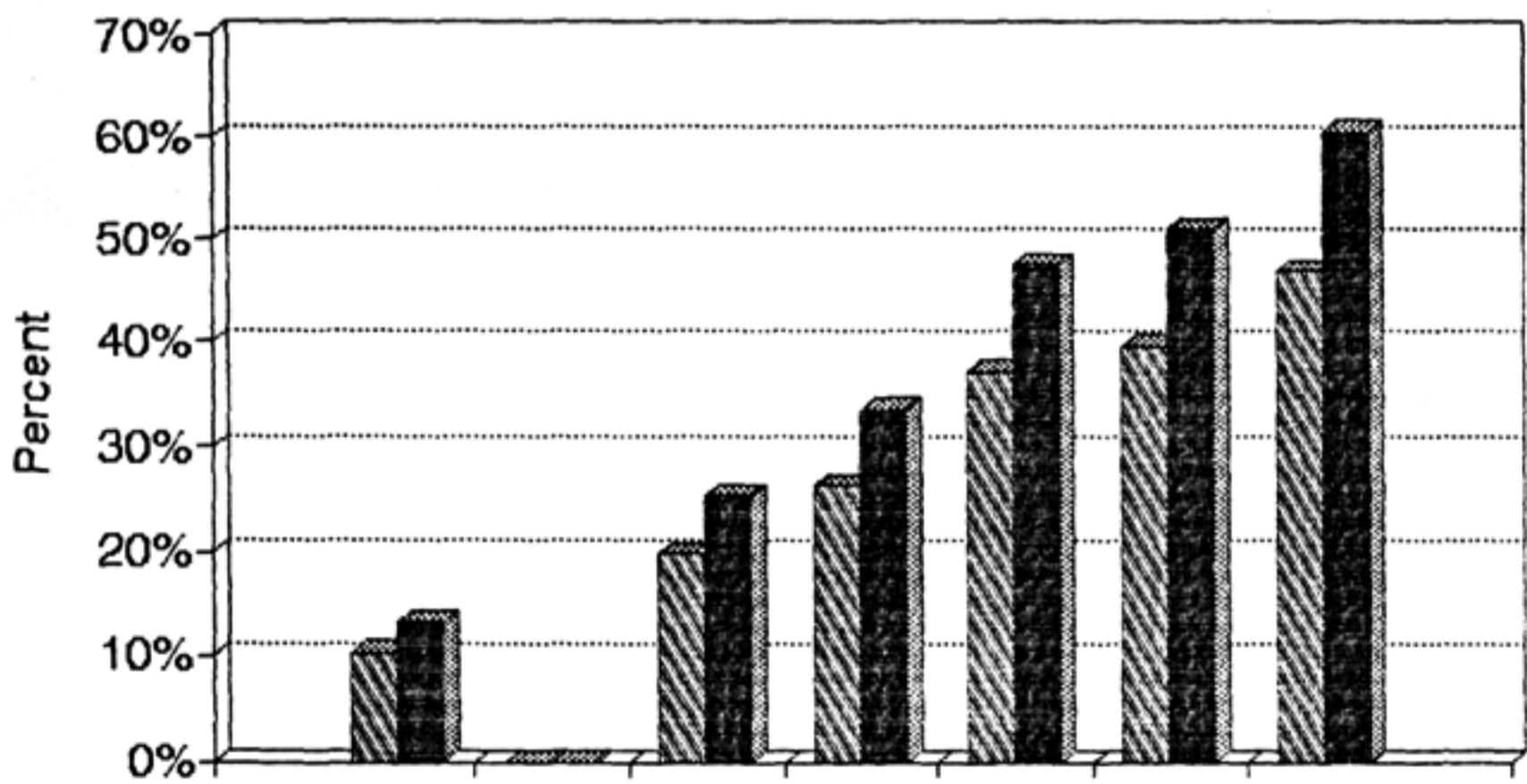
MANUFACTURE
Black Employment & Cosatu Membership



Source: SA Lab Stats '92 & Cosatu

FIGURE 4.5

COSATU DENSITY IN MANUFACTURE Total & Black Workers



Source: SA Lab Stats '92 & Cosatu



FIGURE 4.6

CHANGES IN COSATU DENSITY IN MANUFACT.
Rate of Change: Total & Black Workers

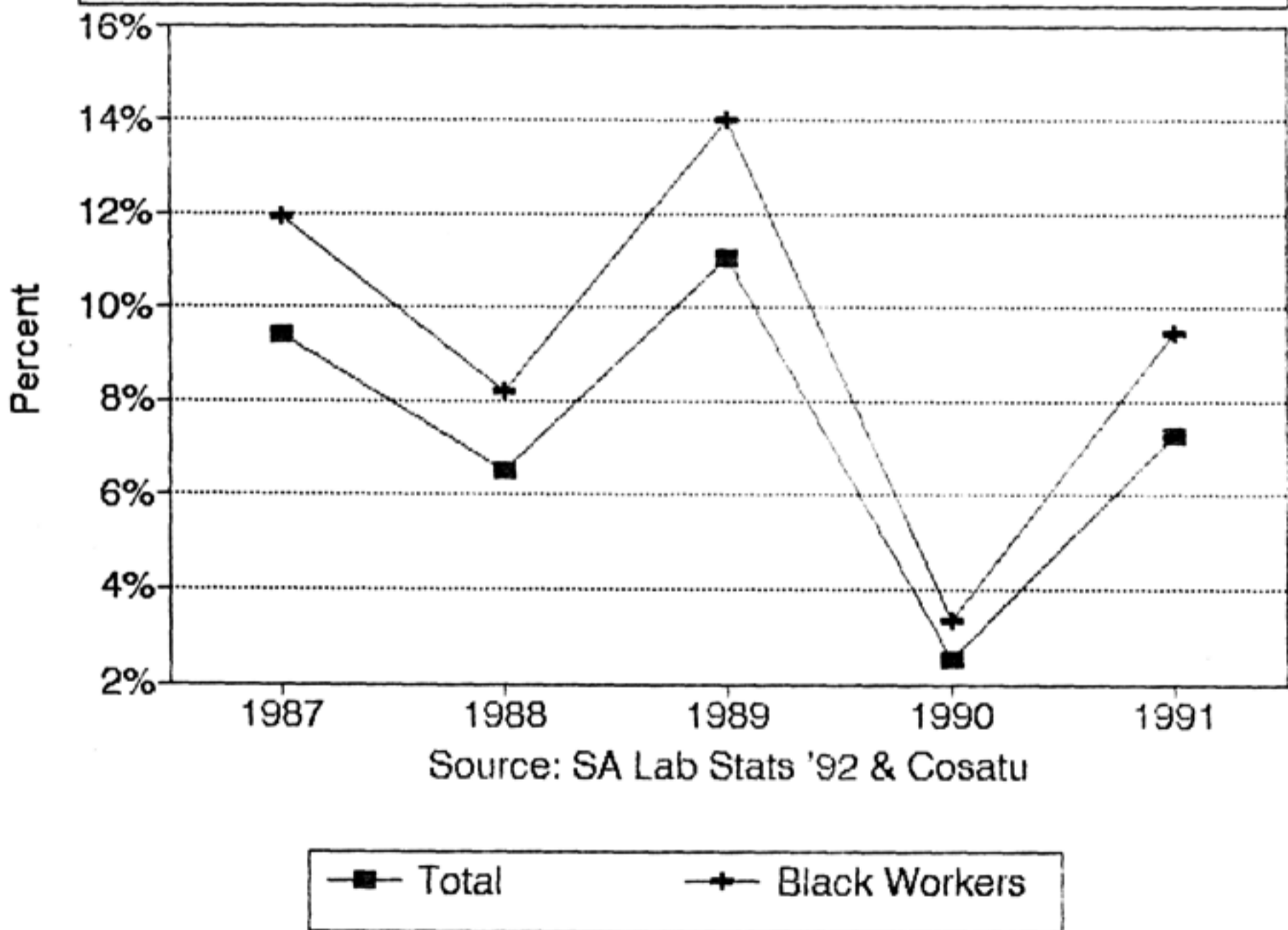
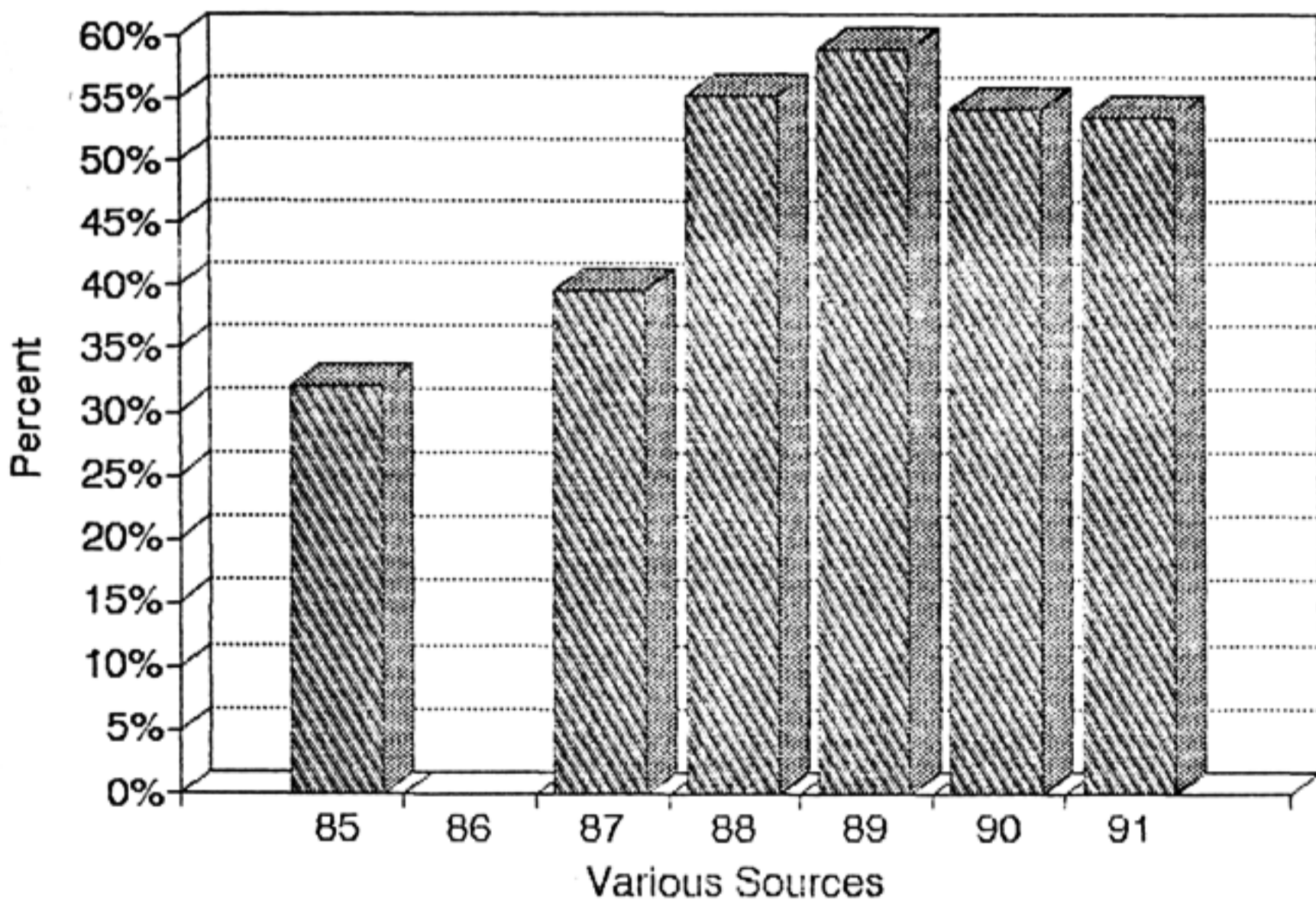


FIGURE 4.7.

COSATU TOTAL & MANUFACTURING MEMBERSHIP
Manufacture's proportion of that total

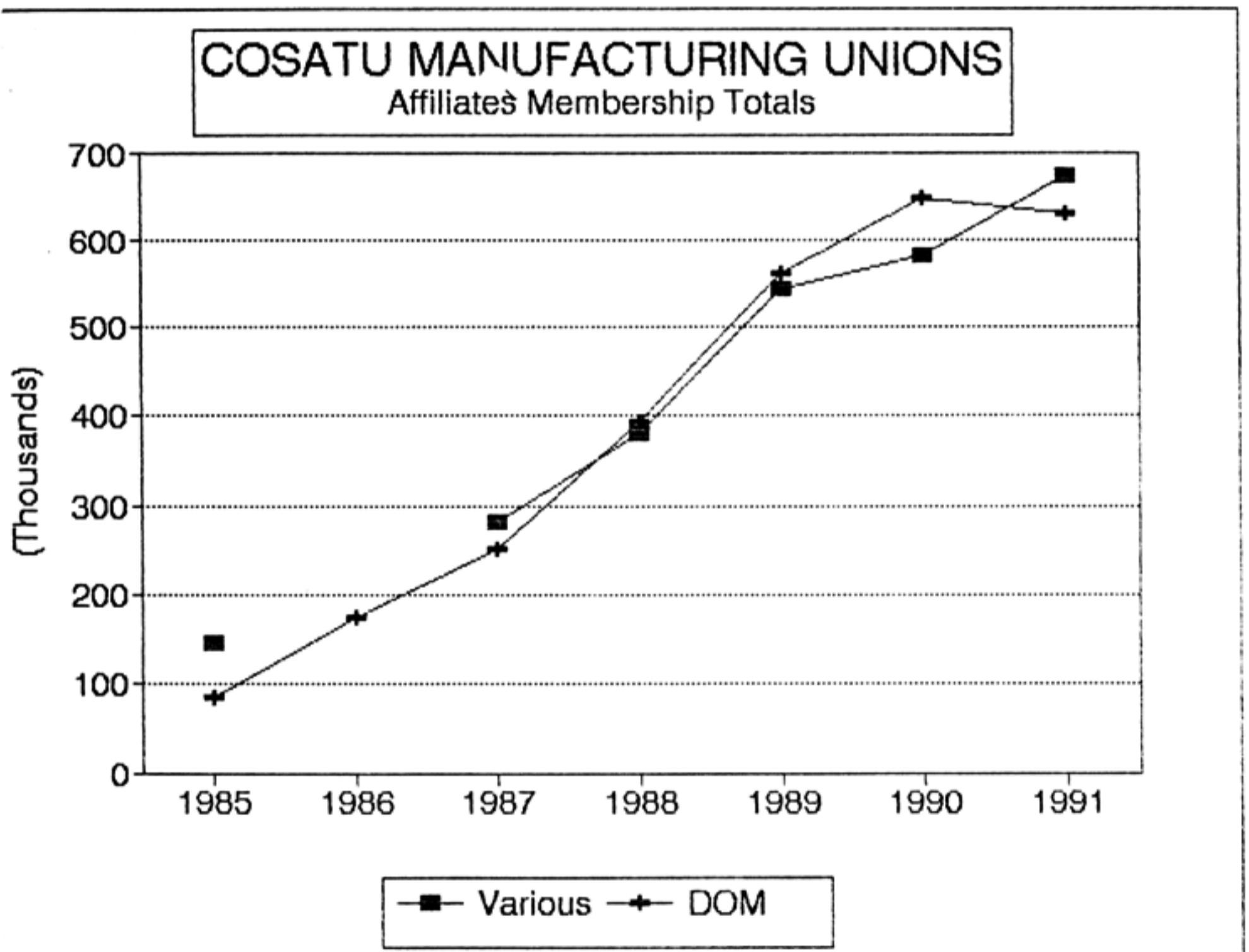


COSATU MANUF UNIONS:
VARIOUS AND DOM

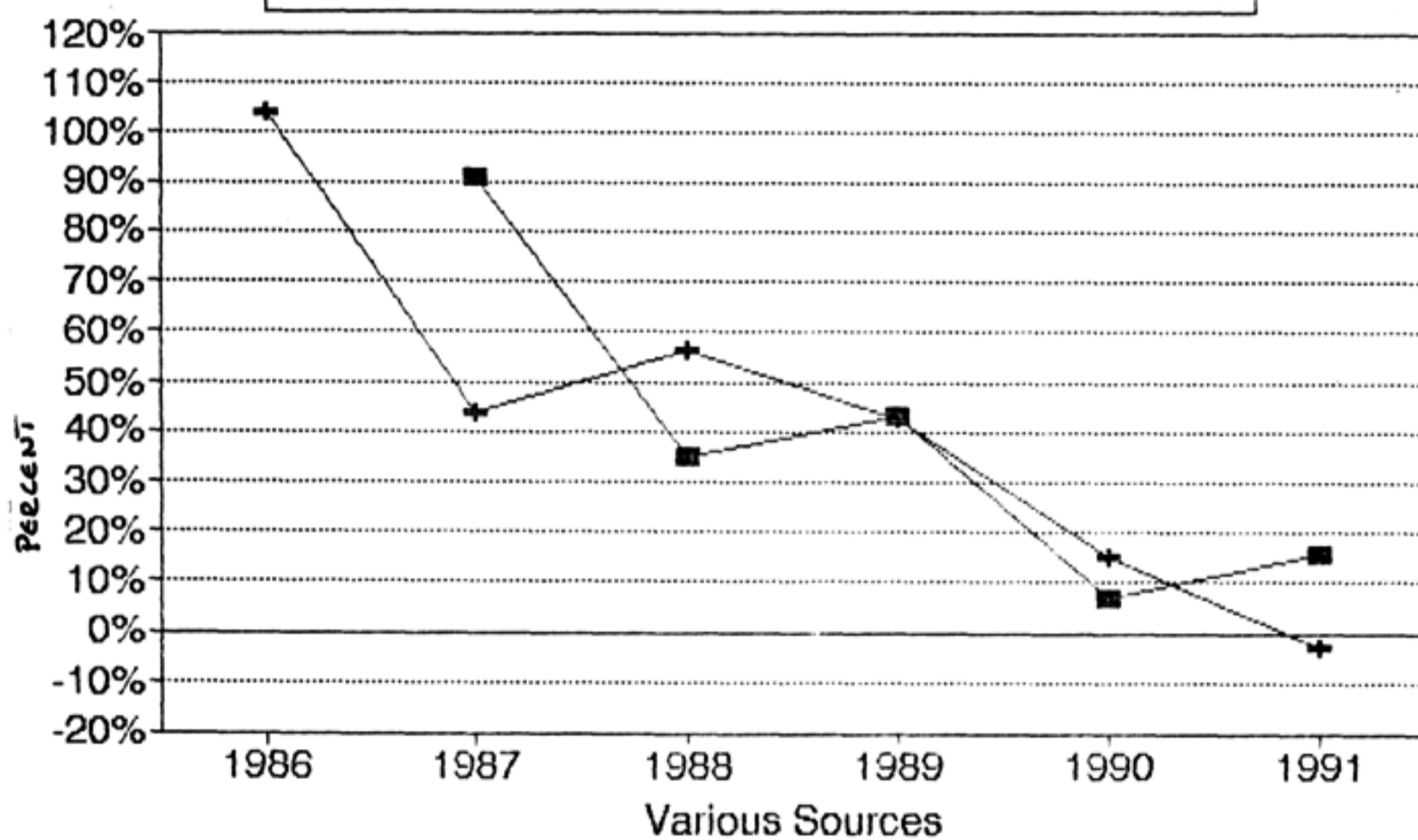
COSATU2	COSATU2 %	DOM	
147672		85704	1985
		174858	1986
281922	90.91%	251542	1987
380283	34.89%	393676	1988
543873	43.02%	561333	1989
581718	6.96%	648767	1990
672951	15.68%	630369	1991

SOURCES: BASKIN 1992; SALB; ANDREW LEVY ANNUAL REPORTS 1990
NMC A/R 1991; SALDRU TU DIRECTORY 1992; CASE COSATU
S/STEWART SURVEY 1992.

FIGURE 5.1



**COSATU MANUFACTURING UNIONS
RATE OF CHANGE IN MEMBERSHIP**



—■— Cosatu —+— DOM

FIGURE 5.3.

16.66H UNION	SECTOR	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	WHITE	BLACK
NUM	MINING	588,942		
FAWJ	FOOD	185,800	26,700	159,100
	BEVERAGES	33,600	7,000	26,600
	TOBACCO	5,422	1,600	3,822
SACTMU	TEXTILE	92,200	10,400	81,800
	CLOTHING	123,600	5,600	118,000
	LEATHER	18,400	1,100	9,300
	FOOTWEAR	32,200	1,100	31,100
PPWAWJ	WOOD & CORK	54,200	4,500	49,700
	FURNITURE	36,300	4,100	32,200
	PAPER & PRODUCTS	48,400	8,700	31,700
	PRINTING	47,500	20,700	26,800
CWIU	INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS	34,400	12,100	22,300
	OTHER CHEMICAL PRODUCTS	72,100	29,600	42,500
CWIU & NUMSA	RUBBER PRODUCTS	28,100	4,300	15,800
	PLASTICS	32,600	6,300	26,300
CAMJ & CWIU	POTTERY	3,800	500	3,300
	GLASS & GLASS PRODUCTS	6,700	1,600	5,100
	OTHER NON METAL MINERAL PRODUCTS	73,800	8,900	64,900
NUMSA	IRON & STEEL	88,500	36,200	52,300
	NON FERROUS METALS	19,300	4,900	14,400
	METAL	138,600	29,000	101,600
	MACHINERY	82,900	30,000	52,900
	ELECTRICAL MACHINERY	65,100	19,500	45,600
	MOTOR AND AUTO	79,000	21,200	57,800
	TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT	25,400	8,600	16,800
	PROFESSIONAL EQUIPMENT	6,900	2,000	4,900
??????	OTHER MANUFACTURING	22,100	4,700	17,400
NUMSA/NUM	ELECTRICITY	46,800	22,200	24,600
SACCAWJ	WHOLESALE, RETAIL, CATERING & HOTELS	774,643	258,403	516,240
	FINANCIALS, REAL ESTATE, FINANCIALS	187,756	130,431	57,325
CAMJ	CONSTRUCTION	382,500	46,200	336,300
SARHWJ	TRANSNET	162,442	73,951	88,491
TEGMJ	PASSENGER	24,679	2,217	22,462
	GOODS (UNTIL OCTOBER 1991)	55,520	8,252	47,268
	LAUNDRY & DRY CLEANING	14,000	1,300	12,700
POTWA	S A B C	5,771	4,154	1,617
	POST OFFICE & TELKOM	97,616	53,640	43,976
SAMJ & NEHAWJ & HWJ	CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	563,733	238,801	324,932
	PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION	219,512	69,183	150,329
	CIVIL SERVICE OF SELF-GOVERNING STATES	285,959	0	205,959
	LOCAL AUTHORITY	228,931	62,350	166,581
	PARASTATALS	20,993	10,102	10,891
	UNIVERSITIES	46,646	28,298	18,348
	TECHNIKONS	9,239	6,260	2,979
	TOTAL	5,052,604	1,326,642	3,145,020

Source:

Labour Research Service, 1992. "Organizing Potential for
Cosatu." 4

TABLE G

DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER COSATU MANUFACTURING
UNIONS MEMBERSHIP TOTALS. [IN GOOD STANDING]

SOME ALLOWANCE MUST BE MADE FOR THE VARIANCES IN DATE
OF ENTRY OF THESE FIGURES IN THE DOM'S RECORDS

IN SOME CASES TWO FIGURES WERE SET DOWN FOR ONE YEAR. IN
SUCH INSTANCES THE BIGGER FIGURE WAS NOTED.

Year	CWIU	NUMSA	SACTWU	PPWAWU	FAWU	TOTAL
84	17752	32987	21408	9470	11065	92682
85	20561	35136			30007	
86	26840	33040	30796	25000	59182	174858
87	32739	130000		23000	65803	
88	35825	188012	69422	29000	71417	393676
89	40028	220508	179780	32000	89017	561333
90	45147	243000	189655	42430	128535	648767
91	43906	220000	176263	42430	147770	630369
92			185740	42962	129480	

FIGURE 6.1.

COSATU MANUFACTURING UNIONS Membership from the DOM sources

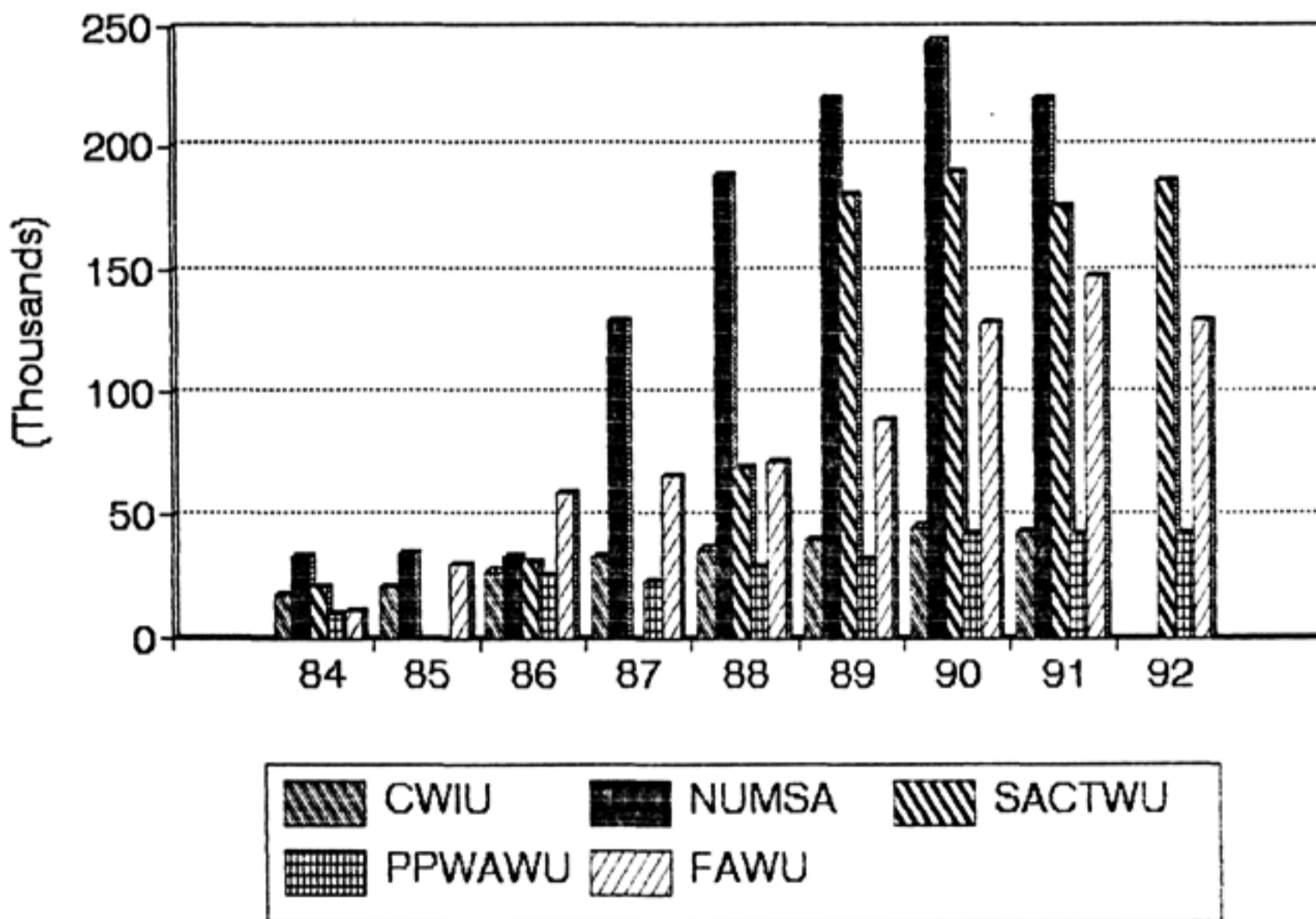


TABLE H

EMPLOYMENT IN THE FOOD, BEVERAGE AND TOBACCO SECTORS
 SOURCE: CSS LABOUR STATISTICS 1992
 THE FAWU FIGURE FOR 1985 IS COMBINED TOTALS OF
 FCWU, SFAWU & RAWU.

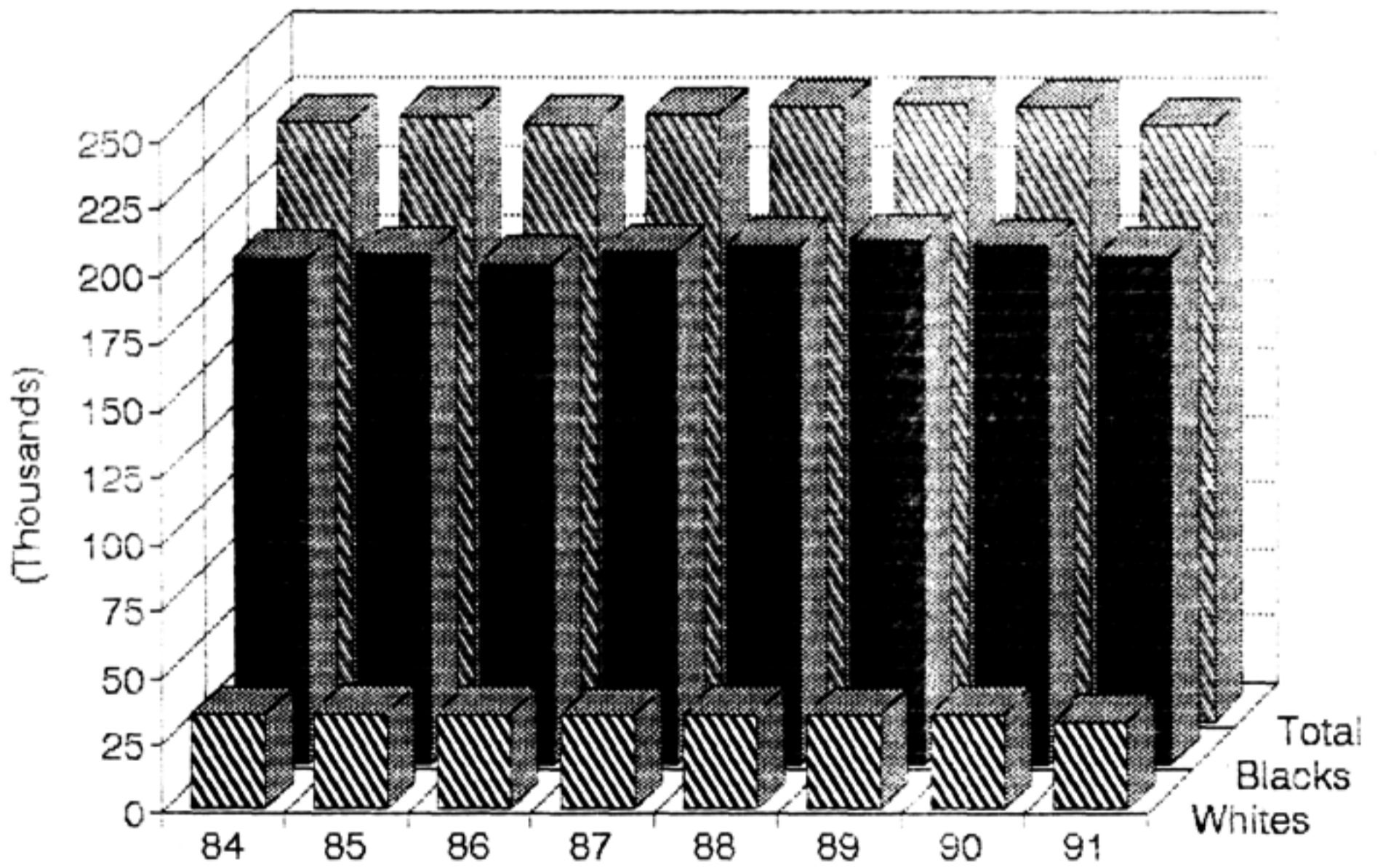
Year	TOTALS		Whites		Blacks	
	Total Employment	% Change	Whites	% Change	Blacks	% Change
84	222640	.	34400		188240	
85	224909	1.02%	34928	1.53%	189981	0.92%
86	221936	-1.32%	35000	0.21%	186936	-1.60%
87	225426	1.57%	34400	-1.71%	191026	2.19%
88	228431	1.33%	35000	1.74%	193431	1.26%
89	229731	0.57%	34700	-0.86%	195031	0.83%
90	228118	-0.70%	35000	0.86%	193118	-0.98%
91	221718	-2.81%	32200	-8.00%	189518	-1.86%
92						

Year	Fawu Membership	% Change	Fawu Density	Fawu Density
			Total	Blacks
84				
85	49881		22.18%	26.26%
86	60000	20.29%	27.03%	32.10%
87	65278	8.80%	28.96%	34.17%
88	75000	14.90%	32.93%	38.78%
89	77507	3.34%	33.74%	39.74%
90	93000	19.99%	40.77%	48.16%
91	29480	39.23%	58.40%	68.32%
92				

FIGURE 7.1

EMPLOYMENT IN FOOD, BEVERAGES & TOBACCO

Total, Black & White Workers

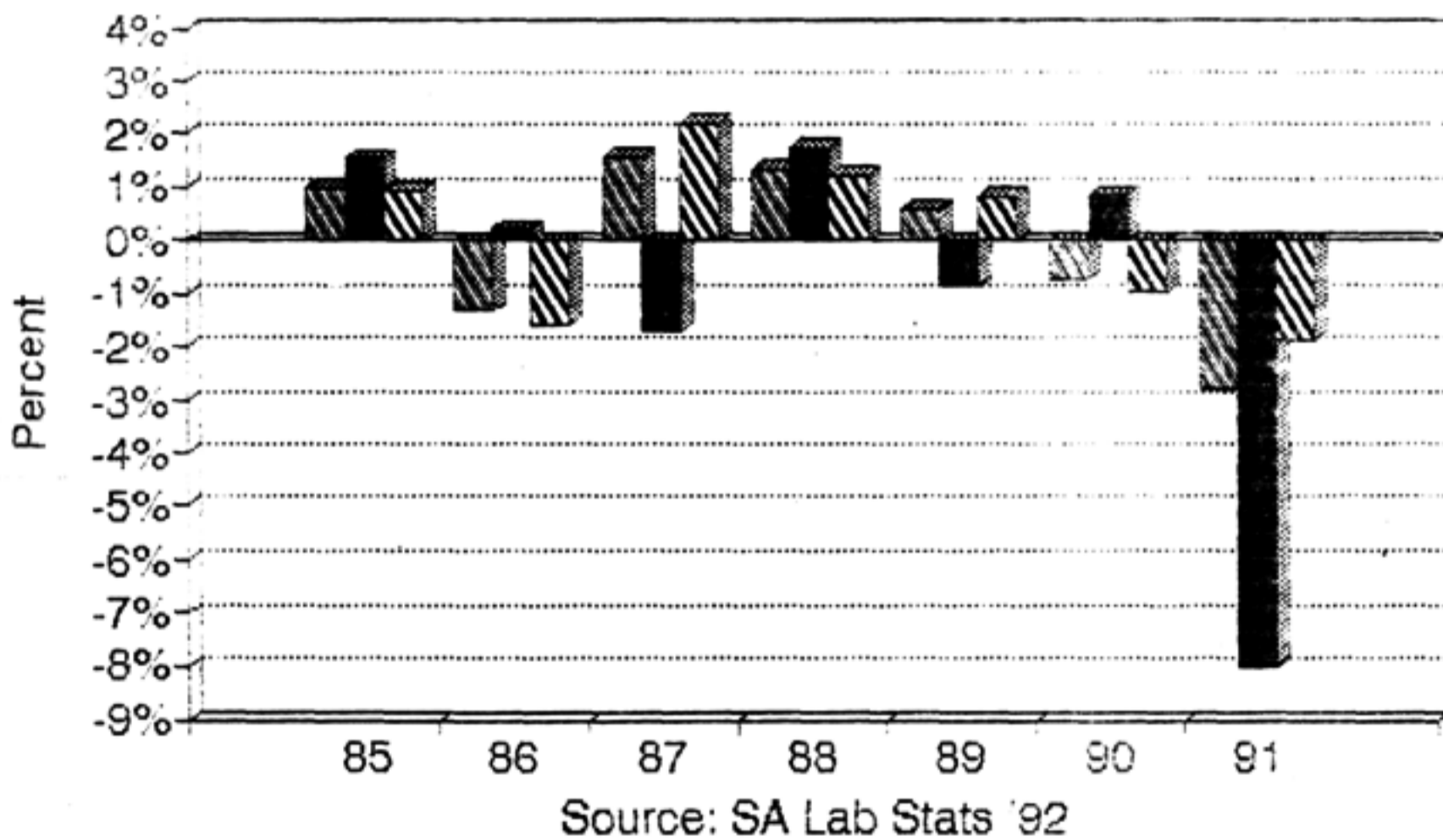


Source: SA Lab Stats '92

FIGURE 7.2.

EMPLOYMENT IN FOOD, BEVERAGES & TOBACCO

Rate of Change: Total, Black & White.



▨ Total ■ Whites ▨ Blacks

FIGURE 7.3

TRADE UNION GROWTH FAWU

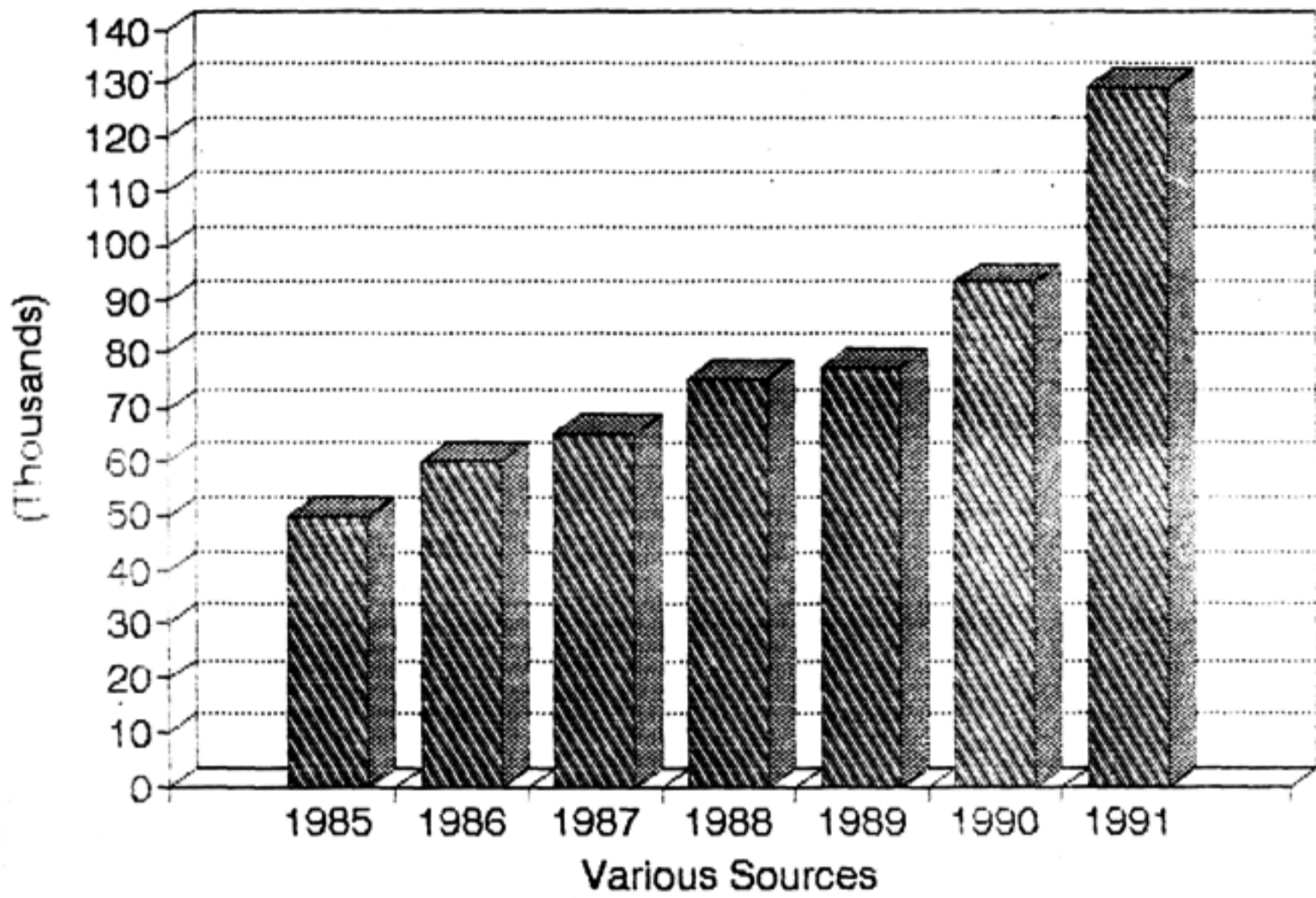


FIGURE 7.4.

TRADE UNION GROWTH - % INCREASE
Food & Allied Workers Union

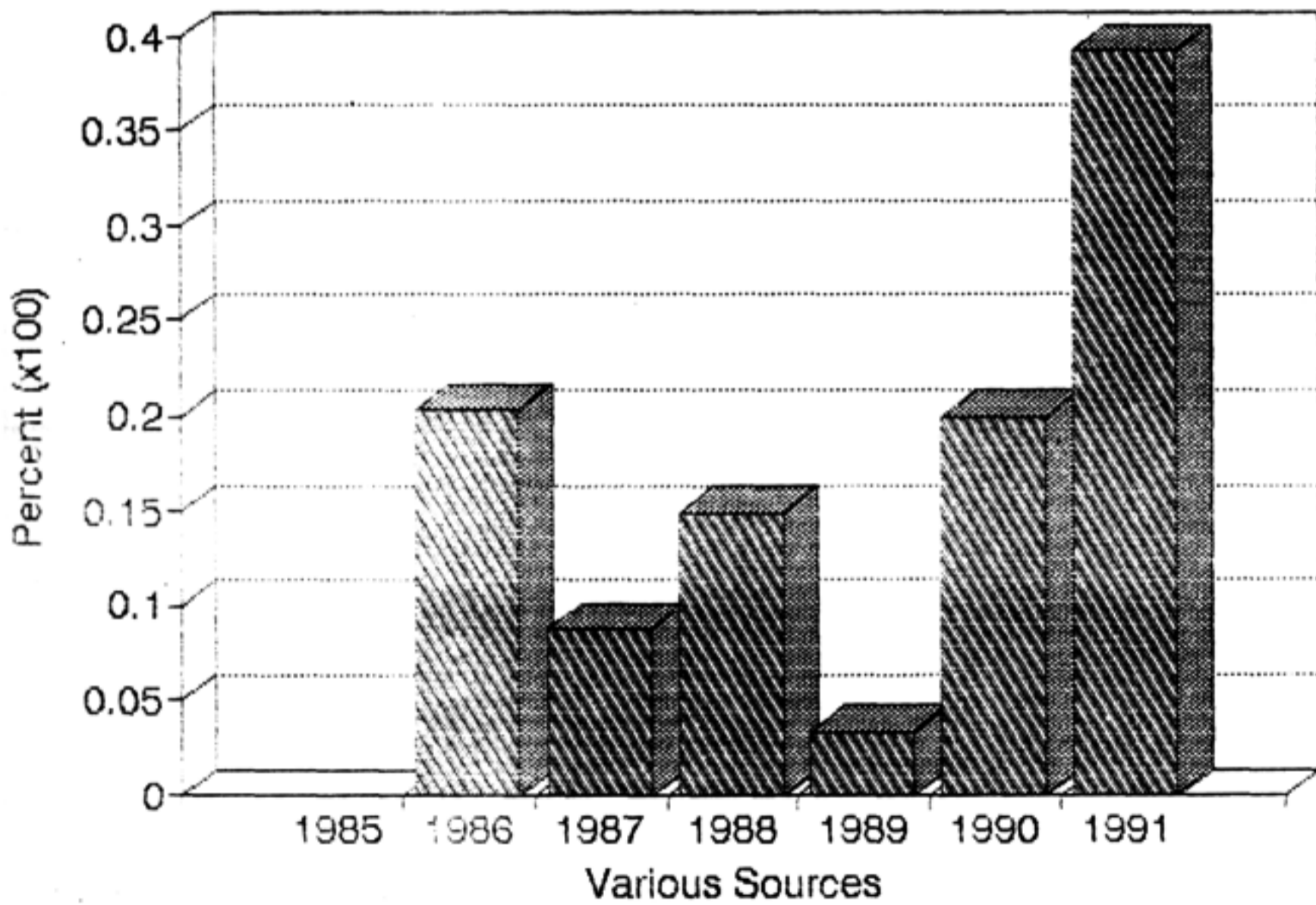
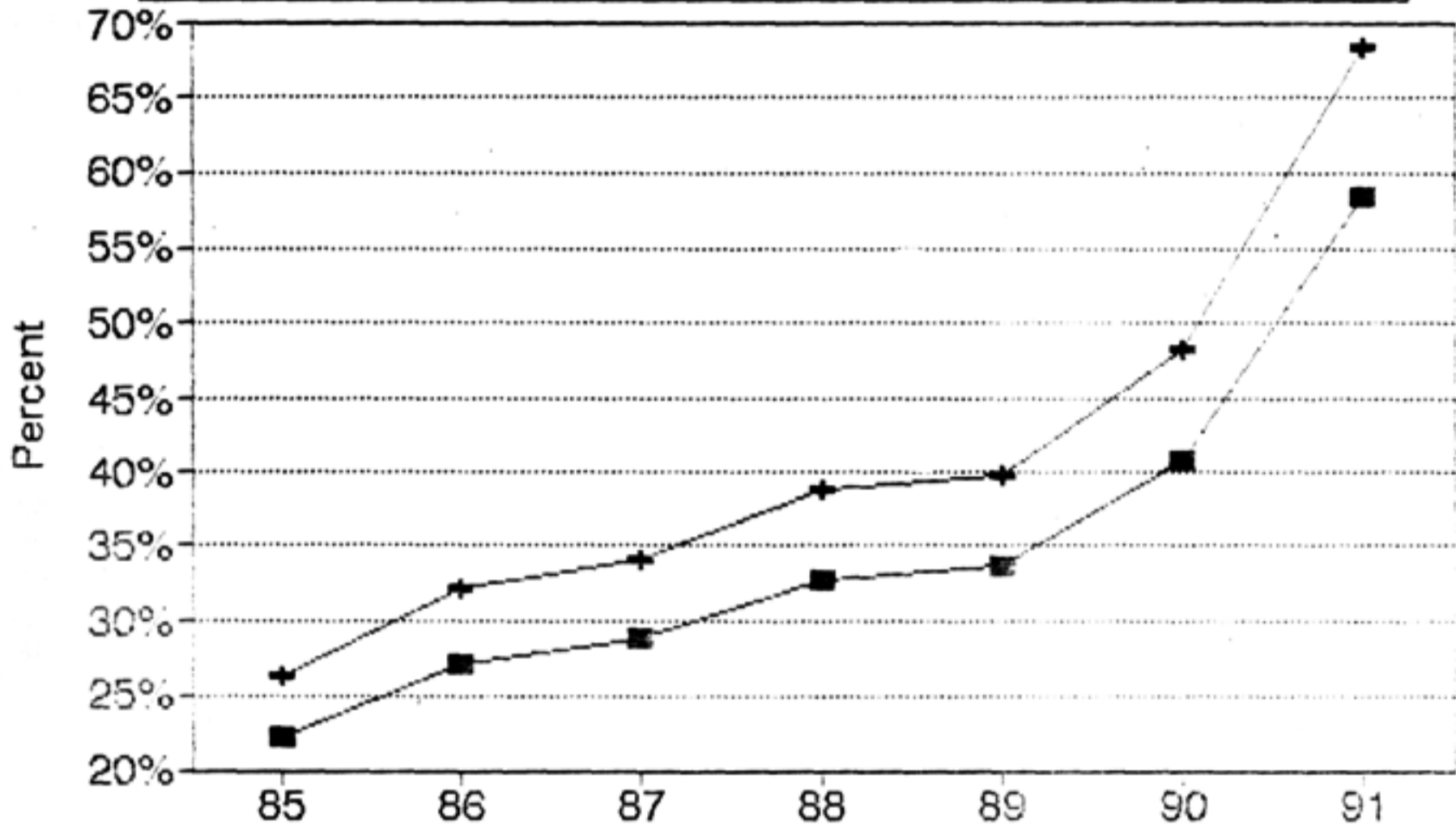


FIGURE 7.5

FAWU DENSITY IN FOOD, BEV. & TOBACCO
Total Employment and Black Workers.



Source: SA Lab Stats '92

■ Total + Blacks

TABLE I

CWIU & FAWU MEMBERSHIP PATTERNS COMPARED

Year	CWIU	% Increase	FAWU	% Increase
84	17752			
85	20700	16.61%	49881	
86			60000	20.29%
87	29859	44.25%	65278	8.80%
88	32739	9.65%	75003	14.90%
89	35151	7.37%	77507	3.34%
90	40913	16.39%	93000	19.99%
91	45147	10.35%	129480	39.23%
92				

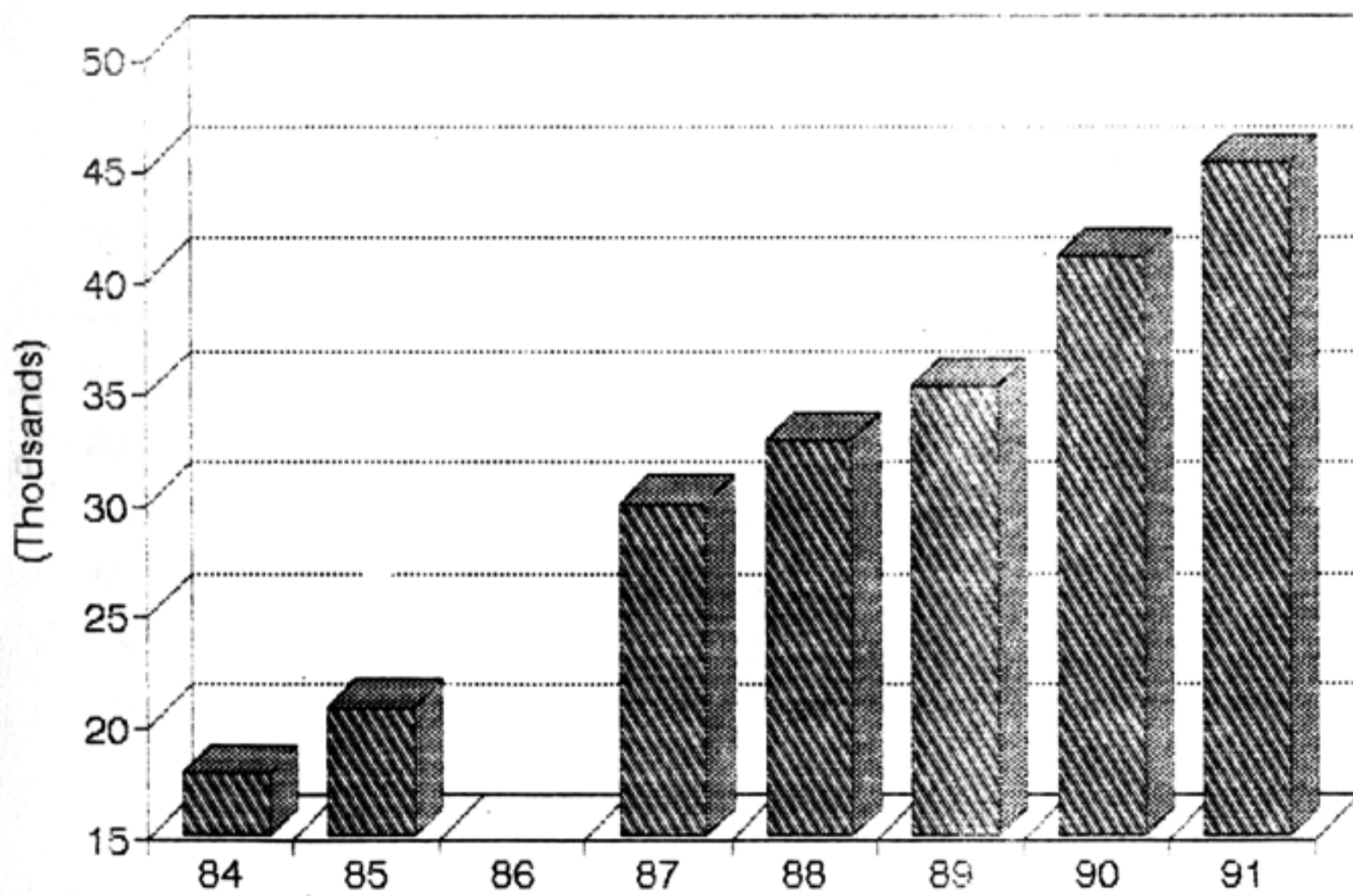
SOURCES: CWIU

UNION FIGURES ARE TAKEN FROM COSATU CONGRESS FIGURES EXCEPT IN 1990 WHERE THE SOURCE WAS THE SALDRU DIRECTORY AND IN 1984 WHERE IT IS FROM DOM RECORDS

SOURCES: FAWU

FIGURE 7.6

CHEMICAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION Union Membership



Source: Cosatu, Saldru, DOM

FIGURE 7.7.

CWIU & FAWU
Percentage Union Growth Compared

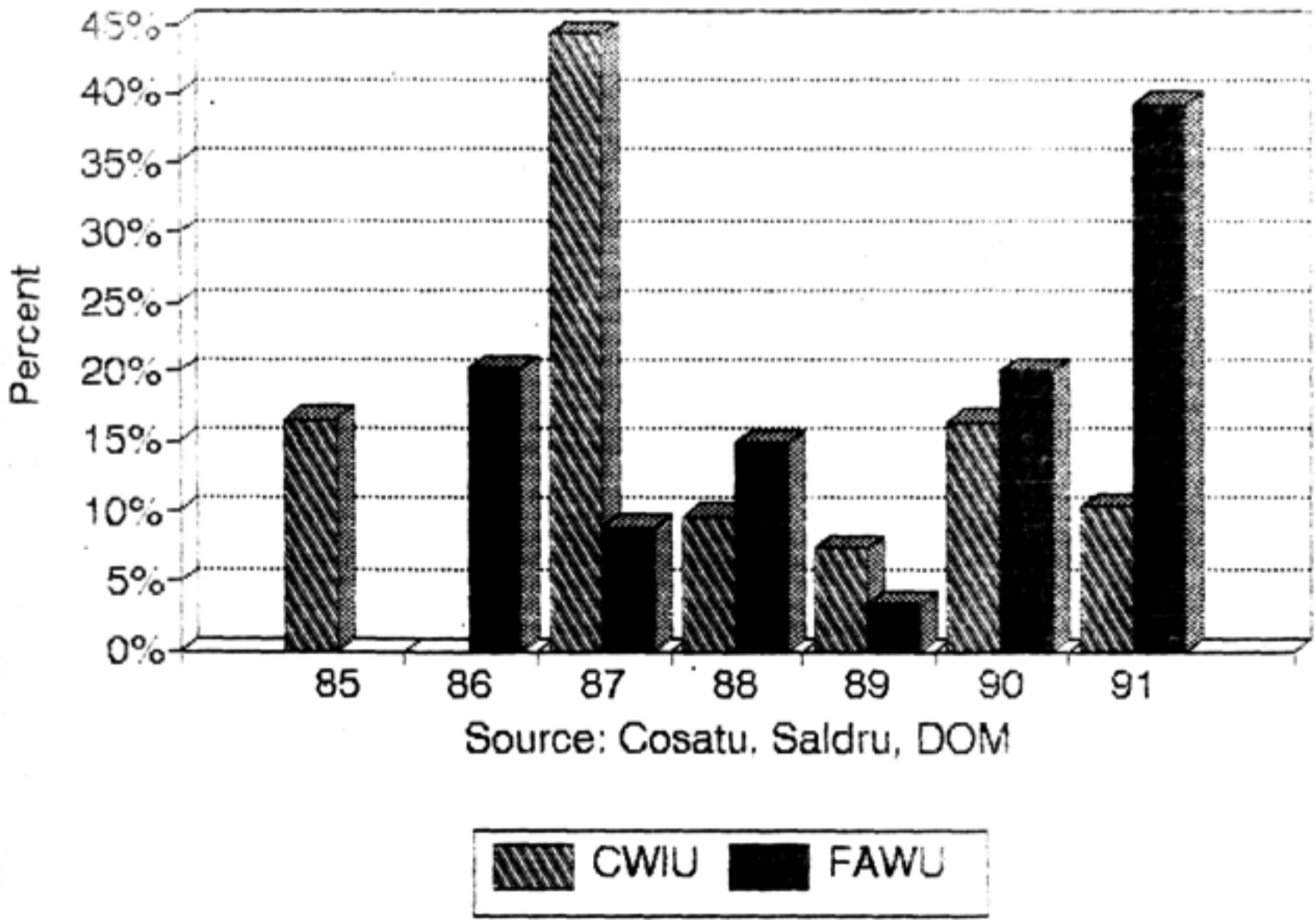


TABLE J

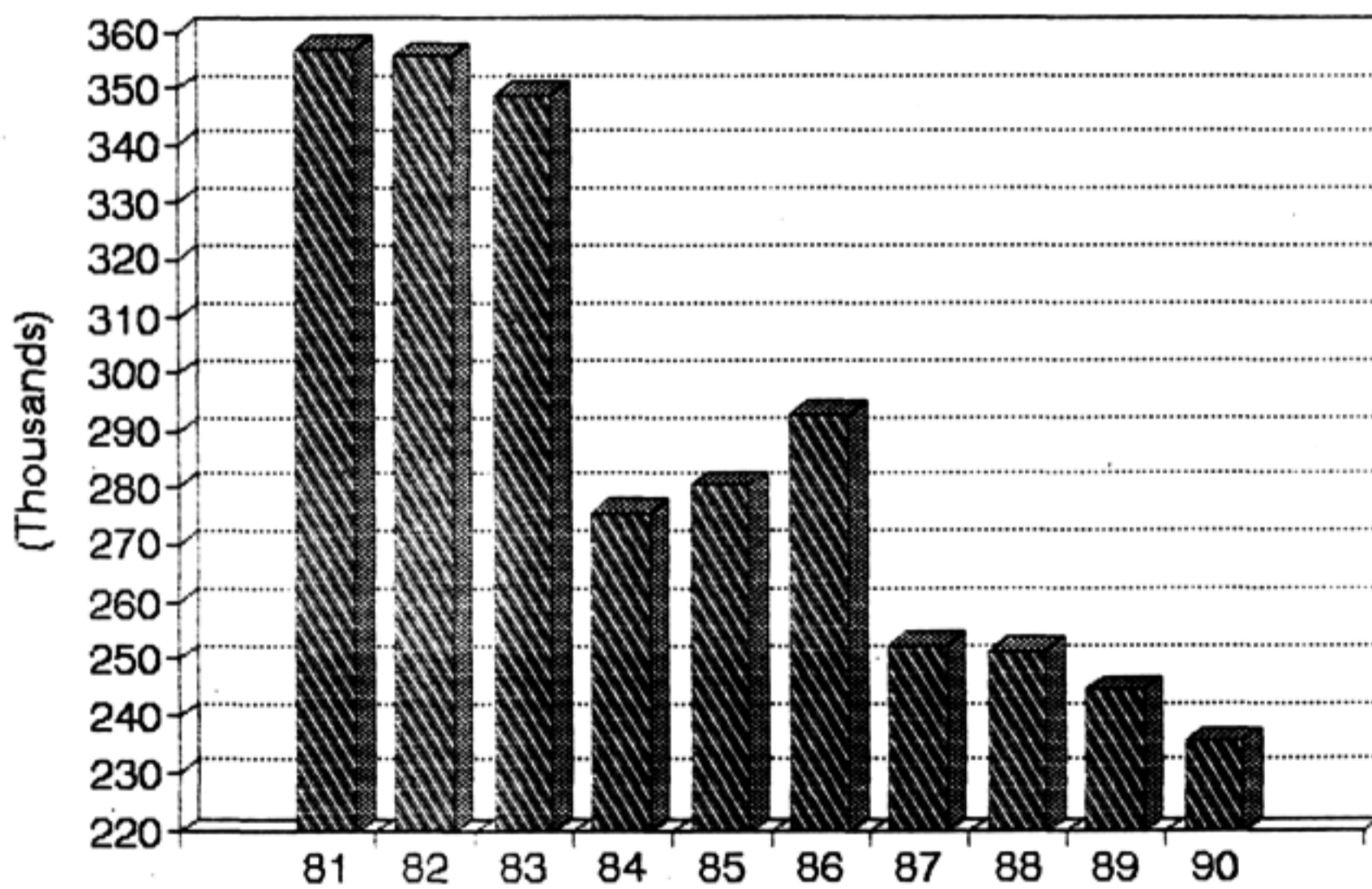
Year	No. of Trade Unions	Membership Totals	Percentage change
81	58	357001	
82	57	355579	-0.40%
83	56	348766	-1.92%
84	46	275572	-20.99%
85	46	280250	1.70%
86	46	292806	4.48%
87	41	252267	-13.85%
88	40	251104	-0.46%
89	32	244457	-2.65%
90	30	235553	-3.60%
91			

WHITE REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS

Source: DOM A/R's.

FIGURE 8.1

REGISTERED TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP
Whites only union members



Source: Dept of Manpower A/R

FIGURE 8.2.

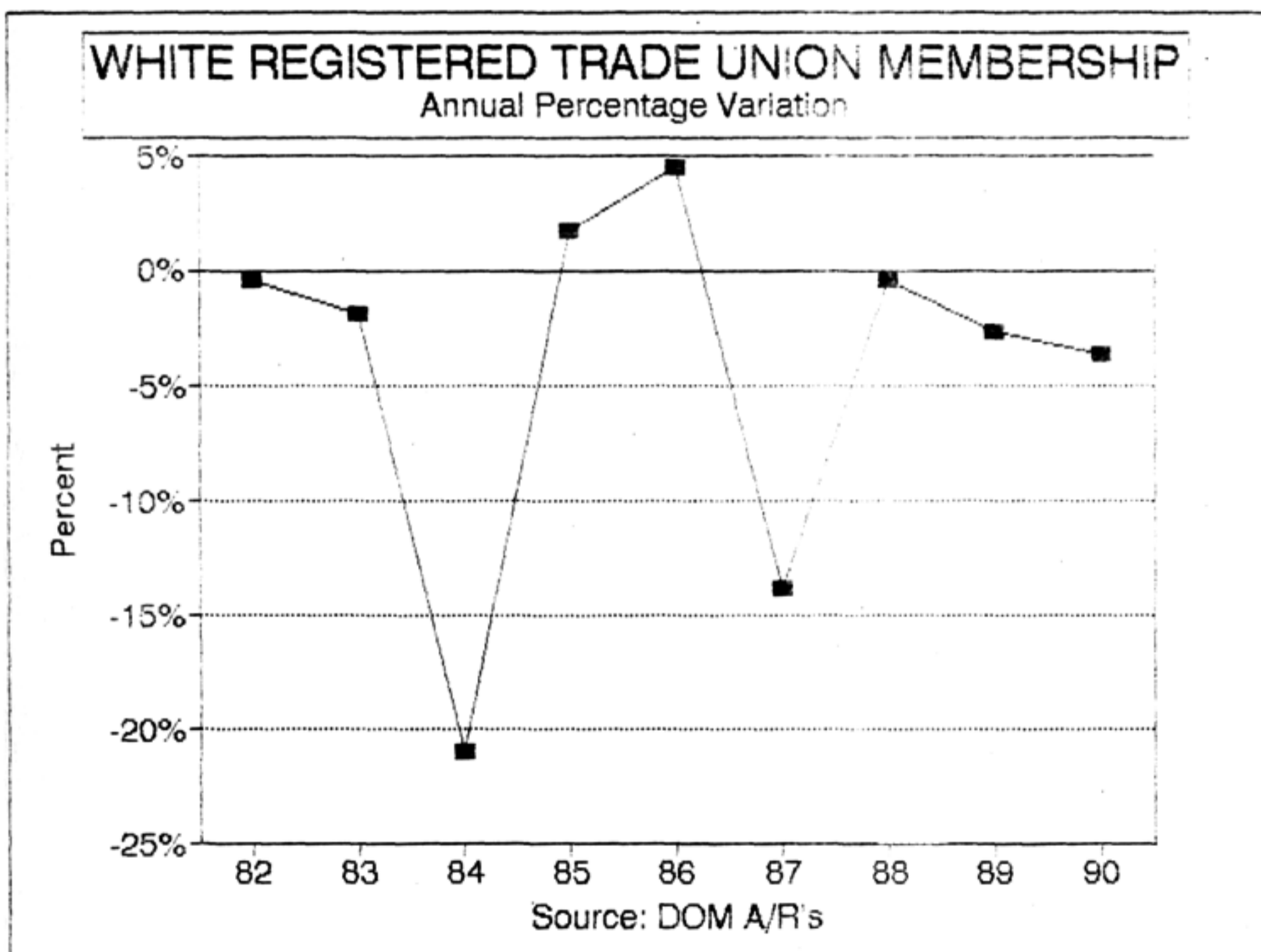


TABLE K

INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS - INDUSTRIAL AGREEMENTS & EMPLOYERS AND -EES AFFECTED From CSS Labour Stats 1991, 1992 and 1986

YEAR	No. of Industrial Councils	No of wage agreements	No of employers	Employees: Total	Whites
70					
71					
72					
73					
74					
75	102	92	39146	1046105	189116
76	102	102	41124	1065366	193369
77	102	102	39933	988372	200173
78	102	99	39528	995299	204339
79	102	102	40483	1045929	205638
80	105	98	41280	1095472	205885
81	104	99	46658	1265008	212836
82	104	77	44811	1103455	158234
83	102	87	46073	1171724	182907
84	103	94	51031	1183399	165976
85	100	86	48329	1084278	156162
86	99	77	47032	961302	151816
87	97	86	45941	964881	142660
88	95	68	44927	988801	182196
89	92	71	41205	958150	138871
90	91	60	31292	515082	
91	87	63	49470	761332	

note: the '91 ees fig is from nmc '91 report and doesn't incl iron and steel they give a fig of 873000 in 1991

TABLE K
(continued)

Coloureds Africans YEAR

	576779	1975
	583074	1976
	532345	1977
	539397	1978
	568292	1979
	602854	1980
	719783	1981
	634902	1982
	663300	1983
	664550	1984
	603574	1985
210133	528298	1986
216591	527284	1987
205648	535620	1988
203305	528703	1989

Figure 9.1

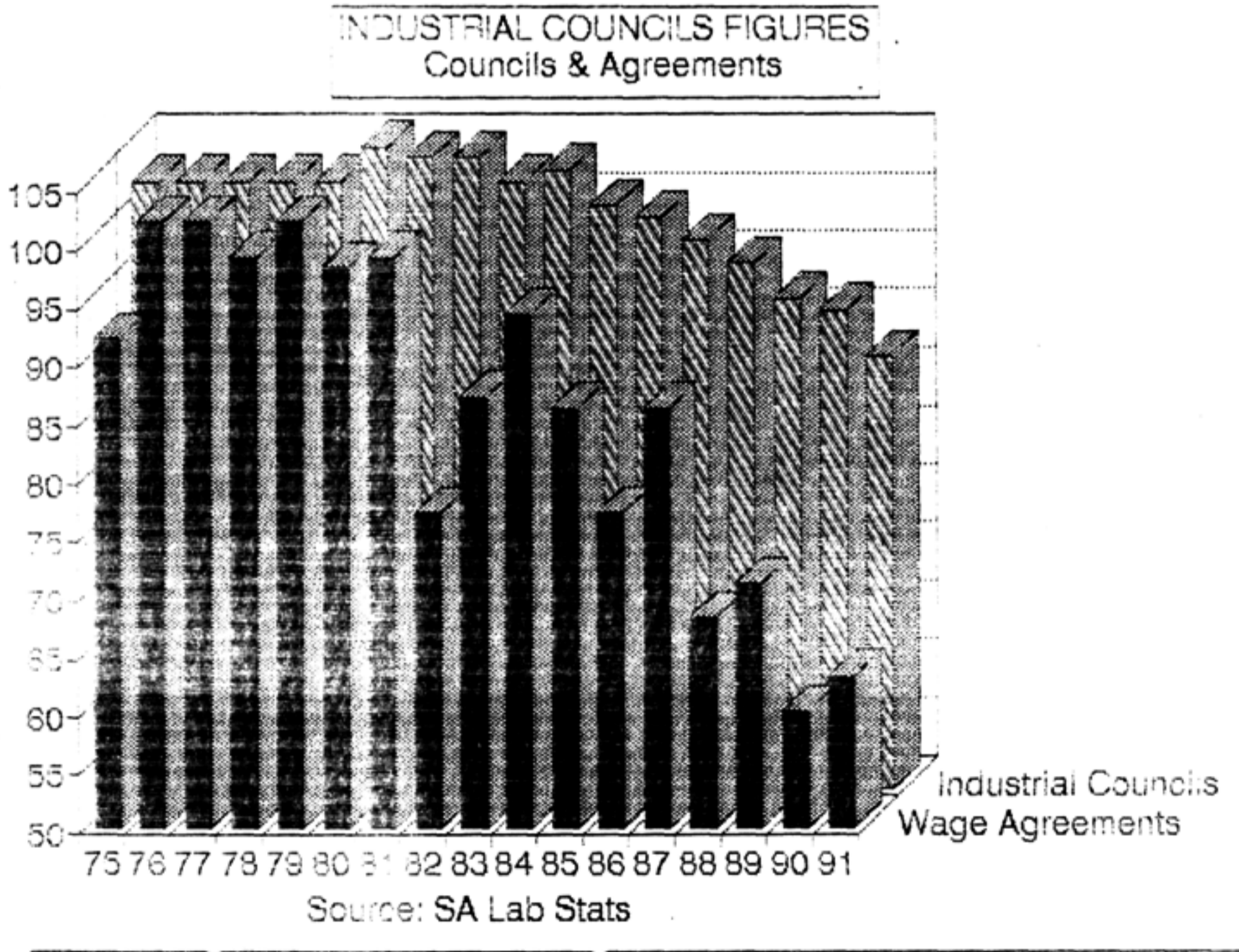


FIGURE 9.2.

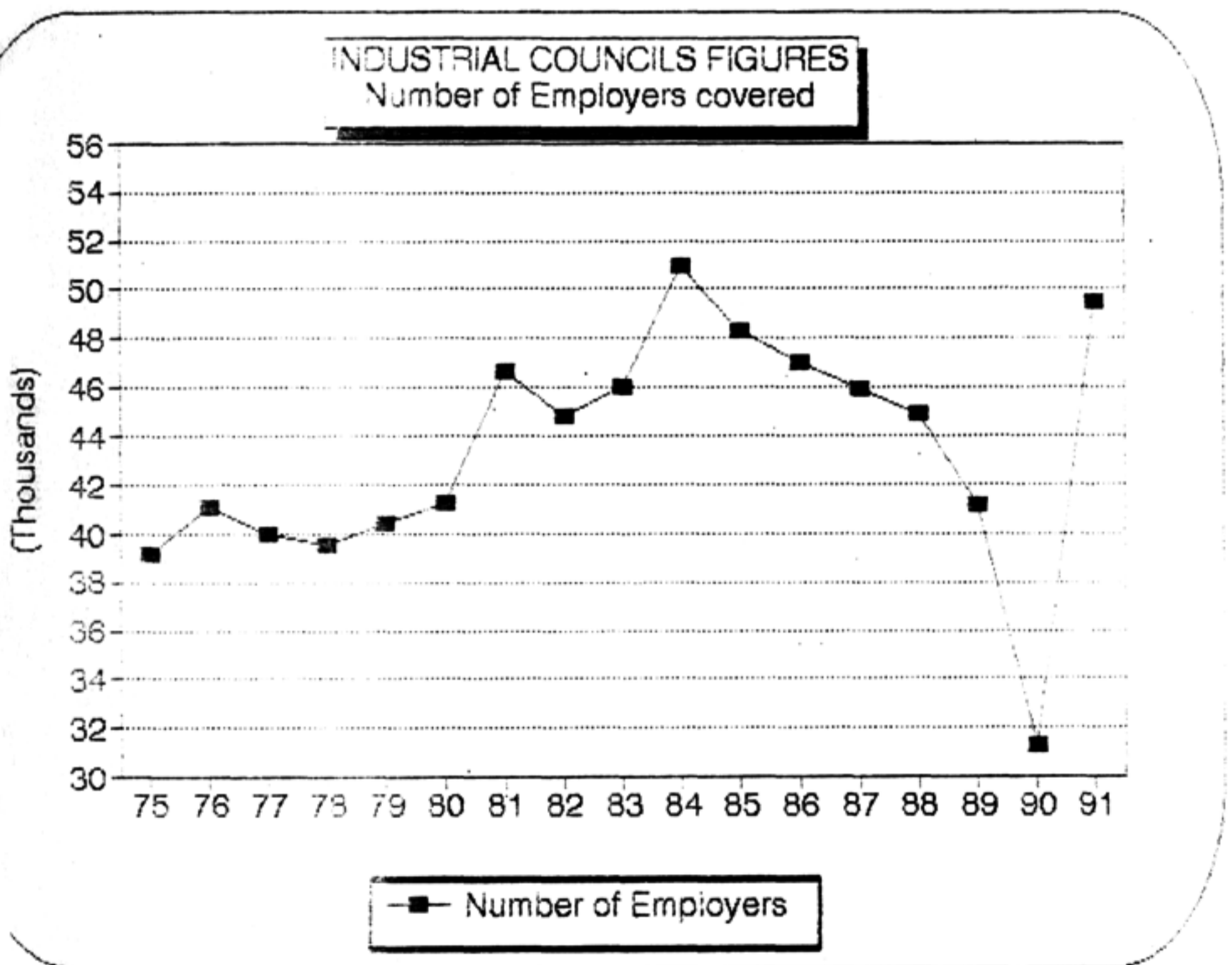


Figure 9.3.

INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS FIGURES
Number of Employees covered

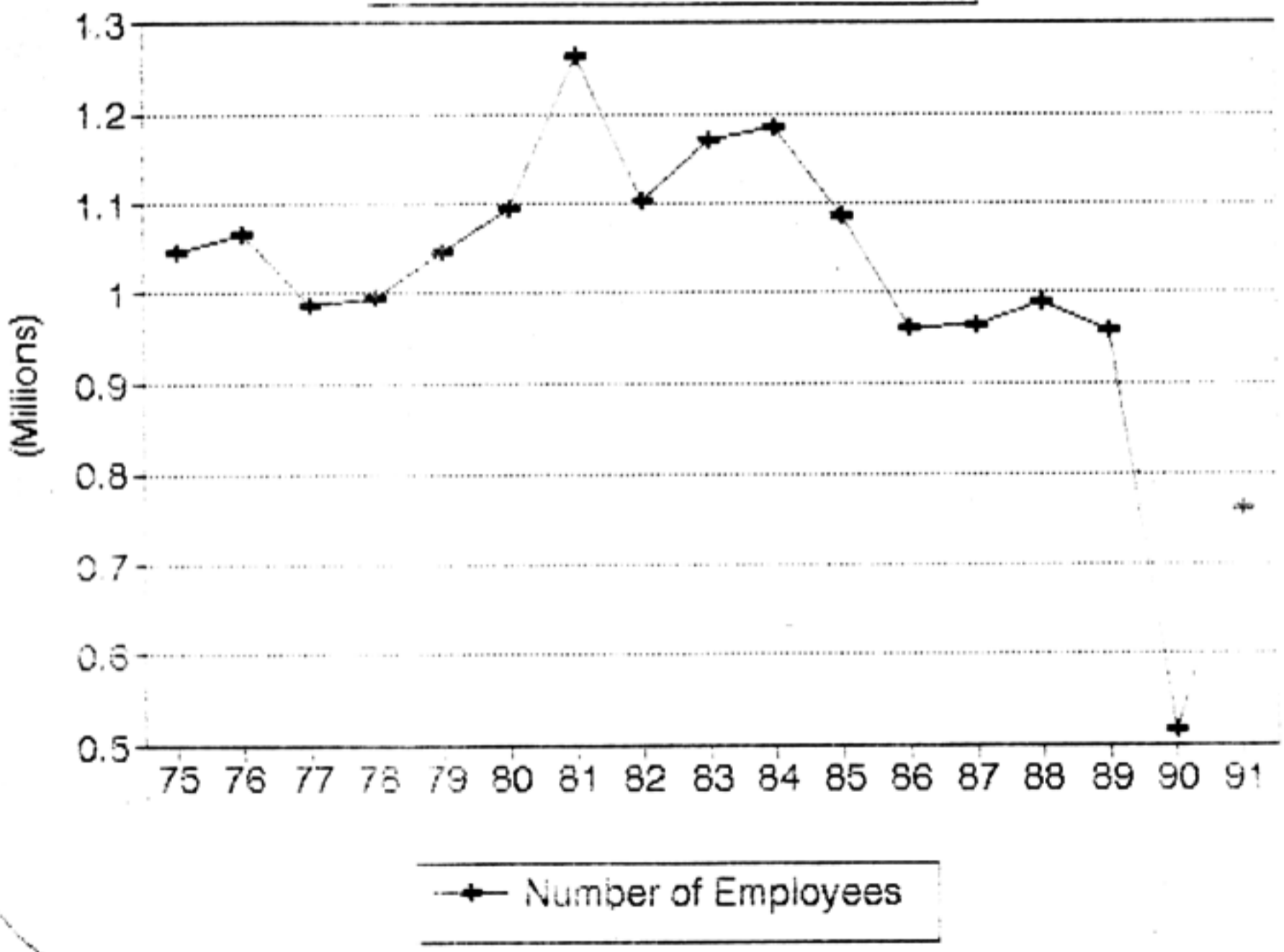


TABLE L

DOM ANNUAL REPORTS
REGISTERED AND UNREGISTERED UNIONS

REGISTERED TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP	Years	OFFICIAL	ESTIMATED	TOTAL REG - ESTIMATED	DENSITY OF UNION EMPLOYMENT
701755	79				
809050	80				
1054405	81				
1225454	82				
1273890	83				
1406302	84	15,407	31,000	160,133	38.06%
1391423	85	153,647	33,700	197,347	39.19%
1698137	86	117,787	35,000	215,757	40.80%
1879400	87	130,698	37,000	218,000	41.22%
2084323	88	233,708	37,000	241,323	46.22%
2120117	89	422,741	37,000	258,117	51.96%
2-28716	90		38,000	281,716	52.66%
2718970	91		37,000	318,970	53.75%

FIGURE 10.1.

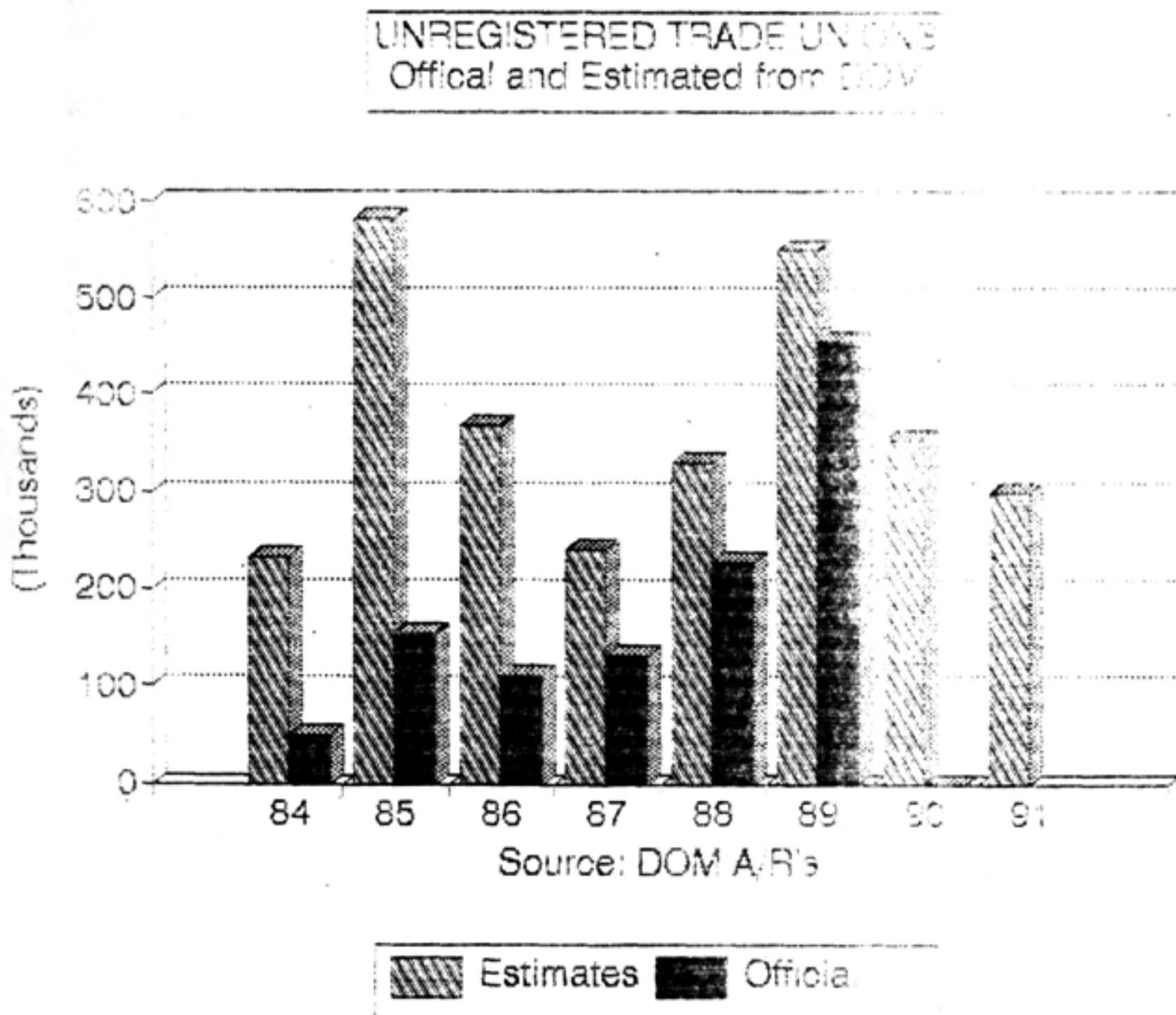
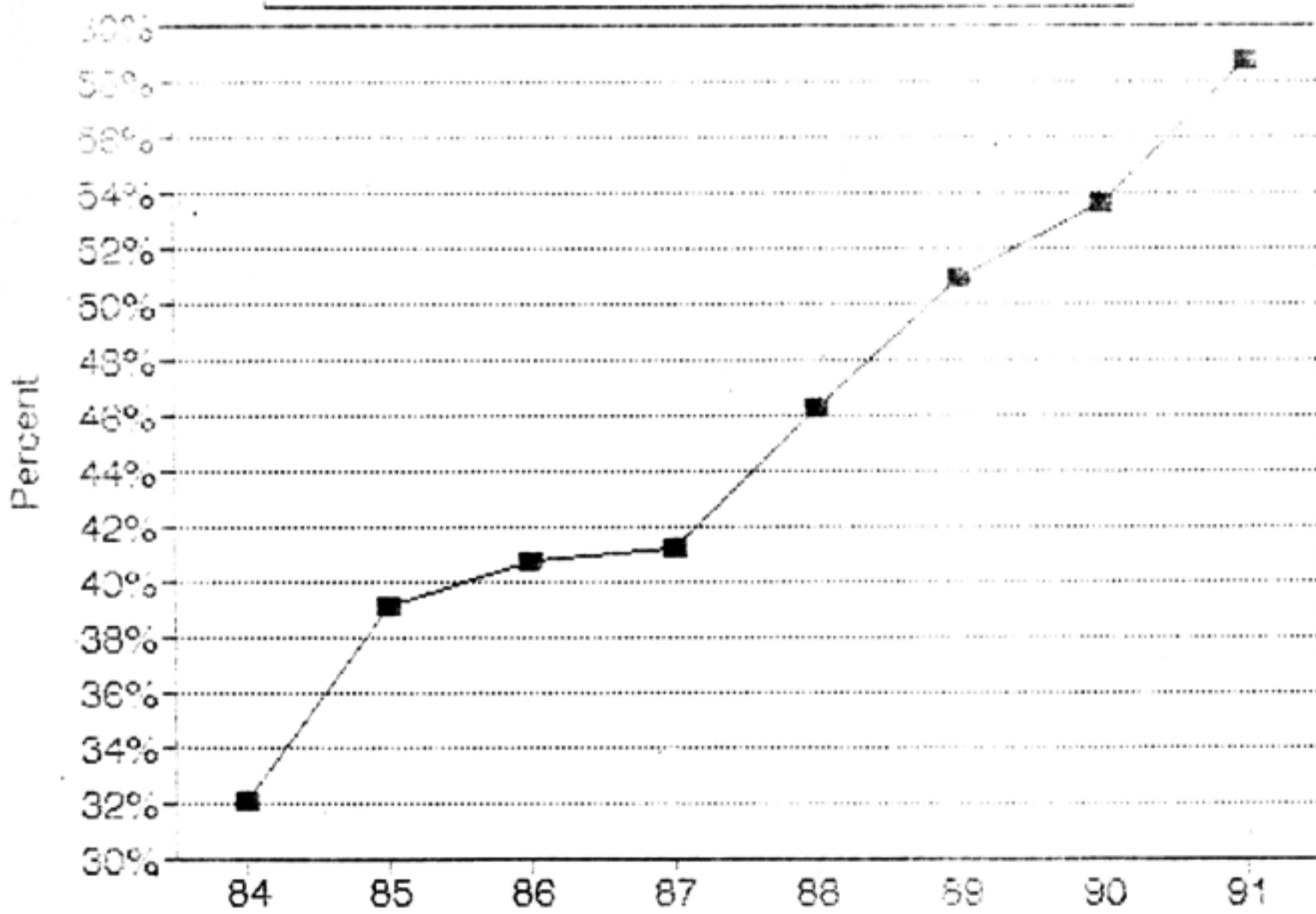


FIGURE 10.2

NON-AGRIC EMPLOYMENT & UNION DENSITY
Registered + Non Registered Unions



Sources: CSS Lab Stats '92 & DOM A/R's