WAGE INCOME, MIGRANT LABOUR AND LIVELIHOODS BEYOND THE RURAL-URBAN DIVIDE IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE OF DUNLOP DURBAN FACTORY WORKERS

by

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DECLARATION

I, *Sithembiso Bhengu* declare that this thesis is my own unaided and original research, except where referenced and indicated otherwise. The thesis is my own work, both in concept and execution, apart from the normal guidance from my supervisor. It has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Signature: _____

_____ day of _____2014

DEDICATION

To my dad, who went to be with the Lord on 20 May 2012

To Dunlop workers and worker leaders, especially the late Bombshell Khumalo, Elphias Buthelezi and Bongani Mkhungo. In memory of Nathaniel Matiwane.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa. The research examines the relationship between wage income and the mobilisation of livelihoods of working class households across the rural-urban divide. Through an ethnographic study with Dunlop workers, the research examines rural-urban linkages of African workers, interrogating how these linkages are maintained and how they play out in mobilisation and struggles for livelihoods in everyday life. Based on literature on workers and livelihoods in South Africa, the research hypothesis argues that wage income remains the main pillar and source of the reproduction of life and the mobilisation of livelihoods of working class households, both rural and urban.

To interrogate these propositions three areas of evidence needed to be developed into key questions:

1. The centrality of wage labour to the mobilisation of livelihoods in extended familial households across the rural-urban divide.
2. Secondly, establishing the degree of these rural-urban linkages and networks and the form they take.
3. Lastly, working life and struggles, and the everyday life of African workers and their household networks.

In answering these questions the thesis explores three major arguments. The first argument is that social reproduction, lives and livelihoods of working class South Africans are organised and reorganised across the rural-urban divide. Wage income remains the most important resource in the production, reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa. The thesis argues that Dunlop workers have and continue to service dual (and some instances multiple) familial networks across the rural-urban divide. These familial networks are serviced through visits, remittances, the supporting of adult children to find accommodation in the city when looking for employment and through the performance of traditional rituals.

The second key argument is that Dunlop's institutional production regimes continue to be organised through what I call a *racialised ordering* and lack of substantive transformation on the shop floor. These precipitate antagonistic relations between workers and management as well as a militant workforce. As a result, despite the contradictions and contestations noted in the literature about trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa (Buhlungu, 2006, 2010; Social Development, 2004, 2006; Kenny, 2004; Seekings, 2004; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005), workers continue to identify them as their bona fide voice. Shop floor militancy is constructed by invoking the popular history of trade unions and through shop floor socialisation of younger workers by their older familial networks.

The third argument is that workers' narratives are complex. The thesis explores Sitas' (2004a) assertion that the narratives of workers' lives and their struggles are not simple, neat, straightforward and predictable, as generalist theorists would argue. Instead, they are complex and articulated with class, race, gender, rural-urban milieu, culture, struggle, violence and identity-making meaning in everyday life.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	:	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	:	African National Congress
ASGISA	:	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
CMP	:	Capitalist Mode of Production
COOP	:	Cooperatives
COSATU	:	Congress of South African Trade Unions
COSAW	:	Congress of South African Writers
CSG	:	Child Support Grant
DSD	:	Department of Social Development
EAP	:	Economically Active Population
EPWP	:	Expanded Public Works Programme
GDS	:	Growth and Development Summit
GHS	:	General Household Survey
GEAR	:	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HIV	:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFP	:	Inkatha Freedom Party
KIDS	:	KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Survey
LFS	:	Labour Force Survey
KZN	:	KwaZulu-Natal
MAWU	:	Metal and Allied Workers Union
MEC	:	Minerals-Energy Complex
NIDS	:	National Income Dynamics Survey
NUMSA	:	National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
OAP	:	Old Age Pension
OHS	:	October Household Survey
PCMP	:	Pre-Capitalist Mode of Production
PSLSD	:	Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development
SACP	:	South African Communist Party
Stats SA	:	Statistics South Africa
TURP	:	Trade Union Research Project
UDF	:	United Democratic Front

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The central aim of the research is to investigate the reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa. The research examines the relationship between wage income and the mobilisation of livelihoods of working class households beyond the rural-urban divide. Through an ethnographic study of workers at the Dunlop Tyres Manufacturing factory in Durban, the research examines rural-urban linkages of African workers, interrogating how these linkages are maintained and how they play out in mobilisation and struggles for livelihoods in everyday life.

The thesis argues that rural-urban linkages continue to define the labour regime in post-apartheid South Africa. While there is more variance in income sources of African working class households since the year 2000[1], workers' wages continue to be the main source of household livelihoods, beyond the rural-urban divide. Migrant labour continues to be a common − even though reconstituted feature of African industrial workers. Through remittance transfers to extended family networks rural-urban linkages continue to define lives and the identity of African working class households. These rural-urban networks play a significant role in constructing and reconstructing lives and livelihoods of African working class families. Extended family members oscillate between rural and urban homesteads is search of jobs and other income generating activities. Extended family

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[1] Data from the National Income Dynamics (NIDS) as well as the General Household Survey (GHS) show that since the year 2000 livelihoods of African working class households increasingly draw from a variety or multiplicity of income streams including, but not limited to wages, social grants, self-employment, and other non-documented sources. The variability and, or multiplicity of livelihood streams does not depict mobility away from poverty and livelihoods insecurity, but depict different ways through which African working class households mobilise and struggle to secure their livelihoods (Posel 2010, Scully 2012).

members in the countryside send adult children to their family relatives in the city in search of employment and, or further education and training opportunities. Rural homesteads continue to have a significant role in the lives and identity of African households, either as places of retreat and rejuvenation, especially after harsh encounters with the 'vicious city life'. The rural homestead also plays a significant role in constructing meaning and accruing social capital for African workers [2]. Rural-urban linkages play out both in mining and manufacturing because of continued recruitment and use of migrant labour synonymous with the 20th century industry. The recent rupture and massacre in Marikana and the unfolding crisis in the platinum sector have brought to the fore the continuing saliency of migrant labour and recruitment in mining and industrial manufacturing. The thesis will show that not only is migrant labour an objective reality of African workers, migrant identity also continues to be constructed and invoked by workers at the level of the shop floor in everyday life.

There are three areas of theorisation in literature which the thesis makes contributions to. First, the thesis engages with Nattrass (2000, 2003), Nattrass and Seekings (2001) and Seekings and Natrass (2002, 2005), who write about poverty, unemployment and distribution in post-apartheid South Africa. They argue that organised labour is in a semi-privileged position and resists reforms to the labour market and other policies that would steer the economy down a more labour-absorbing growth path (Nattrass, 2000a; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005). They point to obvious shrinkages in formal employment against gradual increases in wages in the formal economy, to assert that not only is organised labour representing a privileged few, but they continue to push for their interests at the

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[2] I was surprised by the level of significance as well as the dreams Dunlop workers have and hold towards their rural homestead. A lot of workers expressed dreams of returning to the countryside for farming, mostly livestock farming. Others want to establish retail outlets and supermarkets in the countryside. Workers also have strong affinity to the rural countryside because of remains of ancestors and family elders. Significant cultural and ritual activities that bring meaning and recognition in African communities are mostly held at the rural homestead.

expense of the economy, employment and the poor in South Africa (Nattrass, 2000a, 2000b; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005). They propose that the priority should not be on wage increases, but on increasing the numbers of unemployed who are inserted into the economy, through a more flexible oriented labour market framework (2002:19). This would be done by modifying labour market policy with flexibility, which promotes re-segmentation in the labour market as well as allowing non-collective bargaining sectors in order to balance the need for acceptable minimum wages with job creation for the unskilled and unemployed. The thesis problematizes this argument, providing data from a Dunlop case study as well as analyses by Posel (2003, 2010), Scully (2012) and Barchiesi (2011) to counter claims about organised labour, wages and livelihoods. The thesis argues that the neo-liberal macro-economic framework and labour market flexibility and restructuring resulted in widespread employment attrition and retrenchments. These in turn give rise to vulnerability and compound the pressures in the reproduction of the working class which Fakier and Cock (2009) and Mosoetsa (2011) call the crisis of social reproduction.

The thesis also critiques the livelihoods approach and its application in policy and intervention programmes in government and development (and donor) agencies in post-apartheid South Africa. This approach emphasizes self-reliance, self-motivation, assets, capabilities, resources and social capital that people already have as sources for livelihoods (Ellis 2000; Helmore and Singh, 2001; Rakodi and Jones, 2002; Romaya and Rakodi, 2002; Sen, 1982). In government circles 'livelihoods' are somehow presented as a panacea towards poverty alleviation as well as substitutes for state social protection grants (Social Development, 2004, 2005). The thesis asserts that while self-reliance, assets, capabilities and looking at the poor as active agents are useful for development, because of our histories of dispossession, capitalist accumulation and proletarianisation, wage income remains the main source and pillar of livelihoods and reproduction of African

working class households livelihoods across the rural-urban divide[3]. The thesis presents an alternative analysis that connects wage labour, social grants, subsistence agriculture and various other productive activities within a comprehensive social welfare and livelihood policy framework.

Researching rural-urban linkages also enables one to interrogate a binary approach to social analysis and kinds of policy imperatives derived from such in post-apartheid South Africa. Researching workers, wages and livelihoods encompass understanding interconnections of land, labour and livelihoods, of shop floor and community and of urban and rural and unbounded set of relations and their construction in constant struggles and contradiction in reproduction of the working class in everyday life. Hart and Sitas (2004: 32) argue that in most cases researchers pursue each of the elements of 'the land question', the 'labour question' and the 'livelihoods question' in isolation and mostly divided across rural-urban lines. A relational approach looks at social and spatial interconnections, to address a central challenge to research, policy and social action in South Africa.

To interrogate propositions in the thesis, three areas of evidence needed to be developed into key questions. First, the centrality of wage income to mobilisation of livelihoods in African working class households across the rural-urban divide. If wage income is the main source of extended household livelihoods, how do livelihoods procurement activities and struggles play out in a context of increasing

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[3]Freund (1988) showed that the history of migrant labour and remittance transfers is not a unique Southern African case, but a common feature found also in West Africa and East Africa. Lesotho and Namibia also continue to exhibit rural-urban linkages emanating from migrant labour and remittance transfers. In Namibia, there are close links between the Namibian peasantry and the industrial working class as a result of the contract labour system (Mbuende, 1986). Workers' wages it is argued contribute significantly to the survival of family members in rural areas and Namibia's industrial workforce bear a substantial burden caused by widespread unemployment of about 35% (Jauch 2003). Despite the emergence of a permanent urban working class over the past decade, the vast majority of workers in formal sector employment share their income by way of remittances with members of their extended families in urban and rural areas.

precariousness of employment and flexibility? Second, the degree of rural-urban linkages and networks and the form(s) they take in everyday life. Lastly, how rural-urban linkages and identities play out in everyday life, in the construction of workplace regimes and workplace struggles?

In answering these questions the thesis explores three major arguments. The first argument is that lives and livelihoods of the African working class are organised and reorganised across the rural-urban divide. Wage income remains the main source of income in the reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa. Yet, figures on GDP, company profits and wages show that even as we enter the second decade of transition, the post-apartheid economy continues to be constructed on a low-wage regime of accumulation (Forslund, 2013 and Reddy, 2014)[4]. The thesis shows multiple articulations of workers, wages and livelihoods and sets of relations, contradictions and struggles these take in everyday life. The thesis also agrees with Barchiesi (2011), Fakier and Cock (2009), Hassim (2008) and Mosoetsa (2011) that the crisis in post-apartheid South Africa is not necessarily a crisis of accumulation, but a crisis of reproduction[5].

My second key argument is that *racial ordering* of organisational structure and industrial relations at the Dunlop factory precipitate shop floor militancy and strong trade union support. At Dunlop, worker militancy is constructed by

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[4] In constructing this argument, I make use of three historical and theoretical contributions to political economy. First, 'Articulation of Modes of Production' by Wolpe (1980) and Meillasoux (1980). Second, minerals and energy complex (MEC) by Fine and Rustomjee (1996) and Fine (2009), and third, accumulation by dispossession by Harvey (2003). These contributions use different lenses to delineate capitalist accumulation through cheap labour power throughout the colonial to post-apartheid continuum. A fuller argument is developed later in this chapter and in the conclusion.

[5] Hart (2013) just published a book, "Rethinking the South African Crisis", in which she revisits the crisis thesis made popular in the late 1980s and early 1990s by Gelb (1991) and Fine and Rustomjee (1986, 2008). Hart revisits this analysis asserting the relevance of revisiting Gramsci, Fanon and Lefebvre to interrogate the crisis in the post-apartheid transition. The thesis expands more on crisis and social reproduction analyses in chapter two.

invoking the popular memory of trade union struggles and through shop floor socialisation of new and younger workers by their older familial networks. While familial recruitment networks were initially used to entrench a traditionally docile workforce, workers have transformed them. They now facilitate socialisation of new workers into collective worker consciousness.

My last key argument is that workplaces are not bounded spaces, but as Henry Lefebvre (1991b; Merrifield, 2000, 2002), Doreen Massey (1994) and Gillian Hart (2002, 2005b, 2006, 2013) argue, are constructed and reconstructed in social relations in everyday life. Factory regimes (Burawoy, 1985) are not bounded, but are analysed using what Hart (2002, 2006, 2013) calls relational comparison that is grounded in a critical conception of spatiality by illuminating power-laden processes of constitution, connection, and dis-connection, along with slippages, openings, and contradictions, and possibilities for alliance within and across different spatial scales (Hart, 2006:6-7). In the thesis Dunlop and its shop floor regime are un-bounded, constructed through sets of relations and connections of shop floor dynamics and cultural formations in everyday life. The thesis also develops an expanded conception to Sitas' (1984, 2002) cultural formations and their articulation in the construction of workplace order(s) in everyday life.

1.2 DUNLOP DURBAN CASE STUDY

The Dunlop case study is a window through which a broader set of questions can be interrogated about social reproduction of the African working class, migrant labour, rural-urban linkages and livelihoods of workers in post-apartheid South Africa. First, taking from Geertz (1973, 1983) studying Dunlop is not about studying the factory (locality), but a study of how social relations of production in the workplace and beyond the workplace play out in everyday life. Secondly, Dunlop is also significant as a workplace because it is the first mass production factory in Durban to employ African migrant operators following the strike of

white and Indian operators in 1942/3[6]. Dunlop workers were also the first mass-manufacturing migrants to be researched by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal[7]. Thirdly, Dunlop workers feature prominently in the history of working class struggle and trade union formations in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Dunlop workers led one of the longest and most famous 1984 strikes, which culminated in Dunlop becoming the first factory to sign a Trade Union recognition agreement in Durban[8] (Sitas, 1984). In Howick, BTR Sarmcol workers waged one of the longest and most violent[9] strikes in South Africa's history (Bonnin, 1987:1). The Dunlop factory also represents a typical South African workplace, experiencing increased work insecurity, restructuring and retrenchments over the last 15 years[10]. For these reasons Dunlop is a suitable baseline to ask the questions one needs to ask and speak to the research topic regarding the production and reproduction of the working class in post-apartheid South Africa.

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[6] Department of Economics, (1950:71); Sitas, (1986, 1989)

[7] The study was commissioned and undertaken by the Department of Economics Research Committee at the Natal University College for Dunlop and the Durban Chamber after the 2nd World War, and was published in 1950. Dunlop Durban factory was the first factory to employ African migrant operators on the shop floor. The research was aimed at investigating the suitability of African migrants to the rigours of mass production routine and work.

[8] The strike was subsequently joined by sister plants, viz. Dunlop Sports in Jacobs, Slazenger factory, Dunlop Ladysmith factory and Dunlop Benoni factory.

[9] It was not the strike action that was violent, but the strike coincided with the beginning of Inkatha sponsored political violence in the mid-1980s. Several shop stewards and worker activists were ambushed and killed by Inkatha war-lords between 1985 and 1986.

[10] The Dunlop Durban factory presently has around 840 workers, a reduction from between 1 300 and 1 700 workers throughout the late 1940s and early 1990s continuum. The Ladysmith factory has 850 staff, a reduction from more than 1 400 in the early 2000s (www.apollotyres.com). I was informed by a NUMSA organiser that Dunlop Industrial Products in Howick has steadily reduced staff since the aftermath of the popular 1985 BTR Sarmcol strikes from about 2 377 to just over 500 presently. He even showed me vacant offices in the firm's administration block during my visit in the plant.

1.2.1 History of Dunlop Tyres

Figure 1.1: Aerial View of the Dunlop Factory, Sydney Road, Durban (1950)
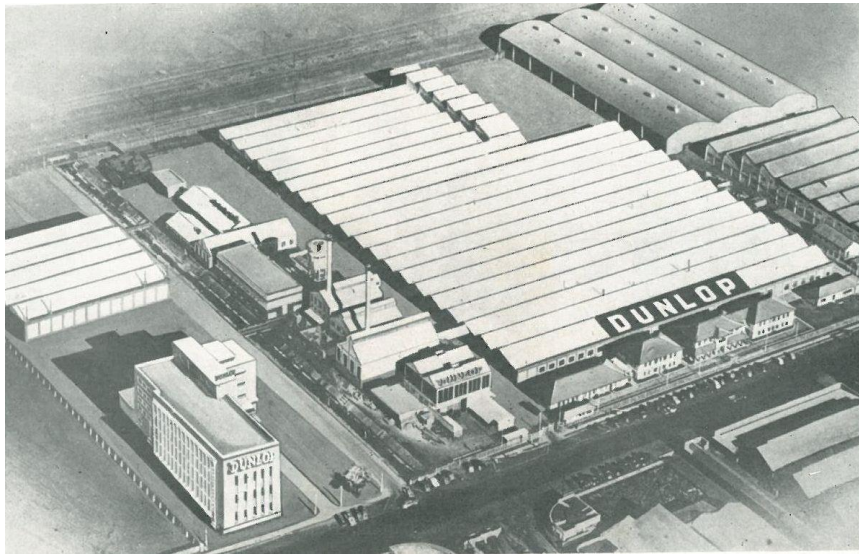
Courtesy of the Department of Economics, University of Natal

Dunlop is a British tyre-making company, from which Dunlop South Africa was established in September 1896, when a small agency was opened in Cape Town. Other plants were established in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, Bloemfontein and the then Rhodesia between 1903 and 1930[11]. It was only in 1935 that Dunlop officially opened a manufacturing plant locally when they established a factory in Durban, chosen for the net advantage of its proximity to the Durban harbour on the one hand and to the Far Eastern sources of raw material on the other. Durban also offered the advantage of closer proximity to national markets in Witwatersrand and a promise of a stable supply of cheap Indian labour as well as unskilled labour in Native Reserves[12]. In 1939 the company became Dunlop South Africa Limited Incorporated. Dunlop expanded, establishing a plant in Benoni in the 1950s. In 1964 Dunlop South Africa Ltd's shares were listed on the JSE Securities Exchange with total assets of R 17 million. In 1970 Sarmcol (Howick) merged with the Leyland and Birmingham Rubber Company, from which BTR plc. gained control of Sarmcol, to become BTR Sarmcol. In 1973 a steel tyre manufacturing plant began its operation in Ladysmith as part of apartheid's industrial decentralisation move in the late 1960s

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[11] This is a summarised historical account of Dunlop South Africa, taken from The Department of Economics, University of Natal (1950: 13-15).

[12] Ibid.

and 1970s. In 1986 Dunlop South Africa Limited merged with BTR South Africa Limited and in 1998 BTR Plc. sold majority control to Dunlop Africa Holdings (Pty) Limited, a private equity consortium. From this acquisition the holding company became Dunlop Africa Ltd and BTR Sarmcol factory (Howick) became Dunlop Industrial Products.

As indicated above, Dunlop has undergone changes in ownership as well as operationally during the mid-1990s, as well as over the last four years. Most changes in the late 1980s and the 1990s came after the British holding company faced financial problems that forced it to relinquish most of its operations. The management board of Dunlop factories in South Africa bought the factories to become Dunlop Tyres South Africa. The reconstituted firm also de-bunked its operations only to remain with the factories in Durban and Ladysmith, and two factories in Zimbabwe. The most significant change was the 2006 acquisition of 100% of ordinary shares of Dunlop Tyres International by Apollo Tyre Ltd; an India based tyres manufacturing multinational for a cash price of R2, 9 billion. In 2009 Apollo Tyres Ltd acquired a Netherlands premium tyre manufacturer Vredestein Banden BV. It is estimated that after this acquisition Apollo Tyres Ltd has grown to be the 15th largest tyre manufacturer in the world, reaching annual revenue of U$1,7 billion in the 2009-2010 financial year. Apollo Tyre Ltd has a five-year target of making $5 billion revenue and to rank among the top ten tyre makers in the world by 2016[13]. In 2009 the Durban factory changed the company brand name from Dunlop Tyres International to Apollo Tyres South Africa (Pty) Ltd[14].

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[13] See Apollo news, www.apollotyres.com, also see www.wipikideia.com website

[14] The history of Dunlop is taken from several sources, viz. The Department of Economics, (1950), Sitas (1984b, 1986, 1996a, 1997), Bonnin (1987), Philip Dladla (a retired BTR Sarmcol shop steward and NUMSA Organiser), Maxwell Shabalala (a retired Dunlop Ladysmith shop steward and NUMSA Organiser) and Nathaniel Matiwane (a retired Dunlop Durban shop steward). This information is also verified and corroborated by Apollo Tyres South Africa website.

Figure 1.2: Aerial View of the Dunlop Factory, Sydney Road, Durban (2008)

Courtesy of www.apollotyres.com

At the height of its operation the Dunlop Durban factory employed in excess of about 1, 500 to 1, 800 workers throughout the 1940s until late 1980s[15]. Presently, Dunlop Durban factory is an imposing colossal 80 000m², employing 840 workers (approximately 150 of these are flexible labour – sub-contract and labour-broker workers doing all sorts of non-manufacturing jobs[16]). The factory manufactures an estimated 22 000 tonnes of tyres, 60% of the tyres are truck steel, while the remaining 40% are earthmover, tractor, and light truck products. It is worth noting that the attrition in employment at Dunlop began in the early 1990s. This was further accelerated when Dunlop Tyres South Africa began to de-link from its British mother company. Both factories in Durban and Ladysmith experienced growing labour attrition over the next decade. The factory in Ladysmith had a brief increase in employment numbers in 2003 after an introduction of a new shift pattern as well as due to the increase in demand for its car tyres after a Dunlop powered vehicle won a new world and Southern African land speed record for standard production tyres of 388. 538 km/hr. But the numbers have since reduced to about 740 workers presently.

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[15] The Department of Economics (1950) and Sitas (1984b, 2004a) show that throughout this period of almost five decades, Dunlop Durban factory maintained employment figures of above 1 300 workers.

[16] Shop stewards from NUMSA supplied figures of flexible workers from factory records.

1.2.2   Dunlop and the history of migrant labour

One has alluded above that the Dunlop factory in Durban was the first mass production factory that employed African migrant operators in 1943. The influx of African migrant workers at Dunlop dates from 1943, resulting from the 1942/3 strikes led by Indian workers in demand for union recognition[17]. The number of African migrants grew rapidly; by September 1946 the factory employed an average of 1,120 Africans, 83% of whom came from Natal and 14% from the Transkei[18]. During these early years, almost all African workers at Dunlop Durban were migrants; a little over 52% of them had families in traditional authority areas (under Chiefs), paying the local tax; 8% came from European owned farms, paying rent or as labour tenants; 7.4% came from Mission Reserves, paying rent; 6% came from corporately-owned Native land; 4% came from free-hold land; another 4% came from Mission farms and 3% came from crown land, as well as a few pockets from Native farms, Asiatic and Coloured farms (Department of Economics, 1950:2). Throughout the 1940s-1980s the African workforce at Dunlop remained migrant based (Sitas, 1984b, 1986, 1989, 1996a; Bonnin, 1987). Although by the 1980's most workers were residing in dormitory labour reserves and township settlements such as Chesterville, Lamontville, Kwa-Mashu, Inanda, Ntuzuma and Umlazi, they continued to maintain and service a homestead in the countryside.

There have been a few notable researches focused on Dunlop factories in KZN in the 1940s to 1990s continuum[19]. The first research study was conducted by the Department of Economics, at the University of Natal (1950). In 1984 Sitas began a long and protracted research and engagement with Dunlop workers, spanning a full two decades up until a decade after democracy. Sitas (1984, 1989, 1996, 1997, 2002, 2004) represents the core of what is called the social (cultural) formations approach within South African labour studies. Bonnin (1987, 1999) did her MA thesis on BTR Sarmcol workers chronicling their historical 1985/6 strikes and unpacking constructions of working class consciousness. Hart (1996,

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[17] The Department of Economics (1950), Sitas (1984)
[18] The Department of Economics (1950:7), Sitas (1984:30-31)
[19] A fuller account of literature on Dunlop workers is made in Chapter two.

2002) studied workers at Dunlop Ladysmith, looking at the disabling impact of the global neo-liberal agenda in post-apartheid South Africa, but also looking at local responses and struggles.

These different studies have a connecting thread; they explore rural-urban linkages, migrant labour, and the production and reproduction of the working class and their livelihoods and struggles. The first study by the University of Natal (1950) showed that 87% of the married workers and 60% of the single workers maintained constant shuttles between their city and rural homesteads[20]. The study asserts that Africans remained migrants because their livelihoods were supplemented by agriculture in the Native Reserves and labour tenancy on white farms[21]. The study also identifies the pitifully inadequate state of Native housing and the provision of barracks instead of homes. It also highlights what is referred to as the predisposition of the African social structure based on cattle and livestock, and manifested in the reluctance of Africans themselves to urbanisation[22].

Sitas (1984, 1990, 1995, 1997) highlights continuities and discontinuities in migrant labour at Dunlop, showing how even though African workers increasingly had immediate families in Durban they remained migrants. He also highlights the history of oppression and simultaneous struggles and the agency of Dunlop workers as workers, as men, as African traditional people, and as members of communities. Another significant contribution his work makes is towards understanding the rural-urban linkages expressed in the contradictory interplay of modern-traditional systems in the firm, in their struggles, and in their consciousness. His work shows that from 1943 the influx of African migrants was coupled by the establishing of firm-based works' committees under factory-based *Indunas*[23]. Hemson (1979, 1996) also studies this in his research on the docks in

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[20] University of Natal (1950:11)

[21] Wolpe (1972) saw migrant labour as the cornerstone of capitalist accumulation through cheap labour. He argued that through migrant labour modalities of social costs of reproduction becomes the responsibility of pre-capitalist countryside.

[22] Ibid, 15

[23] *Induna* is a traditional representative of the chief, ruling over specified local area and sitting on the Chiefs council.

Durban. We observe from Sitas this contradictory interplay of rural-urban systems. Traditional value systems of Zulu nationalism, Zulu euphemisms and customs were used by factory management especially in the 1970s to silence worker militancy by emphasising respect for elders, paternalism and patriarchy. However, the same traditional and cultural heritage, dialogue and histories were also used to mobilise worker struggles against exploitation in the workplace and to fight oppression by apartheid.

Bonnin (1987) focuses on the lives, work, struggles and consciousness of workers at BTR Sarmcol from the 1940s until 1987. In her work she highlights migrant labour, dispossession and the growth in the proletariat of Africans from Native Reserves and from labour tenancy in white owned farms. Her study focuses on the work, struggles, and livelihoods of the proletariat and shows how the life histories of these men, negotiated with their traditions and culture interplayed in contradictory and complementary ways in working class consciousness during the strike of 1985-1987. Furthermore her study explores the men's broader struggle for liberation, their involvement in political violence, and their redefinition of rural-urban linkages and networks, particularly during IFP sponsored violence.

1.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE THESIS

The thesis forms part of what Hart and Sitas outline as a new research initiative that seeks to illuminate key forces and processes taking shape in post-apartheid South Africa – the on-going importance, but changing character of rural-urban connections; histories of racialised dispossession and their continuing salience; land and livelihood struggles and their articulation to organised labour (2004:32). They continue to argue that most researchers have pursued researching the land question, the labour questions and the question of livelihoods in isolation. The new research is premised on understanding that these themes continue to constitute in their social and spatial interconnections challenge to research, policy and social actions (ibid: 32). The thesis seeks to develop analytical and methodological approaches to researching land, labour and livelihoods connections and an approach that rejects 'expert' assumptions, which ignore continuing rural-urban connections of the working class in everyday life. The

Dunlop case study confirms the interconnection and articulation of land, labour and livelihoods of working class households in post-apartheid South Africa. While the thesis confirms Hart and Sitas' (2004) assertion of land, labour and livelihoods connections, it shows complexities in researching these interconnections in the everyday life of workers and their households.

The thesis makes two key findings, from which it develops claims and contributes to theorising social reproduction, worker formations and workplace regimes in post-apartheid South Africa. First, the research shows a persistence of migrant labour (and migrant labour identity) at the Dunlop shop floor. Migrancy continues to constitute both the objective reality of workers' lives as well as the subjective consciousness and identity invoked in everyday life. The vast majority of workers have active dual (some workers have multiple) household networks straddling beyond the rural-urban divide. These household networks are maintained and serviced through remittances and other 'in-kind' contributions from urban workers. Household networks make social capital and other non-monetary contributions to social reproduction. The most fascinating part is that the playing out of these relations of social reproduction is complex, contradictory at times and undetermined. From this finding, the thesis makes three claims and contributions to literature in labour studies.

The second finding from the research is that, similar to Sitas' (1986, 1996, 1997) claim, Dunlop workers constitute a militant workforce steeped in a history of shop floor struggles (what Sitas calls 'cultural formations'). Shop floor militancy is also predicated by what can be called a *racial ordering* of institutional relations of productions, characterised by an adversarial (anti-union) management, hostile industrial relations and managerial attempts to enforce a despotic regime. There is a simultaneous playing out of politics in production in everyday life on the shop floor, constructed under what I call *masculine hegemony*. The thesis makes two claims and contributions to expanding our understanding of Burawoy's (1985) factory regimes.

1.3.1 Workers, wages and livelihoods

The first major claim of the thesis is on the centrality of wage income in the mobilisation of working class household networks beyond the rural-urban divide. The thesis critiques an increasingly hegemonic assertion and claims in economic and labour market policy literature and a growing rhetoric in business media and government officials. Nattrass (2000, 2000a, 2000b, 2003), Nattrass and Seekings (1998, 2001) and Seekings and Nattrass (2002, 2005) have developed extensive work on economic and labour market dynamics and policy implications in post-apartheid South Africa, based on analysis of national statistical data. Their main argument is that there is a change in inequality and labour market dynamics in post-apartheid South Africa, characterised by a shift from inter-racial inequality and racial division of labour under apartheid, to class based (intra-racial) inequality and division in the labour market. They see the South African labour market, post-apartheid, as being characterised by an increasing gap between islands of privileged 'organised (full-time and permanent) labour and an ocean of vulnerable 'unemployed'. They argue that organised labour is in a privileged position (which is entrenched through the alliance of COSATU with the ruling party), and that they also resist reforms to the labour market and other policies that would steer the economy down a more labour-absorbing growth path (Nattrass, 2000a, 2000b; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005). They view labour market regulation and legislation as protecting the interests of permanent workers against those of casual workers (Seekings and Nattrass, 2003:16).

The research at Dunlop enables one to engage with these claims; both at the level of analysis as well as methodological influences that give rise to claims made by the research. While Seekings and Nattrass (2002, 2005) provide extensive analysis of the economic trends in post-apartheid South Africa and correctly show statistical evidence of accentuated inequality in the labour market, the thesis problematizes these claims and argumentation. The thesis accepts the significance and reliability of statistical information, which shows a widening gap in labour market and household incomes. The thesis uses arguments by Posel (2003, 2010) that show limitations in the use of broad statistical data in South Africa. She makes comparisons between the Labour Force Survey (LFS), the General Household Survey (GHS), the October Household Survey (OHS) versus the

National Income Dynamics Survey (NIDS). From these she highlights how NIDS-because of an expanded definition categorisation of household and migrant labour -provides better analysis on migrant labour. Scully (2012) uses data from NIDS and interviews of manufacturing workers in four industries from which he asserts a clear relationship between employment security and remittance transfers. Organised workers in formal employment earned higher wages and made significantly higher remittance transfers than non-organised workers.

While a single case-study of Dunlop does not represent a full picture of working class households on a broader scale, it does suggest the necessity of more nuanced research, which shows the complexities of working class households and formations[24]. At the level of method the thesis asserts that localised studies enable us to find the complexity of workers and workers' lives beyond national statistical data.

1.3.2   Beyond the rural-urban divide

The thesis critiques a taken-for-granted assumption and social analysis approach about urban and rural life in South Africa. Much of the socio-politico-economic analysis and policy in post-apartheid South Africa is premised on a false separation and, or dichotomy of urban versus rural. Most of the democratic government policy interventions and programmes are premised on this false divide and boundaries of urban from rural. This is why Hart and Sitas (2004) make a significant point in their rejection of this binary, by presenting the rural-urban divide as relational, unbounded and arguing that a social analysis in post-apartheid South Africa must look at land, labour and livelihoods as a set of relations, as opposed to current approaches that separate land from labour and from livelihoods[25]. As an approach to theory and methods looking at rural-urban

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[24] The work of Devey, et al (2003, 2006, 2008), Skinner (2006), Valodia, et al (2006) and Valodia and Skinner (2003) on the informal economy represents a useful mixture of broad statistics with local cases of the informal sector in Durban. Their work engages both national and provincial statistical data and extensive surveys and interviews with various stakeholders in the informal sector in Durban, including clothing CMTs, Warwick Market traders and workers, street traders and informal sector workers.

[25] Conceptualizing the rural-urban divide as unbounded as well as a relational approach to land, labour and livelihoods embraces Lefebvre's (1991b; Merrifield, 2002) unitary approach as well as Massey's (1994) relational approach to space. Lefebvre's contribution to theorizing place is that he introduced the notion of production of place in social relations. Lefebvre also introduced

realities incorporates Massey's (1994) notion of unbounded space that is adopted by Hart's (2002, 2006) theoretical and methodological approach of relational comparison and critical ethnography. The thesis embraces this approach in its examination of workers, wages and livelihoods, by researching connections, disconnections and reconnections and the articulation of factory – household, urban – rural, wages – livelihoods in the construction of everyday life of workers. In chapter five the thesis embraces this approach in re-theorising both Burawoy's (1985) factory regimes as well as Sitas' (1984a, 1996b, 1997, 2004a) cultural formations approach.

1.3.3   The sociology of everyday life

The thesis also incorporates what is termed a sociological analysis of everyday life. The field of everyday life in sociology, made popular by the Chicago School, (Garfinkel, 1986, 2006, 2008; Mead, 1982; Silver, 2007) was a move from macro -sociology or a structural sociology to a micro-sociology of agents, self and existential analysis. From this school developed symbolic interaction (Mead, 1982; Silver, 2007) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1986, 2006). Lefebvre (1991) made a significant contribution to the sociology of everyday life, in his critique of an uncritical and un-engaging analysis from the Chicago School. In his

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a social analysis that rejects dichotomizing space from place, by giving space active productive capacity, while place is only relegated to something only passively reproduced. A unitary approach to space sees social space, work space, household space, urban space, rural space and experiential space as part of the cast in reproductive activity, not just the staging of reproductive requirements. Thus, space is actively produced in capitalist accumulation strategies, and space gets produced before it is reproduced, even though reproduction is a necessary condition for further production. Massey follows from Lefebvre by jettisoning binaries in social analysis. She rejects a binary approach because it presents space, place and time as bounded units of social analysis. On the contrary, she theorises space place and time as unbounded, but actively constructed and reconstructed in social relations. In opposition for instance to Castells' (2000) space and time, or Mamdani's (1996) juxtaposition of rural versus urban, Massey insists that space is not some absolute independent dimension, but is constructed out of social relations, and both social phenomena and space are constituted out of social relations, that the spatial are social relations stretched out. Since social relations are never static but dynamic, then space is also dynamic, not static. Space and social relations are also not singular and linear, but constituted by multiple factors and constructed by social actors in the process. This she calls dynamic simultaneity which means that space and phenomena may be placed in relationship to one another in such a way that new social effects are provoked and the spatial organisation of society is integral to the organisation of the social, and not merely its results. The spatial then can be seen as constructed out of the multiplicity of social relations across all spatial scales, from global reach if finance and telecommunications, through the geography of tendencies of national political power, to the social relations within town, the settlement, the household and workplace. It offers a new way of thinking in the ever-shifting geometry of social/power relations.

conception Lefebvre develops a critical approach to everyday life analysis adopting Polanyi's notion of double movement. Burawoy's (1979, 1985) research of workplace regimes in both *Manufacturing Consent* (1979) and *Politics of Production* (1985) represent a critique of Braverman's (1974) *Labour and Monopoly Capital*. In the two works Burawoy shows that, while modern industries are characterised by deskilling and managerial control, researching the workplace in everyday life shows that both workers and managers are active agents in manufacturing consent. In the *Politics of Production* (1985) he shows that factory regimes can be either despotic or hegemonic. In his later works on critical ethnography Burawoy (1991, 2000) makes important contributions to a critical approach of the sociology of everyday life.

Researching work in everyday life enables one to look at 'work' as an unbounded and complex social activity whose meaning is constructed in and through social relations in everyday life. Everyday life - or a 'critique of everyday life' as Lefebvre (1991; Merrifield, 2000) put it – speaks of a relationship between the theoretical and methodological conceptions of our understanding of the world, knowledge and people's lives. Lefebvre was critical of mystical understandings of everyday life that are not historical, which also doesn't have a dialectic conception of life. Researching work in everyday life would have to incorporate historical, comparative, and ethnographic research: what can be termed critical ethnography. Conceptually and methodologically everyday life means an articulated and relational conception of knowledge and research practice, articulation of concrete and abstract, local and global, place and space, as well as structure and agency.

In chapter three, the thesis asserts a methodological approach to researching work in everyday life using an expanded conception of Burawoy's (1991) extended case method. Hart's (2002, 2006, 2013) relational comparison enables one to analyse spaces, e.g. factory floor, household, hostel, township and rural homestead as unbounded, articulated set of relations. The thesis incorporates a relational approach to Burawoy's extended case study method in researching land, labour and livelihoods, rural-urban linkages and factory regimes in everyday life. This expanded approach is also important in our understanding of the

complexities in the social reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa enunciated in chapter four.

In chapter four the thesis looks at the everyday life of workers, wages and livelihoods, showing complexities in researching wage incomes of African workers, rural-urban linkages of African working class households, the increasing precariousness of African working class households beyond the rural-urban divide and complex sets of ways in which they engage to make sense of their work and their lives through complex and often spatially-extended social relations. In chapter five the thesis looks at work and everyday life by re-theorising Burawoy's (1985) factory regimes and Sitas' (1984b, 1989, 1997) cultural formations. Here the thesis shows the shop floor as a space that is actively produced through everyday practices and imbued with power relations. Thus, one should understand factory regimes as outcomes of a multiplicity of social forces operating in different spatiality's across time.

1.4 THEORISING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

One of the key claims of the research is that the reproduction, lives and livelihoods of the African working class are organised and reorganised across (beyond) the rural-urban divide. While livelihoods of most African working class households combine multiple sources of income (Scully, 2012), wage income remains the single most important resource in the production and reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa. When zooming into a local case study, the thesis argues that Dunlop workers continue to service dual (in some instances multiple) familial networks through remittance transfers, regular (for others occasional) rural-urban oscillation of extended family members, and support of adult children of extended families to find city accommodation in search of employment and the use of rural homesteads for performing traditional rituals. The thesis identifies some of the key concepts in South African political economy, including Wolpe (1972, 1980)[26] on articulation

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[26] Articulation of modes of production, a concept depicting capitalist accumulation through cheap labour in South Africa (and African colonies in general) was also enunciated by Meillasoux

of modes of production[27], Fine (2009) and Fine & Rustomjee (1996) on the minerals and energy complex (MEC) and Harvey (2003) on accumulation by dispossession.

1.4.1 Wolpe's articulation of modes of production

The articulation of modes of production is a Marxist critique of the capitalist economy, expanding on Marx's critique of the capitalist system – the relationship between production and reproduction. Wolpe (1980) engages with the notion of articulation to develop a critique of a system of accumulation through cheap labour power in South Africa. Through the concept of articulation, Wolpe also explained apartheid as a social formation (political apparatus) to manage the crisis of capitalist accumulation when capitalist modes of production were increasingly eroding pre-capitalist modes of reproduction (survival).

For Wolpe (1980; Meillasoux 1980:192) the articulation of modes of production is an engagement and critique of Marx's, under-theorising the development of capitalism in the colonies, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa in classical Marxist literature (1980:3). Wolpe argues that it is Marx's text itself that is a starting point of opposing views on articulation. He argues that Marx only explains primitive accumulation as constituting the pre-history of capitalist modes of production, but does not explain and theorise how capitalist modes of production- (CMP) once established- relate to and/or affect pre-capitalist modes of production (PCMP). The dominant Marxist stance on this question is based on Marx's writing in the communist manifesto, of which Wolpe argues:

> is based on an assumption that the appearance of capitalism – whether
>
> as a result of 'internal' development as in Europe or 'external'

(1980). Meillasoux (1980) and Morris (1980) also made important contributions to Wolpe's (1980) Economy and Society edition.

[27] In the thesis my reference to Harold Wolpe is specifically on his work on capitalist production and reproduction in South Africa, viz. Wolpe (1972, 1980, 1988). The thesis will not make an attempt to exhaust the debate on articulation of modes of production, but will specifically engage with key arguments of Wolpe, Meillasoux and Morris, with specific reference to capitalist accumulation through cheap labour power. The notion of articulation was widely debated in the 1970s and 1980s between Wolpe, Meillasoux, Morris with Legassick, Rex, Lipton, Mafeje and Freund. The thesis will also not engage an exhaustive outline of MEC, nor of accumulation by dispossession here. The thesis only notes these theoretical contributions and their relevance in explicating capitalist accumulation throughout the 20th century continuum.

imposition as in the case of colonies – signalled the more or less immediate and inevitable disintegration of PCMP and the subsumption of the agents of these modes under capitalist relations of production (1980:2).

According to this view, classical Marxist theory sees the notion of articulation of CMP and PCMP characterised by the former dissolving and/or subsuming the latter, i.e. total separation of CMP from PCMP. Taking from Marx's *Capital 1* Wolpe quotes,

"as soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintains this separation (of producers from means of production, but reproduces it on a continually expanding scale" (Ibid.).

Articulation refers to the changing relationship between real producers of goods and services and ownership of those goods produced. Wolpe argues that Marxist analysis sees a separation and, or dissolution/subsuming of PCMP, i.e. where the direct producer is not separated from the means of production under the expanding and inevitably strong CMP, i.e. the increasing separation of the direct producer from the means of production on an expanding scale. Wolpe argues that this Marxist approach does not leave room for a possibility that either in different phases of the circuits of capital, or in different stages of its development, the articulation of CMP and PCMP may be such that they result in the transformations of PCMP, but amounting to something different than total dissolution and separation of the producers from the means of production. He argues that such an analysis of transformation would require -in addition to laws of motion in CMP- an understanding of PCMP.

At the heart of the concept of articulation of modes of production is an explication of capitalist accumulation through super-exploitation, in which capitalism accumulates by preserving modes of subsistence of working class survival outside of wage income. Production and reproduction of capitalist accumulation in South Africa has been premised on the preservation of cheap labour power, produced and reproduced through an articulation of very cheap industrial wage

employment, state machinery through legislation that moved Africans from productive land and various forms of taxes and levies that forced African men into migrant labour and preservation of rural household and homestead as sites of livelihood survival and reproduction of cheap labour.

From the economy and society edition, Wolpe-with contributions from Meillasoux and Morris – use the notion of articulation to explicate capitalist accumulation through cheap labour power, because the actual costs of the social reproduction of the working class were relegated to rural – reserve subsistence. In this theorising, apartheid is a significant social formation, resulting from concrete struggles as well as a political mechanism to manage the increasing crisis of bifurcated social reproduction in the countryside. Institutionalisation of apartheid in 1948 became an important, but not determining factor in the shaping of capitalist super-exploitation from the 1950s leading to the golden decade of capitalist boom in South Africa. The system of apartheid itself should be understood as constituting concrete economic, political and ideological conditions in the shaping of capitalist modes of production and a consequence of concrete class struggles, reproducing its own concrete conditions of class struggle. The apartheid system constituted an ascendance politically of Afrikaner nationalism and farming capitalists and their class struggles for cheap African labour and leverage against ever increasing and against encompassing industrial capitalism. Through statutory mechanisms the farming capitalist class established new means of production and reproduction of cheap labour for both farming and industry. While the apartheid social formation represented the playing out of concrete class struggles in South Africa, it also produced its own contradictions leading to different shaping and formations of concrete class struggles.

1.4.2 A liberal critique of articulation of modes of production

There are two notable critiques to Wolpe's articulation of modes of production from liberal economists, Nattrass (1981) and Lipton (1985a, 1985b). The critique sought to elaborate an analysis on the history of capitalist development in South Africa. They also wanted to highlight two areas they argue Wolpe overlooked in his critique of capitalist accumulation in South Africa. First, Nattrass (1981) although aware of linkages between mining and manufacturing, saw the

manufacturing industry as offering possibilities for development, even though she was aware of the declining capacity of manufacturing to offer unlimited jobs by the start of the 1980s. She saw apartheid's persistent bifurcation of society along racial lines as a stumbling block to the optimal growth of a competitive manufacturing, skills development and growth of a black middle class.

Lipton (1985a, 1985b) focused on the positive aspects of manufacturing and commercial industries on economic development, arguing that they offered possibilities for flexibility for black workers unavailable in the mining sector. She argued that Wolpe's articulation of modes of production, i.e. accumulation by cheap labour power did not fully explain internal contradictions in capitalist development in South Africa, especially how the apartheid political and institutional system of control became counter–development, because it hindered optimal development of productive forces and the specific stunting of industrial (manufacturing) growth by the dominance of mining capital and the state. They argue that there were contradictions of accumulation with deteriorating means of reproduction of the working class, concluding that that the system of apartheid was detrimental to the development of productive industrial manufacturing, thus hampering the optimal development of capitalism in South Africa. For Nattrass (1981) and Lipton (1985b) what was at stake in the economic crisis were not fractions of capital but apartheid (Lipton, 1985b; Nattrass, 1981). De-racialising the labour market was critical for the blossoming of what they regarded as a benevolent capitalism centred on industrial manufacturing.

1.4.3   Alternative conceptions of capitalist accumulation in South Africa

There was also another critique to both Wolpe and the liberal view which sought to theorise contradictions not outside (or as counter capital), but as integral to the systemic contradictions of capitalist accumulation. Bill Freund (2009) for instance, dismisses both Lipton and Nattrass, asserting that their naivety was premised on separating apartheid as a political apparatus from the capitalist mode of accumulation. To further elucidate contradictions in apartheid capitalism it is important to look at the works of Freund (1988, 2007), Gelb (1991), Legassick, (1977), Morris (1991) and Fine and Rustomjee (1996); what Fine (2009) calls the 'Minerals and Energy Complex' (MEC). The minerals-energy complex (MEC)

examines a core set of industries associated with large-scale mineral extraction, energy provision, and associated downstream sectors; to develop an expanded theorising of a broader system of accumulation underpinning the incorporation, or not, of other sectors and socio-economic development more generally. Core MEC industries are closely linked, with energy being supplied predominantly through increasing coal extraction, with mining and extraction industries absorbing a large proportion of the energy supplied. Martin Legassick (1974, 1977; Legassick & Wolpe, 1975) looks at the historiography of systems of accumulation in South Africa and argues that from as early as the Anglo-Boer War, mining capital was at the centre of the system of accumulation in South Africa. He argues that South African capitalism was built and depended on cheap labour and that it achieved its strength and functioned (not without contradictions) by bending the state to its purpose as well as re-investment in the forced labour economy. In his critique to Nattrass and Lipton he argued that manufacturing was never able to tear itself away from dependence on this system of accumulation, mostly because the advantages of the system outweighed the disadvantages. The South African system of accumulation without free labour was maintained throughout the 20th century. Apartheid as a social formation brought increasing prominence of the state in integrating capitalist interests and harmonising its contradictions (Legassick, 1977).

Another useful contribution to understanding capitalist accumulation in South Africa is David Harvey's (2003) notion of accumulation by dispossession. It builds from Luxemburg's (2003) work on primitive accumulation (what is called imperialist accumulation) as a mode of accumulation to address contradictions of under-accumulation and over-accumulation. Accumulation by dispossession explains imperialism as a feature of accumulation. Presently, global capitalism and what Bond (2004, 2005) calls the looting of Africa as well as what he terms uneven and combined development, are shown to be aspects of accumulation by dispossession[28]. Marxist scholars clearly showed how apartheid was a social

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[28] I will revisit the concept of accumulation by dispossession in the conclusion, to develop a basis for what I call reconstitution of accumulation through cheap labour in post-apartheid South Africa through mechanisms of neo-liberal state policies and an economic system that renders citizens as surplus labour (Hart 2001, 2006, Webster et al 2008, Barchiesi 2011).

formation, a construction form of capitalist accumulation in a concrete historical time and space. While in the 1970s and 1980s capitalist social formation presented many contradictions for the manufacturing industry, it still maintained the overall thrust of a mode of accumulation based on cheap labour power. The crises of the 1970s and 1980s that led to the dismantling of apartheid can be attributed to the deterioration of a mode of reproduction based on pre-capitalist subsistence agriculture in the countryside. This means that the crisis of capitalism in South Africa was driven by the crisis of reproduction of labour power over time, culminating in the crisis of accumulation in the economy especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Gelb 1986, 1991).

Evidently then, while apartheid was a consequence of concrete class struggle, facilitated by the state machinery for the farming capitalist class and Afrikaner nationalism, it should not be analysed only as a political system of control, but as representing a distinct phase and form of capitalist accumulation, organised and enforced through the state apparatus of control. Through apartheid policy, mining and farming capital was able to enforce and perpetuate the reproduction of cheap labour power through the preservation of an articulated system of accumulation between capitalist production and some reconstituted pre-capitalist modes of reproduction. Literature notes that the supply of cheap labour was always a challenge for the capitalist class, especially for farming capitalists due to competition and pressure coming from the fact that higher wages were paid to African labourers working in industry (Callinicos, 1985, 1987; Morris, 1980; Terreblanche, 2002).

Wolpe (1980, 1988) argues that the crisis of capitalism in South Africa was a consequence of contradictions in the system of accumulation. As forces of production grew, contradictions in accumulation also increased, ranging from statutory policies that further eroded African households' access to agricultural land (means of subsistence), and deterioration of farming land-use in African reserves due to natural and social factors. The unrests of the 1950s can be and should be viewed as forms of class struggle emanating from the beginning of the contradictions of accumulation. The capitalist class was able to resolve class

struggles utilising state oppression, leading to another decade of capitalist accumulation in South Africa throughout the 1960s.

Contradictions of accumulation re-surfaced again from the 1970s, growing and leading to a crisis of capitalism in South Africa in the 1980s, leading to the end of apartheid in 1994 (Fine 1988, Gelb 1991). There is consensus amongst Marxist commentators that the apartheid crisis was the crisis of capitalism, because apartheid represented a social formation of capitalist accumulation (Fine, 2009; Fine and Rustomjee, 1996; Legassick, 1974, 1977; Wolpe, 1972, 1980, 1988). While in the 1960s and 1970s capitalist social formation presented many contradictions for the manufacturing industry, it still maintained the overall thrust of a mode of accumulation based on cheap labour[29]. The crisis of the 1970s and 1980s that led to the dismantling of apartheid can be attributed to the complete deterioration of the mode of reproduction based on pre-capitalist subsistence agriculture in the countryside. This means that the crisis of capitalism in South Africa was driven by the crisis of reproduction of labour power over time, culminating in the crisis of accumulation in the economy especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

1.4.4 Articulation: workers, wages and livelihoods

Harold Wolpe's notion of articulation of modes of production is a critical contribution theoretically and politically in analysing capitalist accumulation in South Africa. So also are the contributions of Meillasoux (1980) on the importance of looking at social formations and Morris (1980) on looking at modes of production and reproduction as being the consequence of economic, social and political conditions and concrete class struggles. The history of capitalist accumulation and variant social formations from colonialism, segregation and apartheid, as well as concrete class struggles between mining capitalists, vis-à-vis farming capitalists, white working class, African working class, indentured labour and poor Afrikaner nationalists play out in the history of capitalist accumulation through cheap labour in South Africa. For Wolpe, (1980) capitalist accumulation

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[29] Workplace studies gave further impetus to this argument by characterising workplace regimes – work order as racial despotism (Webster 1985), apartheid work regimes (Von Holdt 2003) and, or racial Fordism (Gelb 1991).

through cheap labour power, continued unabated throughout the 20th century in South Africa even after a collapse of social reproduction (subsistence) in the countryside. This crisis (of reproduction of cheap labour) was resolved through an autocratic apartheid state apparatus and establishment of Bantustan homelands to micro manage the reproduction of cheap African labour in rural homelands.

If there is an agreement within Marxist scholarship that the apartheid crisis represented a crisis of capitalism in South Africa, a lingering question then is, 'if indeed the crisis of apartheid was the crisis of capitalism, why was the democratic transition not a socialist one?' This is where the arguments of Meillasoux (1980) and Morris (1980, 1991) themselves influenced by Althusser and Poulantzas, as well as contributions by Harvey (2003), Bond (2004, 2005) and Hart (2002, 2005a, 2006) on accumulation by dispossession, remain significant in explaining not only capitalist accumulation under apartheid but also contradictions of the transition in South Africa. The transitions represented the indeterminate playing out of economic, political and social conditions with concrete class struggles. The transition in South Africa also resembles the indeterminacy of class struggle similar to Althusser's disappointment with the failure of the working class in France and Algeria, and Poulantzas (Poulantzas, 1974, 1976; Jessop, 1985) disappointment with fascism in Greece, Spain and Portugal in the 1970s.

While in South Africa today, we cannot assert a concept of articulation of modes of production, there continue to exist a (reconstituted and at times contradictory) articulation of urban-rural, or production-reproduction. More so, the thesis asserts that there is an articulation of urban and rural in the lives and livelihoods of African workers and their extended household networks. The thesis also asserts that workers' wages in South Africa continue to be below the cost of reproducing themselves and their extended household networks. While rural-urban linkages persist, the real reproductive capacity of the countryside remains symbolic at the socio-cultural level, as wage income (and lately social grants) constitute primary means of subsistence across the rural-urban divide (NIDS 2008, Scully 2012).

1.4.5 How do these concepts relate to the research topic?

The three contributions by Wolpe (1972, 1980), Fine (2009; Fine and Rustomjee, 1997) and Harvey (2003) are useful in explicating the mechanics of capitalist accumulation in South Africa. Wolpe's articulation of modes of production explains systems of accumulation through cheap labour power, as well as concrete class struggles and social formations in the construction of capitalist development in the 20th century. The MEC enables us to analyse the structure of capitalism in South Africa. It also enables us to look at how mining capital specifically, remained hegemonic both in the duration of capitalist accumulation in South Africa, including, their role in brokering negotiations and their salient role in the democratic transition. Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession explicates a system of accumulation in the post-apartheid era of globalisation characterised by the systemic exclusion of the working class poor from the labour market, masses of surplus labour, commoditisation of everyday life and governmentality.

This is why the study on workers, wages and livelihoods is significant in exploring the reproductive capacity of capitalism in post-apartheid South Africa and possibilities for class struggle on the shop floor and in communities. This research moves from the premise that wage income is the locus around which livelihoods (forms of reproduction) are mobilised across the rural-urban divide. The thesis asserts that the crisis in post-apartheid South Africa is not just a crisis of accumulation, but a crisis of reproduction (subsistence and survival of working class households beyond the rural-urban divide). This research furthermore attempts to explore how concrete economic, political and social conditions of workers and their households and concrete class struggles play out on the shop floor in everyday life.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE THESIS

This introduction has outlined the main arguments of the thesis. It has also outlined key questions that guide the research. The chapter also engages

theoretically with the articulation of production and reproduction of cheap labour power in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter two reviews the available literature and examines theoretical arguments in labour studies in South Africa. The chapter begins by outlining the labour history of migrants, as well as the production and reproduction of the African working class. The chapter also examines two dominant theoretical contributions in labour studies in South Africa, i.e. the labour process approach and the social (cultural) formations (beyond the workplace) approach. The chapter also looks at some of the very recent contributions in researching workers, wages and livelihoods by Barchiesi (2006, 2011), Kenny (2004, 2005a) and Mosoetsa (2005, 2011).

Chapter three charts the methodology used in the research process. The chapter begins with a discussion on philosophical concerns about knowledge, and ways of making knowledge. In this discussion the chapter makes a case for qualitative research, more specifically ethnographic research (extended case method). The chapter then outlines reasons behind specific research methods and tools used during the course of this research and makes an account of the fieldwork process.

Chapter four presents the findings and discussion towards the first key argument of the thesis. The chapter begins by reviewing key literature and arguments the chapter engages with on the role of wage income in the mobilisation of working class household livelihoods across the rural-urban divide. The chapter presents findings and makes arguments, asserting that working class lives and livelihoods are articulated beyond the rural-urban divide. The chapter shows the persisting dominance of migrant labour and migrant identity amongst African workers and a complex set of livelihoods dynamics and how they play out in everyday life.

Chapter five presents mostly qualitative data from interviews and ethnography and some data from the survey to interrogate claims on the relevance of organised labour and trade unions within the broader working class struggles. The chapter makes three claims on Dunlop workers, trade unions and democracy. First, the centrality of worker formations on the shop floor. Dunlop workers mobilize

through trade unions for their struggles. Second, workers continue to view the trade unions as the bona fide voice of workers. Third, trade unions are sites of contestation and contradictions and shop floor workers are not oblivious to these contradictions. The chapter also engages in some discussions about linking workplace struggles and community struggles.

Chapter six presents findings and discussion towards the third key argument of the thesis. The chapter expands Burawoy's (1985) work on the politics of production, showing that while industrial relations and organisational structure at Dunlop continues to resemble a *racial order*, characterised predominantly by a white managerial layer and African workforce, everyday workplace regimes are complex and play out in everyday life through a masculine hegemony. It is this construction of shop floor control, consent and resistance in everyday life that the chapter will elucidate into a theoretical concept.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis by restating key arguments and contributions of the thesis: capitalist accumulation through reproduction of cheap labour power in post-apartheid South Africa; worker struggles and trade unions continue to be relevant counter movements, yet struggles from below require linkages between workplace struggles and community struggles; lastly, workplaces are not bounded spaces, but are constructed through social relations. At the Dunlop workplace regimes are constructed through invoking masculine discourses.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LABOUR HISTORY AND LABOUR STUDIES APPROACHES IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter outlines key concepts and reviews literature explored in the thesis. The chapter begins with literature on histories of proletarianisation, migrant labour and class formations in the development of capitalism in South Africa. The chapter moves onto a brief discussion of labour studies concepts used in this research. Other concepts reviewed in the chapter include factory regimes, migration, remittances, social reproduction, livelihoods, double movement and hegemony. The chapter also makes a review of recent works by Mosoetsa (2011) and Barchiesi (2011), which expand researching labour studies beyond the workplace to examining household livelihoods, emancipation and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter also makes a brief review of debates on worker struggles, trade unions and trade union democracy in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MIGRANT LABOUR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CITY

South Africa's history of accumulation through dispossession, proletarianisation, the migrant labour system and cheap labour is well documented in literature[30]. The 1970s and 1980s produced a lot of literature, which re-imagined, re-theorised and re-told histories of South Africa's accumulation by dispossession, proletarianisation, migrant labour and struggles. Some presented a historical account of institutionalised dispossession and removal of Africans from land to reserves and its articulation with proletarianisation through a political and legal system of oppression and through taxation at the turn of the twentieth century (Bozzoli, 1981; Bundy, 1987a; Bundy and Beinart, 1987; Callinicos, 1985; Terreblanche 2002). Historical accounts also indicate that even with dispossession

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[30] Bozzili (1981), Bundy (1987a, 1988), Callinicos (1985, 1987), Department of Economics (1950), Freund (1988), Hart (1998, 2005), Department of Economics (1950), Hemson (1979, 1996), Johnstone (1976), Marks and Rathbone (1982), Marks (1986), Marks and Trapido (1987), Legassik (1974, 1975, 1976), Maylam (1996), Sitas (1996), Wilson (1972)

and removal into reserves, African household livelihoods remained largely in farming and livestock pasture. By the turn of the twentieth century migrant labour in the mines by African men was sporadic. Those who did would work for a specified contract, return to the reserves for lengthy periods before they would need to go and look for work again in the city[31].

Freund (1988) makes a useful contribution to the history of proletarianisation in 'The African Worker'. He critiques classical Marxist analysis, arguing that it fails to acknowledge the complexities and the differences in the formation and composition factors of working class (or the worker) in Europe vis-à-vis Africa. He asserts the differentiated proletarianisation of the African worker, as opposed to the industrial revolution in Europe. He also outlines the long history of duality of existence of Africans as workers and as rural people and how the actual reproduction of workers was in what Wolpe (1980) calls pre-capitalist modes of production. Freund (1988) outlines how men migrated from all parts of the continent to work either in mines, mostly with specific reference to Southern Africa; the migration of men from Mozambique, Lesotho, and Malawi, for work in the mines and how class relations and class conditions were varied. Another significant point from Freund is the articulation of capitalist modes of production with pre-capitalist modes of reproduction, in how workers, mostly migrants (although they were urbanised and worked in the cities), through migrant labour patterns continued to maintain their countryside existence and use value production through subsistence agriculture.

In South Africa, it was the 1913 Native Land Act and other institutional mechanisms including taxes that became the catalyst for pushing African men into work. Prior to new legislation, African migrant labour was sporadic, working on short-term contracts with high wages, as opposed to immigrant labour (also called indentured labour from India, Malaysia and China) who were working under long-term low wage contracts[32]. As demand for increased productivity and demand for economies of scale increased, so also did the demand for labour. The

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[31] Bundy (1979:110, 126), Callinicos (1987:19), Department of Economics (1950:1-7) and Hemson (1979:12)

[32] Department of Economics (1950:17), Freund (1988), Hemson (1979: 12), (1996: 147-148)

latter shifted from demand for any African labour, to demand for a mass pool of cheap African labour. Historical accounts show that legislation throughout the early 20th century constituted state sponsored capitalism, in which the state - through legislation- ensured the production of cheap migrant labour, needing wages to pay taxes, yet still tied to reserves and rural extensions for household subsistence and familial connection[33]. This historical account is detailed both in historical accounts of industrial development and sociological analysis of the political economy of South Africa[34].

These historical and sociological accounts give a detailed history of the origins of migrant labour and the relationship between industrial capitalist development, land, dispossession and racial discrimination in the early 1900s. Further work shows that migrant labour throughout the 20th century was premised on demand for cheap labour, influx and urban control of Africans, which was used to maintain an African rural-based migrant labour system. Hemson details the history of dock workers in Durban, the social reproduction of the working class and working class consciousness in Durban (Hemson, 1979, 1996). In his thesis the history of industrial development in South Africa is the history of the migrant labour system, urban control and forms of resistance with people engaged in fighting for their lives. The Department of Economics (1950: 43-94) also records that the growth of dock work and Dunlop in Durban until the 1940s represented the growth of migrant work and various forms of control capital instituted through the state (in the form of municipal authority and native authorities).

The history of migrant labour, proletarianisation and urban influx of people is inextricably linked to the history of struggle and contestation for the city by Africans. Callinicos (1987) makes an account of proletarianisation, urbanisation and resistance in the gold city. She shows the growth of migrant labour, growth of urban settlements and struggles for city space in the 20th century. The living arrangements in the Rand were racially segregated and African migrants increased due to pressures of survival with increasing deterioration of subsistence in the

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[33] Callinicos (1987), Bundy (1988), Hemson (1979), Bozzoli (1981)
[34] Freund (1988), Legassick (1977), Wolpe (1972, 1980)

countryside and an increasing pool of cheap labour in the mines and industry. A lot of Africans also migrated in search of work and freedom from the paternalism and patriarchal order encountered in the countryside. Callinicos (1987) and Moodie (1994) write about young men who came to the Rand to discover their manhood away from the paternalistic orders of rural chiefdoms, as well as women who came to the city in search of their husbands and some in search of freedom. The control of movement, leisure and everyday life of Africans by colonial authorities resulted in contestations and struggles for city life. What began in Durban as control on traditional beer production grew in the Rand resulting in numerous struggles between colonial authorities and people's struggle for space to make their own living and determine their own leisure in the city.

Literature also makes an account about spatial organisation of the city, about the accommodation and housing of African migrants in compounds and hostels and the subsequent building of segregated townships for African workers and their households in Chesterville, Lamontville, Kwa-Mashu, Umlazi and Claremont (on the fringe of New Germany[35]. This increase in the influx of Africans into Durban is explained by Simkins (1981) as being due to the increasing vulnerability of Africans caused by the accelerating impoverishment of the rural areas, evictions of African tenants from white- owned farm land as the state assisted white farmers who found it more profitable to put land into productive use than rent it to African tenants. The other factor was the further development and growth of the manufacturing sector in Durban from the 1940s onwards. Between 1936 and 1946 the female population in Durban had doubled from over 14 200 to over 28 500 (Hemson, 1996:14). This signifies growth in women and children (meaning families) living in the city, which can be argued as urbanisation). Yet Hemson (1996) argues that even though the growth of Africans in Durban seems to indicate stabilisation of African urbanisation, the vast majority of Africans living in Durban were migrants[36]. The 1946 government statistics show that out *"of 104*

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[35] (Swanson, 1976; Platsky, 1985; Maylam, 1994); (Manson, 1981:11-12)

[36] A similar assertion is also made by Maylam (1996), and is corroborated in numerous researches on proletarianisation of Africans into migrant labour, which entailed dual identity of working men as city workers while maintaining their family and household networks in rural settlements for subsistence, identity and meaning.

100 or so Africans living in Durban, about 77 500 were migrants, and a mere 26 600 permanently urbanised"[37].

Maylam and Edwards (1996) in '*The People's City – African life in Twentieth Century Durban'* make a compelling argument on the contestation and struggles for the city in Natal. Maylam shows that part of the growth of Durban throughout the early 20th century included an increase in the influx of native populations in Durban, first, around the Point area as well as Bell Street compounds; then Somtseu Barracks, then Cato Manor, migrants living in backyards of white and Indian landlords in various parts of the city; then Hostels and factory compounds; then free-hold areas like Claremont near New Germany, then to the creation of black townships in Lamontville first, then Umlazi and Kwa-Mashu (Maylam, 1996). Maylam and Edwards (1996) also write about the growth of African women in Durban from the late 1930s onwards. There was also a large number of Africans commuting in and out of Durban mainly as day/ casual workers. There was also a large influx of Africans in Cato Manor by the 1940s, before their removal after the 1950 Group Areas Act.

This influx brought with it a variety of alternative forms of existence, livelihood and struggle. Cato Manor symbolized not only the occupation of urban physical space, it also represented the opening of economic and political space, many economic opportunities to supply basic commodities and services, petty entrepreneurs, the informal sector, even illegal and illicit economic activities. These activities (economic) were either individualist or on a cooperative basis[38]. The cooperative movement grew from the second half of the 1940s, which gained new momentum and took various forms. Some functioned as communal buying clubs whose members sought benefits as consumers; others served as informal wholesale organizations in which members sought to make profit as middlemen. Other cooperatives operated as small-scale banks or loan clubs[39]. Maylam (1996) argues that these cooperatives represented a new voice and organizational mobilization of proletarian consciousness and militancy and activism which was

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[37] Hemson (1996: 17)
[38] Maylam and Edwards (1996: 20)
[39] Edwards (1989)

absent in static political organizations like the then established ICU, which also lacked a political base at this time. These cooperative organizations seemed to represent a peculiar convergence or blending of entrepreneurship, consumerism and militancy, coupled with the influx of Africans into Durban, occupation of physical space and exploitation by some of economic opportunities, but also by carving out and penetration of political space for the expression of protest against various forms of oppression, much organised by work-place issues. These all constituted militant forms of economic, political and organizational mobilization with working class consciousness and challenging elite African formations[40].

The book also highlights the new militancy found amongst the African proletariat (that were even more mobilizing than the ANC Youth League and Communist Party) during the 1940s. Some of these movements and mobilization were worker-based, e.g. Hemson's (1996) account of dock workers, Sitas' (1996) account of Dunlop workers in 1942 to early 1943, Indian and African workers strike in Falkirk in 1937, and led by Zulu Phungula. Another such movement was the Natal African Tenants and Peasant Association, led by Sydney Myeza, uniting shantytown communities and providing them with an organisational base. These movements represented a new militant assertiveness, absent in the defunct ICU and other established political establishments. It was also a counter to elite formations which were established by entrepreneurs and the African elite; some of these movements were pro-apartheid, anti-Indian and Zulu-nationalist[41].

The book asserts that the Group Areas Act and removal of Africans from central areas of Durban; from Cato Manor; from the oldest African township of Baumanville and from central hostels in Bell Street, Ordnance Road and Somtseu Road to the new township of Kwa-Mashu represented a devastating assault on the underclass and large amounts of people. Until then there were still people able to resist proletarianisation including Cato Manor's market gardeners, petty entrepreneurs and informal sector operators, also all across other areas. New townships were situated far from central Durban, represented transport costs for

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[40] Maylam (1996), Padayachee *et al.* (1985)
[41] Edwards (1989: 2, 19, 30)

people, these new areas also lacked recreational and health services. By the 1960s state (central and local) efforts to limit and regulate access to physical space and close down political space were becoming successful, mostly through racially and ethnically defined group areas. But these group relocations didn't go without opposition and resistance. Resistance in the 1950s was in overt political action (e.g. the 1952 Defiance Campaign) as well as work-place action and mobilisation by SACTU. There were also community-based struggles, mostly in opposition to Apartheid spatial restructuring, removals and relocation[42].

Forms of resistance in the 1950s and 1960s by workers, communities and women were to be silenced until the 1973 famous Durban strikes which pioneered new worker militancy in the 1970s and 1980s leading to the political activism of the 1980s and 1990s leading ultimately to freedom. These movements and activism in the 1980s were also characterized by appropriation of living space by Africans as they grew to more than 3.5 million by 1988, half of which were said to be living in shack settlements outlying the greater Durban. Most of these shack settlement dwellers were employed, but lived without health or electricity services around Inanda and Kwa-Mashu.

2.3 KEY DEBATES IN SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR STUDIES

Labour studies in South Africa developed and grew out of two dominant sociological traditions that were attempts to theorise ruptures in shop floor militancy and phenomenal growth in black trade unions after the 1973 strikes. Webster argued that 'new labour studies' developed outside the classroom, from real struggles and experiences with African workers and creative ways in which these struggles were waged as well as creative ways of theorising them (E. Webster, 1995; E. Webster, 2004). There are two dominant schools in explicating and theorising labour struggles and trade union formations in South Africa, viz. the labour process approach (LPA) and cultural or social formations approach (CFA).

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[42] (Lambert, 1988; Lodge, 1986, 1987; Platsky, 1985)

The labour process approach theorised the rise in militancy by African workers as a response to racial work processes under which they worked.[43] In South Africa, the labour process approach draws from Braverman's (1974) seminal work on managerial control under monopoly capitalism as well as Burawoy's (1979, 1985) work on the politics of production and factory regimes in everyday life. Internationally, the labour process approach grew also as a debate with Braverman. In American labour studies it was Burawoy (1979, 1985) and Baran (1966) who engaged Braverman's labour process approach. Burawoy's (1979, 1985) 'Politics of Production' and 'Manufacturing Consent' became the most influential theoretical contribution to researching process, control and resistance in the workplace[44]. In Britain the labour process approach was developed in the works of Hyman (1979, 1989a, 1989b) and Brown (1992), who saw the approach as a way to deal with what they called the fragmentation in British industrial sociology. They saw the labour process approach connecting different dimensions of work, employment and industrial relations under a theoretical narrative of looking at degradation of work under new forms of capitalist production and management.

In South Africa, the labour process approach re-invigorated what Webster (1995) calls New Labour Studies, which sought to break away from two dominant streams of industrial sociology, viz. in neo-classical approach, which saw sociology as a service to industry and much of its syllabus dictated and influenced by managerial concerns. In the early 1970s the neo-classical approach was challenged by what Webster calls the new class paradigm approach, a growing analysis initiated by intellectuals from exile who advanced a powerful moral critique of complicity of capital to apartheid and its treatment of African workers. Webster asserts that both these approaches did not see the agency of African workers either in their contribution to the economy, or in their ability to advance struggles against exploitation and oppression. Webster recognises the work of Rick Turner (1972) as the first sociological analysis that took African workers seriously both in their contribution to the economy as well as their potency in

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[43] (Baskin, 1991; Maree, 1987; Webster, 1985a; Southall, 1985).

[44] The thesis engages Burawoy's (1979, 1985) factory regimes in theorizing workplace order and struggles at Dunlop in everyday life.

waging working class struggles. Much of the labour process approach grew both in engagement with Turner (1972) and in response to the rupture of 1973 strikes and subsequent rise in African militant trade unions, which was termed the 'Durban Moment'. The works of Baskin (1991), Maree (1987), Southall (1985) and Webster (1985a, 1985b) show how industry in South Africa had (for most of the 20th century) created a large pull of a homogeneous semi-skilled African workforce, which was technologically linked within the labour process, which means, if one process area shuts down, the whole production process was shut down and stalled.

In South Africa, the labour process approach incorporated an analysis of apartheid capitalism and a racially demarcated labour process, what Gelb (1991) called racial Fordism. Webster (1985) expanded Burawoy's colonial despotic regimes to coin a notion of 'racial despotism' and what Von Holdt (2000, 2003) calls 'apartheid workplace regimes[45]' to depict a labour process along the apartheid racial regime, which could no longer produce a docile workforce, but was increasingly tenuous with the growth of militant trade unions. Webster (1985a, 1986) analyses the transition in the workplace (shop floor) through a concept he called 'frontier of control'. In this Webster explores the pushing and stretching of boundaries by both workers and management in the workplace and beyond. Webster identifies a crisis of control in the racially despotic systems of management, which can be attributed to the transition to monopoly capitalism in the 1960s as well as resulting in the embryonic growth of trade unions. The despotic system also confronted a twofold crisis of control – resistance from the shop floor (factory), and the popular struggles in the townships which widened the crisis (1985a:190). He shows that in the 1980s there was a new frontier of control being established in which management had to come to accept the end of their

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[45] Webster and Von Holdt (2005) follow the road frame of labour process approach to research workplaces in post-apartheid South Africa. They assert that apartheid workplace order has been replaced with what they call 'beyond apartheid workplace' because of the transition with triple dimensions, viz. political, economic and social. Webster and Von Holdt (2005) are not deterministic in their assertion of post-apartheid workplace regimes, in fact they show a complexity in workplace restructuring practices of industries and firms others following negotiated settlements with trade unions, others embracing managerial reconstruction, others with typical managerial authoritarianism and others with failed or no strategy.

unilateral prerogatives and a break in arbitrary power of supervisors (and *indunas*).

Von Holdt (2000, 2003) moves from Webster's notion of racial despotism to what he calls 'apartheid workplace regimes'. Von Holdt sees the workplace regime as a social structure similar to an earlier assertion by Moodie (1994). This does not mean workplace regimes are static, but he sees them as sites of struggle, always in contestation and subject to reinterpretation. In the case of South Africa the workplace as a social structure was inextricably linked to a wider social structure of South African society. Von Holdt (2003) asserts that even the Wiehahn reforms of 1980 did not deracialise the workplace as Webster (1985a: 193) suggests, they only deracialised access to the industrial relations system. While the reforms had a profound effect on the racially despotic structure of control in the workplace, workplace relations continued to be structured by racial inequality, e.g. pay, benefits, skills and power all continued to be racially defined. The racial social structure of workplace regimes was in a profound crisis because it produced an actor that no longer sought to reform it, but to destroy it. The reforms that were supposed to produce a new social structure of control in the workplace only produced an unstable one. Labour sociology at Wits University grew to be at the forefront of the labour process approach in research and teaching both during apartheid and post-apartheid.

Alongside the labour process approach was a new way of theorising rupture in the development of militant and active black trade unions (Bonnin, 1987; Hemson, 1979, 1996; Sitas, 1984b, 1986, 1989, 1996a, 1997). The new way of theorising emanated from events that have come to be known as the 'Durban Moment' in South African labour studies, referring to the 1973 strikes, Dunlop strikes as well as the Culture and Working Life Programme coordinated between MAWU (later NUMSA) and TURP at the University of Natal. The cultural (social) formations approach, sought to move beyond what they saw as limitations of the labour process approach in explaining the rupture of shop floor militancy across the country and across industries and sectors of the economy. This approach looks at

the role of culture and cultural practices of African workers in the construction of a collective militant identity and struggle on the shop floor[46].

The work of Sitas (1989, 1997 and 2002) and Bonnin (1987) through the Culture and Working Life Project (CWLP) became a blazing light in understanding how African workers mobilise for both shop floor and outside shop floor struggles through cultural activities. Sitas (1996) shows that cultural formations subsist from a combination of factors ranging from regional basis, e.g. ethnicity in the case of hostel dwellers in the Rand.

Cultural formations that cut across ethnicity deflect pressure and regulate behaviour within defined social spaces. They deflect what he calls processes of alienation, disvaluation, disoralia and degendering (1996:237). Sitas (2004) shows linkages of how workers used songs, poetry, dance through what he terms as daydreams and revelries to deflect alienation and devaluation of monotonous factory production. From his research in the East Rand, and in Durban Sitas (1984, 1990, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c) provides clear accounts of the role of cultural movements in worker and community struggles, like the Culture and Working Life Project (CWLP), Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) and other cultural expressions, which, through plays and performances, became a significant expression of the worker movement and political struggles in South Africa. These plays and performances grew in significance in the 1980s because they signalled what Sitas (1996b: 86) calls a new authorship and workshop techniques around themes and improvisation. They also brought to the fore oral forms of communication and performance genres that sought to bring voices to all varieties of ordinary people, squatters, workers women, youth and peasants. Sitas (1992) also looks at cultural formations in the making of comrade identity in Natal. He asserts that comradeship did not grow out of a breakdown of norms, but out of an attempt to generate new types of mobilisation and new kinds of defensive

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[46] The cultural (social) formations approach became dominant especially in Durban industrial sociology, culminating in increased research and theorising: linking struggles in the workplace, the city, the countryside; and looking at how attempts of control in the workplace, city life and social reproduction was resisted and the role of cultural activities, viz. music, dance, sport and leisure became avenues of mobilisation and struggle for the African working class. For more on this look at Sitas (1989, 1996, 1997, 2002), Bonnin (1986, 1999), Maylam and Edwards (1996), Hemson (1979, 1996), Lambert (1985).

organisations. Again, the making of comrade identities was facilitated by invoking of cultural formations, constructions of common identity that sought to bridge the gap between old and young, localism and ethnicity.

Much has come out of this approach, particularly in understanding and researching African workers and their struggles. Much of the cultural formations approach tends to look at the articulation of migrant identity, masculinity and social mobilisation of working class struggles on the shop floor (Sitas, 1986, 1997; Bonnin, 1987, 1999). Moodie (1994) looks at the identity of migrant workers and how constructions of masculinity transformed over the 20th century continuum amongst Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana mine workers. Bonnin (1987, 1999) looked at how the articulation of work process, consciousness and community life shaped work struggles and community struggles of workers at BTR Sarmcol. In her recent work, Bonnin (2002, 2007) looks at how identity constructions of masculinity played out during what she calls the 'rupture' of political violence in Mpumalanga Township in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

2.4 INTERROGATING BURAWOY'S FACTORY REGIMES

This thesis makes use of Burawoy's interpretation of factory regimes, or production apparatuses as an explanatory mechanism to understand the politics of production as well as the form of struggles in the Dunlop Durban case study. Burawoy (1985:85) was intrigued by what he called an historical anomaly and sought to resolve it by unravelling a theoretical paradox: for Marx, capitalist production is both the spring of class struggle and an arena of undisputed domination of labour by capital.

> The anomaly is the commonplace observation that in England, where Marx anticipated the outbreak of the first socialist revolution, the working class proved to be reformist in its political impulses, whereas in Russia, whose backwardness was supposed to delay the transcendence of capitalism, the working class proved to be the most revolutionary.

Burawoy dedicates two chapters to unravelling what he calls the theoretical paradox presented by Marx in Capital. Marx saw the growth of capitalist

production and capitalist accumulation as inherently consistent with growing mass misery, oppression, slavery, competition, degradation and exploitation of the working class. But simultaneously, these conditions encourage revolt among the working class, a working class constantly increasing in numbers, trained, united and organised by the very mechanism of the capitalist process of production. He questions the teleology and evolutionism of this Marxist frame of thinking. Furthermore he questions possibilities of how the working class move from competition, isolation, misery, oppression, slavery and exploitation to combination, association, unity and struggle (1985:86). He identifies four Marxist explications and or resolutions of this paradox. The first explication presents the working class as a class with a historic mission to overthrow capitalism based on the degradation it experiences and the universal (class) interest it carries. In this view the reality of domination and fragmentation within capitalist production is transient and superficial. The second explication is similar to the first, but emphasises the dominating and fragmenting nature of capitalist production. According to this view the working class must wait for the inexorable (predestined) laws of capitalism to precipitate its final catastrophe, at which point the working class will be ready and transition to socialism becomes automatic. He summarises the above two explications calling them history without a subject[47].

The third explication attempts to rectify the flaws by arguing that neither is the working class inherently revolutionary, nor capitalism necessarily doomed by some immanent logic. Instead, an exogenous force must bring enlightenment to the working class. In Lenin's orthodox theorising this would be a unified and unifying vanguard party. The party intervenes to demystify the corrosive dominant ideology that prevents the working class from realising their true class-consciousness (or from becoming conscious of their revolutionary goal. Through the party holding a reflective mirror, the working class recognises itself as a heroic actor. Burawoy[48] raises questions on this view, especially the assumption of the unified and unifying character of the vanguard party, arguing that there was no such party in the Russian revolution. He also argues that social historians show

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

that the Bolshevik Party of 1917 was not a monolithic organisation, but its success lay in its disunity, heterogeneity and responsiveness to indigenous impulses, militancy and grievances of the turbulent working class[49]. The fourth explication distinguishes the capitalist mode of production from the capitalist system, the logic of capital from capitalism. This view also argues that beyond the arena of production are institutions like the family, the church, the neighbourhood, the pub and the political club that provide organisational resources for economic subordination to be turned into political struggle. Some in this view emphasise looking at factory production process and revisiting the workplace as a critical determinant of working class struggle. He asserts that this view with all its innovative theorising, especially their recognizing that production has ideological, political and economic consequences, its insights are mostly ignored and buried in the search for the totality of working class experiences. Burawoy's[50] critique is that although this view highlights useful tools of analysis, the workplace (production shop floor) is examined as a totality to understand working class struggle, in attempts to arrive at total explication of working class experience.

Burawoy's (1985:87) main argument is that examining production (the workplace) is central in explicating patterns of working-class struggle. In his analysis he distinguishes between the labour process, the political apparatuses of production, factory regime and politics of production[51]. He revisits factory sites studied by Marx in Lancashire and New England and explores factory sites in Russia, unravelling factory regimes and how factory regimes transformed and how they precipitate struggles in each of these case studies. He argues that there are different types of factory regime in the textile industry in early capitalism. In Lancashire these were company state, patriarchy and paternalism. In New

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid, (pg. 87)

[51] The *labour process* is conceived as coordinated set of activities and relations involved in the transformation of raw materials into useful products. The *political apparatuses of production* are understood as institutions that regulate and shape struggles in the workplace. A *factory regime* refers to the overall political form of production, including both the political effects of the labour process and the political apparatuses of production. The *politics of production* are actual struggles and contestations that take place in the workplace. Burawoy asserts that Marx was not aware of these distinctions, as a result did not thematize the way factory regimes shape interests and capacities, thereby linking domination to struggle as well as the possibility that factory regimes may change independent of changes in the labour process (Burawoy, 1985: 87 – 88).

England it was paternalism and market despotism. In Russia it was company state. He further identifies a hierarchy of determinants of factory regimes in industries divided into the following categories:

- Level of state intervention in relations of production, what he calls state apparatuses and, or direct state regulation of factory regimes. To illustrate, in a company state in Russia, intervention in relations of production was internal, whereas in early throttle mills in England it was external (i.e. the state apparatus was not directly involved in regulating production relations).

- Level of separation from the means of subsistence (i.e. level of proletarianisation). Differences between regimes are whether proletarianisation is complete, or incomplete, i.e. whether the pool of workers are fully urbanised or continue to be migrants.

- The absorption of labour and labour supply, whether it was formal or real laid the basis for a specific factory regime. Also the level of shortage and, or surplus of labour supply was a determining factor on the type of factory regime.

The first two points appear as more determinant of factory regimes as well as workplace struggles for Burawoy (1985:122). In the production process, factory regimes are seen as the determinant in explicating workplace struggles. The distinction and separation between the objective base and subjective superstructure is questionable. This is because Burawoy views production relations and the factory regime (base) as simultaneously objective and subjective, so also are politics, state, religion and cultures (superstructure). He further theorises that politics is not limited to the realm of the state, but production processes and production relations are themselves political, governed by political processes and apparatuses. The political apparatuses of production play themselves out in the labour process, the system of remuneration, operator making out, rate fixing, labour market dynamics (whether internal labour market or external labour market in distribution of employees within the firm), systems of bargaining and the relationship between production apparatuses and state apparatuses. In these he looks at two key issues: the relationship between the state support for the reproduction of labour power and direct state regulation of factory

regimes. Figure 2.1 illustrates this correlation using examples of four leading national economies.

Figure 2.1: Relationship of State Support and Direct State Regulation

[52]State Support for the Reproduction of Labour Power			
Direct State Regulation of Factory Regime		HIGH	LOW
	HIGH	Sweden	United States
	LOW	England	Japan

Ching Kwan Lee (1993, 1995) engages with Burawoy's notion of factory regimes in her research of clothing factories in Hong Kong and Shenzhen (China). She critiques Burawoy's notion of despotic regimes, arguing that an analysis of factory regimes must look at the agency of the dominated to accede to domination and how women workers shape the terms of managerial control and how at times they can turn social constructions of gender into a survival strategy vis-à-vis management (1993:532). In her comparative work of two factories in Hong Kong and Shenzhen she develops an analysis through which she identifies two sets of managerial control, viz. *localistic despotism* in Shenzhen vis-à-vis *familial hegemony* in Hong Kong. Her contribution in this study is that while both factories belong to the same company and produce the same products and even interchange management personnel, the workplace order of control in the two factories is different. She identifies three anomalies in Burawoy's analysis and reconstructs the theory by rejecting Burawoy's generalisation of associating despotic/coercive regimes merely with the dependence of workers on wages for livelihoods. She argues that Burawoy was wrong in assuming that management always has an interest in coercive means of control whenever it has the capacity to impose despotism. She further argues that what distinguishes the two firms and their respective regimes is localised labour market supply, management agenda and labour process practices (Lee, 1995:380)

To apply Burawoy's notion of factory regimes to enunciate workplace resistance and struggle one has to expand these notions of factory regimes by incorporating

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[52] Source: Burawoy, 1985: 138

critical contributions by Moodie (1994) and Von Holdt (2004). Von Holdt (2003:5) asserts that

> "The labour process is itself a socially constructed terrain, an arena of contestation and resistance, structured as much by the workplace regime and forces beyond the workplace – as by the imperatives of profit and technology".

In the case of South Africa the racial structuring of the workplace shaped not only the production apparatuses, but also the labour process itself. Moodie's (1994) research asserts that Burawoy's analysis is silent about the collective agency of workers in the struggle for control and, or reform of the workplace regime. Von Holdt (2003:6) agrees with Moodie by asserting that the workplace regime is a social structure and social structures by their nature are sites of struggle, always in contestation and subject to reinterpretation. Furthermore they must be protected by constant vigilance and strategic shifts in dominant forces and their agents, who modify them in response to resistance from subordinates and changes in external environments. It is this expanded notion of workplace regime one will apply to advance an argument of workplace struggle at Dunlop.

One has shown above that both the labour process approach and the cultural formations approach draw upon but also expanded concepts that were introduced by Burawoy (1979, 1985). First, was Webster's (1985a) notion of racial despotism; then Moodie's (1994) rejection of Burawoy's colonial despotism in his assertion of 'moral economy'; and third, Von Holdt's (2003) notion of apartheid workplace regimes. Von Holdt (2003) engages the notion of workplace regimes arguing that it was an apartheid workplace regime because racial structuring of the South African workplace shaped not only the production apparatuses, but also the labour process itself, which would include workplace struggles and resistance to racial despotism in the workplace. Moodie (1994) writes a historical account of mine work, migrant labour and identity. He also engages with what Burawoy (1979, 1985) called colonial despotism, showing that in South Africa, even in the mines and compounds while despotic regimes were at play, African migrants were not passive victims, but active agents in the construction of identity and meanings they made to their lives in the mines vis-à-vis the countryside. Moodie

also draws in his historical account the interesting transition in gold mines from despotism to hegemonic regimes, prior to dismantling of apartheid politically. Webster's (1985a) apartheid workplace regime thesis has already been modified by Webster and Von Holdt (2005), asserting a new trajectory which they call the post-apartheid workplace order (or disorder).

2.5 POLANYI'S DOUBLE MOVEMENT

The concept of double movement has gained new currency in explicating contradictions of what Polanyi (1957, 1968) regarded as contradictions of the self-regulating market economy and its destructive impact on society, and resulting spontaneous responses of society to protect them against the market. Polanyi developed this concept from his work on 'the great transformation', in which he theorizes a shift in what he calls the market economy, in which he distinguishes the institutionalized market economy from what Marx regarded as the overall capitalist system. For Polanyi, the great transformation was begun by the powerful modern state, which was needed to push changes in social structure and human nature that allowed for a competitive capitalist economy. These changes implied the destruction of the basic social order that had reigned due to pre-modern human nature and that had existed throughout all earlier history. Central to the change was that factors of production like land and labour would now be sold on the market at market-determined prices instead of allocated according to tradition, redistribution, or reciprocity. He emphasized the greatness of the transformation because it was both a change of human institutions and human nature. The market economy not only changes the economic system, but also structures of society and the nature of man, through the process of commodification, which has removed land, labour and money and the making of these into fictitious commodities. His theorizing of the great transformation is centred on the construction of a 'self-regulating' market which necessitates the separation of society into economic and political realms. He develops a critique of the orthodox liberal account of the rise of capitalism by arguing that the free market economy is not spontaneous as asserted by the liberal account of economics, but that it was social protectionism: a spontaneous reaction to the social dislocation imposed by an unrestrained free market.

Polanyi critiques the market economy because by considering land, labour and money as fictitious commodities, it subjects the substance of society to the laws of the market. His argument is that economy and society are articulated, thus the market must articulate with redistribution and reciprocity. In this articulation, society and social wellbeing have primacy over narrow imperatives of individual accumulation. Polanyi uses three themes to theorise the great transformation, viz. economy, society and double movement. He theorizes the double movement as being an inextricable part of the great transformation. The double movement entails the institutional and planned transformation of the market economy, which he sees as unsustainable because of its fatally destructive impact on human nature and the natural contexts it inhabits. This results in massive social dislocation, and spontaneous moves by society to protect itself. In effect, Polanyi (1957) argues that, once the free market attempts to separate itself from the fabric of society, social protectionism is society's natural response.

Polanyi's work has been revisited in South African literature, first to explain the rupture of militant black trade unions in the 1970's, despite a system of accumulation supported by a repressive apartheid state. Lately, the concept of double movement has been used by Hart (2001) in explicating the disabling nature of globalization and local and global counter movements of social protection against the destructive impact of market forces both locally and globally. Webster et al (2008) use Polanyi's notion of double transformation, arguing that neoliberalism constitutes a 'second great transformation', characterized by conscious manufacturing of insecurity as a strategy to undermine the collective power of civil society movements. Through a study of three industrial towns of Ladysmith, Orange and Changwon they examine how societies respond to the global restructuring of work and explore possibilities for democratic outcomes (Webster et al, 2008:vii). Barchiesi (2011) also offers a brief look at Polanyi's double movement in relation to neoliberalism, its destructive impact on the working class in South Africa, and possible responses towards what he calls precarious liberation (Barchiesi, 2011:123).

2.6 SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND CRISIS THEORY

In researching workers, livelihoods and rural-urban linkages the thesis articulates a lineage of analysis and debate of South Africa's economic, political and social crisis in Marxist transition and post-transition scholarship. While Wolpe (1972, 1980) does not necessarily use crisis terminology, his argument on 'articulation of modes of production', in which he analyses the history and formations in the capitalist system of accumulation in South Africa is central in outlining a history of political economy debates in South Africa. He saw apartheid as a significant social formation, resulting from concrete struggles as well as a political mechanism to manage the increasing crisis of bifurcated social reproduction in the countryside. The promulgation of apartheid in 1948 is an important, but not determining factor in the shaping of capitalist super-exploitation from the 1950s leading to the golden decade of capitalist boom in South Africa.

The initial discussions on the crisis of reproduction, drawing from Gramsci were made by Saul and Gelb (1981), which Gelb (1991) developed further into an edited book project titled, 'South Africa's Economic Crisis'. In this analysis, apartheid capitalism faced an organic crisis, constituted by a coalescence of economic crisis, political and social crisis, resulting in a retreat into co-optation and reform by capital and the apartheid state. Yet, they argue that reforms in the 1980s did not ameliorate the crisis because they were too limited to cover a wide range of mass demands based on the total abolition of apartheid and the racially organised capitalist system. Furthermore, they argued that these reforms instead gave further impetus for mass mobilisation and space for joint formations and linkages of community struggles with workplace struggles in the late 1980s and early 1990s. At that time, Gelb (1991) envisaged nothing less than the total transformation of South Africa, with a fundamental redistribution of political, economic and social power to the majority of South Africans.

Lately, crisis theory has been visited by Hassim (2008), Fakier and Cock (2009) and Mosoetsa (2011), through a lens of social reproduction discourse. Bezanson and Luxton (2006) are some of the leading contributors to a feminist approach contribution to the concept of social reproduction, in which they look at the

articulation of capitalist accumulation and patriarchy. In this analysis, social reproduction theory shows how the production of goods and services and the production of life are part of one integrated process. If the formal economy is the production site for goods and services, the people who produce such things are themselves produced outside the ambit of the formal economy at very little cost to capital. Labour power is reproduced by three interconnected processes. First, by activities that *regenerates* the worker outside the production process and allows her to return to it. These include, among a host of others, food, a bed to sleep in, but also care in psychical ways that keep a person whole. Second, by activities that maintains and regenerate *non-workers* outside the production process, i.e. those who are future or past workers, such as children, adults out of the workforce for whatever reason, be it old age, disability or unemployment. Lastly, labour power is produced by reproducing new *workers*, i.e. through child-birth and child-rearing.

They argue that these activities, which form the very basis of capitalism (in that they reproduce the worker) are done completely free of charge for the system by women and men within the household and the community (Folbre 1994, Bakker and Gill 2003). They argue that the significant insight of social reproduction theory is that capitalism is a *unitary* system that can successfully, if unevenly integrate the sphere of production and the sphere of reproduction. Changes in one sphere thus create ripples in another. For example, low wages and neoliberal cost-cutting at work and in society can produce foreclosures in the workplace and simultaneous domestic violence at home.

Mosoetsa (2011) uses this analysis to investigate household and community responses and reactions to neoliberalism and faltering of local government in Mpumalanga and eNhlalakahle townships, in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Similar to earlier works and arguments by Hassim (2005) and Fakier and Cock (2009) she argues that the lives of men and women in the two communities illustrate contradictions inherent in South Africa's transition, which she argues are characterised by a crisis of reproduction of social relations, society and capital. This crisis emanates from a neoliberal transition, resulting in loss of secure employment (and total loss of employment in these two townships) and the simultaneous commodification of

everyday life at the sphere of local government. Although there is an expansion in the delivery of social grants, poverty undermines the survival and livelihoods of households. The crisis plays out in simultaneous solidarity and conflict as well as harmony and violence, as households and communities become sites of both stability and conflict, and where sharing and solidarity is increasingly eroded by adverse social and economic conditions. She found that poverty undermines the collective nature of households and households are increasingly becoming sites of struggle for control of meagre social grant resources and elderly women are both the heroines and the main victims of this treacherous crisis.

Hart (2013) revisits the crisis discussion, using Gramsci, Fanon and Lefebvre in re-thinking fault lines in South Africa's post-apartheid transition. Hart's argument goes beyond the limits of the crisis of reproduction thesis, but looks at systemic crisis, using Gramsci (1971), in what he identified as an organic crisis in the system. Hart looks at the crisis of neoliberalism and its playing out in post-apartheid South Africa, looking at what she calls movement beyond movement, which is an extension of Polanyi's double movement, by looking at responses to crisis as not limited only to movements from below. She looks at how the post-apartheid project of de-nationalisation and re-nationalisation play out in attempting to re-create a South African identity. She also looks specifically at key events that play out as focal points of the crisis of post-apartheid South Africa, starting with the Bredell occupation and violent police response to quell protests, the xenophobic rupture of 2008 and the Marikana Massacre as three nodal points of crisis. This analysis is significant because it looks at the systemic crisis emanating from conservative neoliberal policies of government, wholesale effects of this conservative policy shift was commodification of service functions, especially at the municipal government level, dashing hopes of the material improvement of many black South Africans. Pressures on communities increasingly feeling the squeeze of neoliberalism resulted in various expressions of oppositional political, social movements and the growth of civil society formations. It also resulted in re-articulations of nationality – the national question, culminating in the xenophobic ruptures of 2008. It also resulted in various expressions of community responses. Political turmoil and protests have become an increasingly common feature in the second decade of democracy.

There have also been tumultuous industrial relations, characterized by lengthy and violent industrial action across all sectors of the economy. There has also been a growing violent crackdown by the police on the right to protest broadly, with graphic scenes like Bredell, Fiksburg, Delmas and the recent Marikana.

2.7 POVERTY, SOCIAL SECURITY AND LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

There is numerous literature on unemployment, poverty, inequality and policy imperatives for South Africa[53]. Research and analysis seem to coagulate towards an assertion linking levels of high unemployment, poverty, inequality and the role of macro-economic and social policy in developing economic growth, employment creation and poverty alleviation. We know South Africa has a problem of high unemployment –estimated at 25% by Stats SA[54], widely understood as a structural crisis of unemployment[55]. We also know South Africa has alarming levels of both poverty and inequality. Poverty is estimated at about 48% (with more than 60% of the rural population living in poverty); and we are still the second most unequal society with a GINI co-efficient of 0.68. We also know about the destruction of the rural economy and livelihoods, urbanisation and increasing dependence of households' livelihoods on wage income. There is also a lot of literature on government interventions ranging from the extension of the social security net, job creation interventions and various pro-poor relief programmes.

While the general thrust in the literature highlights deficiencies and challenges in these various programmes and interventions, research confirms the primacy of household income in the mobilisation of household livelihoods. While these policies and interventions do not alleviate poverty – they fail to move recipients and participants above the poverty line, they remain the difference between household survival and starvation. For instance, McCord (2002, 2004, 2005) has

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[53] Bhorat and Hodge (1999), Bhorat and Cassim (2004), Bhorat (1999, 2000, 2004), Bond (2000), Field (2000), May (1998, 2000), Nattrass (2000a), Nattrass and Seekings (1998, 2003), Standing (1999) and UNDP (2003)

[54] The 25% unemployment rate from StatsSA reflects a restricted measuring of unemployment, which can easily be as high as 40% if you use different measures to determine 'employment'.

[55] Altman (2003), Bhorat (2000, 2002), Bhorat and Hodge (1999), Fields (2000), Kingdon and Knight (2004, 2005), Nattrass (2000b)

written extensively about the Expanded Public Works' Programmes (EPWPs) and their impact, or their role in employment creation, development and poverty alleviation in South Africa. She is very critical of the role of EPWPs and her research shows that EPWPs do not provide long-term employment, and thus are not a credible response to the unemployment crisis. She highlights several limitations of EPWPs ranging from lack of fiscal investment by government into the programme; EPWPs only offer short-term contracts with below minimum wage stipends, participants do not acquire sufficient skills transfer to set up their own businesses and participants are not able to save the income from EPWPs for further income-generating activities (McCord, 2002, 2004). Despite this negative assessment of the programme, McCord also highlights what might be seen as positive unintended consequences of EPWPs in the households of participants. She saw that most income from EPWPs is spent on consumables, children's education and health care. EPWPs also have 'non-wage' – social benefits. The majority of participants noted their ability to pay for their children's education from their EPWP incomes while others pointed to their ability to fulfil traditional and religious rituals, which improved the social standing of their households in their respective communities, resulting in a reduction of social exclusion (McCord, 2004).

Similar arguments are also presented about the impact of expanded non-contributory social grants on poor households. Lund (1993, 1999, 2002, 2000a) has written extensively on social grants, especially researching various aspects of social grants in poor households. She engages an assertion by Coz (1992) who argued that the presence of a pension in a rural household 'crowds-out' i.e. reduces instances of private transfers, e.g. remittances. Lund highlights important issues in her critique of these claims. Firstly, she argues that SALDRU data sources used by Jensen only collected information about remittances at the level of households; without any specification in looking at who are the intended recipients of remittances. She also argues that Jensen's claim ignores the complexities in household dynamics of poor households. She argues that remittances are more affected by household dynamics than by social grants (2002:686). She on the contrary shows that the Old Age Pension (OAP) 'crowd-in' household income than argument by Jensen and others. She found that OAP

increases household income and enhances household social security of both the elderly and children (2002:681). She argues that:

> "Pensions are both an anti-poverty measure and a development tool, raising incomes as well as 'crowding-in' private care for the elderly and other members of the households in which they live." (2002:682).

Ardington and Lund (1995) found that the reliability of pensions enable people to secure credit, hire equipment, but improved agricultural inputs; and showed the importance of regular pension income across the agricultural production cycle. They argue that this form of income is vital to the security of vulnerable households and recipients' carefully strategize and plan around this relatively reliable source of household income. While Breslin (1997) found that OAP brings an aspect of conflict and competition within households, shaped by both gender and generational dynamics as well as by struggles over access and control of scarce resources; Moller did a qualitative study on the feelings of pensioners on OAP and household dynamics, which found that pensioners were extremely positive about the authority given to them by the OAP (Moller, 1996). While pensioners were not very happy about being the sole household breadwinners as well as noting the indifference of the younger generation, they were happy about the status (social capital), empowerment, self-reliance, self-respect and credit-worthiness they gained (Moller, 1996:9).

Lund also found that OAP's enable the elderly the right to receive care and support when they are frail, and the elderly also play an important role in caring for younger members of the household in which they live (2002:685). She also found that OAP's enable households to secure school expenses for children, especially in the context of the pressures of HIV/AIDS on household income. Case et al (2005) also found positive aspects of the child support grant (CSG) among poor households. They argue that children who received the grant are significantly more likely to be enrolled in school in the years following grant receipt than are equally poor children of the same age whose households do not receive grants (Case, 2005:468). They found that there is a direct relationship between CSG and school enrolment of young children as well as a strong

relationship between CSG and school performance of young children (Case, 2005:480).

2.8 REVIEW OF THE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

The failure of the GEAR macro-economic policy and its programs to create jobs and reduce poverty and vulnerability resulted in government introducing policy intervention measures, like the Growth and Development Summit in 2003 and later ASGISA in 2006. The 2004-2009 government used livelihoods/ sustainable livelihoods as the buzzword (phrase) for most of government's pro-poor programs, including extension of reach of social grants and the expanded public works programmes. The thesis engages claims behind the livelihoods approach and its application in our context. The livelihoods approach has featured predominantly in government's programmes towards development from the Growth and Development Summit of 2003 (Social Development, 2004, 2006; RSA, 2003). The livelihoods approach emanates from Sen's (1982) capabilities approach, which he developed researching poverty, inequality and the agency of the poor for survival in India.

Ashley defines livelihoods as comprising the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for living (Ashley, 1999). Sustainable livelihoods are those which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain and enhance capabilities and assets, and provide livelihood opportunities for the next generation; as well as contribute net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term (Chambers, 1992). Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002:3) define the livelihoods concept as a process that needs to be sustainable, that can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. Other livelihood definitions make people more central and are less concerned with precise terminology for different kinds of assets.

One will note that they highlight issues of ownership; access and decision-making. Carney et al, (1999:4) for example, state that the people's capacity to

generate and maintain their means of living enhances their well-being and the well-being of future generations. These capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options which are ecological, economic and political and which are predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision making. Appendini (2001:24) asserts that the livelihoods approach best expresses the idea of individuals or groups striving to make a living, attempting to meet their various consumption and economic necessities, coping with uncertainties and responding to new opportunities.

Wallmann (1984) and Appendini (2001) assert that the livelihoods approach is not just about finding or making shelter, transacting money, getting food to put on the family table or to exchange on the market place. They view the livelihoods approach as a, integrated and holistic concept in that it involves not only economic factors such as shelter and bread, but also educational and cultural factors, including individual and group identity, availability of information and other significances of vulnerable people. As Helmore and Singh (2001:90) argue, the livelihoods approach reveals that "the simple act of focusing on what people already have, what they already know and do – instead of on what they need – shifts the perception the poor have of themselves from one of helpless victims of circumstance to one of capable actors who can control their own destiny".

De Haan and Zoomers (2005) provides a critique of limitations of the livelihoods approach, which they seek to address in their research. They argue that the approach synthesises many issues into a single framework, but inevitably cannot capture every strand of development thinking, for example it neglects issues of power relations (De Haan and Zoomers, 2005:31). Ashley and Carney (1999:7) also assert that neglecting power relations may be cited as a weakness, especially because power relations feature prominently in causing and, or addressing poverty and underdevelopment. For De Haan and Zoomers (2005:33) property relations and configurations of power play a major role in inducing poverty. They conclude that any development framework, if is to fully appreciate and understand community development dynamics has to include power as a major determinant of scales of economic inequality within a given community.

Another useful critique to the livelihoods approach is also made by Mosoetsa (2011), especially the use of the livelihoods approach in social and development policy in post-apartheid South Africa. The thesis builds a critique around the inadequacy of the approach in conceptualising poverty and inequality in South Africa. While the approach is useful in giving the poor agency, by looking at their assets, capabilities, resources and activities, the approach ignores -as argued by De Haan and Zoomers (2005) – power relations in poverty and inequality. The thesis further argues that the livelihoods approach ignores the inextricable articulation of poverty and inequality to capitalist accumulation in South Africa. The livelihoods approach and pro-poor policy emanating from it also ignores the contradictory nature of pro-poor rhetoric in the context of neo-liberal monetary and fiscal policy especially in alleviating poverty. Policy imperatives from this approach promulgated in South Africa ignore that while there is a significant extension in the reach of social grants after 1994, poor service delivery compounded by government's cost-recovery agenda towards provision of basic services reduces the survival options of poor households, resulting in a crisis of social reproduction.

2.9 POST-APARTHEID TRANSITION AND CONTRADICTIONS

There are several significant contributions in researching the South African transition, its contradictions and the playing out of contestation for interests. Works by Barchiesi (2011) and Mosoetsa (2011) are significant because they emanate from a conceptual framework of work and labour studies. Their work also follows on the work of Hart (2002, 2005a, 2005b) as well as Webster, et al (2008) who look at the contradictions of globalisation, with increasing ability and capacity of capital to relocate and accumulate globally, yet increasing localisation of the crisis of reproduction of the working poor and unemployed. Hart (2002, 2005a, 2005b) goes further to look at the articulation of global neo-liberalism as a feature of accumulation by dispossession; in South Africa exemplified by neo-liberal policies post 1996, privatisation of basic services and punitive cost-recovery measures imposed on the poor. They also look at alternatives and responses from below to global capitalism, retrenchments, unemployment and increasing vulnerability of household survival. Theoretically these works use

Polanyi's 'double movement' to unpack responses to global capitalism (Polanyi, 2001 [1957]). These responses range from progressive local struggles like rent boycotts in Madadeni, Anti-privatisation movements in Soweto, Abahlali Basemjondolo in Durban, intense strikes and innovative engagement of trade unions in Changwon and Orange, to conservative reactions and political mobilisation like xenophobia (and xenophobic attacks of 2008) in South Africa, the rise of the right-wing and anti-Asian-immigrants party in Orange, re-invention of patriarchy, abuse and violence in many poor households.

Mosoetsa (2011) writes about the dynamics and struggles for survival in poor households in post-apartheid South Africa. Through an ethnographic study of two townships in KwaZulu-Natal she examines the complex sets of dynamics and struggles poor households engage with for survival due to high unemployment (due to the collapse of clothing and textile industries) and the negative impact of neo-liberal policies in government and poor (and cost-recovery based) service delivery in communities. She follows the lives of women and their households, who at the height of their lives were employed in the booming clothing and textile factories, who now have to face the harshness of unemployment (both women and their husbands) in Mpumalanga, in Hammarsdale and Enhlalakahle, in Greytown.

There are several critical points Mosoetsa makes in her book. First, her research shows a continued centrality and dependence of household livelihoods on wage income. Due to the collapse in sectors of employment in the two towns, household resources are overstretched, and as a result households have to manage livelihoods with much less resources, mostly resulting in having to restructure and reduce their consumption patterns. Secondly, she highlights the role of elderly women as pillars of support and livelihoods for many households. Many households depend on the OAP of elderly women, on day/ casual work as well as self-help incomes from elderly women for survival. Many elderly women also decry the prevalence of youth unemployment and the inability of their adult children to secure employment. Thirdly, she highlights the crisis in social reproduction in households – dynamic household relations with little and more competition and conflict over access, use and control over resources. Some of these dynamics play out in households as conflict and competition between the

retrenched husband and the wife (who is now the household breadwinner) over decision making (mostly over priorities and determinations of access and use of scarce resources), to conflicts between elderly women and their adult daughters over the use of CSG for cosmetics and cell phones instead of products for children, and conflicts between elderly women and their adult sons over their failure to contribute their income towards household needs and their failure to make any household contribution. She found that the crisis of retrenchment and vulnerability among men plays out in men re-invoking traditionalist notions of patriarchy, often resulting in physical abuse. She also argues that this precariousness configures the constitution of household, family, with many households and families becoming sites of fragile stability. Mosoetsa's work highlights a similar point made by Fakier and Cock (2009), who did a study of Emnambithi in Ladysmith. They argue that the township is a site of the crisis of social reproduction, characterised by increasing female migrancy, restructuring of work, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, rising food prices and paucity of basic social services in communities.

Barchiesi (2011) writes a very intriguing and thought provoking book about the relationship between wage labour and social citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. He discusses the ways in which workers' experiences of wage labour as a vehicle for social advancement, social emancipation and means of access to citizenship have changed and how these changes relate to government policy discourse on social citizenship (2011: xviii). In researching this change Barchiesi uses the concept of precariousness to capture black workers' experiences and feelings, not just in terms of perceived insecurity, but as manifestations of a discursive and significant gap between the mythology of an association of work with citizenship and what he calls hollow rhetoric in relation to workers experiencing labour market participation which is unfavourable to basic everyday survival, let alone human dignity. He critiques post-apartheid government's public discourse of associating employment with social citizenship and a discourse that assumes that employment [56] is a panacea to problems of poverty and the

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[56] He makes a specific critique throughout the book of Seekings and Nattrass (2003) for simplistically assuming that any form of employment is the solution to addressing poverty and inequality in South Africa.

precariousness of the working class poor. Barchiesi asks, 'does wage employment fulfil the promise of social emancipation in post-apartheid South Africa?' He also asks, 'how has this promise been reconfigured in workers' experiences and narratives of the employment crisis?' In his response he asserts that the post-apartheid crisis of wage employment among the African majority cannot be reduced to rising joblessness and exclusion from labour market, but it has to do with deepening insecurity, vulnerability and poverty within formal employment.

The key argument of Barchiesi (2011) revolves around the fact that while millions of black South African workers struggled against apartheid to redeem employment and production from a history of abuse, insecurity, and racial despotism; almost two decades later, the prospects of a dignified life of wage-earning work remain unattainable for most South Africans. He documents and interrogates this important dilemma in the country's democratic transition; how economic participation has gained centrality in the government's definition of virtuous citizenship, and yet for most workers, employment remains an elusive and insecure experience. In the context of market liberalization and persistent social and racial inequalities, as jobs in South Africa become increasingly flexible, fragmented, and unprotected, they depart from the promise of work with dignity and citizenship rights that once inspired the struggle for freedom. He traces how the employment crisis and the responses of workers to it challenge the state's normative imagination of work, and raise decisive questions for the social foundations and prospects of South Africa's democratic experiment.

2.10 CONCLUSION

The chapter provided a survey of the available literature on a wide range of areas of labour studies and development studies, which the thesis engages with in arguments made in chapters four, five and six. Literature on migrant labour, the oscillating movement of African workers and households across the rural-urban divide and migrant identities and struggles for livelihoods in the city and countryside inform engagement and claims the thesis makes about workers, wages and livelihoods in chapter four, as well as arguments on worker identity and workplace regimes in chapter five. The lengthy review of South African literature

in labour studies and the review of Burawoy inform discussions on workplace regimes in chapter five. These approaches are relevant for the author's argument which seeks to expand Burawoy's (1985) notion of factory regimes, by arguing that cultural formations play out in the construction of workplace regimes and workplace order in everyday life. In chapter five the argument is made that the shop floor is not bounded (only constructed through technical experiences); but the authors research at Dunlop exposed the fact that migrant masculine discourse is not only a social formation towards mobilisation, identity and meaning, but the everyday workplace order in Dunlop is constructed using the discourse of *'ubudoda'*. The review of development economics' literature on unemployment, poverty, inequality and social security is part of a discussion on linking workers, wages and household livelihoods' strategies in chapter four. The discussion on the role of wage income in mobilisation of household livelihoods in chapter four, as well as a discussion on the crisis of social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa as a conclusion engages with some of the reviewed literature on the crisis of reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

A CASE OF METHODS IN RESEARCHING WORK, LABOUR AND LIVELIHOODS ACROSS THE RURAL-URBAN DIVIDE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in chapter one, the thesis attempts to delineate the reproduction of the African working class in everyday life in post-apartheid South Africa. The research entails examining the articulation of wage labour and mobilisation of livelihoods of working class households across the rural-urban divide. The research also examines rural-urban linkages of these African workers, interrogating how these linkages are maintained and how they play out in mobilisation and struggles for livelihoods both in the workplace and in households. There are three areas of evidence which this research developed into key research questions: firstly, the centrality of wage income in the mobilization of livelihoods of extended familial households across the rural-urban divide; secondly, the degree of rural-urban linkages and networks and the form(s) they take in everyday life. Lastly, how rural-urban linkages and identities play out in everyday life, in the construction of workplace regimes and workplace struggles.

The previous chapters delineated theoretical underpinnings of this research project, which at first is an attempt to examine the articulation of work, land and livelihoods and second the challenge to understand the social and spatial inter-connectedness of the new South African experience for research, policy and social action. This research forms part of what Hart and Sitas call new and creative ways of researching and understanding post-apartheid South Africa in ways that go beyond hegemonic research and analysis which tend to look at the elements of land, labour, livelihoods and rural development vis-à-vis urban development as silos (Hart and Sitas, 2004). As Burawoy (1991) argues, research methods are not just extensions of mere techniques of gathering and analysing data, but methods and/or methodology in research link directly to epistemological foundations of how we theorise the world we see and knowledge we produce in research (Burawoy, 1991). Bonnin (2007) argues that in sociology we understand that researchers need to consider with care choices of gathering and analysing data,

firstly because they need to speak directly to the research problem at hand. Secondly, sociological research methodology needs to be considered carefully because in the end there is no value free, or neutral research undertaking. On the contrary, the research process cannot be divorced from the philosophical, ethical and political debates of the time. This chapter will spell out the theoretical foundations that underpin this research as well as the specific research methods of gathering evidence and analysis that complement an articulated discourse of analysis.

3.2 QUESTIONS ON ONTOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

Social science research has a broad scope that is governed by two dominant approaches to how we view the world around us, namely, knowledge about the world around us, and instruments we utilise to gain knowledge of the world around us. This is what is generally labelled ontology, epistemology and methodology. The history of knowledge about the world shows that there are two approaches mostly tipped as being diametrically opposed to each other, viz. what is called the positivist approach and the humanistic or interpretive approach (Creswell, 1994). Research in the social sciences tends to fall on either side of this divide. On the one hand there are ontological foundations based on the view of a real and objective world, versus ontological foundations based on the view of a world both objective (real) and subjective (constructionist). Following this dualism another ontological debate rages on whether we can actually know the real world? The positivists assert that there is an objective reality and it can be easily captured and known (Delanty, 1999). Humanists on the contrary argue that since we cannot extricate the objective from the subjective, the knowledge of the world is also subject to human subjectivity (Hay, 2003; Bevir, 2003).

At the level of epistemology, the positivists see social science in many ways as being similar to natural (physical) sciences, i.e. the world exists as an objective reality outside and/or independent of the mind of the observer (researcher) and can be known in its entirety. According to this view the role of the researcher is to describe and analyse the world (Della Porta, 2008). The humanistic approach on the contrary sees a vast division between physical science and social science

based on the fact that human behaviour is always filtered by subjective understandings of external reality by both the people being studied and by the researcher. Geertz argued that social science is not about the search for natural laws, but an interpretative science in search of meaning (Geertz, 1973). According to this view, reality is only relative and partial interpretations and images of those being observed and re-interpretations and meanings of those who observe them, constitute what Giddens (1976, 1987) calls the double hermeneutic.

At the level of methodology the debate revolves around which instruments and techniques are used to acquire and ascertain knowledge. Positivists tend to lend themselves to what is called hard methods, seeking unambiguous data, concrete evidence and rules and regularities (Della Porta, 2008). In this case research methodology is about gathering large data sets and statistical analysis used to prove and, or negate a hypothesis and to identify and isolate causalities to arrive at single explanations. Humanists (interpretive approaches) tend to apply what is called softer methods allowing and embracing ambiguity and recognising the significant role of interpretation as well as the relationship between the researcher and the object of research. In this case research methodology is for the purpose of understanding the heterogeneity of human nature and understanding the diversities of societies and cultures. Here research is aimed at understanding[57] motivations that influence human behaviour and meaning people put to how they see reality. In a crude sense these distinctions can be made between quantitative research techniques versus qualitative research techniques, although this distinction is too simplistic, especially within the current climate of doing research.

Bonnin (2007: 56) grapples with this debate and argues that quantitative approaches assert that the objective of sociological research is to formulate laws to explain social events and then to test and verify these laws through observation and measurement. On the other hand qualitative methods that include oral histories, participant observation, in-depth interviews and documentaries reject

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[57] This concept of understanding is taken from Max Weber's (1949) notion of verstehen, through which Weber explains the significance of interpretation, understanding and meaning in social research.

the assertion that sociological data must be testable and open to generalisation.. Thus social science research is aimed at understanding qualitative data. In this case social science researchers are interested in understanding social experiences from the point of view of their participants, showing how participants as social actors ascribe meaning and value to these experiences (Burawoy, 1991).

Reflecting on the research question for this thesis there are three sets of evidences this research had to make. Firstly, the research had to ascertain the role of migrant labour and migrancy amongst African workers at Dunlop. This evidence is not only limited to mere numbers, but to sets of meanings workers associate with migrant labour. Secondly, the research has to ascertain the extension of workers' household networks across the rural-urban divide, another exercise not limited to numbers, but to interpretation and meaning by both workers and the researcher. Thirdly, the research has to understand the articulation of workplace regimes, work struggles and household livelihoods in everyday life. This involves making qualitative observations of workers' everyday life in the workplace, how workers make sense and meaning of their factory regimes, their work struggles and how they articulate workplace life to household life. The sets of evidences and narratives sought in this research are also filtered by workers' perceptions of the researcher in their eliciting of information as well as the researcher's personal interpretation of what and how he made these observations.

3.3 RESEARCHING LABOUR STUDIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

The research approach in this thesis attempts to bridge the dichotomy in the production of knowledge between those who embrace what Hart and Sitas (2004) call instrumental positivism on the one hand and endless postmodern deconstructions of the new South Africa on the other hand. In essence this is a social science approach that seeks to undo and to go beyond dichotomies and the use of binaries popular in social science analysis. In the case of South Africa most social research seeks to distinguish and separate, e.g. workplace studies versus household studies, urban development versus rural development. The methodological approach advanced in this research seeks to look at connections, i.e. how the workplace is articulated with the household, how the rural is

intertwined with the urban. For example, social research in post-apartheid South Africa must look at how land, i.e. histories of racialised dispossession, land and livelihood struggles are articulated with organised labour, their struggles and new local government demarcations (Hart, 1996, 2002; Hart and Sitas, 2004).

From the 1990's onwards there has been a re-visit in labour studies (industrial sociology) in researching rural-urban and vice versa. There are two examples of analysis based on studies of hostel violence in Gauteng by Sitas (1992b) and Mamdani (1996). While Sitas' work looks at the rural-urban linkages of migrant working men initially in Gauteng and more pertinently, his work on Dunlop workers in Durban; Mamdani undertakes a seminal work on the violence in Gauteng's hostel system and makes some key arguments on the relationship between what he calls citizens and subjects. One observes firstly that Mamdani's thesis on citizens and subjects is based on assumed dichotomies between hostel (migrant) workers versus township workers (and youths). The assumption made in this argument suggests that there is a clear dividing line between migrant workers in hostels versus workers in the township. As Mamdani puts it, township workers and youths were citizens and urbanized, while hostel (migrant/rural) workers were subjects of bifurcated Bantustan homelands. Work by Sitas (1984a, 1984b, 1989, 1992c, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2002), Bonnin (1987, 1999) and Maylam (1996) clearly show that African workers (especially African working men) were largely migrant workers. Most workers, even after establishing households and dwelling places in the city townships continued to maintain their rural homesteads and household connections. In KwaZulu-Natal political violence, where it was most intense was not characterised by the so-called hostel versus township, but rather it was Inkatha versus UDF (Bonnin, 1999, 2007; Hemson, 1996; Maré, 1993; Sitas, 1992a, 1992b).

The binary discourse in social analysis can be traced to broader factors than just the rural-urban divide, encompassing analyses and social policy in post-apartheid South Africa that separates the city from the countryside, first from the second economy, the formal from the informal sector and the global from the local. One of the leading champions of this social discourse is Castells' (2000) ground-breaking work on the network society. In this work he writes about the

overarching role of globalisation and the impact of information technology on the global economy and how globalisation is reshaping and reconfiguring space and time. His analysis clearly asserts a world of dichotomies between the global versus the local, space of flows versus space of places. This is what Berry (1983), Lefebvre (1991b), Massey (1994) and Merrifield (2000) critique as a social science discourse that dichotomise abstract from concrete, general from specific, global from local. In this discourse the global, general, abstract is always seen as overarching, permeating and transforming the local, concrete and specific. Over the last two decades there has been a plethora of social science research following this epistemological approach. Many postgraduate dissertations and policy research projects in South African and globally are clear illustrations of this discourse. Can you imagine how many dissertations and research project reports that are titled, "the impact of…", or "the role of…"

At another level the implication of a discourse based on binaries as presented by Castells (2000) and Mamdani (1996) is a tendency to remove space and place from construction and reconstruction in social relations in everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991b; Merrifield, 2000). Instead they conceptualise space as being constituted of static, dead and given mechanisms, instead of being conceptualised as constantly negotiated and contested by an ever shifting balance of forces. The separation of space from place is also a false separation as argued by Massey (1994). To make an illustration, if we follow a binary discourse, workplace and workplace struggles are seen as separate from household and livelihoods struggles. Furthermore workplace life is seen as separate from struggles for land, struggles for social services and social security. As a result, social research that follows a Castellian approach fails to make linkages and connectedness of space and the active and dynamic nature of space in social relations.

The last critique of this discourse is a tendency in social analysis that separates space from place, global from local, formal from informal, abstract from concrete. In this analysis the locale, the place, e.g. Dunlop factory is seen as a bounded unit and those in local places, e.g. workers at Dunlop are seen as passive recipients (victims) of the overarching and imposing global forces. For Castells (2000) the network society and, or the global economy operates in what he calls space of

flows, i.e. flows of capital, information technology and networks. These global flows are epitomised by London, Los Angeles, New York, Brussels, Tokyo, Hong Kong and the like. The downside of this global network is what he calls black holes, which are localities that are excluded from global networks, either because they do not have technological advancement, or markets. This thesis propagates the idea of place as a spatially bounded territorial unit that is easily distinguished. Massey (1994) would argue that Castells is propagating a static conceptualization of place set within territorial parameters. This is why the three volumes are dedicated to an analysis of spaces of flows, global mega-cities and capitals of the network society. On the contrary, Castells' (1998, 2000) 'black holes' are summed up as being a homogenous abyss not worthy of any analysis.

There are several problematics with this analysis. First, taking from Lefebvre (1991) space is produced, constructed and reconstructed in everyday life. Through social relations it can be conceived (imagined), perceived (understood) and lived (experienced) in everyday life (Merrifield, 2000, 2002). While Castells presents a static space and place (locale) as bounded units, Lefebvre sees space as actively produced involving social processes and social actors. Massey (1994) takes this critique even further by engaging with David Harvey's (1989:217) notion of spatial fix. Massey (1994:136) argues that Harvey by implication sees spaces such as localities as essentially simultaneities and by implication static. She also argues that the notion of spatial fix suggests fixity and immobility. She sees localities, *"as not just about physical buildings, nor about capital momentarily imprisoned; they are about the interaction of social activities and social relations and, crucially, activities and relations which are necessarily, by definition, dynamic, changing"* (1994: 136). This is why *"...ways of thinking about space and place are tied up with, both directly and indirectly, particular social constructions of gender relations"* (Massey, 1994:2). Massey argues space must be conceptualised integrally with time, hence always think of space-time. She insists that space is not some absolute independent phenomenon, but is constructed out of social/power relations. Both social phenomena and space are constituted out of social relations, the spatial are social relations stretched out. Since social relations are never static but dynamic, then space is also dynamic, not static.

She also argues that space and social relations are not singular and linear, but are characterised by multiplicity and constructed by social actors in the process. This she calls dynamic simultaneity, i.e. space and social phenomena may be placed in relationship to one another in such a way that new social effects are provoked and the spatial organisation of society is integral to organisation of the social, and not merely its results (Massey, 1994). The spatial then can be seen as constructed out of the multiplicity of social relations across all spatial scales, from the global reach of finance and telecommunications, through the geography of tendencies of national political power, to the social relations within the town, the settlement, the household and the workplace. It is a way of thinking in the ever-shifting geometry of social/power relations. This analysis offers a very useful epistemological basis for thinking and conceptualising Dunlop as a workplace for workers, but seeing the workplace regimes not as static but as constructed in ever-dynamic social/power relations in the workplace. Furthermore looking at Dunlop not as a bounded unit, but at how the Dunlop workplace regime and everyday life of workers are articulated with global capitalist restructuring and with national and local politico-social dynamics. In this instance, Dunlop workers construct their identity as workers, as men, as activists and as migrants, to name a few in a multiplicity of dynamic social relations in the workplace, their households, and their communities and at the level of local/national politics. This also means that this research should jettison the assumption and, or preponderance of trying to make a singular sweeping argument (conclusion) about the Dunlop workplace and workers lives, but rather to explore workers as active agents in the construction of social/power relations in everyday life.

3.4 CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnographic[58] research became the most appropriate way of engaging with this study and with workers in ways that move beyond the limits of scienticism and positivist reductionism, as well as moving beyond social analysis that separates the researcher from subject, that separates objective reality from its

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[58] There are several conflicting claims as well as approaches to ethnography (Ely 1991). The researcher will delineate these differences and show which strand of ethnography is used in this research.

interpretation. [59] Ethnographic research is premised on the production and construction of knowledge through dialogue. [60] Burawoy (1991) argues that ethnography is not just another technique of doing social research, but it distinguishes itself in that it is "the study of people in their own time and space, in their own everyday lives…Its advantages are assumed to lie not just in direct observation of how people act but also how they understand and experience those acts" (Burawoy 1991:2).

Ethnographic research has come a long way from its traditional approach that sees ethnography as the work of describing a culture, or the work of describing the 'other' (Geertz, 1973, 1983; Spradley, 1979). Stacey (1991) identifies different approaches within ethnography, viz. critical ethnography, post-structural ethnography and feminist ethnography. There are two areas of debate within social science, both from those within and outside ethnography. Firstly, it is the debate on the relationship between ethnographic field research and theory formulation. For example, positivist research methodologies start from theory to field research, in which case field research is for justification and, or verification of existing theory. Traditionally, ethnography (especially participant observation) is associated with starting from field research towards theory formulation (i.e. it starts from the concrete then build towards abstraction), what is called grounded theory, i.e. building theory from the ground up[61] (Glaser, 1967). While Burawoy

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[59] One should acknowledge while early, even though an account is made later in this chapter that the decision to use the ethnographic research method and the specific techniques used were both from a philosophical disposition and sheer coincidence.

[60] The notion of ethnography as dialogue is an important one. Burawoy (1991) asserts that there is a dilemma of illusions in social research. The first illusion is scientific determinism that claims a total separation between researcher and subject, while the second illusion is by post-modernists and anthropology that claims false togetherness between researcher and subject. Burawoy argues that in ethnography we advocate neither distance, nor immersion, but dialogue. By this Burawoy is arguing that ethnography assumes what he calls an 'I—You' relation between researcher and subject (Burawoy 1991:4). Relational dialogue between researcher and subject is critical because the practical consciousness (discovery) of everyday life both of the researcher and subject contains what he calls non-discursive knowledge, i.e. tacit knowledge that is not clearly articulated and, or knowledge that involves self-interpretation by the researcher and by the subject. This is why ethnographic research calls for dialogue.

[61] Burawoy (1991:275) is correct in stating that Glaser (1967) made a path breaking contribution to sociology, especially in their book on grounded theory. Not only did this book dispel a dominant sociological paradigm on theory and research practice. Grounded theory has helped sociology move away from viewing theory and theory construction as only a terrain of the selected few, what they call 'a few leaders at elite establishments'. They accused grand theorists of being theoretical capitalists, owners of means of theory formulation (Glaser and Strauss

applauds the contribution of grounded theory, especially their critique of the positivist notion of the relationship between theory and field research, he is also critical of grounded theory in their generality, arguing that in their pursuit of a single general law they fail to specify some particular features of the social situation towards their general theory (1991: 9). A different approach, what Burawoy calls the extended case method is premised on regarding discovery and verification as a single process to theory construction (1991: 8).

The extended case method as delineated by Burawoy differs from grounded theory in that while the latter builds theory from the ground up, the former starts from existing theory to field research and back to what Burawoy (1991: 10) calls theory reconstruction. While grounded theory treats social phenomena as an instance of some potential new theory, the extended case method looks at social phenomena as counter-instance of old theory. While grounded theory looks at social situation as an exemplar, the extended case method looks at a social situation as an anomaly. Thus the extended case method approach moves from anomaly, i.e. it deliberately looks at abnormalities, surprising twists from the social situation that are anomalous to existing theory in order to develop and reconstruct theory. In this case field research looks at social situations that highlight what theory fails to explain in a particular case, then the shortcomings of existing theory become grounds for a reconstruction that locate the social situation in its historically specific context of determination [62] (1991:9). Through an extended case method we seek to improve theories through critique either of

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1967:10). Grounded theory enables everyone, even a participant observer an opportunity to develop concepts of general application to diverse setting. Through the pursuit of generalization grounded theory lays claim to science and, or to being scientific (Burawoy 1991: 275).

[62] This social research method is clearly exhibited in Burawoy's (1979, 1985) work on the politics of production and factory regimes, in which he researched factories in Zambia, USA and Eastern Europe to critique the seminal work of Harry Braverman (1974) and further reconstruct his own theory of understanding production politics and factory regimes in these different places. Burawoy has also taught extended case method of theory reconstruction to his students, evident in the work of Von Holdt (2003) in which he critiques Burawoy notion of factory regimes by pointing anomalies and silences in the factory regimes theory in explicating particular workplace conditions in South Africa. Von Holdt's research culminates into a reconstruction of what he calls apartheid workplace regimes. Another student of Burawoy, Ching Kwan Lee (1993, 1995) did a study using an extended case method to reconstruct Burawoy's notion of factory regimes by looking at two firms in Shenzhen and Hong Kong. Through this research she reconstructed theorising factory regimes by introducing what she calls localistic despotism and familial hegemony.

highlighting anomalies in theory, or by critiquing internal contradictions in theory highlighted by empirical research, or by highlighting theoretical gaps and, or silences of theory. It is this social research for theory reconstruction that makes Burawoy (1991:27) argues that social research is a dialogue: either a dialogue of social scientists by themselves or with their subjects.

The second debate revolves around the macro-micro implications of ethnographic research, i.e. the extent to which ethnography can be used to theorise beyond just the local and the case study. One has already made a critique of the positivist assertion of an objective reality not mitigated by human consciousness and interpretation. In sociology the debate can be represented by structuralists like Talcott Parsons' theory of structural functionalism versus Garfinkel's theory of symbolic interactionism. While the former represents a macro theory based on generalizable research techniques, the latter represents micro-theory based on particular case studies, looking at the everyday life of participants outside of structure. As a result of this, ethnographic research tends to be reduced to micro, particular, what is called 'locality studies'. Burawoy addresses this conundrum in ethnography by showing how the extended case method goes beyond simply the local, micro and particular and how macro-sociology can be constructed through an extended case method. Ethnomethodology rejects any 'macro' generalisation because they view the macro world as a construction of participants; hence for this view sociology is micro-sociology of the unique social situation. The general and macro phenomenon is constructed through abstraction (Burawoy, 1991:272). Grounded theory and the interpretive case method tend to collapse the macro and micro, the general and particular by viewing the micro as an expression of the macro and the particular as an expression of the general. Burawoy's critique of this construction of theory is that while working towards a construction of macro and general these two neglect the particular and micro.

While grounded theory and interpretive case methods neglect the specific and particular in their construction of general theory, an extended case method looks for specific macro determination in the micro world leading to reconstructing existing generalisation, i.e. reconstructing existing theory (Burawoy 1991:279). Examples of an extended case method include Burawoy's (1979, 1985) work on

factory regimes through which while he looked at anomalies in three different local firms in Zambia, the USA and Eastern Europe, he reconstructed Braverman's (1974) theory on the production process and factory regimes. Hart (2002) in her work on disabling globalisation also used an extended case method approach by looking at anomalies and contextual differences between Chinese/Taiwanese firms in Newcastle, Ladysmith to those in Mainland China and Taiwan. Through her research, Hart (2002) was able to engage limitations in Wolpe's theory of articulation by espousing a notion of accumulation by dispossession, although she critiques Harvey's use of spatial fixes. Webster, et al (2008) use an extended case method – what Burawoy (2000) calls global ethnography in their study of three localities in Changwon, South Korea; Ezakheni, South Africa; and Orange, Australia. They critique and reconstruct Castells' (2000) notion of globalisation, showing how globalisation is grounded in these different localities and how their histories give rise to different responses to global forces and pressures and the differing contribution of state institutions and communities, sometimes taking a progressive and sometimes an implosive character.

Hart's relational approach to critical ethnography is a significant and useful expansion from Burawoy's extended case method. Hart (2002, 2006) expands (Lefebvre's (1991b, Merrifield, 2002) and Massey's (1994) conception of spatiality as constructed in social relations, she also conceptualises space as a set of relations. She underscores the methodological importance of critical ethnography and relational comparison, arguing,

> Critical ethnographies offer vantage points for generating new understandings and by illuminating power-laden processes of constitution, connection, and disconnection, along with slippages, openings, and contradictions, and possibilities for alliance within and across different spatial scales. Critical ethnography and relational comparison share close political and analytical affinities with sociologist Michael Burawoy's project of global ethnography, yet explicit deployment of critical conceptions of spatiality can extend and enrich global ethnography (2006:7)

The relational conception of spatiality is useful in researching and analysing the articulation of production and reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa. A relational approach forces one to jettison a binary approach to researching rural-urban, city-countryside, shop floor-household and wages-livelihoods, abstract-concrete, general-specific, global-local as bounded and static. For instance Hart and Sitas (2004: 32) argue that most researchers have pursued each of the elements of 'the land question', the 'labour question' and the 'livelihoods question' in isolation, mostly divided across urban and rural lines. For Hart and Sitas (2004) these themes constitute- in their social and spatial interconnections- a central challenge to research, policy and social action in South Africa.

Researching workers, wages and livelihoods encompasses understanding the interconnections of work and livelihoods, of shop floor and community and of urban and rural. It explores the unbounded set of relations and their construction in constant struggles and contradiction of social reproduction of the working class in everyday life. The research adopts a relational approach to Burawoy's (1991) extended case method by looking at Dunlop workers as constituting a microcosm of working class lives and struggles in everyday life in post-apartheid South Africa. The research looks specifically at specific anomalies and peculiarities of Dunlop workers, their history and their everyday life. A relational approach also enables the thesis to develop an unbounded notion of everyday life reality in factory regimes at the level of the Dunlop shop floor.

3.5 CHOOSING THE RESEARCH TOPIC AND RESEARCH SITE

Interest in researching workers, workplace regimes and livelihoods began towards the end of 2005. Since late 2003, the researcher had been punting and casually thinking about pursuing a PhD and had made a few conversations with his Supervisor about it. Initially there were a few issues the researcher was vaguely interested in including researching the feminisation of work, global labour flexibility and later an interest in social development policy in South Africa, especially after meeting then Minister of Social Development (DSD) Dr Skweyiya. At the beginning of 2005 the researcher was fortunate to be included in

an Eastern Seaboard Association of Tertiary Institutions' (eSATI) funded research- cluster organised around linking labour, land and livelihoods beyond the rural-urban divide. This was a second cycle of the cluster, following an earlier cluster with the theme of 'reworking livelihoods in a globalising world'. The cluster consisted of several PhD as well as Masters Students and a group of professors (supervisors) working on various aspects on linking labour, land and livelihoods beyond the rural urban divide. The 2005 seminar series, which was facilitated by Professor Gillian Hart was very helpful. It consisted of engaging with literature, unpacking rural-urban linkages, critiquing the use of binaries in social science analysis and reading Burawoy's (1991, 2000) contributions on how theory and research methods are intertwined and interlinked.

Seminars and cluster workshops helped because they forced attendees to develop research ideas and questions together and helped the researcher refocus his ideas from a rather woolly idea into a clear and focused set of questions. Initially the researcher began to be interested in looking at literature around the political economy and around linking wage labour to livelihoods, beyond the rural-urban divide (Bhengu, 2006). He came into contact with a vast amount of literature on work and workers in KwaZulu-Natal. Most of the literature was about the dock and dock workers (Hemson, 1979, 1996), about Dunlop and Dunlop workers (Sitas, 1984a, 1984b, 1989, 2004a; Bonnin, 1987, 1999) and about Durban: the struggle for the city and city life (Maylam, 1996; La Hausse, 1996; Freund and Padayachee, 2002). As the researcher interacted with literature he concluded that Dunlop workers have been part and parcel of research on migrant labour, work and wages the longest dating back to 1950's research by The Department of Economics (1950). Dunlop factory workers have been part and parcel of research and knowledge production on migrant labour, workplace regimes, workplace struggles and livelihoods in Durban (Sitas, 1984a, 1984b, 1989, 1996a, 1997, 2002, 2004a), in Howick (Bonnin, 1987, 1999) and in Ladysmith (Hart, 1996, 2002, 2006). Dunlop workers are regarded as pioneers of working class struggles in Durban and KwaZulu-Natal featuring in the famous 1973 strikes, but their teeth and grip in labour history comes from their 1984 strikes. From these strikes they forced Dunlop management to sign a recognition agreement with the trade union. All other leading firms in the region followed suite from Dunlop in this regard.

During the 1980s and early 1990s Dunlop workers also developed what came to be known as the Culture and Working Life Project, which became an effective mobilisation and worker educational development tool for workers and their communities during the struggle. After much consideration and rewriting of the PhD proposal, the researcher concluded that he would conduct his research on the Dunlop tyre factory in Durban.

From participating in the seminar series, cluster workshops as well as engaging with literature on the rich history of migrant labour, workplace struggles and struggles for the city as well as the history of Dunlop workers, the researcher was able to develop his proposition which asserts that wage income is the locus around which extended household networks of workers mobilise their livelihoods beyond the rural-urban divide. To interrogate this proposition a few questions and areas of evidence needed to be developed:

1. The extent of the migrant labour system at Dunlop Tyres, Durban, 14 years into democracy

2. Levels to which workers maintain household networks beyond the rural-urban divide

3. Workplace regimes and struggles in the everyday life of workers and their household networks

Entrance and access to Dunlop workers was both planned and coincidental. As progression was made through the reading of literature and increasingly forming ideas and research propositions and questions on paper, the researcher knew that his research field was to be the Dunlop workers. A conscious decision was made that even though the research would involve entering Dunlop factory space, observation of the shop floor and everyday life of workers, the researcher would negotiate his entrance and access through the Trade Union, NUMSA, as opposed to factory management. It was fortunate that a part-time Honours Student from the Industrial and Working Life Programme (IWLP) was an official with the National Union of Metal Workers (NUMSA).[63] He provided the contact of the union

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[63] The Industrial and Working Life Program (IWLP) was initiated as collaboration between University of Natal and Workers College through the work of Prof Ari Sitas and then Trade

organiser responsible for Dunlop. When the researcher went to the NUMSA regional office, he realised that there were five more union officials he had lectured through the IWLP programme. It was assumed that the warm reception they gave him and possibly a good word thrown in with the organiser contributed towards him making a quick introductory meeting between shop stewards and himself at Dunlop. The organiser seemed to identify with the research topic and agreed with the key proposition showing an avid interest in what the research might uncover.

The researcher was first introduced to the chairperson and secretary of the shop steward committee, who seemed to be interested in his research proposition. He was invited to present his research project to the full shop steward executive committee the following week. Some of the older shop stewards were even more enthusiastic when the researcher mentioned that Professor Ari Sitas supervised his project, as they had worked extensively with him previously, especially in the Culture and Working Life Project (CWLP) during the 1980s and early 1990s. These workers remembered that Professor Sitas was instrumental in their struggles during the 1980s and early 1990s along with Geoff Schreiner and Alec Erwin. This was significant for the researcher's access to them as shop stewards because one of his sources was someone they remembered and highly respected as a trade unionist and academic. The researcher was then introduced to workers at the end of 2006 over several shifts, in which he made a presentation of his research and its significance.

The researcher began to visit Dunlop again in earnest towards the end of June 2007 because of lecturing commitments in the first half of the year. He was fortunate to be informed by shop stewards that workers were balloting for a strike and that it would take effect in July. The industrial action that began on 20 July 2007 became the best opportunity for the researcher to have time with workers

Union Research Project Unit (TURP). The program is aimed at enrolling trade unionists and a broader scope of community activists and leaders to attain university qualification. Since its inception, this program has produced three cohorts of graduates. One of the students from the program has gone further to complete an MA in Sociology. Seven others have completed Honours Degrees in Social Science and a significant number of those who completed their undergraduate studies have gone further with postgraduate studies in different programs in this and other universities.

and to participate in their strike action, making observations and conversations with them. The five week long strike also enabled him to have access to continue his observation and participation with workers, visiting Dunlop every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday over seven months, making observations with workers in their lunch hour meetings, and of activities and interactions on the shop floor close by the shop stewards' office. It also involved attending shop steward committee meetings every Wednesday and having conversations with workers who would come into the shop steward committee office for a range of issues. On one of the visits the researcher was asked by the factory's Industrial Relations Manager what he was doing there and was questioned about his right to enter the shop floor without being accompanied. Immediately the shop stewards came to his defence, telling the IR manager to do his job and not worry about things pertaining to security because they were not part of his job.

3.6 FIELDWORK PROCESS: COLLECTING PRIMARY DATA

This chapter has advanced an argument in support of ethnography in researching workers' lives and livelihoods. While the broad epistemological foundations of the research field can be grouped into ethnography, it is useful to collect data from multiple sources, which helps in establishing credibility and validity of data collected (Silverman, 2000, 2001). The following sections will give details of various techniques and data collection sources and scenarios utilised in the course of this research. Specific techniques and methods are informed by kinds of evidence required in line with key research propositions.

3.6.1 Archival, documentary and statistical data

A lot of data on the history of migrant labour system, hostels, work compounds and barracks is kept as archives in places like the Kwa-Muhle Museum on Ordinance Road in Durban. One also made some archival search on the documentaries, videos and tapes from the Culture and Working Life Projects and worker struggles in Durban and Howick stored at the Killie Campbell Africana Library. Furthermore, one perused through statistical data sources from Statistics SA, Labour Force Survey (LFS), KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics' Survey (KIDS) and National Income Dynamics' Survey (NIDS) for analysis on income

and household dynamics in KwaZulu-Natal in an attempt to attain general information on the migrant labour system across KwaZulu-Natal.

3.6.2 Participant observation

After securing access and establishing some rapport with workers, the researcher determined that he would immerse himself amongst workers and fortunately, the strike offered him a perfect opportunity to have time with workers over five weeks of industrial action. Through participant observation the researcher was able to study workers in their own time, in their space and in their everyday lives. Burawoy (1991, 2000) argues that advantages of participant observation do not only lie in direct observation of how people act, but also how they understand and experience those acts[64] (1991:1). The research on Dunlop workers is not only an observation of workers' everyday lives and the meanings they ascribe to those experiences; it is also the researchers own understanding and interpretation of how workers live their lives and make sense of their everyday life in the workplace. This is what (Giddens, 1987) calls the 'double hermeneutic' because it involves both interpretation of participants of their lives and interpretation of the researcher.

The research cannot be separated from the personal reality of the researcher. Beside his background in the struggle and his approach to gain access to Dunlop workers through their trade union instead of management, his ability to have a productive ethnographic research is also informed by three significant factors. Firstly he was able to present himself as a migrant, a boy born and raised in eNtumeni, Eshowe (a small rural *amakholwa* community in Northern KZN), schooled in Nongoma (heartland of Kwa-Zulu) and only came to Pietermaritzburg and eventually Durban as an adult male to work. It was interesting to observe from the first visit at Dunlop and throughout visits with workers the pervasiveness of the rural/migrant identity amongst Dunlop workers. Presenting himself as a migrant and being able to identify with their background and the boyhood life of agriculture, stock farming and looking after cattle made workers more able to

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[64] Geertz (2000), the legendary authority on ethnography, argued that ethnographic research is not about studying spaces or people, but studying how people construct meaning in social relations.

identify with the researcher. Secondly, language became a very significant factor in his observation and in the ethnographic research with Dunlop workers. Many of the significant observations and data collected throughout my visits to Dunlop, in my conversations, interviews and various forms of conversations with workers and worker leaders and their families were only possible because of the researcher's fluency in isiZulu (his mother-tongue). Some of the data did not come from official interviews and, or observation scenarios, but from observing, listening and participating in informal conversations and exchanges with workers in everyday life. Lastly, workers were able to engage in the research as in their natural environment, using their everyday discourse and language because the researcher is also an African man. Because he is also a man, workers were more able to exhibit their rural, migrant and masculine identity pervasive amongst workers at Dunlop. This identity was both exhibited through real life stories of workers and was invoked during the trade union meetings to mobilise workers. Masculinity played an important role in the researcher's ability to access Dunlop workers in everyday life.

Participant observation as part of ethnographic research also entails the breaking down of the constructed boundaries between researcher and subject (participant). In essence, one cannot claim to present workers' everyday life and what these experiences mean to them without immersion into workers' lives. Throughout the seven months of daily visits to Dunlop and other visits with workers, shop stewards, their households and families, at times boundaries between researcher and participant become blurred. Bonnin (2007) did her research on the political violence in Mpumalanga Township, Hammarsdale. She found that being a woman, having an active role during the anti-apartheid struggle and her own personal experience of political violence from when she was working with workers at BTR Sarmcol and having friends and comrades that were victims of political violence, gave her a sense of common identity with the women she was researching in Mpumalanga Township. Marks (2004, 2005) did her research on the police in Durban. She found that as she increasingly gained access and the deeper she went into her role as participant observer, the more complicated and blurred was her identity and role as observer versus participant.

My participant observation deepened as I steered away from a focus on the college to a concern with the unit more broadly. I established an arrangement with the Head of Public Relations, Captain Dada, with regard to my participation in daily operations. I would call Captain Dada in the morning and check what operations were taking place and whether arrangements could be made for me to join the unit in whatever activity they were engaged in… After briefing, I would travel in one of the police vehicles to the scene of the event. I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible; for the most part I played the role of observer-as-participant. However, there were times at which I was more of a participant than an observer, as this article demonstrates below (Marks, 2004:872-3).

She further mentions that at times she would be asked to comment during police debriefing sessions and at times during an operation, she would be asked to strip-search female suspects. This research had scenarios of complication when it was difficult to ascertain the differing role of researcher versus participant. During the strike, the researcher was asked by shop stewards to do several things, one of them was to organise media to cover the strike with the local press. This was after workers were frustrated with what they perceived as being the failure of the regional office of NUMSA to organise a march to the city centre and bring press media to highlight the strike. He was also asked to give input and make analysis for workers during various stages of the strike and in various meetings workers had after the strike. Furthermore he found himself participating and making input in shop steward executive committee meetings on various issues as well as being invited to participate in both formal and informal conversations of shop stewards and workers in the shop stewards office.

The researcher has also been asked by workers- mostly shop stewards- to help them on various aspects of their work, which gave him even more understanding of the shop floor and trade union experience at Dunlop. He has also been asked and in some cases has actually offered help on personal issues relating to workers, ranging from helping some workers with their children to apply for tertiary education at UKZN, but mostly, relating to this research. The researcher has

travelled to numerous locations of KZN and some parts of Eastern Cape, driving workers to their rural homesteads for a variety of family, cultural and religious events. These trips have become an important part of the observation research on linkages between workers' urban and rural lives. Many of the questions pertaining to household livelihoods, rural-urban linkages and workers' everyday lives were answered during these coincidental visits to places like Estcourt, Umnambithi, Flagstaff, High-flats, Phongola, Kwa-Nongoma, eMphophomeni, Mangethe; as well as various township households in and around Durban.

3.6.3   In-depth interviews

In-depth oral interviews were used in a variety of ways and situations throughout the research process. Some of the interviews took the form of un-structured conversations with clusters of workers and worker leaders being done simultaneously with participant observation. Other un-structured interviews took place in visits to workers' township households and rural homesteads. These mostly constituted conversations with family members, wives, children and members of extended family networks of workers residing in these homesteads and, or present during the times of my visits. Although the researcher had originally envisaged conducting formal interviews with members of rural homesteads about workers, wages and household livelihoods, opportunity presented a different option of gathering data. Together with un-structured conversations with workers semi-structured in-depth interviews were also conducted in a variety of contexts.

One of the strengths Burawoy (1991) associates with ethnographic research is acknowledgement that the research process, in this case in-depth interviews do not simply represent a material account of social behaviour, but represent the reconstruction of events, interpretation of history and reconstruction of the present. Stories and answers from workers are not passive accounts of history or of their working lives, but are active representations of how workers interpret and understand their world. Bonnin writes saying that the process of remembering does not lie outside the context within which they are gathered (2007:72). This brings two implications for understanding social research; first, accounts of workers' responses to interviews are actively given by workers, representing their

understanding of events, their reconstruction of memories and how they make sense of their lives and experiences. Secondly, data gathered through interviews and the meanings generated are moulded by the context in which the interview takes place and by the relationship between researcher and respondent. This is why data given in interviews is compared with information from observation, from documentaries, from the survey and other sources.

In-depth one-on-one oral interviews and conversations were conducted with different sets of workers and worker leaders in the space of two years between early 2007 and June 2009. Eight interviews were held with the 1984 first crop of shop stewards at Dunlop after the recognition agreement.[65] Seven shop stewards of the current shop steward committee were also interviewed. In 2008 the researcher was fortunate that the shop steward who was also a trustee of the union informed him about former workers who were going to visit Dunlop to either bring their personal and banking details, or to collect their surplus money from Dunlop.[66] As a result of this information the researcher managed to conduct five in-depth interviews with these former workers. He also interviewed ten workers fitting the category of having rural-urban connections in their household formation.

3.6.4 Questionnaire survey

There are two areas this research needed preliminary evidence for to support a case for the overall study. The first area of evidence needed was to establish the extent of migrant labour presently at Dunlop, i.e. to ascertain the extent of the rural-urban connection amongst Dunlop workers today. Secondly, the research needed to ascertain the extent to which workers maintain rural-urban household connections and lastly the extent to which workers still send remittances to the

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[65] I interviewed all worker leaders that were still alive from the batch of the first shop stewards at Dunlop. These were Baba Matiwane, Baba Shabalala, Baba Mthethwa, Baba Nene, Baba Ngidi, Baba Gwala, Baba Vusi Shezi and Baba Bongani Mkhungo. Baba Mkhungo passed away just a few months after returning from the UK, almost three months after my interviews with him.

[66] Sadly, Baba Khumalo, a full-time shop steward and union trustee passed away in July 2009 after short illness.

countryside. To get this data a survey questionnaire[67] was developed that was distributed to Dunlop workers with the help of shop stewards.

3.7 PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The researcher had originally planned to survey the entire workforce of Dunlop to ascertain how many workers were migrants, how many workers still maintain and service dual and multiple household networks across the rural-urban divide and how many workers still send remittances and to whom. The questionnaires were distributed to all the workers towards the end of the strike, another batch of questionnaires were given to workers after the strike during the seven months of participant observation. Presently, only 100 workers filled and returned their questionnaires while the rest of the questionnaires were either returned not filled and, or, not returned at all. According to shop stewards, the researcher was actually quite lucky that he managed to get back a hundred filled questionnaires. The shop steward who is also a trade union trustee told him that workers have serious challenges with writing and filling forms. During the long stay and visits at the factory and in the shop stewards' office, the researcher also noticed that workers do not fill forms, even forms pertaining to their pensions and medical aid issues. What they tend to do is bring their identity documents, salary slips and all required information and leave it with the shop steward trustee for him to fill forms and all necessary written requirements for them. This shortfall of few filled and returned questionnaires initially became a concern, because It could compromise the researcher's ability to generalise about the extent of migrant labour and migrant identity amongst Dunlop workers. After some consideration and amount of evidence throughout the ethnographic research process, the researcher concluded that the level of responses from workers to the questionnaire and the observation during the length of ethnographic research further validated his evidence from the survey.[68]

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[67] The Questionnaire schedule is attached at the end as Appendix B

[68] I will substantiate in Chapter four how ethnographic observation validates findings from the survey questionnaire.

3.8 RESEARCH ETHICS

There are two areas of research ethics that needed to be considered during the research. The first pertains to informed consent, privacy and confidentiality of workers involved in the research. Throughout the process of research, i.e. during the visits to Dunlop, observations, interviews and household visits, workers were made fully aware of the researcher's status as a researcher and were asked permission to use the conversations, visits and activities with them as research material. Furthermore, workers were told that all research proceedings were treated as private and confidential. Unless permission was granted by the workers no names or events would be divulged.

The second area that needed ethical consideration regarded the possible expectations of benefits by workers from participating in the research. It was made plainly clear to the workers that the research would have no impact on policy decisions pertaining to their lives, and that the best that could be expected from it was the personal assistance of the researcher in their lives.

CHAPTER 4

WAGE LABOUR, RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES AND LIVELIHOODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents findings from a survey, interviews and observation on wages, rural-urban linkages, networks and livelihoods. The chapter commences by presenting data on wage labour, rural-urban linkages (wages and remittances) and the role of wage income in mobilisation of livelihoods. The data shows the continuing salience of migrant labour and that a significant number of Dunlop workers maintain dual (and in some cases multiple) household networks beyond the rural-urban divide. It argues that livelihoods of extended family networks of Dunlop workers are mobilised around their wage income. In-depth data from interviews and observations are used to discuss wages, household livelihoods and rural-urban linkages. Flowing from these, the chapter begins a discussion by using these findings to broaden the analysis on workers, wages and livelihoods. It presents complexities in the construction of rural-urban linkages and networks of workers, and shows how these complexities play out in everyday life as well as livelihood opportunities and constraints for workers and their household networks.

4.2 DESCRIPTIVE PICTURE OF DUNLOP FACTORY AND WORKERS

Figure 4.1: Overview of the Dunlop Durban Factory

Dunlop has a relatively aging workforce. Figure 4.2 shows that the average age of respondents is 47 years, while the median and the mode are 48 years and 47 years respectively. The youngest respondent was 25 years and the oldest respondent was 61 years old. Workers younger than the age of forty only make 22% of the workforce at Dunlop. This can be explained by high workforce retention of the Durban factory. Figure 4.3 shows that about 71% of respondents have been working at Dunlop for more than 10 years (55% have been working for 20 years and more)[69]. About 74% of respondents live in townships around Durban, while almost 20% still live in hostels and the work compound[70]. The other 6% live in flats and suburbs. About 60% of respondents own the properties in which they live while others either rent, or live with family (with parents), or live with relatives[71]. Almost 50% of township dwellers live with a spouse and children (immediate family). About 15% of respondents live with siblings predominantly at the hostel, or at Dalton compound. Some of the younger workers also live with siblings and extended family relatives in townships and, or in hostels. There is also a small number (13%) of workers who live alone as well as those (12%) who live with children, without a spouse.

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[69] I will return to these findings on age and length of years of work of Dunlop in discussing two arguments. Firstly a discussion on trade union mobilisation and shop floor militancy in this chapter. Secondly, a discussion on shop floor culture and everyday life of Dunlop workers in chapter 6.

[70] Respondents living in the hostel or work compound live in Kwa-Mashu Hostel (CRUs) and the Dalton work compound, outside Dunlop.

[71] Most property owners are relatively older workers living in the township. Younger workers living in the township either live in their family house or live with relatives. There are very few workers who rent in the township (younger non-owners either live with family or squat with friends). Workers living in the hostel, or work compound tend to live with brothers, sons or with friends.

Figure 4.2: Age Distribution of Workers
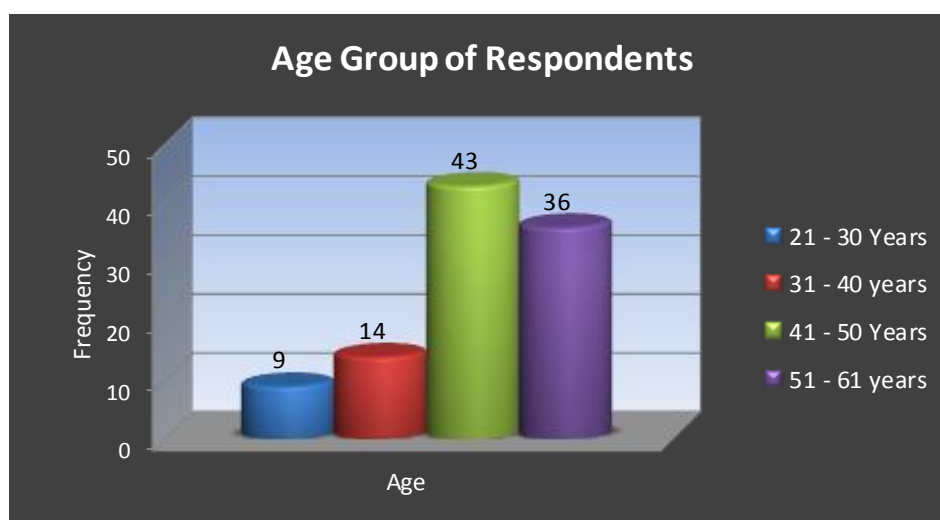
Figure 4.3: Years of Work at Dunlop
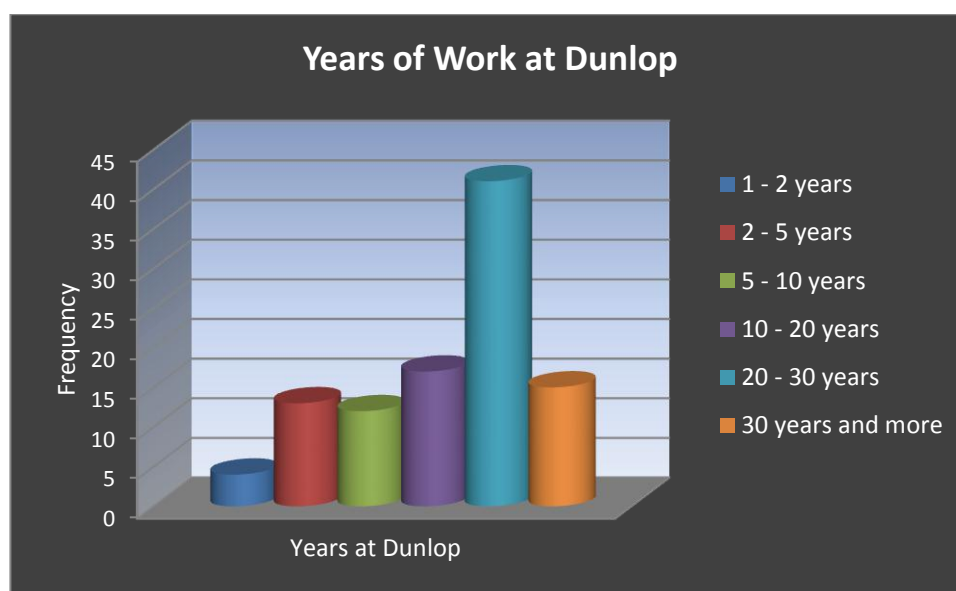
4.3 PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ON MIGRANT LABOUR AND RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

Before making any discussion on the role of wage income in the mobilisation of livelihoods of household networks beyond the rural-urban divide, there are three preliminary areas of evidence the research needed to make. Firstly, one needed to verify the prevalence of migrant labour at Dunlop[72]. Secondly, one needed to

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[72] Several questions were asked in the questionnaire, ranging from 'do you have a 'secondary household', who lives in the secondary household, how often you visit this household?' These questions were used to test the percentage of workers with existing household or household network both in the city and in the countryside.

investigate the nature of these rural-urban household networks and how they are serviced. Lastly, one needed to establish the percentage of Dunlop workers who send remittances as well as other sources of income to extended family networks both rural and urban.

Figure 4.4: Secondary Household
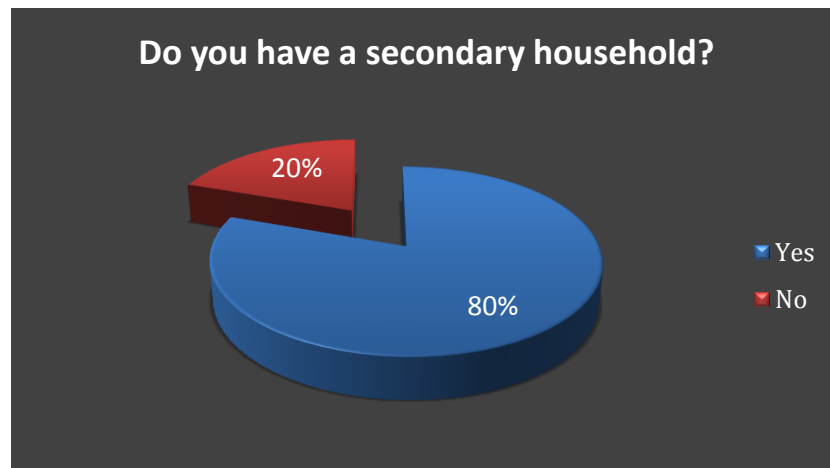
Data (figure 4.4) show that eighty percent (80%) of respondents have a secondary household in the countryside[73]. Data also show that workers continue to maintain and service these household networks through visits, cash and goods transfer as well as through hosting cultural and religious rituals (*umsebenzi*) [74] in the countryside. The vast majority of respondents (±70%) make regular visits to their secondary households. Figure 4.5 shows that 44 respondents visit monthly, 15 respondents make visits quarterly, 13 respondents visit annually and 15 respondents visit every week, or every fortnight. A significant number of workers have close relations with their secondary household. 68% of respondents recorded that they either have very close or close relations with the 'secondary household'. 19% of respondents recorded that they have distant relations; while a further 13%

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[73] Almost two-thirds (65.7%) of these workers said they have extra extended family networks (beyond the 'secondary household') spread across the rural-urban divide.

[74] *Umsebenzi* is a term used for cultural and religious ritual ceremonies and ancestral sacrificial services. McCord (2004) found that these ritual ceremonies have an increasing significance as social capital in the countryside in her work on Expanded Public Works' Program (EPWP). She found that although EPWPs do not make an impact on poverty alleviation and wealth creation, some of the unintended consequences of EPWPS is the ability of individuals and families to organise these cultural/religious ceremonies, which tend to give them a good social standing in the family and, or community. In South African labour studies we know the term *ukusebenza*, or *umsebenzi* as meaning work, or even worker (Moodie, 1994; Sitas 1989, 1996a, 1997, 2002; Waetjen, 2006).

recorded that they have very distant relations with the 'secondary household'. These variations in how workers visit, relate and service their secondary household networks depend mainly on two factors, viz. the nature of workers' relationship with the 'secondary household' as well as the distance of the secondary household from Durban. For example, if the spouse and children of the worker live (reside) in the secondary household, or if the secondary household is located at a rural town (village) in close proximity to Durban visits are more frequent and relations are more constant and close[75].

Figure 4.5: Visits to the Secondary Household[76]
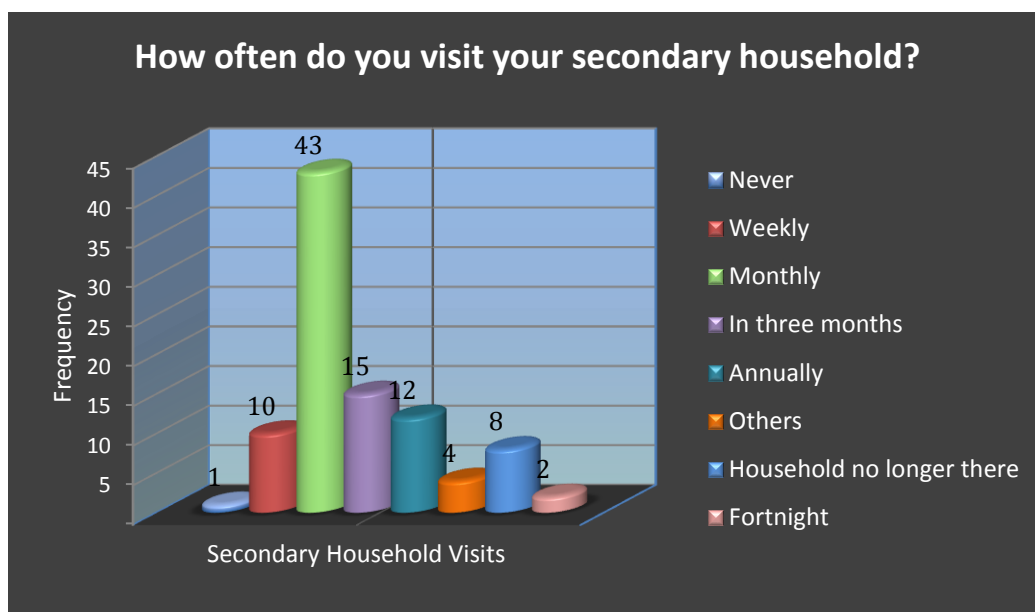
4.4 WAGE INCOME, LIVELIHOODS AND RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

Organised labour has not only been confronted by challenges in the workplace, but also those arising from different determinations of policy formulation over the last ten years. Increasingly, organised labour is labelled either as representing the privileged few, or to borrow from Castells (1994:22) "living in Islands of

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[75] A full account of this argument is made later in the chapter, in which I elucidate complexities in workers' household dynamics and everyday life of livelihoods' mobilisation.

[76] One should note that while Figure 4.2 indicates that 20% of 102 respondents do not have a secondary household, only one respondent has "never" visited a secondary household. To explain this seeming discrepancy in data, one should first note that 95 respondents responded to the question, 7 respondents did not respond to the question. There is a further 8 respondents who indicated that the secondary household no longer exist. A further 4 respondents answered "other". I want to postulate that discrepancy in responses also indicate different meanings workers ascribe to 'secondary household' and their relationship to them.

prosperity", oblivious to the sea of unemployed masses and their plight (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005); or as losing touch with the real problems of the working class poor in post-apartheid South Africa (Buhlungu, 2006, 2007, 2010; Pithouse, 206). While most of these arguments point to the obvious shrink in formal employment, even the resulting decline in trade union membership (Buhlungu, 2006, 2007; Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout, 2008; Webster and Buhlungu, 2004), others even go as far as arguing that not only is organised labour constituted of a privileged few, but organised labour continues to push for their interests at the expense of the economy, employment and the poor in South Africa (Nattrass, 2000a, 2000b; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005). They assert that organised labour today is in a semi-privileged position and resists reforms to the labour market and other policies that would steer the economy down a more labour-absorbing growth path (Nattrass, 2000a; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005). They argue for the re-segmentation of the labour market, which Kenny and Webster (1998) argued would only result in a creation of an insecure, lower paid and unprotected workforce. In this debate, Kenny and Webster assert that this shift in employment must be attributed to employers' search for lower labour costs in the context of globalisation and neo-liberal government policy. Seekings and Nattrass (2002) counter argue saying that Kenny and Webster give very little attention to labour legislation and the role of unions in accentuating divisions in the workplace, as they protect the interests of permanent workers against those of casual workers (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002:16). They also critique Gelb and Webster (1996) who argued that incomes of the working class as a whole would be maximised through wage increases. Nattrass and Seekings (2002) assert that this is a utilitarian approach, which only looks at the interests of employed workers, but neglects the working class as a whole.

They propose that priority should not be on wage increases, but on increasing the numbers of unemployed who are inserted into the economy, through a more flexible oriented labour market framework (2002:19). They propose that labour market legislation and policy should be modified not just to secure the interests of organised labour, but of the unemployed. They assert that the labour market should have the flexibility that will task non-collective bargaining sectors only with balancing the need for acceptable minimum wages with job creation for the

unskilled and unemployed. The other option they propose is modifying centrally bargained agreements from industry-level bargaining to firm-level bargaining. They assert that the economy should be geared more towards employment creation, even if that means a fall in average wages, in order to achieve an overall reduction in wage inequality by creating more jobs for the unemployed.

Figure 4.6: Remittances to Secondary Household[77]
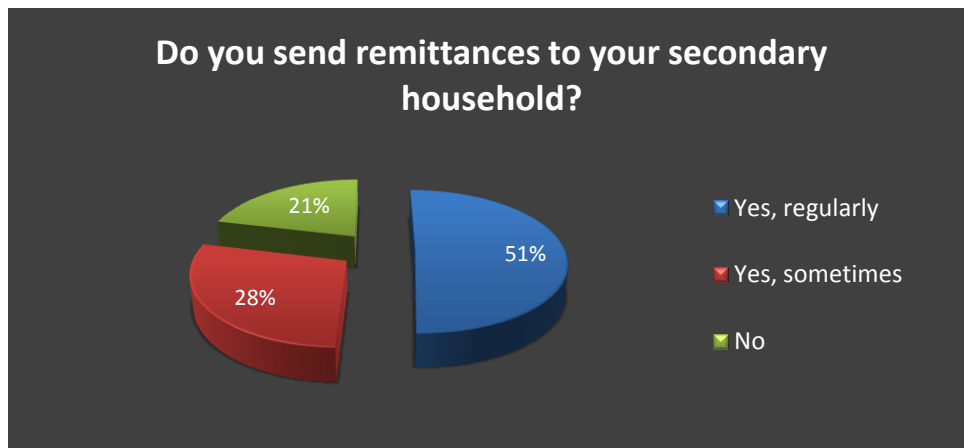
Figure 4.7a: Values of Fortnight Remittances

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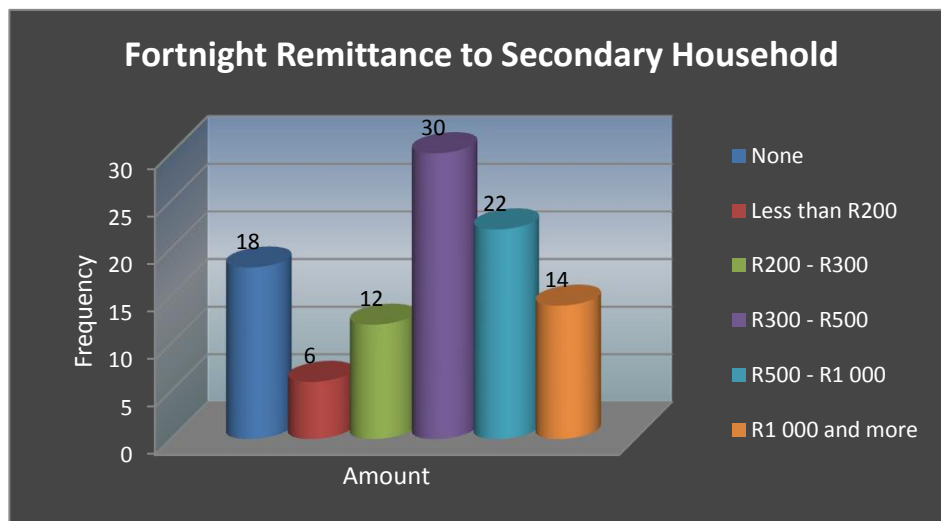
[77] Figure 4.2, Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6 do not represent data discrepancy, but complexity in the construction of workers' households, in meanings behind 'home' and in their relationship to respective familial households both rural and urban. During interviews some workers rejected calling the rural homestead a secondary household. The argument of the thesis is that these presentations of data signify the continuing prevalence of cash transfers by Dunlop workers to familial networks beyond rural-urban divide.

Figure 4.7b: Fortnight Income and Remittance Cross tabulation
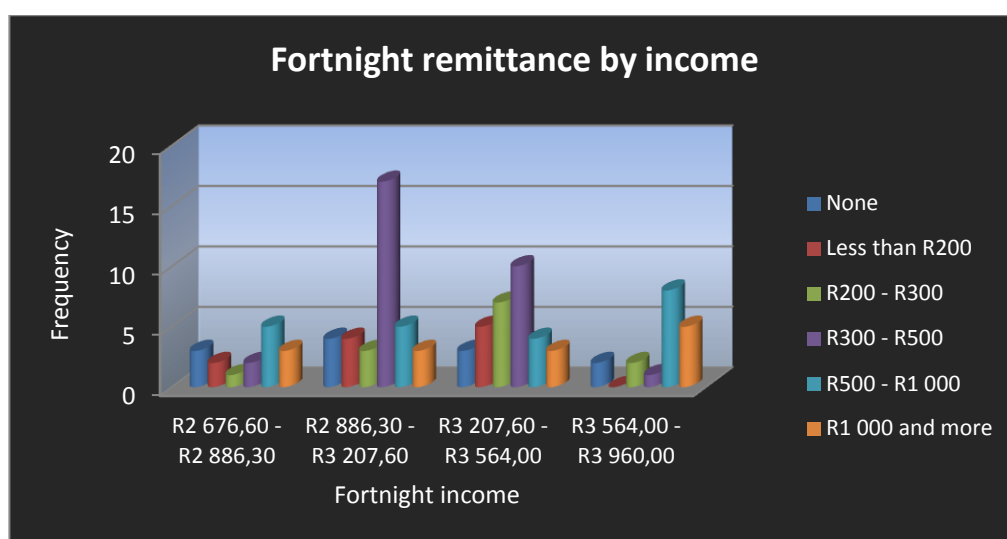
This study of Dunlop workers follows work by Sitas (1984b, 1989, 1992a, 1992c, 1996a, 1997, 2004a, 2004b) and Bonnin (1987, 1999) in the 1980s, which looked at migrant labour and the everyday work life of workers, workplace struggles as well as the everyday life of being a worker under apartheid. Findings show a persistence of rural-urban linkages and reveal that patterns of migrant labour are still prevalent in the lives of Dunlop workers, seventeen years into democracy[78]. 80% of workers maintain household networks across the rural-urban divide. Some of these workers, while they have established households and families in the city, continue to maintain rural family networks, which they service by making regular visits and sending remittances to secondary households. Figure 4.6 show that 79% of respondents send remittances to the secondary household. Figure 4.7a show the amounts of cash transfer/remittances workers send to their secondary households every fortnight. Figure 4.7b correlates amounts of remittance transfer to wage income. More than 60% of respondents earn between R2 886.60 and R3 564 fortnightly, while the average fortnight remittance is between R200 and R500. Despite the fact that the majority of workers earning between R3 564 and R3 960 also remit in the highest amount categories, the spread of remittance amounts does not suggest any relationship between the amount of wage income and amount of remittance transfer[79]. More than half of these respondents (51%) send remittances

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[78] A migrant labour identity constitutes both objective conditions of workers at Dunlop as well as subjective consciousness and identities that workers construct and invoke in everyday life.

[79] It suggests that there are other factors to consider in explaining remittance patterns amongst workers. For instance, figure 4.14 and figure 4.15 (later in the chapter) are suggestive of a

regularly, while another 28% send remittances irregularly (sometimes). About 92% (figure 4.8) of respondents are breadwinners in their households. More than 70% (figure 4.9) of them are either the only contributor, or there is only one other contributor to household income[80].

Figure 4.8: Household Breadwinner
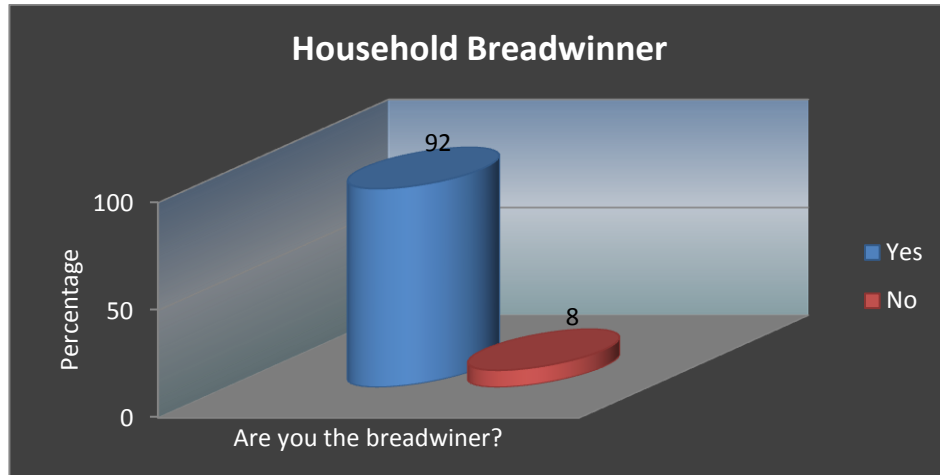
Figure 4.9: Numbers of Contributors to Secondary Household Income
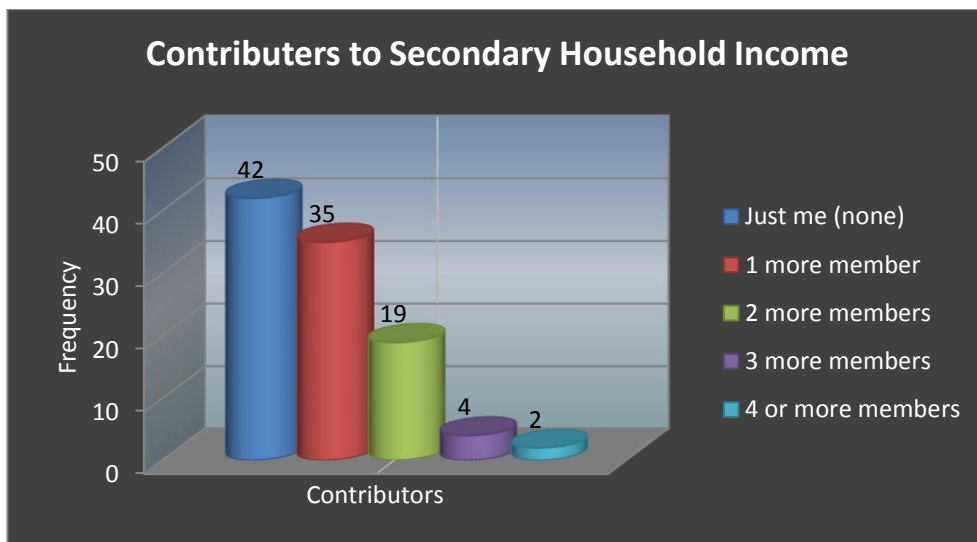
This research explored the national survey data from the 2004 Labour Force Survey (LFS) as well as the PhD thesis of Ben Scully (2012), both of which support the findings on the significance of wage income of organised labour in

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relationship between age and remittance transfers to secondary households. Later on, the chapter delineate a variety of constructions of household networks and relationships; showing that remittance transfers also depend on proximity of secondary household to the city, the identity of persons living in the secondary household and their relationship to the worker, as well as alternative sources of household livelihoods in the secondary household.

[80] 42 respondents recorded that they are the only contributor to household income. 35 respondents have one other contributor to household income.

livelihoods of workers' household networks. While figure 4.10 and figure 4.11 show that unionised workers earn significantly higher on average compared to non-unionised (atypical, casual) workers, they also show that unionised workers make significantly more cash and in-kind transfers to their secondary households both by percentage and in the amounts remitted. At Dunlop, almost 80% of respondents send remittances and the LFS shows cash transfers (remittances) are almost 50%, while in-kind transfers are above 25%. Ben Scully's (2012) PhD thesis makes a compelling argument on working class households and livelihoods. He based his work on analysis of National Income Dynamics as well as the Labour Force Survey. While his main argument is that working class household livelihoods are organised and mobilised through a variety of sources ranging from wages, remittances, social grants and other non-categorised means, he shows that a direct relationship exists between labour status and remittances. He found that unionised workers significantly remit more than non-unionised workers. Unionised workers have higher chances of supporting a wider network of family households because of their relatively higher job and income security in relation to atypical (casual and non-unionised) workers. We can deduce from these figures that what Barchiesi (2011) calls precariousness in the labour market further deepens the vulnerability of poor households whose atypically employed relatives do not earn enough to support.

Figure 4.10: Value of Remittance and Individual Income
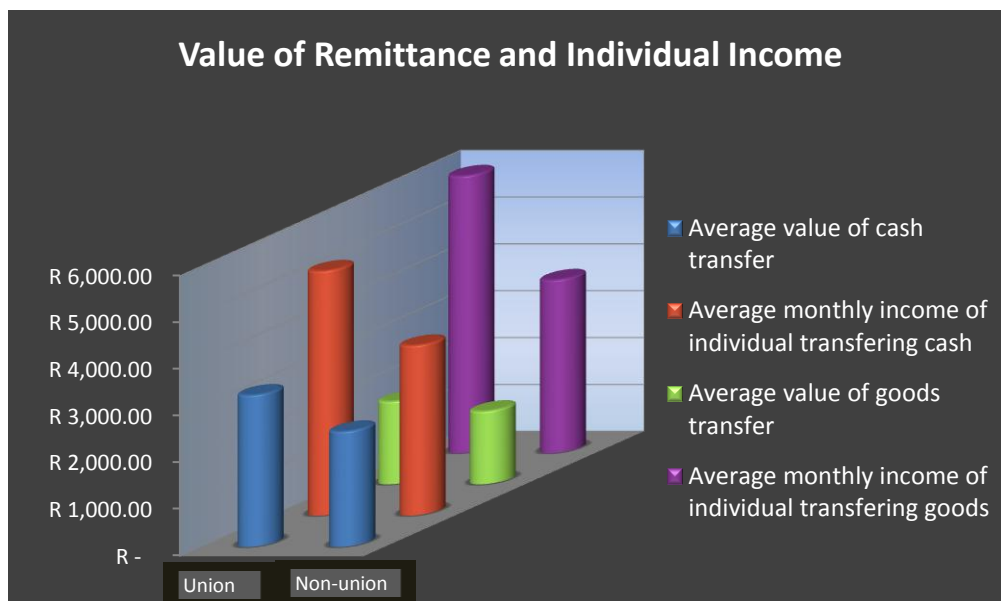
Source: Labour Force Survey (LFS) 2004

Figure 4.11: Percentages of Remittances
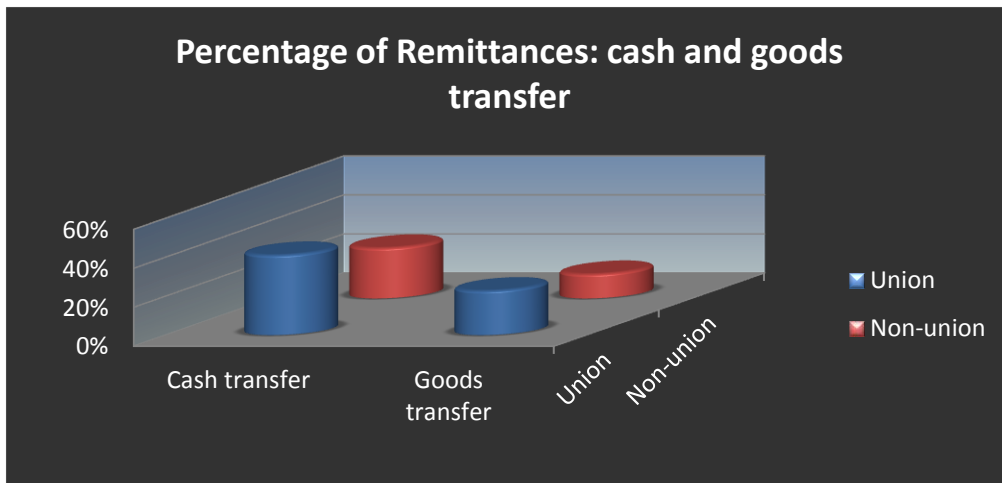
Source: Labour Force Survey (LFS) 2004

4.5 RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES: A GENERATIONAL ANALYSIS

Rural-urban linkages have been a common feature of labour literature throughout most of the 20th century. Migrant labour and remittances are well-established features in the history of capitalist development in South Africa. Even as late as the 1980s and 1990s literature showed a continuing pattern of rural-urban linkages and saliency of wage income in mobilisation of household livelihoods across rural-urban divides. This research shows that, while migrant labour, rural-urban linkages remittances and migrant identities remain very high amongst Dunlop workers, there is a generational variance in the actual connection of workers to the rural homestead. There is a notable variation in responses of workers by age group. In a select number of questions, a significant number of workers younger than 40 years make different responses from those of workers older than 40 years. There is a changing articulation of rural-urban linkages among the younger generation of workers.

Figure 4.12: Residential Status by Age
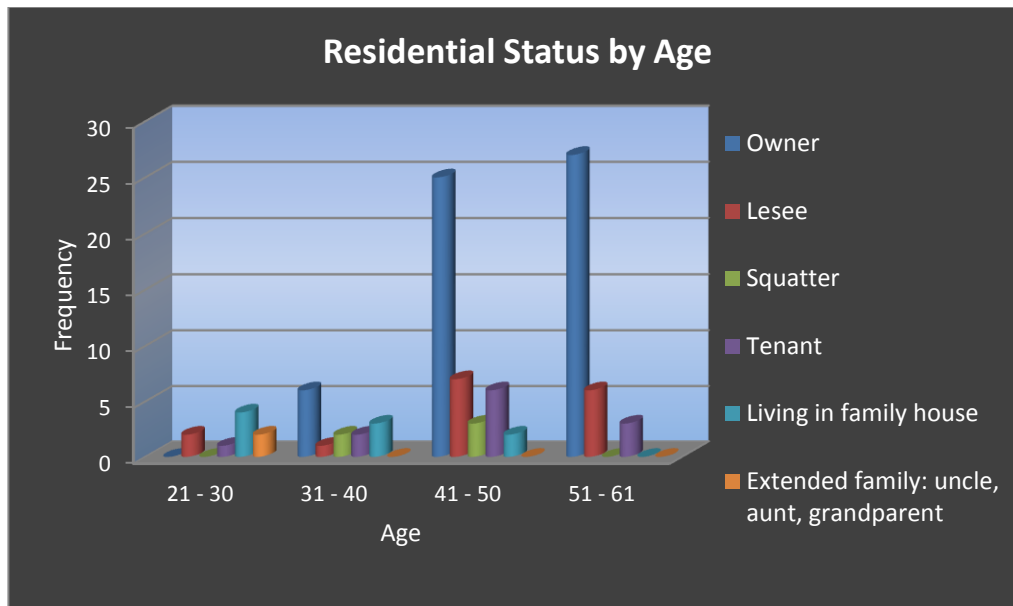
First, figure 4.12 shows variation in residential status of respondents by age. Data clearly show that ownership ratio increases with age. Only a few workers, under 40 years, own their place of residence. The ownership ratio increases dramatically with age. Respondents under the age of 40 years either live with family (with parents and, or extended family elders), or lease, or live as tenants and some with extended family. While there are also instances of leasing and tenant accommodation with older workers, these workers have a second residential household (property which they own) in the countryside[81].

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[81] What these figures mean is that prospects of a better life for younger working class entrants into the labour market are bleak, two decades into democracy. The neo-liberal compromise is further eroding real meaning of working class and even average middle class life and possibilities. This is what Barchiesi (2011), Bond (2005), Desai (2002, 2003), Hart (2002, 2013), Mosoetsa (2011), Nzimande (2014) characterise as vicious cycle of precariousness and poverty in which the working class poor (even those in 'secure employment') find themselves locked in because of constant reduction in the real value of wages and structural contradictions of financialisation of the economy post-apartheid South Africa.

Figure 4.13: Secondary Household by Age Cross-tabulation
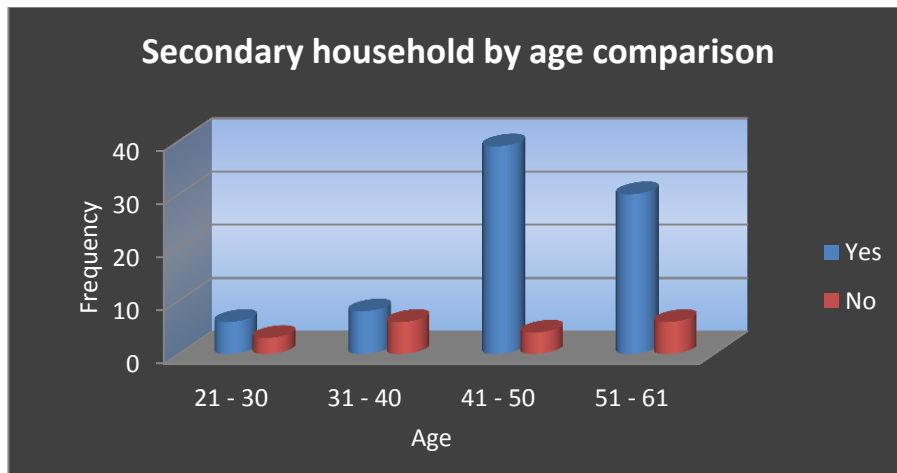
Second, figure 4.13 reveals the variation in worker responses about their connection to the secondary household by age group. Respondents younger than 40 years register higher frequency of non-connection with the rural secondary household. While the vast majority of respondents have a secondary household across all age groups, there is a significantly visible (even though small on the overall) number of workers who do not have a secondary household amongst workers under 40 year.

Figure 4.14 Remittances Sending by Age

99
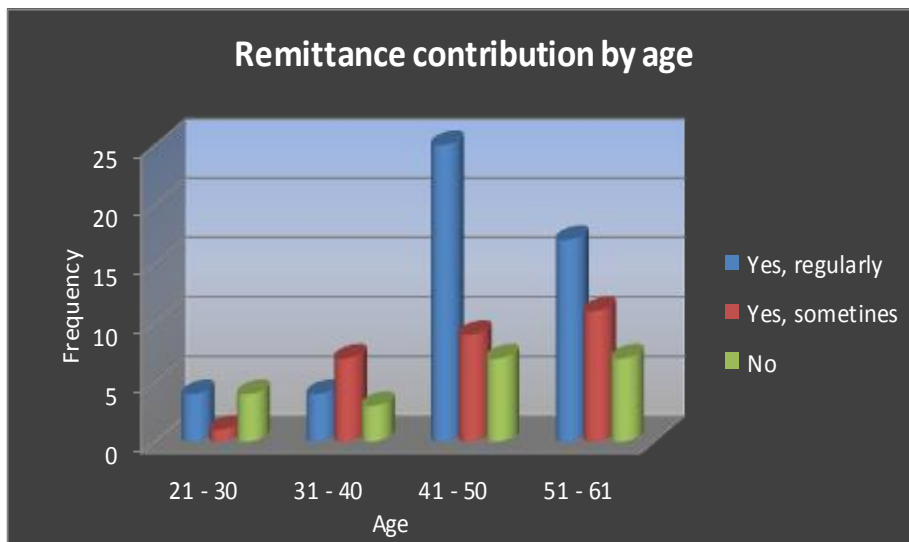
Figure 4.15: Amount of Fortnight Remittance by Age
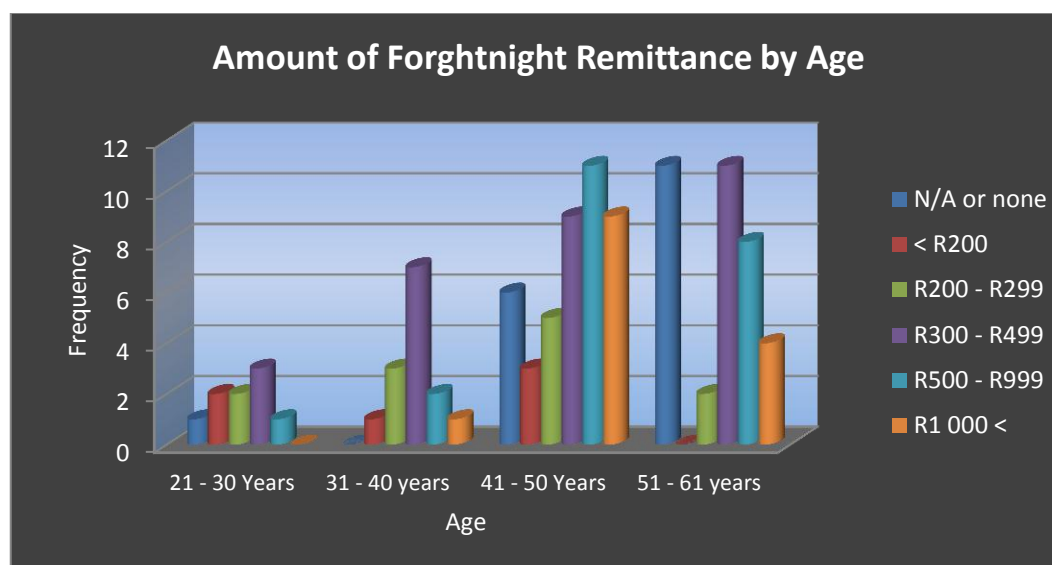
Third, figure 4.14 and 4.15 show patterns of remittance sent by workers disaggregated by age. Workers over 40 years record significantly higher remittance contribution to secondary households, both in regularity of remittances and in the value of remittances. Data also show that the eldest category of workers (56-61 years) register the highest number of workers who do not send any remittance. Workers clarified this seeming anomaly during interviews. The dominant explanation was that while the secondary homestead (land and property) remain, household family members no longer live in the countryside. For some, extended family members have died, while for others, they have relocated to the city. For others, they live with and support their brothers' and sisters' children, who live with them in the city.

There is a changing pattern of articulation of rural-urban linkages amongst the younger generation of workers. A question can be, 'do these change the overall picture of the role of wage income in mobilisation of household livelihoods?' The thesis argues that the answer is a nuanced one. Most of the younger generation of workers are third and some even fourth generation urban residents, many of whom were born and grew up in various locations of city accommodation. There are still pockets of younger workers who were born and some even raised in the countryside, either with a rural mother (wife of a migrant worker) and some were sent to the countryside during the political violence that gripped KZN townships

in the late 1980s and early 1990s. During many conversations with workers, I discovered that a lot of young workers continue to have an active articulation with the 'rural', most of which the countryside has a symbolic significance as a space for rejuvenation, ancestral rituals and social capital. Beside the countryside, household composition for a majority of workers continues to be constructed around a network of extended family networks. Due to the increasing movement of people from rural areas to the city, these networks are no longer strictly rural-urban, but take different set of determinations. The history of migrant labour continues to play out in the complex construction and composition of family networks, with working men having multiple sets of household and family networks and relations and younger working men straddling across a complex set of family relations.

Figure 4.16: Non-monetary Contributions of Secondary Household Members
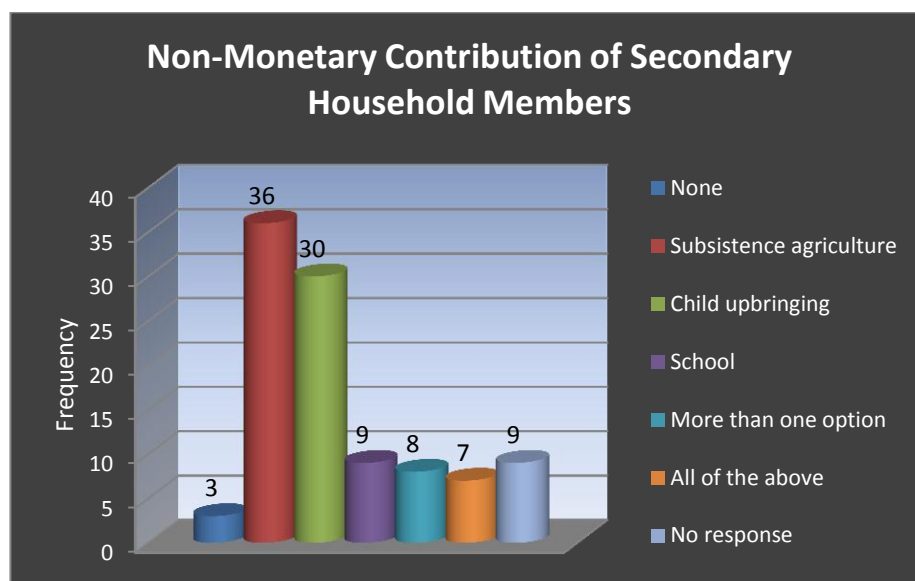
The premise of the argument in the thesis is based on evidence from the Dunlop case, which suggests that wage income remains the main source around which household livelihoods are mobilised across the rural-urban divide[82]. A significant

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[82] It is important to note that this research case (alone) is insufficient to make generalised claims on workers, wages and livelihoods on a broader scale. This is why Burawoy's (1991) extended case method and Hart's (2001, 2006) relational comparison in critical ethnography are significant contributions both to knowledge and methods; because they allow us to look at knowledge and research itself as relational. From this basis one is able to argue that a constellation of research on workers, wages and livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa coagulate towards similar claims on workers, wages and livelihoods. Some of the recent works

majority of Dunlop workers indicated that their wage income is the main source of household livelihoods. While almost 80% of Dunlop workers send remittances to support family members in the countryside, a closer examination of these rural-urban linkages show that different workers have different relationships to the countryside. For some workers the countryside represents their primary homestead, in which the first wife and children live. This close knit relationship of workers to the countryside is reflected in the frequency of visits to the rural homestead as well as in the frequency (and amount) of remittances sent to the rural homestead. Figure 4.16 shows the reciprocal articulation of rural-urban households in the lives of workers and livelihoods of their family networks. While workers contribute monetary services for households through wage income, other household members bring a myriad of non-monetary support to household livelihoods. Mosoetsa (2011) highlights the significant role of elderly women who - through non-monetary support -have become pillars of survival for poor households through pooling their social grants and a myriad of community services they render towards household survival.

There are many factors that affect the actual nature of rural-urban linkages. Firstly, the relationship of the worker to both the urban and rural households determines the allocation of resources between urban and rural households. It was also found that the location of the rural household is a factor in how rural-urban household struggles and tussles for resources play out. One shop steward has a house in Kwa-Mashu, in which he lives with an on-and-off live-in partner (without children) and two of his older children, one going to the Durban University of Technology (DUT) and another at an FET College in the city. Their rural homestead is at Nyoni (near to Mandini). In the rural homestead live his wife and two younger children. On average the shop steward goes to the rural homestead every weekend, except when there are trade union activities in the city or when he is away from Durban (mostly on trade union duty). Once in a while the rural wife also visits the Kwa-Mashu house with the younger children. I got a

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by Barchiesi (2011), Fakier and Cock (2009), Hassim (2008), Mosoetsa (2011), Scully (2012) and Xulu (2012) present a strong case about the centrality of wage income in mobilisation of household livelihoods as well as precariousness and vulnerability of household networks in the absence of stable income.

sense that the house in Kwa-Mashu is his space, his rural wife 'visits Kwa-Mashu', signifying that she is almost like an outsider. Even the two older children at first felt like visitors in Kwa-Mashu, but when I had conversations with the shop steward and his children a couple of months later, his language had changed pertaining to children and space in the house. They have encroached upon and claimed the Kwa-Mashu space as theirs as well, but their mother remains a visitor. The contestation for space in Kwa-Mashu was resolved through a compromise involving children acknowledging the city home as their father's space (with whomever he is living with), while the rural home belonged to their mother.

The rural wife is a professional, a teacher at a local high school. Two stable income streams give his household different livelihoods options, even wealth creating options. He stated that he does not send remittances because he (with his wife) provides household supplies every weekend when he visits the homestead. With his wife, they also support extended family networks with cash and kind transfers. But, he refuses to call this support to his brother's household remittance, arguing, *"my brothers and I are one family and we all live in the same yard"*. His wife also sends remittances to her family in Nongoma, although not every month. He always reminisces about his childhood shepherd days, when he used to look after his grandfather's livestock and always talks about his dream of returning to livestock farming as opposed to being a factory worker.

Another shop steward lives in Kwa-Mashu hostel with two sons, one of whom got a casual job at Dunlop at the beginning of 2007. His wife is also a professional, a teacher working and living in their homestead at Mangethe (outside Stanger). Household livelihoods for his family are also different because of two stable income streams. In addition, his son also benefited in October 2007 from the Tyre Industry Bargaining agreement, which saw all casual workers being employed permanently from an agreement to scrap labour brokers. He also doesn't send any remittance home because he travels home every weekend. His brothers, whom he supports also live in Mangethe, They seldom travel to their original homestead at Mahlabathini, because when his grandfather left, he was escaping away from clan dynasty conflict. This shop steward spends very little in the city because most of his life still remains in the countryside, especially because of living in a hostel.

The family makes extra income from what he calls, the *"generational entrepreneurial spirit in the family"*. From this, his wife started farming cooperative with local women and they sell their harvest to the local community as well as to local retailers. He stated that at one time, his wife wanted to rear chickens and get involved in egg production for sale, but he forbid her, cautioning that this kind of business activity attracts unwanted assailants and might make his household susceptible to criminals, especially because he is known to be a trade unionist and to be living in Durban[83]. In the hostel he lives with his sons, yet they live as 'men' and have established unwritten manly codes and have a complex playing out of parent-child and men-men relationship. At the hostel they each engage in 'manly' activities from time to time, even though the youngest son is not fully included in the 'men' category because he is still a student at DUT.

Another worker lives in a makeshift (RDP like) one-bedroom house at uMlazi. His rural homestead is at eMpaphalala, not far from Nkandla. In the rural homestead his wife lives with some of their grown up (unemployed children). He lives in uMlazi with his younger children because of access to better schooling opportunities and resources in the city. His extended family network lives poorly at eMpaphalala as a result of several factors including seizure of their family (clan) land by the Inkatha (IFP) aligned traditional authorities during the 1980s, loss of livestock due to disease and lack of education opportunities. Throughout conversations, this worker lamented lost opportunities especially for his children to get education. He particularly lamented that his youngest son (whom he argued, *'was given a very good brain'*) wasted his chances at education. He also complained that both his daughters could not further their studies because of getting pregnant after high school. He visits the countryside alternatively sometimes once a month and sometimes once in two months. He sends remittances, but sometimes is unable to because of the demand to support himself, his unemployed children and their children. Upon the researcher's other visit to his house during the economic recession in the middle of 2009, he decried the

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[83] Fear of criminals and criminal attacks seem to be common deterrent to workers' business and entrepreneurial aspirations. Almost every week, workers would retell of attacks on local shops in the community, from which lengthy conversations would ensue about 'crime pandemic' in South Africa and its effect on local business and local development.

harsh effects of the financial crisis on him and his family. He even mentioned that his family is struggling to survive because they were made to work 'short-time' at Dunlop, which in some weeks amounted to one day's work a week. Like a number of other workers and worker leaders, his health was affected by the stress and pressure of livelihoods' insecurity because of the financial crisis. In 2011 he suffered a stroke, which severely hampered his ability to work and was eventually medically boarded at the end of 2011.

I met him at my home place of Eshowe the week from which we struck a conversation, in which he updated me of his life progress since leaving work at the end of 2011. He managed to use his pay-out from being medically boarded to purchase farming implements, including a tractor, as well as purchasing a van, which he also uses to transport people from Mpaphalala to Eshowe. It is quite visible in his body stature as well as in his narrative that life is looking up for him and his family. The cash injection from his work has enabled him to finally complete building the family house in the homestead. Since returning to the homestead, he has also been able to connect with the incumbent local chief, resulting in regaining some of the family land. He even shared briefly some of the ideas and possible farming adventures he is speaking about with the local chief to explore options for the community's development. His life in 2012 seemed a lifetime away from what it was in 2009.

A trade union trustee reiterated the negative effects of the financial crisis on workers and their households. He had first-hand knowledge of the struggles workers were experiencing because he was the signatory for all NUMSA benefits and insurance schemes for workers. He told the researcher about the dire conditions under which workers live and how the 2009 credit crunch compounded survival problems for workers. He indicated that, because of dual and sometimes multiple households, workers face the pressure and challenge of supporting more than a single household with their wage income. For workers who are the only income earners in their households, their wages become overstretched and many end up failing to honour their life insurance and health insurance premiums. Others find themselves caught up in a vicious cycle of debt in order to survive. He indicated that many workers were heavily indebted and the impact of short-time

between the second half of 2008 and early part of 2009 pushed some workers to the brink; some will never recover financially from these stressors. He indicated that part of the problem is the lack of interest shown by workers to educate themselves about financial matters.

While the overall picture confirmed that for the majority of workers their wage income is the main source for mobilisation of livelihoods of households across the rural-urban divide, details of workers' wages and constitution of their households vary from one worker to another and from one household to another. This indicates that workers' households vary, depending on the number of sources of income per household, the nature of a worker's relationship to both rural and urban households, the location of the rural homestead in relation to the city and the employment status of extended household members. This means there is not a single (uniform) urban and/or rural experience for workers and their households. There are workers that rent a room in the city and build a house in the countryside. There are workers who own a house both in the township and in the countryside. There are workers who own and even extend a house in the township and have a traditional homestead in the countryside. These variations depend on relationships between a township household and a rural household as well as the employment status of household members in each household. There are also variations of what is termed 'rural'. Paying attention to the location and distance of a specific rural homestead from the city as well as the varied distribution and availability of social services and amenities in each rural dwelling can distinguish rural household compositions.

Although this is only anecdotal observation, findings show that there are various factors that play out in the mobilisation of household livelihoods and activities for wealth creation in working class households. First, is the primary role of wage income. Stable and secure wage income streams enhance household options for livelihoods and even wealth creation. Households with multiple wage income streams have more chances of engaging in livelihoods and wealth creation activities. Income stability enhances household's chances for business risk opportunities. Second, households with a professional or securely employed wife (in addition to the breadwinning husband) have higher chances of engagement in

wealth creation activities. Third, histories and backgrounds of families are a significant factor in livelihoods activities and choices of workers and their households. Workers with a family (generational) history of farming and entrepreneurialism have a greater propensity to venture into such activities when the household income is secured. At the beginning of my field research, I visited former worker leaders, who were participants in the longitudinal study of work life and cultural formations by Ari Sitas, in the 1980s and 1990s. Three of the worker leaders I visited have family histories of church establishment, education, entrepreneurship and large-scale farming. For instance, Baba Matiwane, who was part of the inaugural 1984 shop stewards committee at Dunlop, comes from a family with a history in the Methodist church. His family came from Groutville, which is a well-known Methodist Mission community, from which also came the legendary Chief Albert Luthuli. Baba Matiwane's grandfather was the first General Secretary of the Natal Native Congress, led by John Dube, which became part of the regional organisations that formed the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912. Baba Matiwane remembers how his family had large farming and heads of cattle as a young boy in the 1930s. He also remembers that his father was a Mounted police, but left work when his grandfather died in the early 1940s. In the 1950s two major things happened that changed their family life and forced him into wage employment. Apartheid forced removals and wide spread disease and slaughter of cattle for the whole region of Hammarsdale, Mopheni, and Ntshongweni. Baba Ngidi also has a family history with the Methodist establishment and education at Edendale. He also recalls how family life was changed by forced removals and apartheid, which forced his mother into domestic work. These two old men were both workers and worker leaders at Dunlop. Both men were also known for their entrepreneurialism, even while they were working at Dunlop. Baba Matiwane sold second hand clothes, from which he first bought himself a car in the early 1980s. During the interviews in 2007/2008 Baba Ngidi was working as s self-supporting religious minister as well as a sales rep for an insurance scheme.

4.5 LIVELIHOODS AND HOUSEHOLD COMPLEXITIES AND CONTRADICTIONS

In this section I want to show that workers' lives, stories and everyday life are not simple, singular and homogeneous. While my main argument asserts that organised labour is the backbone of household survival, the actual lives and stories of workers are more complex than generally presented in most social science analysis (Buhlungu, 2006, 2010; Nattrass, 2003; Seekings, 2004; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005; Webster and Buhlungu, 2004). For a vast majority of workers the countryside or the secondary household constitute a paternal homestead, a place of origin. I also discovered that a significant number of Dunlop workers (especially older workers) have dual conjugal household networks. A significant number of workers are in polygamous marriages, with the first wife in the countryside and a second wife in the city. Other workers have an official wife (with children) in the countryside and a common-law wife/spouse (sometime with children) in the city. There are also a few cases of workers with wives and children in the countryside and a live-in partner (but not regarded as wife) in the city. Polygamy and/or multiple partner relations are part and parcel of the everyday life of workers as well as their identity construction. During conversations with workers and shop stewards, it became clear that masculinity stakes and claims relate to a man's access and/or ability to manage multiple sexual relationships. I made an observation during that period that only one of ten shop stewards has children from only one woman. A significant number of workers and shop stewards have children from variable partners, some of which were conceived while they are married.

A full-time shop steward who is also a trade union trustee told me stories of some of the challenges and problems emanating from these multiple household and conjugal relationships. Most of these complications relate to spousal and insurance benefits. He told me painful experiences of dealing with families of deceased workers in his seven years of being a union trustee. There are two main instances that befell some spouses of deceased workers. He told me several cases in which workers that came to Dunlop leaving behind spouses and children at home. Many of these men started new conjugal relationships in the city, resulting in a complex set of relationships with the original homestead. Some of these men

separated from their rural wives (although not officially divorcing). Other men remained with their rural wives, and also took a second common law spouse in the city (without an official marriage). The union trustee narrated three cases of workers who died recently, living with an urban common-law wife after separating (but not divorcing) from the first civil wife. For the duration of their illness, it was the urban spouse who looked after and cared after these men. In all three cases, when the worker died it was the urban (common-law) spouse who mourned with the family of the worker and wore traditional mourning attire, while the separated (yet officially still married) wives only attended the funeral as part of the community and, or distant family relatives. But a few days after the funeral, it was the official (separated) wives that came to Dunlop with a marriage certificate, wearing full mourning attire to process pension and death benefits. As a result he found himself having to give the 'separated wives' the death insurance benefits of deceased workers, while the live-in spouses and children lost out completely. He also told me of four cases of older workers from the former Transkei who also had polygamous marriages, with the first wife in the countryside and an urban wife in the city. Apparently a significant number of older people from the former Transkei do not have marriage certificates because of administrative bungles in the Homeland system. As a result the older wives do not have official marriage certificates, whereas the city wives have them. He said that after the death of these workers, both wives mourned and buried their working husbands together, but it was the city wives who collected the full pension and death cover because the rural wives did not have official certification.

He intimated that the root cause of these tragic stories is the unwillingness of workers to learn and educate themselves about anything regarding benefits, schemes and insurance. I also noticed during the visits at Dunlop that the shop stewards' office always had workers who repeatedly came to ask the trade union trustee to help them regarding their respective benefits, insurance and health scheme. He even warned me during my research not to have high expectations of questionnaires being filled and returned because he said, *"Dunlop workers don't like filling forms, let alone a questionnaire"*. After several months of visitation and having given out almost 400 questionnaires to workers, I only managed to get 102 filled questionnaires back. Pertaining to workers' health, life and death-

insurance schemes, he indicated that he was trying his best to educate workers, especially workers in polygamy as well as training workers about instituting their financial records and their determination of allocation of their benefits and estate in case of death.

4.6 REVISITING ORGANISED LABOUR AND PRIVILEGE IN POST-APARTHEID SA

**Figure 4.17: Other Sources of Household Income**
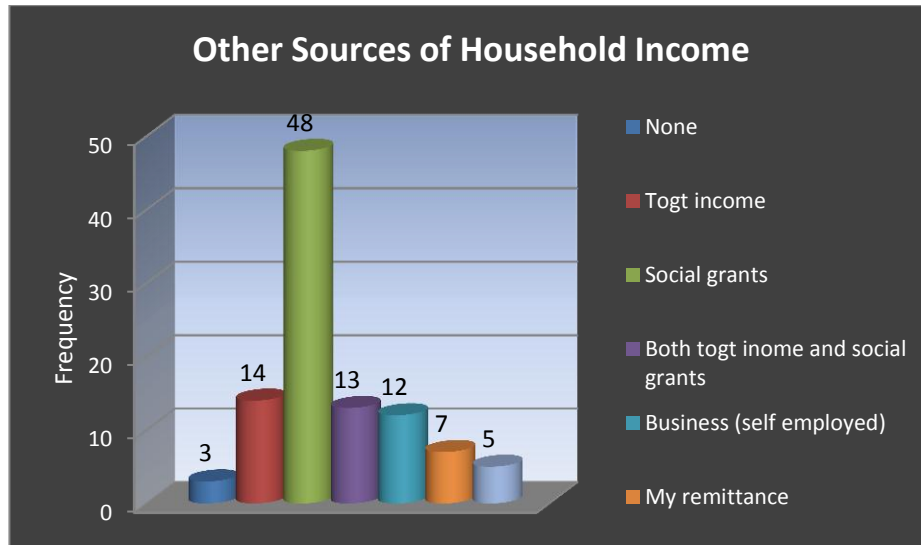
Figure 4.18: Household Livelihoods Activities
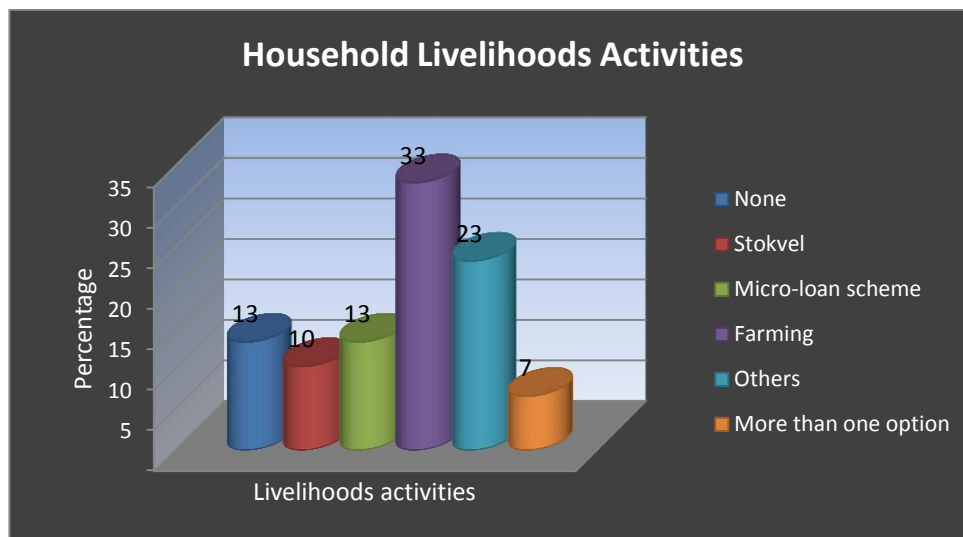
The Dunlop case study shows the complexities in researching workers, wages and livelihoods and in understanding African working class households in post-apartheid South Africa. The thesis engages specifically with seminal arguments

on labour aristocracy by Seekings (2004) and Seekings and Nattrass (2002, 2005). There are two other significant contributions this section wants to explore to further expand the debate in the complex articulation of workers, wages and livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa (Scully 2012, Casale & Posel 2010, Posel 2010, Posel et al 2006).

The Dunlop case study shows that working class lives and livelihoods are spread out beyond the rural-urban divide. For most of my respondents, an income of one worker supports multiple sets of individuals and households. The notion of semi-privilege presupposes that workers' income and wages are used for singular livelihoods and neglects the fact that a sizable number of African workers' wages are stretched and used for livelihoods of networks of households. Almost 72% of Dunlop workers are either the only contributor, or only have one other member contributing to household income. Figure 4.17 shows the significant role of social grants to the survival of workers' households. Almost half of respondents stated that, beyond their remittances, their extended households depended upon social grants. There are a few who also have day/ casual income and an even smaller number of households that are self-employed. Figure 4.18 shows that there are a variety of livelihoods activities households engage in ranging from subsistence farming, stokvels and micro lending, as well as other un-named activities.

Barchiesi (2011) published a study on the work and lives of workers (and the working class) in the East Rand area of Gauteng in post-apartheid South Africa. He asserts that South African workers constitute what he calls 'precarious labour' and that even under conditions of permanent work, many African workers and their households barely have enough to constitute and to give them options for emancipatory options and activities. He then asks, 'if permanent workers work and live under such precarious conditions, how are the conditions of 'atypical workers?' He also asserts that workers do not recognise their work as 'decent

jobs', just as they do not consider their lives in post-apartheid South Africa as a 'decent life'. He critiques recent claims about labour market rigidity, arguing that South Africa does not have a labour market rigidity problem nor do we have a trade union problem, but an economic problem (Barchiesi, 2011) Barchiesi shows that the precariousness of working class household livelihoods is accentuated by high living costs and what he calls an anti-worker consumer market, controlled by colluding monopolies, resulting in an extremely high cost of living[84] (Barchiesi, 2011). While assertions are made about the imperative to adjust our labour market regulations in line with other middle-income economies, we ignore glaring disparities in the cost of living between South Africa and these middle-income economies.

When I revisited the Dunlop shop floor in 2009, to follow-up on my research as well as to get workers' reflection on data and ways in which I was making my arguments, I asked workers about the 'labour aristocracy' and claims about organised labour representing the semi-privileged few, and securing their interests even at the expense of the unemployed masses. This was against the backdrop of a resurgence of claims and counter claim, even in the media, in which even some senior government ministers made opinions on this debate. In general, workers took offence at the suggestion that there is any privilege in being a shop floor worker in South Africa. They stated that, while they appreciate having jobs to feed themselves and their families, there is nothing positive about being a worker in South Africa. One worker asked me:

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[84] There have been numerous high profile cases at the Competition Commission, resulting in imposition of penalties and, or concession payment agreements with leading food processing firms like Tiger Brands and Pioneer Foods for price fixing in the bread processing sector. There are still questions around the collusion and high prices in South Africa's major banks, as well as recent penalties imposed on Singapore Airlines and South African Airways for price hiking. In In January, newspapers ran a story of in which ACSA was under pressure to explain high and rising airport charges, which have affected traffic flow at major airports, and an unintended benefit to non-ACSA controlled carriers and airports, especially Lanceria.

> *"Comrade what is the privilege about clocking in at work at 6 in the morning? What is the privilege about being put on surveillance like a wild animal? What is a privilege when a boy young enough to be your son bosses you around, only because he is white? What is the privilege of working more than 50 hours a week and not even earning enough income to buy the very product you produce every day? We only work because we have to and because if we don't we will starve and our families will suffer"*

Workers also raised two other issues, which I found interesting, especially their level of analysis on the debate. First, workers highlighted that gains made by industrial labour, be it for a living wage, better working and living conditions are all results of intense struggles workers gained at the height of apartheid. Workers seemed to be surprised that gains they won through intense struggle, against a hostile management and oppressive state are now regarded as undue privilege for workers in a 'democratic dispensation'. Second, workers seemed to suggest that many of the claims against organised labour, such as claims of privilege are actually not based on the working and living conditions of shop floor workers, but on statistical figures, which lump organised labour wages together, thus obscuring and hiding the picture of disparities between industrial and public sector workers. One of the workers even lamented saying,

> *"We are now being punished for benefits that are actually being enjoyed by public sector workers, many of whom only started and joined trade unions under comfortable conditions after the advent of democracy. We, industrial workers fought both intransigent employers and an oppressive state under apartheid, but now are being lumped together with people who never struggled for anything".*

Ben Scully (2012) has produced an interesting study that looks at specific claims about the decline of work and household livelihoods. His study analyses broad statistical data to see the construction of livelihoods of working class households. His research is also an attempt to engage in the debate on the bifurcation between

a growing section of excluded outsiders (unemployed masses) and a shrinking portion of privileged insiders constituting organised labour) (Scully, 2012:72). He uses data from the NIDS as well as interviews with workers from four sites to argue that while there is a decline in wage labour, this has not erased historically important livelihood strategies of working class households. Instead, he shows that workers and working class households at various levels continue to be economically interdependent. He argues that while disparities in income deciles make claims about class-polarisation persuasive, class interests are not only shaped by absolute income levels, but also by income sources. Thus it is income sources that constitute an important part of class difference. He looks at sources of household income, showing that 'wages' represent a broad category which includes primarily formal and informal employment, but also including casual work and self-employment, but also might consist of inclusive cash transfers (sent by people registered as members of same household). Social grants also feature significantly in the NIDS, as do remittances (which are cash transfers sent by members not registered with the same household).

Scully found that most African households combine multiple sources of income, including wage income to secure livelihoods. He found that the major non-wage sources of income involve a degree of sharing or cooperation between individuals within and across households. For him these social livelihood sources are important because they create interdependence between wage workers and the un-employed and under-employed (Scully, 2012:83). He argues that African working class households depend on multiple sources of income, including wage income, social grants, cash transfers (remittances) and other non-listed activities. He argues that African households that depend solely on wage income are at the high-end of the income decile. He argues that while wage income disparities are important, they only provide a fraction of the picture of household livelihood strategies. He asserts that a significant portion of income is redistributed; both

between and within households whose members occupy diverse labour market positions (Scully, 2012:88). His findings also highlight the prevalence of social grants as a household income source. He states that all his respondents argued that they have a member of their household, or relative that is a recipient of a social grant, and that such grants lighten (but do not remove) the burden that employed workers feel to support their extended families (Scully, 2012).

Figure 4. 19: Percentage of Union Households that Send Remittances[85]

	Union Household	Non-Union Households
All HH	*46%*	*12%*
HH in the 9th and 10th deciles	*56%*	*40%*

Scully also looks at remittances, showing that there are two categories of remittances, regular and irregular. Regular remittances are mostly at a set amount and are sent by husbands to wives, or workers sending money to their parents, or workers sending remittances to a guardian for workers' children. Irregular remittances are sent mostly in times of hardship, or when there is a specific family function and, or occurrence, e.g. funeral, wedding, or major household family ritual. Figure 4.19 is taken from his analysis of the NIDS data, showing a relationship between remittances and wage labour status. Similar to figures 4.10 and 4.11 that are taken from the 2004 labour force survey, his narrative of the sample from NIDS shows a similar pattern, in which households with union members are more likely to send remittances than non-unionised households.

Figure 4.20: Diverse Labour Market Positions within Households[86]

Household Type	% that also includes a member who...			
	... is unemployed	*...is in informal or casual*	*...receives a grant*	*...is in any of these three*

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[85] Source: Scully (2012: 94). The author notes that the table is un-weighted, from NIDS sample
[86] Source: Scully (2012:100).

		employment		categories
Formal Workers' households	25%	22%	30%	52%
Union Members' households	26%	27%	26%	54%

Scully also found other means through which extended family households exercise livelihood interdependency. He found that there is what he calls proxy payment transfers, which are mostly made by an individual for a specific expense to someone outside of their household. For instance workingmen send transfers to households in which their children live providing money for school fees. He also found what he calls life-event transfers, which are transfers made to individuals outside of a workers' household for specific life events like *ilobolo*, funerals, tombstone ceremony, weddings, circumcision rites and others. Scully also makes note of levels of diversity within the working class households. Figure 4.20 demonstrate that a precarious existence prevails even within households of formal and unionised workers. He shows that just over half of both formal and unionised workers households include members who are in a precarious labour market situation and, or receive a social grant (Scully, 2012: 100).

Dorrit Posel (2003, 2010) makes a significant contribution to the analysis on labour migration, transfers, household dynamics and livelihoods. Her work is significant because it highlights both methodologically and in the analysis she presents households, labour migration, remittances and resource allocation in post-apartheid South Africa. Posel's (2003) paper analyses the collection of national household survey data on four national questionnaires in SA, viz. the 1993 Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD), the 1996 & 2001 National Census, the 1995-9 October Household Survey (OHS) and the 2001 Labour Force Survey (LFS). In her analysis she highlights the significance of balancing qualitative – specific and local case studies with

established nationally representative data on households and individuals that are part of those households. She demonstrates how official household surveys in South Africa have been modified and revised over the years to improve the quality of information collected on individuals, households and their access to resources. However, she argues questions of labour migration have received little attention in these revisions. Rather, the quality and quantity of information collected on migration and labour migrants specifically have declined such that in current sources of national data, viz. the Labour Force Survey (2000–1) and the Census (2001), labour migrants are all but invisible. She then argues that until questions on labour migration are reincorporated comprehensively into the design of household questionnaires, there can be little analysis of changes in this migration in South Africa (Posel, 2003: 362).

Posel (2010) revisits this area of analysis following the release of NIDS in 2008, which used similar categorisation as the older PSLSD survey of 1993, but extends its categorisation to include variables not included in the PSLSD. In this revisit she points to the complexity of researching and analysing labour migration and household dynamics in broad data studies. This analysis is important because she notes differences in sets of analysis in the 2008 NIDS from other household surveys (OHS, LFS and GHS), which she shows have not consistently collected information on labour migrants and remittance transfers. She even goes to argue that information collected on these have most often been incomplete (Posel, 2010: 130). For instance the OHS, the LFS and the GHS, all impose a strict residency requirement in defining household membership. She analyses data from NIDS, which similar to the earlier PSLSD adopts a broader residency requirement, which recognises fluidity in household composition. She then sets out to research these differences, how NIDS collects information on labour migrants and remittance transfers differently from other surveys as well as on their different constructions and definitions of the household as a research and analytic category.

Posel compares data on labour migration and remittance transfers between the 1993 PSLSD and the 2008 NIDS. Data show a decline in percentage of households that report non-residential household members from 24% in 1993 to 18% in 2008. However, she shows that both studies show similar patterns in absence across households. For instance, African households are more likely to report absent household members than other race groups, and African households in rural areas are the most likely to contain non-resident members. In the 1993 PSLSD 39% and in the 2008 NIDS 30% of African households in rural areas reported at least one adult as a non-resident member of the household (Posel, 2010:132). She also argues that many households in South Africa rely not only on income generated by resident household members, but also on inter-households' transfers of income – remittance transfers from migrant family and household members. She then shows that the NIDS questions on remittances are more inclusive, allowing reporting of absent household members who are not identified as migrant workers as well as allowing reporting of inter-household transfer from individuals who are not household members (Posel, 2010:136). Data show continued significance of remittance transfers, although it also shows significant decline, especially from 2000 to 2008. She offers a few possible explanations for the decline, including an increase in the number of African migrants who relocate permanently to the city (with their families). She also uses Leibbrandt et al (2010) argument that identifies a relationship between the steady decline in remittance transfers with the steady increase in social grants. She concludes by arguing,

> *"If the NIDS data are identifying real changes, then the survey suggests that a far greater share of individuals who are migrating for employment reasons are also settling in destination areas and that the ties between migrant workers and their households of origin are weakening"* (Posel, 2010: 140).

In another study, Posel et al (2006) write about the complexity of defining and determining households as a research category in broad statistical research. Migrant labour and the general migrant nature of the South African labour market continue to play out the fluid nature of South African families and households. In this paper they look at the relationship between social grants and labour supply, in response to Bertrand et al (2003), who argued that there is a negative relationship between pension grants and labour supply of EAP. Using data from the PSLSD Bertrand et al found that pensions reduce the need for men to look for work. Posel et al (2006) argue that the problem with this analysis ignores the fluid nature of SA households and the extensive migrant nature of African households. They found that there is a positive relationship between pension receiving and migration into the city, which possibly means that family and household members are more likely to seek employment in the city after receiving pension money, which is mostly pooled by the receiving individual to the whole family. Posel et al (2006) further argue that labour and resource allocation within households may be sensitive to how the household is conceptualised and incorporated in the analysis. They argue that how households are defined and who shares in household resources is particularly important in a country like South Africa, where household membership and resource sharing amongst household members often transcend the physical boundaries of the 'house'. For them, it is not only families, but also households that are extended (Posel et al, 2006:837).

Posel (2003, 2010) and Scully's (2012) analyses of household survey data provide a basis from which one can question assertions and claims that present organised labour as constituting a 'privileged few' in the context of swamps of misery of the unemployed poor (Seekings & Nattrass 2002, 2005). Posel (2010) makes a compelling argument on the significance, yet limitation of key household surveys in South Africa, and resulting significance of NIDS in providing data that enables reliable analysis of labour migration and remittance transfers. Scully (2012)

analyses similar data sources, yet draws interesting findings on remittances, showing that while there is a decline in remittance transfers over the last ten years, there is still a positive relationship between wage security and remittance transfer, as formally employed and unionised workers reported significantly higher remittance transfers both in percentage and in value. Posel's (2010) analysis also confirms a decrease in remittance transfers, but shows still significant and consistent levels of remittance transfers in African households to the rural areas.

Taking from Posel, the thesis argues that Dunlop findings on workers,, wages and livelihoods provide specific and detailed, yet local explanation to questions that nationally representative data cannot address. For instance, in her work Posel makes two speculative arguments to explain the decrease in remittance transfers in the last ten years. The assertion of increased urbanisation and permanent relocation of migrant workers to cities, cannot alone explain the reduced response to remittance transfers. At Dunlop, workers highlighted other options, including the permanent relocation to the city of workers and their households; other workers do not consider their transfers to rural household as remittance because of the proximity of the rural homestead to the city as well as proximity of extended household members within a rural homestead.

On the debate on employment trends, labour and inequality, while statistical data correctly show increasing gaps in labour market and household incomes, as Scully (2012) and Barchiesi (2011) argue, the analysis does not explore the actual construction and configuration of workers' households, nor does it explore household and familial networks of workers beyond the rural-urban divide. It also cannot tell us much about the actual lived experiences of workers and the distribution of their incomes in everyday life.

One also raises this discussion as a critique to a political economy discourse based on a presupposition that flexible labour market regulations and concessions by organised labour on wages will translate into more employment. The claim that liberalising the labour market, or reducing the bargaining power of organised labour, together with increasing the power of business to hire and fire as well as reduced wages would result in employment and attract investment into the economy, has gained much currency in the social commentary and the print media[87]. Yet, research at the firm level does not confirm this claim. The story of Dunlop workers in Ladysmith is an example that shows that concessions by workers on wages and bargaining do not necessarily translate into increased employment. When workers signed an agreement instituting a new shift pattern at the end of 2003, the factory increased its workforce from ±1000 employees to ±1300 employees in the first six months after implementing a new shift-pattern. When I visited the factory in 2007 I discovered that the workforce had been reduced to ±850 workers. Case studies on firm restructuring, new work process change and workplace regimes, mostly show that these changes resulted in retrenchments, casualization and increased work intensity. Studies from Beyond the Apartheid Workplace, edited by Webster and Bezuidenhout (2005) report work intensification, retrenchments and reduced real wages, while firms recorded increased productivity and higher profit margins (Bezuidenhout, 2005; Godfrey and Maree, 2005; Masondo, 2005; Phakathi, 2005). Most concessions by workers towards productivity and employment fail to translate into those intended aims, but instead employers use flexibility to rid themselves of workers. The

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[87] Not only has this assertion permeated through scholarly discourses from economic analyses and projections, it has also gained momentum in public discourse with commentaries on this topic, including the Business Times and the Financial Mail and various television current affairs' commentaries and debates. Recently, Finance Minister (Mr. Pravin Gordhan) bore the brunt of COSATU's wrath and had to quickly retract his statement when he suggested that government must look at liberalizing the labour market policy and relax laws allowing employers more leverage to hire and fire as well as to implement flexible employment and wages (News24, 2011, 2012). The Democratic Alliance just organised a march to COSATU headquarters to protest against what they call, 'COSATU's defense of workers at the expense of the unemployed masses (Guardian, 2012; Parker, 2012).

assumption that a flexibly modified labour regulatory framework will encourage and stimulate employment is as implausible as what Ugarteche (2000) said, *"Taking an oven and putting it in the sun will heat it up"* (2000:69).

Barchiesi (2011) makes a compelling contribution to the debate, based on his research of Gauteng's industrial workers, looking at precarious labour, livelihoods and emancipatory alternatives. He argues that, while the notion of precarious labour and precarious work mostly refers to atypical work, actual lived experiences of permanent, full-time and organised workers suggest that we should extend this notion to all shop floor workers in South Africa today. Worker incomes (in real value) have actually reduced over the past fourteen years of democratic dispensation. He argues that the very notion of work (employment) as the yardstick of citizenship in the new South Africa is a false agenda that limits working class possibilities for real liberation.

Barchiesi (2011:268) makes a useful point in this debate. He writes:

> Representatives of this line are the important works of Seekings and Nattrass (2005). Their contention is that low-wage; precarious jobs are solutions to and not determinants of poverty in South Africa. They recognise that the system of social protection is uneven and skewed to the advantage of the formally employed, but reject universal redistributive provisions, undue fiscal burdens on investment and corporate profits. Curiously, they also allege that workers themselves dislike universal social grants as leeway to higher taxes, an unproven claim (Altman 2006). They recognise that only 10 percent of taxpayers provide 60 percent of the fiscal revenue, but argue that the small tax share of workers is due not to their poverty, but to their political power (2005: 68). In line with their overall view of South Africa, workers are privileged free riders of political connections and collective bargaining. They conclude that as higher taxes on the rich are anathema, necessary sacrifices to uplift the poor must fall on wage earners. They claim that unionisation is a major cause of unemployment and poverty as it drives wage costs upward,

encouraging layoffs and connects union households to vacant jobs, out-competing the limited social capital of the poorest of the poor (2005:282). A step they recommend is to remove contractual minimum standards and union protections from labour-intensive sectors, which would facilitate the creation of low wage occupations.

For Barchiesi the 'jobs' mantra is part and parcel of political subjectivity based on a work-citizenship nexus, which places employment (jobs-work) as a solution to poverty and inequality as opposed to the dependency of social assistance. In their celebration of 'work' this analysis and political assertions it feeds neglect the fact that low wages are by themselves costs to the working poor. In her research on community struggles and social movements in Durban South, Naidoo (2010a, 2012) highlights that poor communities reject these claims that are coated with morality and claims of the goodness of work versus a loathing of dependence on social assistance. She quotes women in Durban South who rejected this mantra of slave work and slave wages.

In a way, an assertion that labels organised labour as semi-privileged is reminiscent of the anti-union mantra that used to be invoked by Kwa-Zulu Homeland authorities during the 1980's and 1990's. Such assertions were frequently invoked by IFP leaders, local councillors and Taiwanese industrialists in Isithebe, Ladysmith and Newcastle. When I was doing research on 'early warning systems on Chinese and Taiwanese industrialists', which uncovered below minimum wages paid to workers in Newcastle, one local councillor said in opposition to NUMSA and community protesters in Newcastle, *"Half a loaf is better than no bread"*. While this mantra sounds reasonable at face value, it neglects the fact that 'the half' workers are told to accept is never determined by them. In essence, 'the half' is a metaphor for an elastic scope of determinations made by management.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Researching workers, wages and livelihoods is significant and necessary to explore the reproductive capacity of capitalism in post-apartheid South Africa and possibilities for class struggle on the shop floor and in communities. My research claim is that wage income is the locus around which livelihoods (forms of reproduction) are mobilised across the rural-urban divide. The chapter shows complexities in how concrete economic, political and social conditions of workers and their households and concrete class struggles play out on the shop floor in everyday life. Recent research on work and livelihoods of the African working class households in post-apartheid South Africa paint a bleak picture for both employed and unemployed households[88]. Mosoetsa (2011) shows the dynamics of struggles for survival of unemployed households in two townships of KZN and how families and household structure are increasingly destabilised by crises of reproduction[89]. Kenny (2005a) highlights the plight of retail working women and the inability of trade unions to protect workers and their households from the onslaught of work flexibility. Barchiesi (2011) revisits the East Rand, once bastion of manufacturing for most of the 20th century; he shows how both permanent (unionised) workers, flexible (atypical) workers and the unemployed working class experience precariousness in post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter also uses Dunlop data and nationally representative data analysed by Scully (2012) and Posel (2003, 2010) to critique a singular assertion on employment, labour market dynamics and labour in post-apartheid South Africa. From Posel (2003, 2010) the chapter argues for a complex analysis of workers, wages and livelihoods, which takes into consideration complexities in household construction in South Africa. The chapter also critiques conservative political economy discourses on employment and labour market dynamics in South Africa, with some evidence from Barchiesi (2011), Mosoetsa (2011) and Scully (2012).

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[88] Barchiesi, (2011); Kenny, (2004, 2005); Mosoetsa, (2011)

[89] One of the key arguments I advance in the conclusion is an assertion that I South Africa continues on a crisis path, i.e. crisis of reproduction as capitalism continues to accumulate by replicating a growing pool of surplus populations without hope for employment and out of reach of social services.

CHAPTER 5

SHOP FLOOR MILITANCY, TRADE UNION STRUGGLES AND CONTRADICTIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Friday morning, 20 July 2007: Dunlop workers were trickling into the Canteen filling it to capacity. As I began to casually chat with some workers seated close by, shop stewards entered the Canteen with a NUMSA regional organiser. This was the first meeting to officially pronounce the commencement of strike action in the entire Tyre industry. The Deputy Chairperson of shop stewards picked up the microphone and motioned to start the meeting. He started by making a few revolutionary greetings to workers and requested workers to stand and start the meeting with prayer. All workers began to stand straight-up, making what has become traditional trade union and congress alliance posture of a fist held up. Then the singing began: *"Singabasebenzi thina, singabasebenzi thina, base Afrika; Hlanganani basebenzi, masiqonde phambili. Silwel' amalungelo, masiqonde phambili. Silwel' ingane zethu, masiqonde phambili"[90]*. After the song a worker/cum lay religious minister opened the meeting with prayer. In the prayer the worker asked the Lord to show His face amongst workers and support them in their struggle against oppression by employers. He also asked the Lord to open employers' hearts to consider the strife under which workers work and live.

Little did we know then that this strike would subsequently become one of the longest strikes ever held at Dunlop - lasting for five weeks The length and intensity of the strike invoked amongst workers, memories of one of the historically most significant strikes at Dunlop, viz. the 1984 strike, which culminated in the historical trade union recognition. Workers invoked similarities because in both strike actions workers walked away with a sense of jubilation and victory, at how they managed to force employers to accede to their demands. But they simultaneously had a sense of sacrifice and discipline workers maintained throughout the hard five weeks of not receiving an income[91]. Opening prayers and prayer songs became common features throughout the strike, being chanted at the beginning of every report-back and mobilisation meeting during the five weeks of the strike.

It was fortuitous that my initial visits to establish contact with shop stewards and

workers at Dunlop coincided with the strike. My choice to establish access to

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[90] The closest English translation of the song is: *"We are workers, we are workers, in Africa; Workers unite and let us move forward with our struggle. We are fighting for rights; let us move forward with our struggle. We are fighting for our children; let us move forward with our struggle"*.

[91] Sitas (1996:222) terms this *'trials of strength'* taking from Hyman (1989). Similar to the 1984 strikes, workers had a strong sense of victory and jubilation not only at forcing employers to cede to their demands, but also the discipline and courage workers continued to exhibit over eight weeks of no income. Sitas (1996:222) uses an analogue of *'umlabalaba'*, arguing that the strike and worker struggles in general resemble an *umlabalaba* game, because while workers make an offensive move, they also have to retreat at the same time.

Dunlop workers through NUMSA and my active participation during the five weeks' strike became an added benefit, because it enabled me to gain trust and a rapport with workers and shop stewards, resulting in being able to conduct what Burawoy (1991) calls an 'extended case method', in which I followed these workers for a lengthy period between 2007 and 2009. Analyses and arguments in this chapter and in chapter six reflect mostly on observation, interviews and conversations with workers and worker leaders conducted while participating and closely following the strike action over five weeks, as well as extended ethnographic research of more than eleven months of visits, interaction, conversations and observation of workers at Dunlop between 2007 and 2009.

After painting a picture of my journey into the Dunlop shop floor, there are three arguments the chapter advances. First, production politics at Dunlop are not static, but are negotiated through what Sitas (1996) calls "trials of strength"; between a management which attempts to enforce a 'racial order' and a militant and mobilised workforce, who resist while simultaneously encroach shop floor control through a 'masculine hegemony'[92]. Second, trade unions (viz. COSATU and its affiliates) continue to be viewed by workers as their most potent force through which they can mobilise collectively. Lastly, trade unions are sites of struggle and contradiction, not only between workers and employers (management), but also between workers and "trade union gate keepers" (e.g. trade union officials, organisers, and trade unions bosses). At NUMSA, the organising trade union at

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[92] In this chapter and in chapter six, the thesis develops two conceptual definitions, re-theorising social relations in production and the everyday life of work at Dunlop. Racial ordering and masculine hegemony are terms I use in the thesis to re-theorise a complex set of relations and playing out of production politics at Dunlop in post-apartheid South Africa. These are expanded from Burawoy's (1985) concept of factory regimes. In South Africa it was first theorised by Webster, depicting the apartheid work order as racial despotism. Webster and Von Holdt (2005) summarise work processes from a series of case studies of South African firms as coagulating into what they call 'beyond the apartheid workplace order'. The thesis asserts that while we have gone beyond apartheid's political and legislative apparatus, industrial relations and institutional order at Dunlop continue to represent a racial order, characterised by a white authoritarian managerial layer and a militant African workforce. In chapter six, the thesis expands on masculine hegemony.

Dunlop, there is a playing out of these complex contradictions and contestations internally as well as a broader problematic of vanguard ideology in trade union leadership in South Africa. The chapter argues that workers are neither blind nor oblivious to these internal and systemic trade union contradictions and struggles.

5.2 WORKER MILITANCY, RACIAL ORDERING AND POPULAR MEMORY

There are two factors observed during this research, which explain the persistence of workplace militancy and shop floor mobilisation. First, a *racially ordered* workplace regime, characterised by racially organised production relations. Second, workers use histories of struggles, what Sitas (1996) calls 'popular memory' and socialisation of younger workers by their elderly familial networks. Shop floor militancy is one of the first things I noticed early in my contact visits at Dunlop. During the course of gathering data over an extended period it was interesting to observe how things seemed similar to the historical accounts by Sitas (1986, 1996 and 2004) and Bonnin (1987, 1999) in the 1980s and early 1990s. On my first visit to the factory to meet shop stewards, accompanied by a NUMSA Organiser, it seemed like I was in a frozen time capsule; in my mind I was immediately reminded of the shop floor in the 1980s and 1990s. Some of my first observation as we were walking through the factory floor was the lack of sufficient light, heat and moisture and the smell of tyres and rubber all around. Workers were scattered all around the shop floor, others working in the moulding section, there were forklift vehicles making rounds as well as workers chatting along the assembly line. Workers also repeatedly made reference to 'how things stay the same at Dunlop.

Dunlop continues to operate institutionally within a racially ordered structure, fifteen years into the post-apartheid political and legislative order. The

institutional production apparatus at Dunlop represent a *racial order* [93] characterised by authoritarian order by white management with simultaneous militant resistance by African workers on the shop floor. Recent accounts of workers' experiences and their perceptions of work and life at Dunlop show that the factory is a hard place to work[94]. In his work on Dunlop in the 1980s Sitas reported that workers -despite earning relatively higher wages than in other industries in Durban- didn't feel that they were well paid.

> *"More than that, Dunlop workers state unequivocally that compared to the profits they make for the company, their wages are minimal. What was remarkable, emerging from the interviews conducted with workers, was the degree of 'low trust' between workers and management. Given the lengthy service records of many Dunlop employees, this 'low trust' has a historical and a contemporary dimension. Experience has cemented over time a tradition of mistrust and grumbling acquiescence towards managerial authority. Both memory and contemporary experience are important in explaining why such a degree of polarisation and trial of strength of such proportions could develop in the Sydney Road factory…Listening to older workers speak about the span of time from the 1940s to the time of interviews, the themes of 'thankless toil' – sacrificing years for nothing in return – and managerial harshness predominate"*[95].

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[93] In this chapter and in chapter six, the thesis develops two conceptual definitions, re-theorising the playing out of social relations in production and everyday life of work at Dunlop. Racial ordering and masculine hegemony represent conceptual definitions developed in the thesis to re-theorise a complex set of relations and playing out of production politics at Dunlop in post-apartheid South Africa. These are expanded from Burawoy's (1985) concept of factory regimes. In South Africa it was first theorised by Webster, depicting the apartheid work order as racial despotism. Webster and Von Holdt (2005) summarise work processes from a series of case studies of South African firms as coagulating to what they call 'beyond the apartheid workplace order'. The thesis assert that while we have gone beyond apartheid political and legislative apparatus, industrial relations and institutional order at Dunlop continue to represent a racial order, characterised by a white authoritarian managerial layer and a militant African workforce. In chapter six, the thesis asserts that while the institutional apparatus of production is racially ordered, workplace regimes, control, consent and resistance play out in everyday life through a masculine hegemony.

[94] (Bonnin, 1987, 1999; Sitas, 1984b, 1989, 1992c, 1996a, 1997, 2002, 2004a)

[95] Sitas (1996:224 – 225)

We already know that militancy and struggle at Dunlop during the 1980s could be explained by the then prevailing factory regime and relations in production. The harshness of working conditions and production apparatus precipitated polarised and antagonistic politics of production. In the process of my field research I revisited and interviewed inaugural shop stewards of Dunlop from the 1984 cohort[96]. These former shop stewards intimated that harsh working conditions and the reluctance of factory bosses to negotiate, contributed to shop floor militancy and the frequency of strikes at Dunlop. They all related cases of wage negotiations in which shop stewards would present wage increase demands, which employers would just laugh at and counter their offer with unreasonable counter-offers. This would anger both the negotiators and workers, which always led to strikes. Two of the former shop stewards argued that strike action was the only language employers seemed to understand and they would always test the resolve of workers. Baba Matiwane and Baba Mthethwa related another incident of wage negotiations in which management refused to negotiate. When shop stewards asked the Managing Director to come to explain management positions to workers, they claim he said, "I don't talk to blue collar workers". When they reported this to workers, they made an immediate ballot for a strike action.

What is remarkable when revisiting Dunlop workers almost three decades since the historical 1984 strikes is that workers still feel that they work under the same (objective) conditions at Dunlop; producing unchanged subjective perceptions of their work and their lives. In my conversations with workers and worker leaders, I observed that older workers (most of who were already working at Dunlop during the golden days of union formation in the mid-1980s) felt that with all the seeming changes in the last thirty years, things still remained the same. This was

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[96] In 2009 I revisited and interviewed all worker leaders that Sitas had engaged with in his research at Dunlop in the 1980s. I managed to speak to all the shop stewards from that inaugural committee of recognised trade union shop steward, who are still alive and living in Durban. I was also fortunate to get hold of Baba Mkhungo, who had just come back from living in England, but sadly passed away a few months after his return.

an observation I made early during my initial visits at workers' meetings as well as in conversations with workers after meetings, weeks preceding the strike. Workers expressed resentment, isolation and polarisation between themselves and management. Shop stewards later told me that part of the problem at Dunlop is continuing unilateral decision-making by factory management, continued harsh and unsafe working conditions as well as what they called an 'intransigent managing director' who still adopts an anti-union stance[97].

Race and class divisions between workers and management compound polarised industrial relations at Dunlop. I noticed that, throughout the strike action (as well as after the strike ended) workers still use racial categorisation to differentiate between themselves and management. I noticed especially during the strike that the content of most revolutionary songs and slogans highlight workers views on employers and factory bosses. Many of these songs date back to the 1980s and 1990s during times of resistance to apartheid and white capitalist oppression. In these songs and slogans workers use words like 'capitalists', 'whites' and 'employers' interchangeably referring to factory bosses. One song says,

> *"Ongxiwa basaba umbimbi, ngoba befuna ukuphatha umhlaba ngabodwa"*, another song says *"abelungu bayasicindezela"*, yet another one says, *"umqashi naye kumele abuzwe ubuhlungu balesisiteleka"*[98].

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[97] I was later told by three people (a KZN NUMSA official, a NUMSA representative in the Tyre Industry National Bargaining Council, and a human resource specialist at Toyota SA, Durban), on three separate occasions that the Dunlop management was the main stumbling block to an early resolution during the 2007 wage negotiations. They argued that it was the Dunlop Managing Director, who was also a chairperson of employer's representatives at the Tyre Industry Bargaining Council who continued to block the signing of wage agreements already approved by other factories in the council, by bringing new interpretation to agreements already settled every following morning.

[98] The first phrase says, *"Capitalists are afraid of the collective alliance because they want to own the land by themselves"*. The second phrase says, *"These whites are oppressing (exploiting) us"*. The last phrase says, *"The employer must also feel the discomfort of the strike"* (Bhengu, 2010:208).

Furthermore, workers highlighted the lack of transformation at Dunlop as a serious concern. Shop stewards showed me an organogram pointing to a racially skewed management structure at the factory[99].

While workers complained about lack of transformation at the factory, they were cautious about the application of equity and its resulting role in the working lives of workers. In one of the meetings the issue of lack of transformation in the factory was discussed. Some workers raised a proposition of making a demand to factory bosses to implement transformation at management levels in line with national priorities (i.e. employment equity). In that same discussion, workers agreed with the demand for transformation, but further added that employment equity and BEE are not a panacea for workers' problems. One of the workers cautioned workers, arguing that they (workers and shop stewards) have represented and lobbied for Black (African, Coloured and Indian) workers to be promoted to foremen, supervisors, some even to middle management, but lamented that equity beneficiaries forget workers and worker interests when they are promoted. He then said:

> *"Umuntu sifike simulwele, simxhase, uma elwa nabaqashi ukuthi aphakamiswe. Uma esebekiwe phezulu bese yena futhi asijikijele ngamatshe. Uyababona nje, nalamaqabane esawayisa epalamente, asesijikijela ngamatshe manje sikhuluma nje!"*[100]

The *racial order* results in worker valorisation, precipitating shop floor militancy, animosity towards factory bosses and tenuous industrial relations between workers and management. As indicated above, worker militancy is accentuated by

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[99] Apollo has gradually begun to structure Dunlop in line with their global strategic objectives, which saw a new CEO and president of Apollo Africa operations, which includes Dunlop factories in Durban, Ladysmith, Benoni and Zimbabwe. In late 2010 the new CEO has also restructured the management of Dunlop by appointing four non-whites into the Board of Directors for Dunlop. The two non-executive directors are African women. It will be interesting to revisit the factory five years from now to evaluate the impact of these changes in the management structure on industrial relations.

[100] *"We as workers fight for people to be promoted, all of a sudden once they have been promoted people throw stones at us, even comrades that we have deployed in parliament, are now throwing stones at us"*(Dunlop strike field notes, September 2007).

the perceived lack of transformation in management in line with national equity priorities.

The actual construction of shop floor militancy and how it plays out in the everyday life on the shop floor is another interesting observation I made at Dunlop. Workers construct and mobilise shop floor militancy by invoking what Sitas (1997) calls the popular memory (popular history) of trade unions and through shop floor socialisation of new and younger workers by their older familial networks.

It is public knowledge that familial and local networks were the basis of the recruitment of African migrant workers both in the mines as well as in industries. Sitas (1986, 1989, 1996a, 1997) asserts that organisational hierarchy and control in the workplace was organised along a bifurcated managerial order, with senior colonial managers and traditional *Indunas* who were used as foremen and supervisors over workers on the shop floor. Modern imperatives for the exploitation of workers and maximisation of profit were fulfilled using traditional institutions of legitimation [101]. Workplace order and workplace control was hierarchically organised through bureaucratic versus traditional/tribal forms of consent and coercion. This bifurcated managerial system of control was facilitated by the recruitment of African migrants from white farms (labour tenants), recruitment of tribal subjects from tribal authorities as well as through familial networks. Management used *Indunas* to control and to manufacture consent for tribal workers, and used the elder patriarchs to control and manufacture consent among younger workers. By the late 1980s workers appropriated benefits of

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[101] Sitas (1984b, 1996a, 1997, 2002) writes about how industries in Durban, predominantly Dunlop, recruited workers from rural areas using traditional chiefs and authorities and how workers were bussed from rural areas with *Indunas*, who were employed as foremen and supervisors, surrogate management to enforce consent and docility on the shop floor. Evidence of this practice is also highlighted by Bonnin (1987, 1999) at BTR Sarmcol, Nzimande (1991) and Hemson (1979) at the docks.

familial and localised recruitment networks. By the 1990s older workers mobilised and socialised younger workers through stories and histories of struggle and how generations before them struggled to gain most of the workplace benefits and rights they were enjoying. Moodie (1994) writes about socialisation into migrant identity amongst mine workers. Bonnin (1987), Hemson (1979) and Nzimande (1991) note how workers in the docks, at Dunlop and at BTR Sarmcol mobilised and inculcated workplace militancy on the shop floor through stories, poems, songs and folk tales of heroes, *"abamb' insimbi ishisa"* [102]. While management initially used familial and localistic recruitment networks to entrench a traditionally docile workforce, by the late 1980s these had been appropriated by workers to socialise new workers into collective worker consciousness (Bhengu, 2010:211).

Worker militancy and workplace struggles take both the form of collective action struggles through trade union action, as well as factory and shop floor struggles waged in everyday life. What Burawoy (1985) identifies as *'making out'* and *'rate fixing'*, were common practices amongst Dunlop workers during the 1980s.

> *"It was from his work experience in the light truck department that he felt most strained: 'You would finish your job, eat and collapse. You always needed people to wake you up in the morning.' People drank more in this department; he felt that for many what had been a cause of getting together for enjoyment was becoming a habit. The job was exacting; it was piece-rate work and one had to produce fifteen tyres at the end of each hour. One was not allowed to produce less at any*

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[102] In one of the early days of the strike (and my daily visits to Dunlop) I came to know about the acquisition of Dunlop by Apollo Tyres, an Indian Multinational at the end of 2006. While a lot of workers were apprehensive about what was going to happen to their work, particularly because Apollo was an Indian Multinational company. In some of the discussions on the takeover one of the full-time shop stewards acknowledged that there is unease about uncertainties following the acquisition, but then he intimated that everything they have gained as workers at Dunlop, they gained through struggle. He said, *"My brother, there is nothing that employers have given to us out of their good will. Everything we have here, including these shop steward offices, the times to meet with workers during lunch and many others; we gained them through struggle. Even this new owner, if he thinks he will just take away our gains, that means he doesn't know workers, we will fight, I swear on my mother!"* (Dunlop strike field notes, August 2007)

time. The Indunas[103] would count the tyres at the end of each hour. To earn a bonus a worker had to produce sixteen or more. Anyone who lost the pace of fifteen tyres more than three times was fired as being unsuited to mass production. At the same time, the informal rule amongst workers was that no one should go over sixteen at any time to score higher bonuses. If that happened management would invariably push the minimum up. As a result, Banda found himself for nine years working at a steady pace of fifteen to sixteen tyres"[104].

Workers seem to wield a considerable level of shop floor hegemony because of their collective mobilisation. While employers make rules to push for more productivity and higher outputs as well as rules to limit movement and activities of workers during the production process, workers invent their own rules; make their own games and forms of *making out* and *fixing of rates*. Workers intimated that they have their own ways of reclaiming the shop floor and production process. One kept hearing workers invoke this notion of the ownership of the shop floor and operation machinery. In one instance this claim was made regarding the employment of *amagundane[105]* during the strike action. Management infuriated workers by bringing scab labour. Workers were further infuriated by *amagundane* who were undermining their struggle for better wages and working conditions. Workers were aware that management brought in scab labour to cover for lost production while the strike continued. Early on during the strike action some of the younger generation of workers put forward a motion to make workers go and remove *amagundane* from their machines and production floors. But older workers rejected this motion. They highlighted that this would be counter-productive for two reasons. First, they argued that this kind of action would give management a legal opportunity to dismiss striking workers. Secondly, they said employers are not going to make any gains in production by bringing scab labour. One worker said (to a resounding applause and confirmation from the house),

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[103] Emphasis added. *Induna* is a Zulu word for traditional officials working with (under) the Chief. At Dunlop *Indunas* were made to be supervisors (foremen).

[104] Sitas (1996: 232)

[105] *Amagundane* means mice. Scab labour is called *amagundane* because they silently take away workers' wages and livelihoods for their families.

"Instead we will be doing a lot of fixing when the strike is over from the machine break and malfunction because of these amagundane".

I did not understand what workers meant by this claim, as a result I asked some workers after the meeting why they are making such a claim with such confidence, how do they know that *amagundane* will not make good production? One of the workers answered me with a very interesting and telling story.

> "We don't have a problem because we know that these scabs do not know how we set and reset these machines. In fact, when they try to use them, they will instead break them and even spoil production. This is how things work here my brother. We have been working on these machines for a very long time. If there is anything that goes wrong on these machines, it is us that fix them, or at least find a way of continuing to use them productively without stopping production. We even train and show the ropes to new workers on how to get the best from these machines. This is why we are confident in stating that the employer would have been better off by shutting the production down and not using scabs. In the end my brother, these are our machines, not management and certainly not scabs".

5.3 Shop floor Militancy and Trade Union Strength

All respondents are members of NUMSA, the organising trade union on the shop floor. The union has 100% membership on the shop floor as well as significantly high membership among artisans. It should also be noted that Dunlop is a 'closed shop', which makes NUMSA the only organising union on the shop floor. I raised a question about the veracity of NUMSA claims about union support on the shop floor in a context of closed shop agreement. I was particularly interested in responses by workers whose political allegiance is with the Inkatha Freedom Party. Workers generally felt that NUMSA is their shop floor home, the only buffer between them and super exploitation by employers. Some of the workers

also emphasised that trade union gains on the shop floor were the outcome of intense struggle and sacrifice by workers.

Dunlop workers have a long and well-known history of worker militancy and they command respect within the broader spectrum of trade unions in the province because they are amongst the first workers in Durban to gain a trade union recognition agreement in 1984. Workers continue to guard their militancy as a prized jewel and older workers introduce and socialise younger workers into a militant worker identity. Militancy at Dunlop is further accentuated by the generational spread of the workforce from workers who participated in all struggles and experienced victories with then MAWU in the early 1980s as well as with NUMSA afterwards. Dunlop workers also maintain contact with former shop stewards and union organisers who have moved to high ranking political positions after 1994. One such shop steward and organiser was a Member of Parliament (between 2006 and 2009) and is presently in the executive of eThekwini Metro Council; he maintains contact with workers and shop stewards at Dunlop despite his political position[106]. During the strike action he visited Dunlop workers several times to encourage them and to spur them on in their struggles. In all the visits he would remind workers how they fought and defeated the racist Dunlop management in 1984 and the subsequent victories and fear NUMSA inflicted on management. He reiterated the words and arguments of Rick Turner (1972), that workers are makers of their own history through struggle.

The interviews with shop stewards from the inaugural (1984) shop stewards' committee enabled one to identify three factors for trade union strength and worker militancy at Dunlop. Firstly, the history of the establishment and growth

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[106] Dunlop workers have produced a few worker leaders who occupy senior positions in structures of the democratic government. One is a Member of Parliament, another a Member of the Provincial Legislature, an organiser is an MEC in the KZN Provincial Cabinet.

of the trade union (beginning with MAWU, then to NUMSA) at Dunlop plays a significant role in the character of trade union organisation on the shop floor. They repeatedly highlighted the role of intensive training and discussions workers and shop stewards received from those legendary trade union organisers like Jeff Schreiner, Alex Erwin, Magrapes Zuma and others. At first, training and mobilisation taught workers and shop stewards that the trade union is shop floor based, not office based. Joe Nene says that they learnt that the trade union is built on shop floor unity, which is the strength of workers and shop floor action. MAWU taught workers that shop floor strength lay in shop floor unity and shop floor democracy. When Joe Nene, Sam Mthethwa and even Vusi Shezi rose through the ranks of the trade union, they continued to inculcate values of shop floor strength to a new cadre of shop stewards.

Secondly, Vusi Shezi argues that the power of strike actions on the factory floor gave workers confidence to mobilise the trade unions. He recounted how Jeff Schreiner, Bongani Mkhungo and Nathaniel Matiwane negotiated with factory bosses for the recognition agreement. He recounts that after getting about 500 signatures from workers in support of the trade union, they approached employers, who refused to recognise the union, arguing that they were still not constituting the majority of the workforce. Baba Shezi states that when they returned to report to workers, they just told the workers the employers acknowledge workers demand for trade union recognition. He says after that the majority of shop floor workers signed the petition. Sam Mthethwa and Joe Nene also highlighted the significance of winning the trade union recognition strike as well as managing to force employers to accept a clause in the trade union agreement for legal 24 hours strike notice in giving workers power at Dunlop. From this agreement workers could and would declare a strike any day and anytime as long as it lasted within 24 hours of its start. This clause enabled

workers to make many spontaneous and un-anticipated strike actions, which always caught management off-guard.

Thirdly, high worker retention at Dunlop also contributes to the current strength of workers and trade union on the shop floor. I was fascinated when I discovered that two of the inaugural shop steward committee members were still working at Dunlop during the course of my research. One of these former shop stewards was re-elected into the shop steward committee in 2008. The vast majority of the shop stewards' committee of 2007/2008 had been working at Dunlop since the late 1970s or early 1980s. Many of them had been shop stewards before this current stint. In one of our conversations Dunlop shop stewards highlighted crises in many trade unions in the region. They raised concerns relating to lack of training of shop stewards on basic shop steward functions like representing a worker in a disciplinary hearing, or representing workers in declaring a dispute with management. They highlighted the fact that Dunlop workers are lucky because shop stewards and workers train each other on these matters. The chairperson even acknowledged that he was only in his second stint as a shop steward, but in his first stint (2003 to 2006) older and more experienced shop stewards like Khumalo, Mthethwa and Buthelezi helped him and other younger shop stewards to understand what is entailed in being a shop steward and how to deal with management.

The strength of NUMSA at Dunlop was also demonstrated, especially in the mid-1980s when NUMSA was established. MAWU had been under a federation called FOSATU, following the formation of COSATU as well as the amalgamation and formation of a single metal and allied workers union; thus NUMSA was formed. NUMSA also represented a shift in trade unions in South Africa from workerist (shop floor) based unionism to trade union formation that linked the workplace to community struggles. NUMSA as an affiliate of COSATU also became part of the

united democratic front (UDF) and the broader mass democratic movement (MDM). Sam Mthethwa and Joe Nene were NUMSA regional officials as well as part of UDF/Congress Alliance community struggles. This shift brought divisions and splits between ANC/UDF aligned formations versus socialist international formations. The separation was also felt in some trade union formations in the Western Cape and a few unions in Durban. Sitas (1992) recounts one such split in NUMSA in the East Rand. At Dunlop there were attempts to establish a socialist (workerist) break-away from NUMSA. The initiative never gained momentum and eventually propagators of the socialist alternative eventually returned to NUMSA. There were also similar failed attempts by Inkatha-aligned formations. When NUMSA was launched Inkatha formed an opposition trade union called UWUSA. Nathaniel Matiwane and Sam Mthethwa noted that at first, they were apprehensive about the formation of UWUSA. But NUMSA and the strength of strikes had been so entrenched in the consciousness of workers at Dunlop that workers who were members of Inkatha rejected UWUSA and continued with NUMSA because of its proven track record, especially in wage negotiations as well as negotiations for benefits. Even today, Dunlop workers across political and ideological persuasions continue to identify NUMSA as their bona fide trade union and shop floor unity as their strength.

**Figure 5.1: Shop-floor Participation in Strike Action**
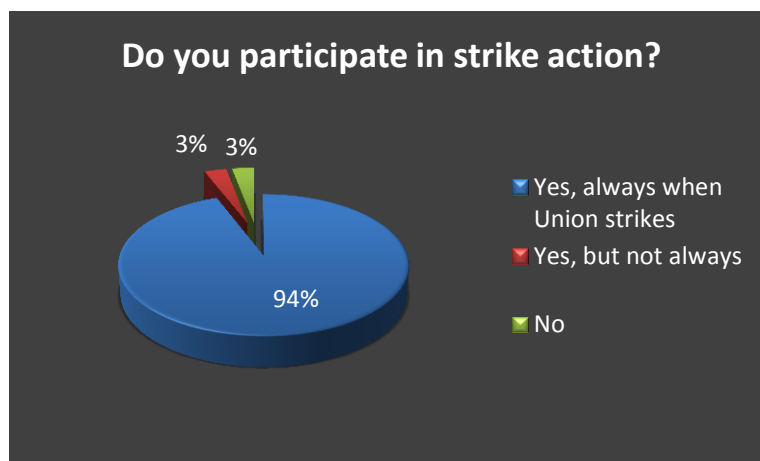
Figure 5.2: Workers' Political Affiliation and Membership

Throughout the duration of the strike, as well as in its aftermath, it became clear that workers still viewed collective action through trade unions as their primary weapon in their daily workplace struggles. Furthermore, trade unions continued to be viewed by the vast majority of workers as the most viable mobilising force for workers' collective consciousness.[107] Figure 5.1 shows that 97% of respondents participated in strike actions organised by NUMSA. It was interesting to note that even the 25% of respondents who are members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (in Figure 5.2), are active members of NUMSA and actively participate in strike action. Figure 5.3 shows that the majority of workers join NUMSA because they say it best represent their interests. Workers mentioned during numerous informal conversations that becoming part of a worker collective through a trade union is a natural response. One shop steward said:

> *"No worker can survive alone here. The strength and power of each*
> *worker lies with the collective of all other workers. You see, comrade,*

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[107] In 2007, besides the Tyre Industry, NUMSA-led strikes almost brought the entire Auto supply-chain (including Car manufacture and assembly industry, Motor parts and components industry, Tyre manufacture industry and Engineering industry) to a standstill. In 2010, between June and September, the Auto supply-chain was reeling from deadlocked wage negotiations, threats of industrial action, and industrial action. Furthermore, there were strikes in the Petrochemical sector as well as the Petroleum retail sectors. Last year saw protracted strikes in the public sector and the security sector. All these strikes were organised through trade unions, obviously with varying levels of organisation and/or success.

employers can fire a single worker at any time they feel like, but they
*cannot fire all of us together, even if they want to"*

Figure 5.3: Reasons for Joining NUMSA
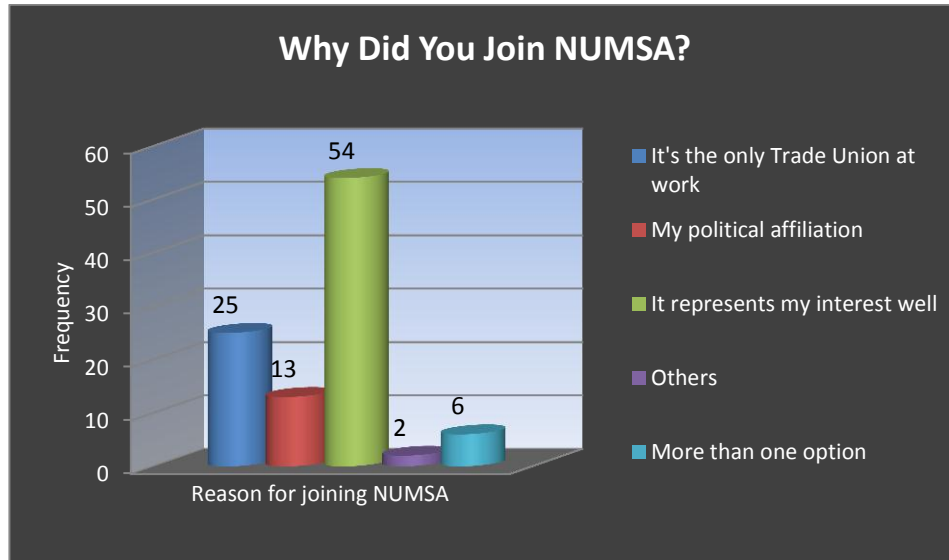
From responses and observations at Dunlop, there are three things to consider about trade unions in South Africa today. First, workers continue to believe that without a strong trade-union presence on the shop floor, workers would become *"easy meat"* for employers. The conditions under which workers work and live precipitate an atmosphere in which collective worker formations thrive. Workers at Dunlop articulated the constant fear they had, that an individual worker would be *"easy meat"* for employers; this is why only collective formations give them hope to fight. Some workers were bold enough to assert that employers cannot abuse (touch) them if they are organised in a trade union because *"no employer can afford to fire and hire four to five hundred new employees at any time during the active production season."*

Second, trade unions, especially those affiliated to COSATU have a wealth of what Sitas (1996: 225) calls 'popular memory'.[108] Stories and narratives of workplace struggles and heroism of workers and trade union strength are told and retold to remind workers of the potency of trade unions in workplace struggles. Former worker leaders kept motivating workers and asserting that workers will never be given anything; on the contrary, every gain workers make is a result of struggle. Some leaders even spoke to workers about continuing to build a strong NUMSA and about becoming part of the broader working class struggle through aligning themselves with and joining the South African Communist Party.[109]

Third, militancy and collective consciousness are probably the most carefully guarded jewels. Older workers induct the younger, new workers into this militant collective worker consciousness. In meetings many statements are made along the lines of:

> *"Here at Dunlop Tyres, we have been in worker struggles for a long time. Even our sons and nephews who come to work here after us, they join the struggle. Even the new workers, they learn and grow to appreciate that the success of every individual worker depends on the collective struggle and consciousness of workers"*

Dunlop workers are socialised and acculturated into a militant collective worker consciousness and identity. Strikes and other forms of confrontation with management represent rites of passage towards becoming a mature and cultured worker. Workers seem to be of the view that their destiny and their struggle for a better life for their families are inextricably bound together and that the trade

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[108] *Popular memory* is an endless construct of narratives of working-life grievances or *ukukhala* (pain) among workers, using mainly accounts from senior workers. Sitas (1996a) argues that, whether particular events recounted are true reflections of experiences or not, whether these narratives are informed by rumour and/or exaggeration, nonetheless these accounts are woven into an array of expectations over time to taint the fabric of every worker.

[109] During his brief speech this former worker leader narrated popular memories of struggles they had waged as workers and the specific role MAWU and later NUMSA played in waging war on the exploitation and oppression that workers faced at Dunlop. In the process of doing this he kept mentioning names of older workers and shop stewards who were present in the meeting, almost as if to confirm that the narratives he told were real.

union is the social formation through which they mobilise themselves and each other.[110] Dunlop workers are not only militant in their struggles against factory management, but also showed the same kind of militancy when they dealt with workers who renegade during the strike, or dealing with shop stewards, and even dealing with the NUMSA regional leadership.

A few weeks after the 2007 strike I was informed that some of the staff members, supervisors, foremen and storekeepers did not take part in the strike even though it was within their legislative right to do so. Their issue became a point of discussion firstly in the shop stewards' office, and secondly in the union report-back meeting at the Canteen. Two staff members (one store keeper and one supervisor) were charged for disciplinary sanction by management, and they approached shop stewards to defend them. These two workers were asking for forgiveness by workers and shop stewards for neglecting workers during the strike, as well as asking the union to defend them against their disciplinary charges. When the shop stewards brought their apology as an item for discussion, workers were not refused to allow the item to be included on the agenda. One worker said to a rousing applause:

> *"thina asinaso isikhathi sokukhuluma lendaba yalabantu namacala abo, size lapha ukuzwa ngemali yethu. Musani ukusichithela isikhathi, sitsheleni ukuthi kwenzakalani ngesivumelwano lesi umqashi anqabayo ukusikhokhela na?"*[111]

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[110] One would postulate that this socialisation into militant identity and consciousness is further accelerated at Dunlop by the internal labour-market dynamics in the firm. Sitas (1986, 1989, 1996a, 2002) gives accounts of a long history of migrant labour and a specific history of recruitment of workers through traditional authorities in various regions of the former Province of Natal. Furthermore, Dunlop has well-entrenched familial and intergenerational recruitment patterns of its work force, resulting in a significant number of current workers at Dunlop becoming second-, some even third- and fourth-generation Dunlop workers within their families. Even today, a significant number of older workers have sons, nephews, younger brothers and sons-in-law working with them. One finds that workers use the same system to reproduce militant workers.

[111] *"Comrades, we don't have time to talk about people who didn't strike and their charges, we are here to get your report about our money that the employer is not paying. Now, please stop*

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5.3 TRADE UNION STRUGGLES, CONTESTATIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS

Notwithstanding the militant collective worker consciousness and the centrality of trade unions' mobilisation, trade unions face political and organisational contradictions and contestations, mostly stemming from the changing balance of forces and the hegemony of varied political interests of union officials versus the rank and file[112]. The rupture in mining which has seen AMCU grow to become a real alternative to the seeming failures and shortcomings of NUM, the tension and violent struggle for shop floor control and increasing tensions and possible re-alignment within COSATU attest to shifts and changing dynamics in trade unions in the democratic dispensation. Sakhela Buhlungu (2008, 2010) is a leading authority on the changing dynamics of trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa, whose work contemplates some of the unfolding developments and their ramifications on labour and the politics of work on a broader scale. Current literature on trade unions shows a variety of developments and challenges facing trade unions, especially with regards to their ability to mobilise and organise atypical and casual labour, increased trade union hierarchy and concentration of decision making away from the shop floor and a widening gap between trade union bosses and rank and file membership. Buhlungu (2006) and Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout (2008) write about challenges at NUM pertaining to balancing the gains of democracy and the simultaneous contradictions of the union losing touch with rank and file workers as well as cases of union corruption and increasing dissatisfaction of workers with the union. Others have written about trade union

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wasting our time, tell us what is happening with the wage agreement, which the employer is refusing to implement?"

[112] My conversations with Dunlop workers and with NUMSA officials helped me understand some of the dynamics about centralised and national trade unions in general. For example, NUMSA's regional office as a centralised trade union represents an array of workers from Metal and Steel industries, to a wide range of Auto-related industries, to a range of Rubber industries, especially tyres as well as engineering industries. Furthermore, a range of local representatives, spread across the province, constitutes the Regional Office. Some local unions, by virtue of their size, wield an influence in the regional office, but also some industries and even firms may wield an influence on the priorities of overstretched union organisers.

strength, shop floor power and the contradictions of trade union autonomy and dominance of political unionism and the alliance with the ruling ANC (Barchiesi 2011, Ndlozi 2011, Sikwebu, 2007, 2013).

The thesis agrees with broad arguments on the contradictions, contestations and challenges facing organised labour in general and COSATU and its trade unions specifically. My observations and conversations with workers and worker leaders paint a varied and nuanced picture of trade union struggles and the politics in trade unions. There are three observations the section wants to highlight. First, interests seem to be at the heart of both cohesion and contradictions in most worker and trade union formations. Second, trade union struggles and contestations are varied, by industry, sector and by histories of specific trade unions and their struggles. Third, workers are not oblivious to contestations and contradictions in worker formations.

It became apparent during the strike, as well as a few weeks after the strike that, despite a general sense of unity, there are cracks – mostly manifest in distrust and accusations of some of the workers that were suspected of being management informers on the shop floor. At one of the scheduled Canteen meetings (a few weeks after the strike action ended) some of the workers wanted to chase *amagundane* away from the factory. A motion was raised in one of the meetings saying,

> "*Comrades, we must chase away all amagundane – those who were working while we were on strike from this company*"

This statement was met with mixed responses from workers. The older generation of workers spoke, cautioning workers against such kind of talking. One worker cautioned saying,

> *"Comrades, this kind of talk at a meeting is very dangerous, because management can hear whatever we say during our meeting, then they can turn around and accuse workers of intimidation. Then the next thing, workers are called for disciplinary action. Comrades, this might be detrimental to workers on the shop floor".*

Later, when we were at the shop steward office I sought clarity on the caution made by workers during the meeting. One of the shop stewards answered and related a story from the 1984 strikes; how workers who were mandated to monitor and discipline *amagundane* faced disciplinary action, resulting in their dismissal after the strike action for intimidation[113]. Another older shop steward cautioned saying,

> *"We must be careful about these things comrades because as you know some people might introduce what seems like radical propositions, while others are listening and observing who is talking so that they will report to management afterwards."*

Another shop steward remarked saying,

> *"You know Bhengu my brother, at times when we come out of workers' – Union meeting at the Canteen, after a few hours we are summoned by management, who will show that they know everything we were talking about, even knowing who said what. At first, we suspected that management bugged the Canteen; we even brought our own intelligence people to search. It was later that we realised that there are informants within our rank of workers".*

There are two key events from which we can observe the playing out of contested interests first among workers on the shop floor and between Dunlop workers and NUMSA officials. The first playing out of contestations was during the infamous 2007 strikes, which lasted more than five weeks. It was from this strike that I observed/ noticed signs of tensions and contestations between Dunlop workers

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[113] Some of these workers were reinstated back to work, when workers threatened another strike action, others never got back to work after police and the Special Branch apprehended them.

and the NUMSA regional office. I was particularly surprised by the conspicuous absence of the NUMSA Regional Secretary and his executive throughout the duration of the strike. Workers were disappointed with the Regional Secretary of NUMSA who did not make a single visit to the factory to support them during their five-week-long strike. They complained about what they regarded as *'a regional office out of sync with workers'*. Workers were even further incensed when the NUMSA Regional Office failed to organise a march, in which Durban and Ladysmith workers would hand a memorandum of demands and highlight their grievances. During one of the strike mobilisation and report back meetings some of the workers took a swipe at their NUMSA regional leadership (to thunderous applause from the floor) saying:

> *"These NUMSA comrades have a CEO mentality and are running NUMSA like it is their business to cut costs and make profit. They forget that they are actually our employees as workers; without us they are nothing, but they want to tell us what we should do. This is not how things should happen; we are the bosses and they are our employees because we are the ones that make weekly contributions to their salaries."*

Not only were workers angered by the neglect of the regional office, but by what they perceived as the failure of the regional officials to give Dunlop workers the respect they deserved, honouring their illustrious contribution to worker struggles in the province. When a regional organiser finally visited, workers chased him away and told him not to return to Dunlop again. Workers even threatened that they were going to deal with that current regional leadership at the coming NUMSA Regional Congress in 2008.

The November 2007 election of the shop steward committee also exhibited interesting contestation, first among workers on the shop floor as well as between Dunlop workers and NUMSA. At the shop floor level these tensions became

apparent during elections for shop stewards. Both the 2007 and the 2011 shop steward elections exhibited signs of contestations and tensions among workers. In fact, I was informed that in 2003, shop steward elections were so contentious that they required intervention by the NUMSA regional office, which resulted in suspension of the entire shop stewards' committee, with only the exception of the trade union trustee. In the 2007 election, some of the workers who were suspended in 2003 were campaigning to be re-elected. Accusations and counter-accusations became a common feature on the shop floor as 'election slates' were drawn out. I was particularly fascinated that workers were not oblivious to these contestations. Workers are aware of varied interests workers have when contesting for shop steward committee positions. In the ensuing meeting leading to the elections, some workers questioned others as to why they wanted to be voted into the committee. Some workers frankly accused certain workers of using them as fodder for their ambitious political careerism.

The 2007 election of shop stewards also gave a glimpse of contestation between workers and NUMSA officials. At the end of October 2007, NUMSA structures reached an end of the 2003-2007 term for shop stewards and a time for electing new shop stewards for the 2007–2011 cycle. At Dunlop this coincided with some internal issues workers were trying to resolve with management, stemming from managements breach of the new wage bargaining agreement. As a result, a number of workers wanted to postpone the elections until the resolution of what appeared as a legitimate industrial dispute with management. Workers wanted Dunlop to fully implement the wage agreement, including revising job grading as well as the abolition of labour brokers, stipulated in the August 2007 agreement. Workers wanted the then current shop steward committee retained until the resolution of the agreement. Workers even threatened to contest the imposition of NUMSA constitutional determinations by the regional office to compel them to hold elections in November. Here are two remarks made by workers at two

separate union report-back meetings regarding prioritising the election of a new shop steward committee over reaching a collective agreement to force management to implement the August wage agreement,

> *"Angeke thina siklinywe iConstitution. iConstitution lena yenzelwe ukuthi isebenzele abantu, hhayi ukuthi abantu benzelwe ukusebenzela iConstitution. Asifuni ukukhetha njengamaje, futhi siyabona ukuthi njengoba umqashi eluphatha nje udaba lwokhetho, kukhona okusina kusijeqeze."[114]*

> *"Maqabane aniboni ukuthi sifuna imali yethu, nilokhu nisicefezela ngalolukhetho nje, ungaboni nje ingakho sithule singaniphendulanga ukuthi sizofika yini emhlanganweni ntambama."[115]*

After a few weeks of rumblings, the regional organiser (who used to be a chairperson of the shop steward committee in Ladysmith) laid down the law, forcing workers to go ahead with elections. These elections had abundant controversies, from the administration of the ballot, to long delays in the ballot counting process and the leaking of election results to management before they were given to workers. While workers were waiting for election results, it emerged that the NUMSA Organiser counted the ballots at the factory's HR office. Workers were infuriated and they banned the organiser from entering Dunlop's premises forever. Despite being warned by shop stewards to not even attempt to come to Dunlop, the organiser came arguing that 'he cannot be intimidated by workers, because he had been a worker leader for a long time'. The

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[114] "We are not going to allow ourselves to be tied up by the constitution. Anyway the constitution was developed to serve people not the way around. Bottom line is we don't want to elect shop stewards now until we resolve our critical issues with the employer. In fact we can even see that there is something sinister the employer has in his sleeve after elections, which is why they are even asking about when we are making the elections and their process they have proposed of dealing with issues way across election."

[115] "Comrades can't you see that we want our money from the employer, you are busy being a nuisance to us with these elections of yours, can't you see we are not interested in elections, this is why we didn't even want to reply when you asked whether we shall come for the afternoon meeting."

meeting was filled with tension and every word the NUMSA organiser tried to utter was met with heckling. The frustration and anger of workers was so palpable that shop stewards had to organise security to safely escort the NUMSA Organiser out of the canteen and factory gate.

After that meeting I asked a few workers why workers were so angry with this organiser. They told me a long story, relating to the activities of the NUMSA Organiser while he was still a shop steward at the Ladysmith factory. Workers narrated stories of how the NUMSA Organiser 'sold them out' and showed me documentation confirming their claims about tendencies of the NUMSA Organiser while he was a chairperson of shop stewards in Ladysmith. By 2008/9 Dunlop used two different shift patterns for the Durban factory and the Ladysmith factory. The Durban factory worked on an old three-shift pattern, while factories in Ladysmith and Zimbabwe were using a four-shift pattern[116]. Durban workers rejected and resisted the new four-shift pattern and as a result the factory had to stick with the three-shift. I made further probes regarding these shift patterns and how shift patterns link to the NUMSA organiser. The four-shift pattern was introduced at the Ladysmith factory at the end of 2003 after employers promised shop stewards that the shift-pattern would usher in more job opportunities for workers and for the community. The then chairperson of shop stewards in Ladysmith (NUMSA Organiser) was the signatory who approved the shift pattern without proper consultation and mandate from both factories. Initial employment figures in the 2004 annual record suggested that the new shift-pattern yielded promises to workers. By 2004 employment increased by 400 workers. But, by 2007 retrenchments had reduced workers by more than 700[117]. On my probing the reasons for rejecting the new shift-pattern, I found that Durban factory workers

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[116] (Dunlop and NUMSA Annual Reports, 2006)

[117] This increase in employment had nothing to do with the new shift pattern; instead it was prompted by sudden surge in demand for the Dunlop 500 tyre that was manufactured in the Ladysmith factory after a Dunlop tyre made a land speed record at the end of 2002.

rejected it because it would result in a reduced hourly pay rate and in the number of working hours, thus reducing their income significantly.

Another issue workers mentioned as reason for their distrust of the NUMSA Organiser emanated from the grading systems at the factory. In 1998, Dunlop joined the Tyre Industry Bargaining Council. In 2002 the factory was compelled to align their grading systems in compliance with the Tyre Industry standards. In 2003 shop stewards[118], led by the then chairperson (NUMSA Organiser) signed a three-year agreement for a new grading system without proper consultation with workers. The agreement resulted in a large number of workers being relegated to Grade 1 (a factory entrance level) even though they were already at above maximum notch of this grade. Those at above maximum of Grade 2 were also lowered with a provision that their income would not be reduced and that they would receive training in order to qualify them to move to Grade 3, Grade 4 and above. Job grading is an issue of contention among workers because Dunlop is presently the only tyre manufacturer that has workers at Grade 1. Goodyear®, Firestone® and Bridgestone® use Grade 1 as an entry level[119]. Almost 40% of Dunlop workers are at Grade 1, another 30% at Grade 2, only a small percentage at Grade 3 and even less at Grade 4 or higher[120]. Workers demoted to Grade 1 complain that management breached the agreement because they did not give workers training and competency testing that would enable them to be re-graded to higher grades during that three-year agreement. Furthermore, workers who were de-graded, earning above maximum of the Grade complained that they had not received notch increment since 2003 because employers claimed that they were already above the maximum of their Grade.

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[118] This is the same shop steward committee that was suspended in Durban factory, with the exception of the Union Trustee.

[119] Goodyear Tyres Employment Records (2006), Firestone Tyres Employment Records (2006) and Dunlop Tyres Employment Records (2006). I was shown these records by shop stewards.

[120] Dunlop Tyres Employment Records (2006) and the Tyre Industry Bargaining Council Job Grading Model, (2006/7)

Narratives listed above were told by workers and upon probing their veracity, shop stewards confirmed them with documented evidence of claims made. These and other unlisted narratives show that rank-and-file workers at Dunlop are not ignorant of contradictions and contestations playing out on the shop floor and in the trade union. They are familiar with trade-union structures and governance. It also came to my attention that sometimes the mistake made by trade union officials (and management on the shop floor) is to overlook workers' ability to gather information and to gauge situations in the workplace and in trade unions. A shop steward once said to me,

> *"Uyabona comrade, abasebenzi bayabona futhi bazi yonke into; futhi abakhohlwa".*[121]

It is clearly apparent then that workers have their own means and forms of information collection and are aware of a wide variety of intelligence information pertaining to the factory, worker informers and on NUMSA.

Some of these contradictions and tensions reflect the systemic and organisational dynamics of trade unions. At Dunlop, the disjuncture between workers and their shop stewards against the NUMSA regional office reflects the dynamics of the balance of forces in trade unions and how power is wielded and used by various constituencies to advance their interests. At the 2008 NUMSA regional congress, I was specifically intrigued that Dunlop workers accomplished a threat they made pertaining the regional executive during the strike action. Workers had threatened that in the congress they would mobilise for the replacement of the regional executive (particularly the Regional Secretary). The majority of the NUMSA Regional Executive (including the Regional Secretary) were not re-elected at the NUMSA Regional AGM held in 2008. This executive came predominantly from

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[121] *"You see comrade; workers see everything and workers never forget".*

the auto manufacturing/assembly and auto component sectors (Prospection, Jacobs and New Germany) as opposed to the tyre, white goods and engineering sectors (Congella, CBD, New Germany, Springfield and Richards Bay). As a result, workers at Dunlop who constitute a powerful base (historically) successfully mobilised against the regional leadership, whom they felt did not give them the attention they deserved.

Mobilising and unseating the regional executive of NUMSA signified a victory on the part of Dunlop workers against tendencies of what workers considered as un-accountability on the part of their regional leadership. But, shop stewards were quick to highlight that while they won this battle as workers for control of their trade union, there was no guarantee that the new regional executive they elected would remain in touch with them. One shop steward said:

> *"You see comrade; the very people we have just elected might turn against us. You can never be certain of outcomes in worker struggles and worker formations because the balance of forces are always in flux."*

These findings raise interesting conversations, with some arguments advanced about trade unions' democracy and the potency of trade unions in South Africa today. While the Dunlop case confirms Buhlungu's (2010) work on the 'erosion of trade union democracy' in COSATU as well as the erosion of the shop floor power of workers, it also provides a glimmer of hope of shop floor power to contest trade union spaces, as well as enable one to appreciate the complexities in worker formations in post-apartheid South Africa[122]. My argument is that trade unions are not static organisations, but constitute constantly constructed and reorganised formations of workers and worker leaders. Trade unions are also constantly contested terrains of worker struggle as well as contestations for control (and hegemony) between workers and union officials. In South Africa,

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[122] I will elaborate this point in the conclusion.

trade unions have also become terrains of political struggles for hegemony within the ANC and its alliance partners. It is another fortuitous coincidence that I am writing this at the time of current rupture in worker formations in the platinum (mining in general) sector, with the rise of AMCU becoming a real alternative for workers disgruntled with NUM, as well as the possible playing out of realignment in COSATU lead by NUMSA. These unfolding stories illustrate the complex dynamics of worker formations, struggles and contestations in trade unions.

5.4 LINKING WORKPLACE AND COMMUNITY STRUGGLES

Figure 5.4: Workers Community Engagement
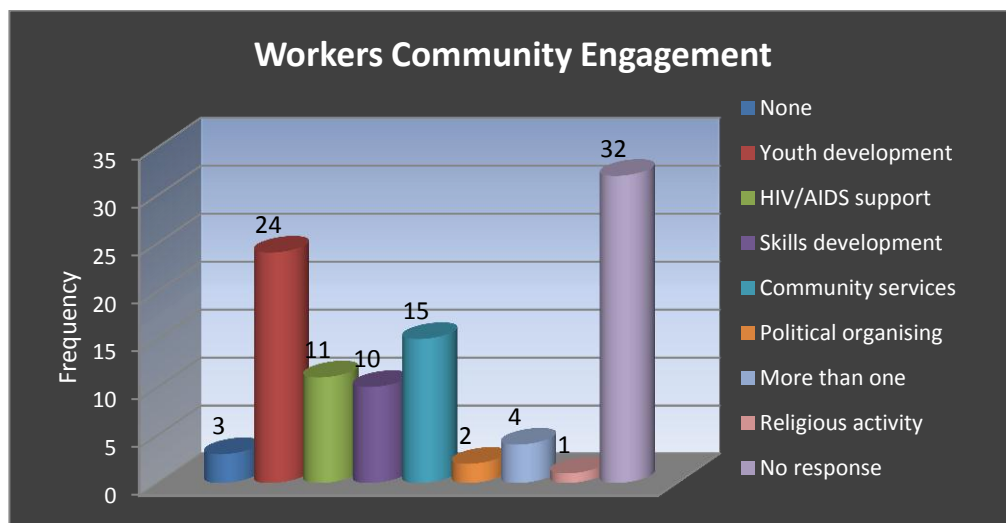
Another observation from the study pertains to linking workplace struggles to community/political struggles in post-apartheid South Africa (Mosoetsa and Thoaedi, 2013; Sikwebu, 2013). South African trade unions come from a history of articulation of workplace and community struggles (Lambert, 1985, 1988). The 1980s saw the culmination of this articulated mobilisation of workers and communities that saw formations of trade unions, civic organisations, faith-based formations, etc. organise and mobilise civic and anti-apartheid struggles. Strike actions were supported by civic boycotts of products from factories and, or shops, in which workers were on strike and workers supported civic protests by organising marches of support. Since 1994 there has been a drastic collapse and shift from civil society movements as the ANC and alliance partners consolidated identity for popular struggles. COSATU and other trade unions have very little to

do with civil society movements and this is also reflected in the disappearance and inactivity of workers in community struggles in townships and even in the rural countryside. While Dunlop workers still represent a militant workforce, they are increasingly becoming a militant workplace organisation, but fail to connect and/or link workplace struggles to community struggles for social services, education, housing, anti-privatisation etc. Community activism has been replaced by church (religion), cultural activities, or sports and leisure activities.

Figure 5.5: Workers' Community Support
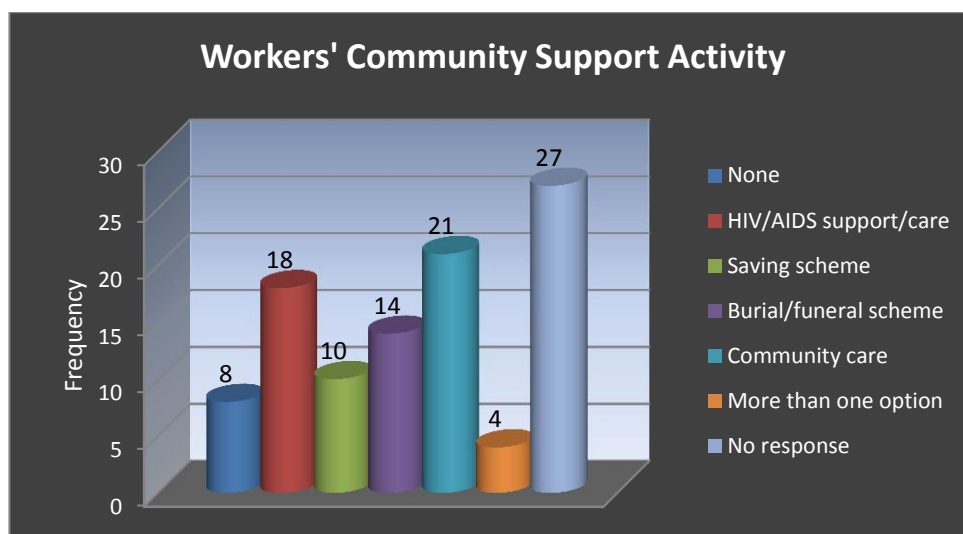
Figure 5.6 Workers' Community Cultural Engagement

At the height of the apartheid struggle in the 1980s and early 1990s mobilised workers were also active (and in many cases in leadership positions) in a myriad of community formations ranging from: rent and civic associations, community protection structures, community peace structures and faith-based structures, all under the rubric of the UDF and the mass democratic movement. Today, none of the respondents are involved in a social movement or community structures that represent the broader frame of the working class. Instead, as figure 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 show, workers seem more active in cultural, religious and sports activities and identities, outside of a broad frame of social movements. Political and social movement identity and activism has been replaced by religious and cultural/traditional identity and engagement. This is reflected in the massive growth of the Independent (African) Christian Churches in the province and also the growth of the Nazareth Baptist Church over the last two decades. Mosoetsa (2011) also observed the increasing role of churches in identity formation and support for families and communities in Mpumalanga and Nhlalakahle in the absence of social mobilisation and political inertia. Figures show that some workers have chosen recreational activities like soccer and youth development in which to spend their leisure time. There is also a significant number of workers that are not involved in any community and, or extra activities, instead using the weekend to relax ahead of 'a heavy working schedule'[123].

Another significant observation on the three graphs is the high non-response by workers to questions on their community engagement. While all the sections of the questionnaire had a more than 95% response rate, the section of questions regarding workers' community engagement and support registered response rates of around 64%. This might be indicative of lack of workers' involvement in civil

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[123] Sitas (2004) found similar trends in activities of workers when he re-visited workers and worker leaders after ten years after democracy. In his analysis, upwardly mobile workers picked up leisure activities, while those stagnant and in deteriorated conditions either found solace in religion or in cultural identities and activities. Those who continue to work also had less extra activities outside of the work routine.

society, or their level of discomfort with questions regarding civil society engagement. But, it might also be because this section of questions came at the end of the questionnaire and were open-ended questions.

My observation of the disjuncture in linkages between workplace and community struggles suggests that to fully grapple with this we have to look to the very foundations of trade union formations in South Africa. I have already noted that the shift from FOSATU to COSATU signified a shift ideologically and politically from shop floor unionism to what Lambert and Webster (1988) call political unionism, which linked trade unions with community and youth organisations and the liberation movement in the form of the UDF, which was aligned to the broad congress alliance with the then banned ANC and SACP. This form of unionism became militant in the 1980s, participating in a whole range of mass actions as well as coordinated disruption of apartheid capitalism on the shop floor and in the community. Yet, one could argue that the roots of disjuncture between worker struggles and community struggles today can be traced back from the history of the political unionism of SACTU and later COSATU. In one of the visits at Dunlop during the strike action, a former worker leader – currently an ANC regional leader - encouraged workers to continue to strengthen shop floor unity and power. He also encouraged workers to make linkages between the shop floor and community struggles. For him, linking the shop floor to community activism meant joining and being active in structures of the ANC and SACP. For me this constitutes part of the contradiction to be found in post-apartheid South Africa, which explains the inability of trade unions to make meaningful connections to community struggles. For example, how would joining an ANC local branch in Umlazi constitute community activism and, or community struggle, when the ANC branch would not mobilise a protest against the eThekwini Metro for privatising basic services like electricity and water?

Contradictions of alliance politics with the ANC, state power, social movements and community struggles are not unique to South Africa, but feature in the history of post-independence and the post-colonial order in Africa (Cooper, 1983, 2001; Ferguson, 1999; Freund, 1988, 2007). Literature shows that most anti-colonial struggles in Africa were characterised by the convergence of a militant liberation movement in alliance with organised labour and community/ social formations. Most trade unions straddled between workplace struggles on the shop floor and social movements, or political unionism during the anti-colonial struggle.

Freund (1988:95) shows that post-colonial states in Africa were committed to an ideology of economic development and the smooth running of the inherited colonial economy. Many trade union leaders of the anti-colonial era were absorbed and co-opted into government and various institutions of the state. Freund also shows that the state in most of post-colonial Africa saw itself as the logical and natural patron of the working class. He shows that independence was often followed by state-decreed wage increases, some form of welfare and expectation of a productive and moralistic working class in the interest of assisting the state's development effort (Freund, 1988:95). Freund covers the unfolding of contradictory cooperation and contestations between the independent state versus the trade unions. He shows that in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe these culminated in the compromise of trade union independence and, or state repression in cases where trade unions broke away from coalition with the state (Burawoy, 1985; Cooper, 1983; Ferguson, 1999; Freund, 2007).

I agree with civil society activists like Desai (2002, 2005), Makgetla (2004) and Naidoo and Veriava (2000) that there are grounds for more linkages and collaborative resistance between COSATU and various civil society formations. But, I am less convinced by the social movement critique of COSATU, which presents COSATU's break from the alliance as a panacea for building stronger

left coalitions with social movements. This assertion ignores complexities in trade union and social movement struggles. While they correctly point to the concentration of political mobilisation in the post 1990 era behind the ANC banner, and the subsequent demobilisation of civil society under ANC rule; this argument does not theorise the state of trade unions and civil society formations. I am also wary of this assertion because it is contradictory to popular notions of building broad working class formations and struggles from below that will give rise to a left coalition (Naidoo, 2010b; Naidoo and Veriava, 2000). To demand COSATU makes linkages with social movements continues to negate a "struggles from below" approach. Effective and emancipatory struggles from below must be organic, organised from the grass roots, e.g. by building linkages between Dunlop workers (NUMSA) and communities around Khangela, Umbilo and the greater Durban South. There have been varying levels of cohesion in attempting to make these linkages between refinery workers and communities in the Durban South in the recent past.

5.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I develop a discussion on shop floor militancy and mobilisation at Dunlop and on the playing out of cooperation, contestation and contradictions on the shop floor and between the shop floor and the NUMSA regional office. I argue that these contradictions reflect a diversion in interests of the various stakeholders, especially within these centralised trade-union structures. Some of the contradictions represent struggles and contestations for power within trade unions and within the broader scope of progressive movements in post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore I also attempt to engage with the gap between the shop floor and community activism and struggles, showing that most trade union members do not translate their shop floor militancy to progressive activism and struggle with communities in which they live and work.

The Dunlop case - when viewed in connection with current developments and realignments in trade unions in South Africa - provides a basis for interesting dynamics in the politics of trade unions. I am arguing that histories of struggles and the culture of militancy on the shop floor present a basis for explaining workers' contradictions and contestations, but also workers' ability to actively engage with such. At a broader level, current developments which have seen the rise of AMCU at the expense of NUM, the Marikana debacle as well as political realignment in COSATU spearheaded by NUMSA point to a need to consider different ways in which trade union politics play out and to consider the agency of workers and worker formations in dealing with these contradictions.

CHAPTER 6

FACTORY REGIMES AND BEYOND: RE-THEORISING PRODUCTION POLITICS IN POST-APARTHEID SA INDUSTRY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the complexities involved in theorising the politics of production and factory regimes, as well as in understanding workplaces and worker struggles and consciousness in post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter seeks to expand the notion of factory regimes by agreeing with Moodie (1994) who critiques Burawoy's (1985) notion of 'colonial despotism', which he argues allows no space for resistance. He argues that such conceptions fail to capture the historical complexity of the strategic exercises of power even in contexts of 'ultra-exploitation' (Moodie, 1994:6). For Burawoy (1985) despotism and hegemony are mutually incompatible, but in contrast Moodie (1994) finds hegemony, consent and resistance even within the despotic regime in the gold mines. Dunlop factory represents this mutual coexistence of hegemony and despotism. The chapter engages with Burawoy (1985), expanding his conception of hegemonic regimes, by arguing that everyday life at Dunlop plays out through a construction of a set of unwritten codes of control, consent and resistance, which I have termed *'masculine hegemony'*[124]. This construction of the everyday life of production politics cannot be theorised by a bounded notion of workplace and workplace culture. The Dunlop case study shows that social formations (migrant identity, rural traditions and masculinity), which are outside the scope of the factory floor in a bounded definition of factory regime, are invoked every day by both workers

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[124] In chapter five I have outlined that the thesis coins two terms to re-theorise factory regimes at Dunlop in post-apartheid South Africa. While the institutional apparatus of production at Dunlop is racially ordered, workplace order, shop floor control and the manufacturing of consent play out in everyday life using a complex set of relations, which I term masculine hegemony. This is expanded from Burawoy's 'hegemonic regimes'. In the thesis I argue that masculinity and masculinity discourses become a common thread in the manufacturing of shop floor control, consent and resistance by both management and workers.

and management in manufacturing resistance, struggle and consent, mediated through rural, masculine life histories.

6.2 REIMAGINING BURAWOY'S FACTORY REGIMES

What today is broadly defined as factory regimes, workplace regimes and, or work order emanate from a conceptual contribution of Michael Burawoy (1985), who used 'factory regimes' to explain sets of relations in production and the politics of production in everyday life of factories in Zambia, the Soviet Union, the USA and the UK. His conception suggests that factory regimes are either despotic, i.e. a coercive managerial control of shop floor; or are hegemonic, i.e. a negotiated shop floor ordering constituted by attempts by management to manufacture consent over a strong union presence that resists despotic tendencies (Burawoy, 1986). Webster (1985a, 1986) expanded Burawoy's factory regimes, asserting that workplace regimes under apartheid constituted racial despotism for most of the 20th century. Webster and Von Holdt (2005) reworked Webster's earlier notion of the apartheid workplace regime, arguing that workplace order in post-apartheid South Africa constitutes a move beyond the apartheid workplace order, signified by changes in the political apparatus of apartheid, which has been removed and replaced by what they call triple transition with political, economic and social dimensions. The transition from authoritarianism to democracy has created a host of new democratic and social rights for workers, trade unions and citizens, although the realisation of these rights is highly contested. There is also a transition from a domestically oriented economy to a more globally integrated one, which has been accompanied by processes of corporate and workplace restructuring. Lastly, the social transition from apartheid to a post-colonial order brought significant processes of redistribution of power and access to resources, occupations and skills. Yet, Webster and Von Holdt (2005:4) argue that these processes of redistribution come together with intense struggles over their realisation. They assert that workplace strategies and shop floor organisation in

case studies presented can be categorised into four categories, namely, negotiated reconstruction, wildcat cooperation, authoritarian restoration and failed, or no strategy.

Ching Kwan Lee (1993, 1995) engages with Burawoy's notion of factory regimes in her research of clothing factories in Hong Kong and Shenzhen (China). She criticizes Burawoy's notion of despotic regimes, arguing that an analysis of factory regimes must look at the agency of the dominated to accede to domination and how women workers shape the terms of managerial control and how at times they can turn social constructions of gender into a survival strategy versus management (1993:532). In her comparative work of two factories in Hong Kong and Shenzhen she develops an analysis through which she identifies two sets of managerial control, viz. *localistic despotism* in Shenzhen versus *familial hegemony* in Hong Kong. Her contribution in this study is that, while both factories belong to the same company and produce the same products and even interchange management personnel, their workplace orders of control are different. She identifies three anomalies in Burawoy's analysis and reconstructs the theory by rejecting Burawoy's generalisation of associating despotic/coercive regimes merely with dependence of workers on wages for livelihoods. She argues that Burawoy was wrong in assuming that management always has an interest in coercive means of control whenever it has the capacity to impose despotism. She further argues that what distinguishes the two firms and their respective regimes is localised labour market supply, management agenda and labour process practices (Lee, 1995:380)

6.3 CONTESTING WORKPLACE ORDER AND CONTROL/ HEGEMONY

Worker militancy and workplace struggles take both the form of collective action struggles through trade union action, as well as factory and shop floor struggles

waged in everyday life. What Burawoy (1979, 1985) identifies as *'making out'* and *'rate fixing'*, were common practices amongst Dunlop workers during the 1980s.

> "It was from his work experience in the light truck department that he felt most strained: 'You would finish your job, eat and collapse. You always needed people to wake you up in the morning.' People drank more in this department; he felt that for many what had been a cause of getting together for enjoyment was becoming a habit. The job was exacting; it was piece-rate work and one had to produce fifteen tyres at the end of each hour. One was not allowed to produce less at any time. The *Indunas*[125] would count the tyres at the end of each hour. To earn a bonus a worker had to produce sixteen or more. Anyone who lost the pace of fifteen tyres more than three times was fired as being unsuited to mass production. At the same time, the informal rule amongst workers was that no one should go over sixteen at any time to score higher bonuses. If that happened management would invariably push the minimum up. As a result, Banda found himself for nine years working at a steady pace of fifteen to sixteen tyres"[126].

Workers seem to wield a considerable level of shop floor hegemony because of their collective mobilisation. While employers make rules to push for more productivity and higher outputs as well as rules to limit movement and activities of workers during the production process, workers invent their own rules, make their own games and forms of *making out* and *fixing of rates*. Workers intimated that they have their own ways of reclaiming the shop floor and production process. Workers repeatedly invoke a claim of ownership of the shop floor and operation machinery. In one instance this claim was made regarding the

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[125] Emphasis added. *Induna* is a Zulu word for traditional officials working with (under) the Chief. at Dunlop *Indunas* were made to be supervisors (foremen).
[126] Sitas (1996: 232)

employment of *amagundane*[127] during the strike action. Management infuriated workers by bringing scab labour. Workers were further infuriated by *amagundane* whom they felt were undermining their struggle for better wages and working conditions. Workers were aware that management brought in scab labour to cover for lost production in the duration of the strike. On one of the early days of the strike action some of the younger workers put forward a proposal to come into the factory floor in one of the early morning shifts to chase and remove *amagundane* from their machines and production floors. Older workers rejected this proposition, stating that it would be counter-productive for two reasons. First, they argued that this kind of action would give management a legal opportunity to dismiss striking workers (for intimidation of scab workers). Secondly, they said employers are not going to make any gains in production by bringing scab labour. One worker said (to a resounding applause and confirmation from the house):

> *"Instead we will be doing a lot of fixing when the strike is over from the machine break and malfunction because of these amagundane".*

I did not understand what workers meant by this claim, as a result I asked some workers after the meeting why they are making such a claim with such confidence, how do they know that *amagundane* will not make good production? One of the workers answered me with a very interesting and telling story:

> "We don't have a problem because we know that these scabs do not know how we set and reset these machines. In fact, when they try to use them, they will instead break them and even spoil production. This is how things work here my brother. We have been working on these machines for a very long time. If there is anything that goes wrong on these machines, it is us that fix them, or at least find a way of continuing to use them productively without stopping production. We even train and show the ropes to new workers on how to get the best from these machines. This is why we are confident in stating that the

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[127] *Amagundane* means mice. Scab labour is called *amagundane* because they silently take away workers' wages and livelihoods for their families.

employer would have been better off by shutting the production down and not using scabs. In the end my brother, these are our machines, not management and certainly not scabs".

6.4 IDENTITY AND WORKPLACE REGIMES IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Out of The University of Natal (Durban) labour studies department grew what is called a cultural formations approach, which sought to move beyond what they saw as limitations of the labour process approach in explaining the massive rupture of shop floor militancy across the country and across industries and sectors of the economy. Sitas (1986, 1989, 1996a, 1997) makes the most telling contribution to the cultural formations' approach with his work on Dunlop workers, how they used culture and cultural artefacts, i.e. songs, poems, stories, dance, etc., to mobilise for shop floor struggles as well as community and political struggles in the 1980s and 1990s. Migrant identity represents both the objective realities of the lives of workers, but it is also an invoked identity and discourse which workers utilise for unity and struggle. He shows how even third generation migrants invoke memories and stories of their inextricable embeddedness (connection) to the countryside (Sitas, 1997). Migrant labour also features significantly in how workers constructed self and collective identity in the work of Bonnin (1987) at BTR Sarmcol; the work of Moodie (1994) on mine migrant workers and the work of Von Holdt (2000, 2003) on mine workers in Witbank.

Burawoy's (1985) notion of factory regimes still features strongly in theorising workers' construction of identities in the workplace, in hostels and in township communities. Moodie (1994:6) critiques Burawoy's notion of 'colonial despotism', arguing that this analysis fails to capture the historical complexity of the strategic exercise of power even in the contexts of ultra-exploitation. He further argues that Burawoy is silent on the collective agency of workers in the struggle for control and, or reform of the workplace regime. He looks at how

workers invoked migrant identity to construct identities through which they resisted authoritarian control as well as made sense of life in the city away from their families (Moodie, 1994). Von Holdt (2003:6) agrees with Moodie by asserting that a workplace regime is a social structure and social structures by their nature are sites of struggle, always in contestation and subject to reinterpretation. Von Holdt (2003:5) asserts that:

> "The labour process is itself a socially constructed terrain, an arena of contestation and resistance, structured as much by the workplace regime and forces beyond the workplace – as by the imperatives of profit and technology".

I also want to revisit Lee's (1993, 1995) research on factory regimes in Hong Kong and Shenzhen in articulating the cultural formations approach to theorising factory regimes. Lee (1993:530) asserts that, while Burawoy's theory can explain factory regimes as generic, it fails to analyse the specific dynamics and content of each of a specific order in a factory. Through her ethnographic research with factory workers at a Hong Kong factory, she shows how the social construction of gender has to be inserted into a theory of production politics. Her research showed that *'familialism',* which is built around notions of gender and familial norms is actively constructed by management and workers to serve their respective interests on the shop floor (Lee, 1993:529). She also critiques Burawoy in his underplaying of workers' agency in everyday life. She writes:

> "In this article, I take workers' everyday practices more seriously than Burawoy and suggest two ways that Foucault's notion of disciplinary power offers particular insight in analysing the subtle dynamics of everyday hegemonic domination" (Lee, 1993:531).

Thus power and hegemony must be seen as contested and dialectical processes not an abstract and static totality.

The thesis argues that, while institutional industrial relations at Dunlop constitute what I call racial ordering, characterised by white management and black workers, factory regimes in everyday life on the shop floor are organised through a masculine hegemony. While at an institutional level there is an attempt by management to enforce despotic control and militant trade union resistance on the shop floor, everyday organisation of the production floor is negotiated between consent and resistance through a complex set of constructions of a masculine discourse. *Ubudoda* [128] is a discourse used in the construction of shop floor relations, first among workers as well as between workers and management.

6.5 MIGRANT IDENTITY AND WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN LITERATURE

A number of authors have written about the construction of political consciousness and identity in Natal (Bonnin, 1987, 1999, 2007; Carton, 2008; Hemson, 1979, 1996; Maré, 1993; Sitas, 1986, 1989, 1992a, 1992c, 1997, 2002; Weatjen, 2006). While Carton (2008), Maré (1993) and Waetjen 92006) write about the construction of a traditionalist Zulu identity, Bonnin (1987, 2007), Hemson (1979, 1996) and Sitas (1986, 1989, 1992b, 1992c, 1997) concentrate on the infusion of Zuluness in a progressive and militant identity of workers and political activist in Natal. Culture in the form of song, dance, *imbongi* (praise poets) all fused into this tapestry of progressive culture amongst workers from *Umkhumbane* (Cato Manor), to Dalton Hostels and Sydney Road, to *ukusina* (dance) at *Ethusini* (Howard College) and soccer games [129]. Literature also showed African workers were predominantly migrants. This could explain the significance of a rural-cultural milieu in the construction of worker identity and struggles. This rural-cultural milieu of workers further intertwined with constructions of maleness and masculine discourses. Waetjen (2006) shows how capitalist production is intertwined with patriarchy and how it used and invoked

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[128] Moodie (1994)
[129] Sitas (1996: 222 – 223)

specific constructions of masculinity among Zulu men. Bonnin (2007) argues that the construction of maleness and masculinity was central in the political struggle and political violence in Natal in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The struggle by UDF youths was in essence a struggle of young masculinities versus old masculinities. Women played key roles on both sides of the KwazuluNatal political divide: UDF youths and Inkatha *impis* (war lords). Women featured either in their supporting role to their male heroes and, or as victims of masculine contestation mostly playing itself out through the raping of women and girls from opposite camps and, or assumed ownership of women within their own camps. Waetjen (2006) concentrates on the construction of a masculine Zulu consciousness by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Kwa-Zulu Bantustan homeland later translated into Inkatha identity. The thesis wants to argue that constructions of masculinity cut across the political spectrum of KZN. During the struggle period both the IFP and UDF mobilised their politics around the construction of masculine struggle for control of streets and townships, women being part and parcel of the controlled objects, trophies and commodities. Bonnin (2007) shows that women themselves constructed their own lives within this masculine discourse, such that in the townships- fraught with violence in the late 1980s and early 1990s- rape ceased to be defined as sexual violence against women, but took the form of alignment to the broader masculine political tussle between *amaqabane*[130] and *otheleweni*[131].

Construction of Zuluness, a rural-cultural milieu and masculinity constitute what Lee (1995: 383) calls the mechanism through which domination is organised, apprehended and resisted in everyday life at Dunlop. One has already mentioned

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[130] *Amaqabane* refer to UDF comrades and *otheleweni* refers to Inkatha followers.

[131] Xaba (2001) also offers an interesting look at how masculinity played out among young struggle heroes, former exiles and comrades who were protectors of communities during the fight against apartheid. He then looks at how the social and political dimensions of the transition brought immediate contestation of what had become normative struggle and street masculinities with a new hegemonic set of post-apartheid masculinity discourse.

earlier that most workers at Dunlop are second, some third and even fourth generation workers in their families. Some of these workers are also second and third generation urbanised (meaning they were born and raised somehow in the city townships and informal settlements). Yet, rural identity and consciousness continue to permeate across the shop floor amongst workers. This identity is real for some while it is appropriated and invoked by others. I was particularly puzzled and fascinated that most of the workers used some form of rural-cultural allegories both in public and private discourse. In a sense workers have constructed a rural-cultural identity that undermines and devalues their urban heritage. You hear some workers stating to others something like:

> *"Uyabona, asiz' ingane zikathayela thina. Salusa, futhi sasiyishay' induku ekukhuleni kwethu"*[132].

6.6 MASCULINE DISCOURSES AND THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF WORKERS ON THE SHOP FLOOR

Masculinity features significantly in literature on workers and worker struggles in South Africa (Sitas, 1997; Bonnin, 1999, 2007; Hemson, 1996; Moodie, 1994). Moodie (1994) makes a significant contribution in understanding mine workers and their lives. He looks at masculine identity, examining how Tswana and Xhosa migrants articulated the objective conditions of migrant labour with the subjective construction of meanings of that identity and how these identities reconfigured over generations. I am more interested in what Moodie calls the transformation of meanings of masculinity amongst Xhosa workers over the 20th century span. He argues that, in the early part of migrant labour, Xhosa men associated *ubudoda* with *Umzi*, i.e. being a man related to building a stable homestead in the countryside (Moodie, 1994:38, 39). With the span of decades and changing

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[132] *"You see, some of us are not a township (aluminium roofing). We sheared cattle and experienced Zulu stick fighting ceremonies in our young age"* (Dunlop visit field notes, July 2008)

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objective conditions of migrant workers, meanings of masculinity also shifted from association with the homestead to discourses pertaining to anatomical features, related to hardness of work in the mines, fighting and in relation to access (or conquest) of women (Moodie, 1994:41).

While I find Moodie's (1994) categorisation of the shifting construction of manhood useful, my own work at Dunlop suggests that masculine discourses are complex and identity constructions of masculinity are neither one, nor another. At Dunlop, workers invoke a myriad set of constructions of *ubudoda* in relation to different situations. For instance during the 2007 strike, workers invoked *ubudoda* as a discourse for worker mobilisation throughout the five-week-long strike. Workers invoked a masculinity discourse of '*umzi*', arguing that their struggle for wage increases was premised on their role as men, breadwinners, supporters and providers for their household networks across the rural-urban divide. Workers also invoked masculine discourses of manhood based on anatomical strength, sexual prowess and conquest when they teased each other outside formalised union meetings. For example, workers like to tease other workers about their manhood, always using allegories of failure to attract women and, or deficiency in sexual performance (or sexual impotence). These jokes always involve advising the worker who is teased to go for ritual internal cleansing called '*ukuchatha*'[133].

I find Connell (1995), Morrell (2001) and Xaba's (2001) contributions on masculinity useful, in that they recognise a multiplicity of masculinities. Connell argues that there is not one single masculinity, rather their exist four different masculinities, what he calls hegemonic masculinity versus non-hegemonic masculinities, viz. subordinate, complicit and marginalised masculinities. These

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[133] Optimal performance (at work, in one's affairs or sexually) is associated with ukuchatha. Workers use this word interchangeably saying, *'uchathile uSompisi'*, or saying *'kumele kuyochatha lokhu okuwuSompisi'*. (Dunlop visit field notes, November 2008).

forms of masculinities are developed in social relations, blending with social structure, personal agency and the balance of social forces. Morrell says:

> *"Masculinities are fluid and should not be considered as belonging in a fixed way to any one group of men. They are socially and historically constructed in a process which involves contestation between rival understandings of what being a man should involve"* (2001:7).

Xaba (2001) makes an observation of shifting constructions of masculinity in black townships, differentiating between 'struggle masculinity', 'street *(tsotsi)* masculinity' and 'post-apartheid masculinity'. He notes how 'normal' masculine expressions that had become normative in townships had changed after 1994 and how struggle masculinity conflicted with the new hegemonic post-apartheid masculinity, leaving a sizable amount of young 'freedom fighters' on the wrong side of the new masculine hegemony and isolated from communities which they had protected (2001:119). The Dunlop shop floor represents this dynamism in masculine identity and the myriad expressions they take in everyday life. At Dunlop, expressions of masculinity can be summated into the following: rural (migrant) masculinity, resistance masculinity, anatomical masculinity, politically correct masculinity and sexual masculinity. These expressions play out on the shop floor in the everyday life of workers and in relation to interaction with shop floor management.

Worker struggles at Dunlop are mostly mobilised through expressions and by invoking migrant (or rural) and resistance masculinities. During the 2007 strike, workers always used allegories of livestock, agriculture and rural experiences to one another. One worker said about management's attitude towards their demand for wage increases:

"Bathi senzenjani lababelungu uma bengena ezibayeni zethu, besithathela iinkomo zethu. Singamane sife fi, kunokuba sivumele umqashi afohle ezibayeni zethu"[134].

This saying was heard throughout the duration of the strike, always with loud applause from workers. Workers who missed a strike meeting were labelled *'abafana ngoba besaba abelungu'*[135]. I also noticed during my time at Dunlop that a worker and, or workers who refused to stand up for their rights against an arrogant foreman, supervisor and, or manager, or workers who refused to partake in collective worker action in fear of management are called *'akundoda yalutho lokhu'* (he's not a man). Masculinity is also constructed and invoked at times to throw jibes at wasteful and irresponsible workers. You hear workers stating and referring to such a worker saying, *'akundoda yalutho lokhu'*. Similar to Lee's (1993, 1995) observation of the use of familial discourse to construct gendered forms of control, consent and resistance, at Dunlop, workers and managers use masculine discourse to construct masculine forms of control, consent and resistance on the shop floor. These migrant masculine jibes are also used as labelling on workers (men) who 'cannot control their women'.

What Morrell (2001) calls the fluidity of constructions and expressions of masculinity at Dunlop also shift and play out differently between public versus private discourses. During 2007 strike meetings as well as in general (shop steward – trade union report back) meetings a 'politically correct' discourse of masculinity is invoked. It was interesting to me how politically correct discourse was expressed by shop stewards and shop floor workers when reporting about women abuse, HIV/AIDS issues and challenges as well as speaking about

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[134] *"How do these whites expect us to respond, when they are busy entering into our kraals, stealing our livestock? We will rather die than sit and do nothing when the employer tries to usurp our kraal"* (Dunlop strike field notes, August 2007).

[135] *"They are boys not men because they are afraid to face up to white bosses"* (Dunlop strike field notes, August 2007).

responsibilities workers have to fulfil towards their households and communities. In these instances expressions of masculinity are associated with responsibility, caring (in the case of family and community), tolerance and precaution (in relation to dealing with HIV/AIDS pandemic).

To illustrate my point, in the second week of the 2007 strike, a shop steward spoke about various (pension, health and funeral) benefits that workers have and can register with NUMSA. He then spoke at length about the challenge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic amongst workers at Dunlop. He told workers that the union is losing members every year because of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. He admonished workers to embrace the campaign of HIV/AIDS' testing and highlighted that the clinic at Dunlop does both counselling and testing for every willing volunteer. He also encouraged workers to adopt the ABC[136] motto of the HIV/AIDS' prevention programme. After his input, the issue of HIV/AIDS was opened for discussion by the floor. Every worker who spoke reiterated the remarks of the shop steward and encouraged workers to test and know their status. Some older workers even made illustrations of how they have lost children and relatives to the pandemic. Shop stewards even brought the Dunlop clinic nurse to speak to workers about counselling and testing programmes at the clinic during one of the shop steward report back meetings after the strike had ended[137].

At the end of the meeting we sat at the Canteen for a while with shop stewards and other workers while we were having lunch. One of the shop stewards was carrying a Daily Sun newspaper, which had a picture of a young semi-nude model. This picture prompted a long casual (sexually charged) discussion that captured contradictions between public discourse and private internalised discourse amongst workers. Outside the scope of formalised meetings a masculine

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[136] The ABC motto stands for 'abstain, be faithful and use a condom'.
[137] (Dunlop strike field notes, August 2007)

identity and discourse dominant amongst workers is premised on ownership and control of women and their sexuality. While in the meeting, shop stewards and workers expressed a public discourse of condoms, of empowering women, of faithfulness to one partner and of HIV testing, in their casual private discourse they talk and make jibes at each other about who is the most sexually potent amongst them[138].

Throughout the duration of my field visits at Dunlop as well as during conversations with workers and shop stewards, jokes and jostling about manhood were frequent, and workers known to be good with women were regarded as 'real men'. In many of these conversations, workers mentioned shop stewards and worker leaders that cannot be reached – even on their mobile phones after work and during weekend. Some of the shop stewards explained that they do not answer (un-identified and, or private) phone calls after work and on weekends because they avoid being mixed-up in their multiple sexual relationships. They even teased one of the shop stewards saying to him,

> "Wena siyakwazi nje awunankinga, uzithandela utshwala nje kuphela, kodwa lona – bekhomba iTrade Union trustee, uyababa hha esimameni, uyinkunzi yoqobo!"*139*

Popular terms like *inkunzi* (the bull) were used to praise workers who are known and viewed as most sexually active with multiple partners. Those who are viewed as most inactive are called *iinkabi* (tamed male cow)[140]. During the course of

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[138] Catherine Campbell (2001:276, 7) makes a point in her work with Mothusimpilo HIV-prevention project, when she found that, the ways in which men understand their masculine identities plays a key role in shaping how they seek sexual satisfaction and intimacy. She found that mine workers have the view that 'real men have insatiable urges to seek pleasure through unprotected sex with large numbers of women.

[139] "We know you don't have problems with women issues, you only just like to drink a lot, but this one – pointing to the Trade Union Trustee, he is red hot, a real live wire and a red bull with women!"

[140] I am calling these terms popular because I remember them from my early childhood in the rural part of Eshowe and Kwa-Nongoma. From primary school all throughout to high school these

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visits and conversations with workers and shop stewards at Dunlop (of two groups of shop stewards), I became aware that only one shop steward (out of 15) has children with one woman (his wife). *Ubudoda* feature in meanings, activities and expressions of leisure and leisure time. The ability of a worker to go drink, watch soccer with friends and, or colleagues without conferring or consulting his spouse means strength of manhood. One worker said, *"ngiyindoda kuphi uma sekumele ngibike kumkami yonk' into engiyenzayo?*[141] The conversation became interesting because, it showed me that workers seem to have ranking stakes of *ubudoda*. Drinking (especially with friends) is ranked high in masculinity stakes. However, workers seem to have little regard for workers who are alcoholics. On one visit a few shop stewards had just returned from a disciplinary hearing of several of their members, who were charged with coming to work under the influence of alcohol. When they were reporting that they were able to get three of these workers to be given the 7th last warning for drinking, one of the workers said, *"Akundoda yalutho lokhu, kusahlulwa utshwala namanje"*[142]. On another occasion, shop stewards had a similar case of having to defend workers who came to work under the influence of alcohol, in this instance shop stewards did not just blame their inability to manage their drinking, but also their inability to deal with the breathalyser. I asked what they meant and one shop steward told me that he has on numerous occasions come to work with alcohol in his blood stream. Another shop steward told me that workers who drink should know how to manage avoiding detection with the breathalyser. He then told me that the only time he

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terms were used to differentiate between *amasoka* (boys with multiple girlfriends) and *izishimane* (boys who don't have girlfriends). Masculinity was constantly constructed and reconstructed with variable kinds and forms of messages. In some instances you would be told that if you really like a particular girl, you must first find another to be your girlfriend because girls only like boys that are not available (already having girlfriends). From childhood, Zulu masculinity (although not limited to Zulu identity) was constructed in relation to women, but more specifically around objectifying, commoditization and ownership of women and their bodies by men.

[141] *"What is my manhood, when I have to report to my wife every time?"* (Dunlop field notes, November 2007).

[142] *"This thing is not a real man; he is still not able to manage his drinking"* (Dunlop field notes, February 2008).

forgot to distort his breath, he was lucky to notice that a senior manager had refused to use the breathalyser when entering the factory. As a result, when the security wanted him to use it he also refused, saying the senior manager must go through it first. In this way he managed to get away with it[143].

Masculinity constructions and contestations also played out during meetings as well as in interactions between workers versus shop stewards as well as between workers (with shop stewards) versus NUMSA officials. The thesis alluded in chapter four to the militancy and vibrancy of Dunlop workers towards factory management. But as I wrote earlier, militancy at Dunlop is not only towards factory bosses, but also towards shop stewards and NUMSA officials. In a number of general meetings, shop steward report back meetings and during the strike meetings, this militancy was exhibited through vibrant debates among workers with shop stewards and union officials (Bhengu, 2010). In some instances emotions would run very high and workers would reiterate harsh and derogatory statements towards union officials and shop stewards. After these meetings, shop stewards would always complain that the problem with Dunlop workers is that manhood is not tested and there is no qualification of manhood, as a result anyone and everyone thinks of himself as a man. After one such meeting in which workers told the NUMSA official to never again set foot at Dunlop he said:

> "uyabona wena Ngcolosi inkinga la eDunlop ukuthi wonke umuntu ucabanga ukuthi uyindoda, ngisho nabafana laba bangamadoda lana, yingakho njena bedelela futhi bekhuluma noma yini abayithandayo. Uyabona, akumele umuntu akhulume sengathi uyakuhlula. Inkinga yikho nje ukuthi uma ngingase ngithi 'hhayi asilwe we ndoda', bese ngiyamshaya, sekungaba ukuxoshwa phela ngoba ukulwa akuvumelekile lana"[144].

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[143] Dunlop visit conversation with shop steward bargaining representative, November 2007)

[144] "*You see Bhengu, the problem here at Dunlop is that everyone regards himself as a man, even these young boys think they are men, that is why they speak whatever they like with impunity.*

While masculinity is constructed at times as anatomical, workers construct and contest masculinity claims on the basis of age (and number of years working at Dunlop), as well as the ability to fight and subdue another man. Cock (2001:50) explores this construction of masculinity of militarism, fighting and guns. She argues that constructions of this masculinity not only glamorise violence, fighting and weapons, but also serve to 'normalise these social arrangements. In her research on guns in Gauteng she argues that part of this normalisation is a notion that gun ownership is legitimate and a right rather than a privilege.

> It was also interesting to note that workers were also aware of and would frequently talk of the limitations of *ubudoda*. Workers respected and were constantly aware and reminded of their own mortality. Most of these conversations ensued after the death of a worker, or after a visit to the shop stewards' office by families of a deceased worker. In one of the visits at Dunlop's shop steward office, an old worker came to ask the Union Trustee to update his pension fund and beneficiaries. Then a discussion ensued regarding pensions (which is regarded as a man's hard-earned money), specifically how wives and children eat away hard-earned pensions once a retired worker dies. A shop steward bargaining representative said, "ayikho indoda ethatha umhlalaphansi ekwazi ukuthi iyidle yonke imali yayo. Iyithi chatha nje kuphela, bese iyahamba njalo, sisaleke thina nomama siyishaye siyiqede imali le. Uthi uyabona imali indoda eyenze kanzima, umama usenwebe umuzi, nezingane lezi sezithenga nezimoto. Futhi khona lokhu kwabafana, kuthenga entsha,

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You see my brother, a man should not speak to you as if he has fought with you and defeated you. But then again, the problem is that if you can just say to one of them, 'ok, let us go outside and sort this as men' and beat him up, you will have trouble with the company and you will lose your job because fighting is not allowed here" (Dunlop field notes, November 2007).

kuyishayise, kuthenge enye futhi, nayo futhi kuyishayise, uthi uyabona akusanamali yokuthenga futhi" [145]

One of the key contributions of this research to workers' identity construction and masculinities is that it shows how constructions of masculinity are not limited to a cultural formation approach, i.e. in the construction of meaning and identities of workers beyond the workplace. I have already shown that literature on masculinity looks at how African and migrant workers make meaning of their lives in the city, in forming solidarity in response to oppressive work regimes and how culture, dance, songs, sports, etc. became everyday expressions through which workers and men constructed their lives outside the workplace (Bonnin, 1987; Moodie, 1994; Sitas, 1996a, 1997; Von Holdt, 2003).

Lee's (1993) research is an attempt to interrogate how cultural formations in Hong Kong play out in the construction of factory regimes in everyday life and how they reveal the difference between a Hong Kong factory and a Shenzhen one. Lee (1993:530) asserts that while Burawoy's theory can explain factory regimes as generic, it fails to analyse the specific dynamics and content of each of a specific order in a factory. Through her ethnographic research with factory workers at a Hong Kong factory, she shows how the social construction of gender has to be inserted into a theory of the politics of production. Her research showed that everyday culture of *'familialism'*, built around notions of gender norms and behaviour is actively constructed by both management and workers to serve their respective interests on the shop floor (Lee, 1993:529).

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[145] "You hardly find a man who lives long after taking pension package and all its benefits. Instead what you see is that the old man lives a very short time after retirement, then passes away. All of a sudden you see the wife and children working on the money the diseased worked hard to make. Firstly, you'll see the wife extending the house, then the children buy cars, especially boys, who'll crash those cars until the money is depleted"

As indicated earlier, very little has changed at Dunlop objectively as well as in the subjective consciousness of workers. The Dunlop factory in Durban continues to be a male-centred space. On the shop floor women count for less than 5% (including subcontracted cleaning staff). Between 2007 and 2008, there were less than 10 women working at Dunlop[146]. Women work in the administration section of the factory, not on the shop floor. Thus it is that masculinity is the most common thread through which workers and floor management interact and find common discourse. While workers invoke masculinity for struggle and to manufacture dissent and resistance, masculinity discourses also feature in manufacturing consent[147] on shop floor. I have already alluded to the fact that workers invoke *ubudoda* when referring to taking responsibility, toughness and ability to withstand pressure. On one occasion a worker was called for a disciplinary hearing because he neglected his production sight and the forklift fell almost severing another worker's leg. This worker was called into a disciplinary meeting for the third time, but shop stewards managed to avoid his dismissal and the worker got away with a 3rd final written warning. When workers were talking about this worker they didn't mince their words and it was clear that they had very little regard of him as a man because he was negligent and was a potential danger to his fellow workers. Some workers were saying:

> "Kuyohambe kusinda lokhu. Nama comrades sekumele angammeli manje ngoba uma kusuka, uzozwa ukuthi sekulimele umsebenzi, kanti uye lo osephinde waba nobudedengu futhi emshinini wakhe"[148].

On another occasion a middle manager approached the shop steward's office and began to make a conversation with them about a specific worker who was failing

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[146] Dunlop Tyre International (PTY) Ltd Staffing Profile. I was shown the document by shop stewards in November 2007, because they were attempting to engage the employer on re-aligning the grading system of Dunlop with the entire Tyre Bargaining Council rates.

[147] (Burawoy, 1979).

[148] *"He is one lucky bastard. Shop stewards must stop defending him because next time you will hear that he has injured a fellow worker because of his negligence"* (Dunlop field notes, January 2008)

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to meet set production targets. There are two interesting things about the conversation that ensued. First the manager is an Indian middle-aged man. He pointed at the worker he was referring to and said (jokingly):

> "He is not a real man, how can he continue to fail to meet production targets, even my son can meet them"[149].

Second, shop stewards laughed and agreed with the manager that a worker was not a 'real man' because he was not meeting the production target. The affected worker noticed that they were joking and speaking about him, as a result he approached the shop steward's office as the manager was walking away. When he got to the office, shop stewards told him:

> "Awundoda yalutho wena, buka no manager uyakuhleka, futhi uthi cishe uhlulwa nawunkosikazi ekhaya"[150].

There were several instances in which managers and workers (and shop stewards) would use masculinity to manufacture consent on the shop floor and to challenge lazy, weak and slacking workers to pull their socks up through making jibes about *ubudoda babo* (their manhood). I also found that workers also used these jibes and jokes to challenge and question the masculinity of managers on specific matters that workers (especially shop stewards) had agreed upon with respective shop floor management. On one occasion shop stewards summoned a white middle manager, whom workers in the lubes section had asked to present their proposition for training to senior management and he promised them that he would and workers would certainly be trained. After a month without a report from him about their request for training operators, shop stewards called him into the shop stewards office, with some of the older workers and made fun of him. One shop steward said to him:

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[149] (Dunlop field notes, February 2008)

[150] *"You are not a 'real man', even the middle manager is making fun of you, even saying you probably cannot even control your wife at home"* (Dunlop field notes, February 2008).

> "You are not a 'real man'. How can we trust that anything we ask you,
> you will be able to do it when you are afraid of senior
> management?[151]"

The manager tried to explain and to promise that he was going to present their matter to senior management soon. When he had departed, workers and shop stewards said:

> "kade samubona ukuthi u weak lona usaba abaqashi kakhulu"[152].

While for Lee (1995) the Hong Kong factory invoked a culture of familialism and reciprocity (Guanxi) to construct what she calls a familial hegemonic order, at Dunlop masculine discourses are invoked to construct what I call a *masculine hegemonic order* on the shop floor, through which cultural and traditional notions of manhood of both workers and managers are used to construct and contest control and functional production order on the shop floor. This fits with Lee's critique of Burawoy when she argues that:

> *"In this article, I take workers' everyday practices more seriously*
> *than Burawoy and suggest two ways that Foucault's notion of*
> *disciplinary power offers particular insight in analysing the subtle*
> *dynamics of everyday hegemonic domination"* (Lee, 1993:531).

Thus power and hegemony must be seen as contested and dialectical processes not an abstract and static totality.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted the complexities in theorising the politics of production and factory regimes and in understanding workers, their struggles and identities in post-apartheid South Africa. It seems that many things remain unchanged, or

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[151] Dunlop field notes, April 2008)
[152] *"We have always known that he is weak, he is too afraid of the bosses"*. Ibid.

workers perceive things as unchanging. Industrial relations, conditions of work and their relations in production at Dunlop continue to characterised by what I call a *racial order* of control. Racial industrial relations are compounded by the perceived lack of transformation in the management hierarchy. This racial ordering at Dunlop explains worker valorisation that precipitates shop floor antagonism towards factory management. Workers - through a militant trade union presence on the shop floor - resist this racial order of control.

While there is a racial ordering of control, which precipitates antagonistic and militant industrial relations, the study found that there is a different set of regimes governing everyday life on the shop floor. This workplace regime is constantly constructed and contested (negotiated) in everyday life on the shop floor through a masculine discourse *(ubudoda)*. *Ubudoda* is invoked and constructed in the everyday life of workers at Dunlop to mobilise workers to take action. The chapter shows that, during the strike, a combination of what I call migrant and resistance (or struggle) masculinities were invoked to mobilise workers to persevere throughout the strike as well as to shame workers who were afraid to attend strike meetings. While Lee (1993, 1995) discovered a regime organised through familial discourses in Hong Kong and another regime organised through a localistic discourse in Shenzhen, this research shows that consent and dissent are interchangeably manufactured in everyday life through a complex set of masculine discourses amongst workers and management. Dunlop workers and management are linked by *ubudoda*. In a factory with more than 85% male workforce both workers and managers use masculine discourses to manufacture consent and dissent. This masculine hegemony is a fluid regime in which both workers and management constantly negotiate and re-negotiate orderings of work life in everyday life.

Lastly, I argue that the rural-masculine discourse and construction of masculine hegemony enable one to explore the following theorisation. Constructions of production politics at Dunlop are shaped by internal dynamics of control, but are equally shaped by constructions of cultural, religious and political discourses outside the realm of factory floor[153]. Workers construct their collective identity using discourses of Zulu, migrant (rural) and masculine identities and culture. During the strike workers invoked a religious discourse through prayer and singing of hymns to solicit divine support in their struggle. During meetings as well as in casual conversations workers used a rural discourse to invoke variable set of constructions of migrant identity. Workers also use political congress discourses through which they construct ideology and political identity of working class hegemony in the ANC led by COSATU and SACP.

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[153] I am making a claim that my ethnographic research with Dunlop workers leads me to argue that production politics are shaped and constructed by factors like culture, religion, political affiliation and a myriad of other mechanisms outside the analytical definition of factory regimes. Yet, these superstructure-like factors are themselves not natural, nor static, but constantly constructed and negotiated in everyday life.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this conclusion the thesis does two things. The chapter restates arguments and contributions of the thesis that researching workers, wages and livelihoods is significant and necessary in interrogating the reproductive capacity of capitalism in post-apartheid South Africa and possibilities for class struggle on the shop floor and in communities. Secondly, the thesis shows how this research forms part of a constellation of body of knowledge on the crisis of social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa, asserted by Barchiesi (2011), Fakier and Cock, (2009), Hart (2002, 2006, 2013), Kenny (2004, 2005a, 2005b), Mosoetsa (2011), and Webster, et al (2008).

7.2 WAGES – LIVELIHOODS AND RURAL – URBAN LINKAGES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

The research examines rural-urban linkages of African workers, interrogating how these linkages are maintained and how they play out in mobilisation and struggles for livelihoods. The thesis argues that land, labour and livelihoods continue to constitute an articulation in researching and understanding the reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa. Lives and livelihoods of Dunlop working men and their households continue to be organised and reorganised across the rural-urban divide. While Mosoetsa (2011), Posel (2010) and Scully (2012) correctly show that working class poor households increasingly juggle a variety and multiplicity of activities and income sources to 'make a living' (Webster and von Holdt, 2005:22), wage income remains the main source of income in the reproduction of the African working class in post-apartheid South Africa. The Dunlop case study expands an analysis that looks at labour and livelihoods, rural and urban, workplace and household (community) not as bounded units, but as relational and articulated (Hart, 2002). The thesis uses a relational approach to critical ethnography; this is a theoretical and

methodological contribution of the thesis, expanding on Burawoy's (1991) extended case method, as well as Hart's (2002, 2006) relational comparison.

In chapter one, I outline some background on one of the major reasons for doing this research. In 2004, with Professor Ari Sitas we began an engagement with the Department of Social Development, in an attempt to develop a program for government that links social grants to sustainable livelihoods' initiatives. My attention was particularly drawn to how livelihoods' discourse grew hegemonic in government's policy on development, as well as in development and economistic analysis and in NGO and donor organisations. The thesis raises concerns about increasing uncritical and celebratory acceptance and punting of this livelihoods' discourse in economic and labour market policy analyse and in current affairs and business media commentary. It's a livelihoods approach that emphasizes self-reliance, self-motivation, assets, resources and capabilities that people already have as sources for livelihoods (Chambers, 1992; Ellis, 2000; Helmore and Singh, 2001; Rakodi, 2002; Romaya and Rakodi, 2002; Sen, 1982). In government, since 2004, livelihoods are seen as a panacea for poverty alleviation and as a substitute for state expenditure on social grants (Social Development, 2004, 2006, 2007; Mbeki, 2002).

In chapter two the thesis outlines some of key literature and concepts in labour studies in South Africa. The chapter begins by outlining the labour history of migrants, as well as the production and reproduction of the African working class. Historical literature narrates what Wolpe (1980) calls a history of cheap labour power and accumulation in South Africa. The chapter also makes a brief outline of two conceptual contributions to South African labour studies. Both the labour process and cultural formations approaches are engaged with in chapter five and chapter six of the thesis. Another conceptual contribution the chapter outlines is crisis (or crisis of reproduction) debates. These contributions are useful in researching workers, wages and livelihoods.

Chapter three is one of the significant contributions of the thesis, by starting by epistemological arguments for critical ethnography. The chapter also adopts Michael Burawoy's critical approach to everyday life and his extended case

method, as well as Gillian Hart's relational approach to methods. This constellation produces a theoretical and methodological approach which the author calls a relational approach to critical ethnography.

Chapter four presents the research findings, which show the centrality of wage income in mobilising household livelihoods and the social reproduction of the working class across the rural-urban divide. The chapter also asserts that poor households without a stable income (be it wage and, or social grant) face widespread poverty, vulnerability and instability. Mosoetsa's (2011) research in Mpumalanga and Nhlalakahle highlights a complex set of dynamics pertaining to vulnerable households because of loss of income and the negative impact of destitution on families and social cohesion. The Dunlop case study clearly shows the centrality of wage income in the reproduction of working class households beyond the rural-urban divide[154]. This is why most labour studies' literature shows that South Africa's broader macro-economic framework and resulting industrial restructuring and flexibility, coupled with downsizing and retrenchments as well as wage attrition presents vulnerabilities, pressures and instabilities in the reproduction of the working class (Barchiesi, 2006, 2011; Bond, 2000, 2005; Hart, 2002, 2013; Mosoetsa, 2011; Terreblanche, 2002; Webster, et al, 2008; Webster and von Holdt, 2005).

The thesis also problematizes a labour market discourse dominant in the public domain, economic analysis, which is increasingly gaining ground in state rhetoric on the relationship between what is termed 'labour market rigidity' and unemployment in South Africa. Chapter one makes a brief review of claims by (Nattrass, 2000, 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Nattrass and Seekings, 2001, 2002, 2005) on challenges facing the South African economy in general and labour market specifically. In chapter four the thesis picks out claims on the economy and labour market challenges in post-apartheid South Africa. These claims include a claim

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[154] See also the research on the crisis of reproduction resulting from a collapse of wage employment and failure of the democratic state to provide services and social security to the poor (Barchiesi, 2006, 2011; Fakier and Cock, 2009; Mosoetsa, 2005, 2011); as well as the research on the impact of social grants on household survival in KZN (Case, et al, 2003; Lund, 2002, 2002a).

about labour market rigidity in South Africa, a claim about trade unions, collective bargaining and organised labour as constituting a labour aristocracy, protecting the working few at the expense of the unemployed masses. The chapter then engages with these claims, presenting counter arguments emanating from findings of the research, with supporting findings from Case, et al (2005), Lund (1999, 2002, 2002a) and Ardington and Lund (1995), as well as statistical data about household income dynamics in KZN from Stats SA (2004) and KIDS (2004). While claims on labour market challenges emanate from statistical data, the thesis argues that a different way of questioning, analysis and interpretation of data, as well as engagement with qualitative and local studies with workers in everyday life, show the role of wage income of workers in mobilisation of household livelihoods beyond the rural-urban divide. The thesis does not reject the validity and reliability of conclusions based on statistical data, but shows that locality studies enable us to grapple with textures, nuances and complexities in the everyday life and struggles of the working class poor. The thesis is not problematizing claims by Seekings and Nattrass (2002, 2003 and 2005) based on a single case of Dunlop, but based on a constellation of recent and current research on wage income and working class struggles in post-apartheid South Africa by Barchiesi (2011), Bonnin (1987, 1999), Kenny (2004, 2005), Mosoetsa (2011), Phakathi (2010), and Xulu (2012), which point towards a similar direction.

The significant contribution of the Dunlop case study is that it presents workers, their households, rural-urban linkages, workplace struggles and communities as complex sets of relations[155]. It also problematizes certain taken for granted assertions about workers (and the working class) and trade unions in most progressive literature. For me, it suggests that we should debunk tendencies

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[155] A review of this research can easily dismiss the Dunlop case as peculiar, or assert that Dunlop workers represent an exceptional case, which cannot be replicable on a broader scale. The thesis argues on the contrary that it is the exceptional case of Dunlop workers that is a significant contribution to knowledge about workers, ages and livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa. The Dunlop case enables us to confront attempts to simplify and reduce lived experiences of workers and the working class poor as a homogeneous lump. The Dunlop case enables one to interrogate specificities of Dunlop and Dunlop workers, looking at their histories and their struggles. Godfrey and Maree (2005) present an interesting case of two fisheries in the Western Cape. While these fisheries are similar, their research show complex nuances in these fisheries.

towards sanitized and blanket theorising of South African workers and their social formations. The unfolding crisis in the mining sector, claims of a widening gap between NUM and the shop floor as well as growing questioning of the relevance and legitimacy of NUM, especially in the Platinum sector do give credence to claims about the paradox of post-apartheid trade unions and challenges of trade union democracy asserted by Buhlungu (2006, 2007, 2010). Yet, this research problematizes homogenizing tendencies that lump trade unions together. The Dunlop case study forces us to consider looking at the different histories of trade union formations, for example between NUM and NUMSA, their different insertion into and relationship with the ANC, as well as complexities in cultures of shop floor mobilisation of different trade union formations in South Africa. For example, Dunlop workers have a different history of shop floor mobilisation to Toyota, resulting in variations in the playing out of these relations presently, even though both these factories are in the same region and organised by the same trade union, NUMSA. While Dunlop workers and shop stewards present a singular and militant unit, different sections of Toyota workers have embarked on unprotected strikes in 2008, another in 2010 and more recently in October 2012[156].

The research also shows the precarious nature of wage employment and increasing pressure workers face in supporting an extended network of household with actual decline in real wages of workers over the last 15 years. Work by Mosoetsa (2011) highlights the vulnerability of working class households as a result of job losses and increasing commoditisation of everyday life. Barchiesi (2011) asserts that working class lives can be summed up as precarious across the employment status. The unemployed face commoditisation while flexibly employed workers work and live under constant uncertainty. Organised labour-

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[156] Unprotected (normally called illegal) strikes at Toyota Prospection in 2008 and the recent spate of strikes at Toyota and various component supplier plants in October this year were strikes by shop floor workers against and bypassing the union. I was informed by some workers at Toyota that, during the strike in early October 2012, workers rejected attempts by shop stewards, management, until the COSATU regional executive intervened to broker a deal with management on their demand for a R3.00 an hour increment on their income, which factory management and artisans got in 2010. On the Sunday in which Toyota workers were to return to work (in the second week of October), after management reached an agreement with workers on their increment, workers for a component supplier to Toyota also went on strike demanding the same increment, which was followed by yet another group of workers at the other supplier in the third week of October. All these strikes were organised and carried out by workers in opposition to their trade union.

experience an actual drop in real wages, globalisation, liberalisation and persistent eroding of gains workers achieved through struggle. Barchiesi (2011) makes an interesting argument that most South African workplaces do not constitute what the ILO calls 'decent work', yet, he critiques the limitedness of the notion of decent work, arguing that decent work should not be extricated from decent life. Similar to my research, his research shows that most workers – both organised and flexible – do not derive a decent living from their work life and wages.

7.3 RE-THEORISING FACTORY REGIMES IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The thesis also engages Burawoy's (1985) seminal politics of production, famously known as factory regimes in understanding the workplace in the everyday life of Dunlop workers. In chapter two the thesis critiques the view that only sees factory regimes as either despotic, or hegemonic, but argues in agreement with Moodie (1994) that factory regimes, or workplace order at Dunlop are characterised by two-pronged workplace ordering. Chapter five argues that the institutional apparatus of production at Dunlop constitutes a *racial ordering* in industrial relations, with a predominantly white management and African workforce. There are constant attempts by management to enforce a despotic order, but there is resistance facilitated by the strength of an organised and militant workforce on the one hand, as well as workers encroaching shop floor control in everyday life on the other hand. Managerial control at Dunlop represents what Webster and Von Holdt (2005) call a failed strategy because of worker militancy and strong trade union resistance. The thesis also argues that everyday life at Dunlop, what Burawoy (1979) called manufacturing of consent and resistance is organised by what the thesis calls *masculine hegemony*. In unpacking everyday life at Dunlop the thesis engages the cultural formations' approach made famous by Sitas (1984a, 1996b, 1997) and also in the works of Bonnin (1987, 1999, 2007), Hemson (1996), Maylam (1996) and Moodie (1994).

The cultural formations' approach made a significant contribution, by moving beyond the limitations in the labour process approach in theorising ruptures of shop floor militancy, workplace resistance and struggles in communities in the 1980s and 1990s culminating in the recognition of black trade unions, the demise

of apartheid and new labour legislation. This approach looks at the role of culture and cultural practices of African workers in the construction of collective militant identity and struggle on the shop floor. Sitas (1984a, 1996b, 1997) shows that cultural formations subsist on a combination of factors ranging from regional basis (linked to ethnicity), or emanate as attempts to deflect pressure and regulate behaviour within a defined space, for example workers deflected processes of alienation, disvaluation, disoralia and degendering (1996b:237). Workers construct these formations through songs, poetry, and dance and through what Sitas (2004b) calls daydreams and revelries to deflect alienation and devaluation of monotonous factory production. Indeed the cultural movement was a significant feature of both worker and community struggles in the 1980s and 1990s. Bonnin (1987) used cultural formations to theorise working class formations and identity amongst workers at Sarmcol. Bonnin (1999, 2007) also borrows from this approach to examine masculinities in the playing out of political violence in Mpumalanga Township. Hemson (1996) used this approach in examining identity, class formations and the struggles of dockworkers. Maylam (1996) also borrows from the cultural formations' approach in looking at workers' lives beyond the workplace, examining struggles for the city, struggles for space and everyday life in the city.

The thesis moves beyond the limits of the cultural formations' approach by arguing that culture, theorised as a social formation beyond the workplace, or outside the labour process constitutes in my analysis the very basis for the construction and playing out of shop floor order in everyday life at Dunlop. My research shows that masculinity discourse is invoked by both workers and management in the construction of what Burawoy (1979) calls 'manufacturing of consent' and resistance. 'Making' out and various games play out in everyday life mediated through a discourse of *ubudoda*. It was made apparent that ubudoda is the fibre from which both consent and resistance are constructed in everyday life.

7.4 THE CRISIS OF REPRODUCTION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

The thesis asserts the centrality and locus of wage income in the social reproduction of the African working class. The research shows that wage income

is the locus around which household livelihoods (social reproduction) are mobilised across the rural-urban divide. The thesis forms part of the literature and contribution to understanding the economy, labour and society in post-apartheid South Africa[157]. This contribution is significant firstly because it seeks to move beyond a bounded analysis of economy, work and society characteristic in industrial sociology, by engaging with Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991b; Massey 1994; Merrifield, 2000, 2002) on understanding space as relational, unbounded, using theoretical and methodological frames of relational comparison (Hart 2002:13; 2006:6). This means an analysis of work must entail looking at work as an articulation as well as work as a social space constructed and reconstructed in social relations and its relational nature with other spaces. Secondly, the contribution is also significant because of its methodological contribution to labour studies. All the works mentioned above were conducted through critical ethnography, which entails an epistemological and methodological approach to knowledge and knowledge production, based on a premise that takes workers seriously and takes the agency and ability of workers (specifically) and the working class (in general) as active agents in the production of knowledge.

Thirdly, one can surmise from the works by (Barchiesi, 2006, 2011; Fakier and Cock, 2009; Kenny, 2004, 2005a; Mooetsa, 2005, 2011) that the crisis of post-apartheid South Africa is not necessarily a crisis of accumulation, but a crisis of social reproduction (vulnerability of working class poor households to mobilise and sustain means of subsistence and survival). Fakier and Cock (2009) identifies a crisis of social reproduction, which is characterised by increasing female migrancy (resulting in household instability), restructuring of work (and its resulting loss of employment), the HIV/AIDS pandemic (and its resulting crisis on children) and rising food prices (and general rise of commodities and services). Barchiesi (2011), similar to Kenny (2004, 2005a), explores the dynamics of fragmentation, conflict, violence and counter movements in numerous social sites,

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[157] There is a growing body of work in labour studies (industrial sociology) that seeks to look beyond the spatial boundaries of the workplace, the shop floor; but that looks at the working class, work and labour studies as relational as opposed to bounded. In this sense researching and reworking labour studies involves looking at the relational nature of work – livelihoods, relational nature of urban – rural, as well as the relational nature of workplace – household (community).

ranging from work and industrial conflict, to community protests and xenophobic violence, to households and patriarchal instabilities, to community networks, and competition over livelihoods and natural resources.

Barchiesi (2011) identifies what he calls precarious liberation, characterised by the increasing precariousness of working class lives, in which both organised labour and those in atypical work, experience precarious employment, insecurity and uncertainty because of work restructuring and the increasing ascendance of capital hegemony in economic discourse in post-apartheid South Africa. He also asserts that his research as well as statistical data shows limitation even in the discussion on the ILO's 'decent work' proposed by labour formations because the notion of decent work is detached from an equally significant discussion of decent living. He shows that African workers and their households in post-apartheid South Africa are increasingly unable to cover the costs of reproduction. The vast majority of metal workers he interviewed are failing to meet their needs and the needs of their households. Atypical workers are even struggling to meet transport costs associated with travelling to work. As a result many of these workers recorded varying levels of debt and vulnerability to loan sharks.

Mosoetsa's (2011:2) research asserts social reproduction is a matter of minimum survival of both household and communities. She found that households and communities in two KZN townships are struggling to meet costs of survival (2011:147). She also found that both areas, which represent a microcosm of many small and fringe urban towns in KZN, are facing a crisis of massive retrenchments and unemployment resulting from the collapse of the clothing, textile and white goods' manufacturing industries. Some of the towns stretching from Isithebe (eMandeni), Greytown, Hammarsdale, Ladysmith and Newcastle have an average unemployment rate of more than 60% (KIDS, 2004; Stats SA, 2004). She also found that the crisis of social reproduction also plays out in household dynamics, characterised by growing household instability, in which households are increasingly becoming sites of conflict, competition and cooperation for scarce resources.

This body of work also indicates that the crisis of social reproduction is characterised by the extension, yet insufficiency of social grants (specifically) and social security (in general) in redressing poverty and vulnerability (Ardington and Lund, 2005; Barchiesi, 2011; Case, et al, 2003, 2005; Hassim, 2008; Lund, 1999, 2002, 2002a; McCord, 2002, 2004; Mosoetsa, 2011). While most of the literature on social grants and government's social security programme points to inadequacy, the argument of the thesis points to the contradictory nature of government's pro-poor programmes versus macro-economic and monetary policies. To an extent the thesis agrees with Barchiesi that social security programmes of government do not even seem to emanate from a clear social development agenda, as much as they emanate from a political imperative of securing the electorate (2011:103).

One such case involves an observation made in 2007 during a visit to Matiwaneskop, in Ladysmith, to conduct an interview with a retired union organiser, who had relocated into Matiwaneskop to farm. During the visit he showed me the area and we had conversations with several people from the local community. It is roughly estimated that the area has an almost 70% unemployment rate and people mainly survive on social grants and subsistence farming. He told me that when he first moved back into the area with his newly acquired farming tractor and trailer, the local chief summoned him to a meeting. In the meeting he was requested to allow the community to use his trailer (at a nominal fee) to collect wood. He initially thought they wanted to collect wood to fence grazing areas to limit movement of stray livestock, but later discovered that they wanted to collect wood for consumption (cooking staple food). He was perplexed by this request because in 2003 he was part of a massive electrification campaign and celebration by government in the region. While the electrification programme resulted in universal access to electricity for every household, the commoditisation of electricity and the specific control of electric use through the pre-paid meter meant that the majority of poor households would have the electricity infrastructure, without power. He then asserted that *"it means electrification was election machinery for the ANC*[158]*"*, who indeed finally

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[158] Interviews with baba Max Shabalala in May 2007

wrestled KZN from the IFP with a clear majority for the first time in the 2004 elections.

When imagining alternatives to commoditisation and vulnerability of poor households, there are those who argue and see the role of the basic income grant (BIG) as an alternative to current social security measures (Bond, 2005; Desai, 2002; Fakier and Cock, 2009; Makino, 2003; Mosoetsa, 2011; Samson, 2002). While I disagree with some of the critique against BIG (Pierson, 2001; Seekings and Nattrass, 2002, 2005; van der Berg, 2002), I am not fully convinced by the argument for BIG and its specific impetus to addressing the crisis of social reproduction. The thesis agrees with Barchiesi (2011) that commoditization of everyday life and governmentality and rationalisation of cost cutting measures remain the most serious contradiction to an emancipatory citizenship. The extrication of basic services from citizenship rights pushes poor households and communities further to the brink of poverty and vulnerability. Most recipients of social grants and those targeted in various social security measures have to pay for public transport to collect grants; they have to pay for electricity, water, education, healthcare and other basic services. Commoditization of everyday life can be theorised as a constituent part of what Bond (2004, 2005), Hart (2002, 2005a, 2006) and Harvey (2003) call accumulation by dispossession. The contradiction of post-apartheid governmentality are clearly illustrated in President Mbeki's 2002 Volunteer Programme to mobilise youth to participate in community programmes with an assumption that this would give them skills and experience, facilitating easier access into the labour market (Social Development, 2007; Mbeki, 2002; RSA, 2006). This volunteer programme, similar to most pro-poor programmes of government failed to gain momentum because it failed to consider and calculate actual costs poor households have to pay to engage in these volunteer activities. To illustrate, while activities like Home-based Care (HBC) for the elderly and HIV/AIDS' sufferers is a noble and necessary activity, women involved in these activities use their own money for transport to HBC centres, which further destabilises poor households' resources and pose as a potential basis for conflict and completion over already scarce household resources.

The thesis agrees with a view that unrelenting accumulation, poverty and inequality in South Africa constitute possible factors for instability in our democracy. The recent and current rupture of strikes, protests and implosion of the social contract in the mining sector, violent police reaction in Marikana, Delmas and Ficksburg, as well as the growing spate of political assassinations first in Mpumalanga and recently in KwaZulu-Natal are just some of the playing out of a crisis of social reproduction and its potential for fractious democracy. The crisis of capitalism is also playing out on a global scale, with violent protests, regime change and military coups in the Middle East, North and West Africa, as well as a crisis of accumulation in the European economy, with the collapse of national economies in Ireland and Greece, with Spain, Italy and Portugal putting the European economy on the tipping edge of collapse. In South Africa these instabilities are theorised as fragmentation, conflicts, competition and even cooperation, playing out in variable dimensions from household, communities and in national discourse in everyday life. Mosoetsa (2011:1) identifies crisis and increasing instability and redefinition of the 'household' from a place of unity and commonality to spaces of conflict and contestation of power and access to resources. Burawoy's foreword in Mosoetsa's (2011: ix) book signifies the playing out of what Polanyi calls a counter-movement through expressions and acts of violent xenophobic attacks of African immigrants by locals in South Africa as well as protests and uprisings in Eygpt, Middle East and Libya. Barchiesi (2011), Bond, (2005), Desai (2002), Naidoo (2012) and Naidoo and Veriava (2000) point to community responses to struggles for survival through service delivery protests, anti-eviction campaigns, anti-privatisation campaigns, with increasingly violent responses and repression from the police. Accumulation, poverty and inequality pose a serious threat to democracy because the people will not always tolerate being poor in a resourceful economy such as South Africa. Accumulation, poverty and inequality can also easily become feeding grounds for paternalistic, autocratic and fascist regimes, as Poulantzas (1974, 1976) Hall, (2080) and Jessop, (1985) observed in the post-World War II rise of fascism in Europe.

Alternative thinking and imagination of pro-poor development and of emancipatory citizenship must include among others an articulation of citizenship

rights to basic services, which must entail repealing municipal by-laws that commoditize the provision of basic services. This does not seem to be any closer to governments thinking and, or agenda. That is why in chapter four the thesis attempts to engage an area that needs further research and theorising, on linking workplace struggles with community struggles in post-apartheid South Africa. The thesis argues that this area is under-theorised, except for a few ideological claims and counter-claims from social movements versus organised labour formations – COSATU in particular and vice versa (Ballard, 2005; Buhlungu, 2005, 2007; Desai, 2003, 2005; Social Development, 2004, 2006; Pithouse, 2006).

7.5 GAPS, LIMITATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several areas that the research is silent on, or provides mere anecdotes rather than a thorough research output. Some of the gaps and, or omissions, are intentional because the author attempted to focus on what the research and thesis attempts to contribute. Some of the gaps and omissions are a result of limitations of the research, which the author would attempt to engage with in a follow-up book monograph. First the thesis does not engage the feminist view or make a thorough perusal of literature on women and work in the outline of significant theoretical approaches covered in chapter two, which Webster calls 'new labour studies' viz. the labour process and cultural formations approach. The thesis also does not engage this literature in the discussion of constructions of masculinities on the Dunlop shop floor. While McDowell's (1997) gendered analysis of the workplace using a feminist view is a significant contribution and is noted for its broader contribution to South African labour studies, the thesis does not engage this analysis because the thesis' main focus is exploring the playing out of masculinities in a male-centred workplace as indicated in chapter one and chapter five.

The thesis also makes only anecdotal observation and limited remarks about the collapse of linkages and cooperation between workplace and community struggles in post-apartheid South Africa in chapter four. Although there is debate on this collapse in social and political commentary as well as in the media, it remains political and ideological (Buhlungu, 2007; Desai, 2002, 2005; Social

Development, 2004, 2006; Pithouse, 2006). There is very little serious analysis and theorising on linking struggles from below in post-apartheid South Africa (Buhlungu, 2010; Naidoo, 2012; Naidoo and Veriava, 2000; Webster, et al, 2008). The thesis shows dissatisfaction with generalised claims about social movements and trade unions in post-apartheid South Africa.

 The thesis notes that most arguments and critiques of the labour movement pertaining to its relationship, or lack thereof with social movements constitutes a contradiction to notions of struggles from below, or organic mobilisation from below. As a result the thesis argues that COSATU's Head Office should not be the one initiating and spearheading linkages between the workplace and community struggles. Instead it must be Dunlop workers, through NUMSA officials, that must initiate and make linkages with community formations and social movements in Cato Manor, Chesterville, Congella, Lamontville, Mobeni, Inanda, Kwa-Mashu, Ntuzuma and Umlazi where workers live and work. Organised labour in Durban should mobilise and must make linkages with various community and social movements where workers live and work, e.g. make linkages with Abahlali Basemjondolo, with Wentworth community activists, with anti-privatisation forums in poor communities in townships and settlements around Durban.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This thesis shows complexities in how concrete economic, political and social conditions of workers and their households and concrete class struggles play out on the shop floor in everyday life. Recent research on work and livelihoods of African working class households in post-apartheid South Africa paint a bleak picture for both employed and unemployed households (Barchiesi, 2011; Kenny, 2004, 2005a; Mosoetsa, 2011). While Mosoetsa (2011) shows struggles for survival of unemployed households in townships of KZN, Kenny (2004) highlights the plight of livelihoods of retail working women and the inability of trade unions to protect workers and their households from the onslaught of flexibility. Barchiesi (2011) revisits the East Rand, once bastion of manufacturing for most of the 20th century; he shows how permanent (unionised) workers,

flexible (atypical) workers and the unemployed working class, experience precariousness in post-apartheid South Africa.

The thesis argues that 18 years into the transition many things remain unchanged, or at least workers perceive things as unchanged, especially their conditions of work and their relations in production. The factory regimes at Dunlop have not progressed from what von Holdt (2003) and Webster and von Holdt (2005) call apartheid workplace regimes. The research shows that these factory regimes explain worker valorisation, which precipitates militancy and antagonism towards factory management. Militancy and antagonism are further accentuated by a perceived lack of transformation in management in line with national equity priorities. Worker militancy is constructed by invoking the *popular history* of trade unions and through shop-floor socialisation of new and younger workers by their older familial networks (Bhengu, 2010). While these recruitment networks were initially used to entrench a traditionally docile workforce, workers have transformed them to socialise new workers into collective worker consciousness.

Lastly, the research shows the complexities in presenting workers' narratives (Bhengu, 2010). This thesis agrees with Sitas (2004a) that the narratives of workers' lives and their struggles are not simple, neat, straightforward and predictable, as generalist theorists would argue. Instead, they are complex and articulated with class, race, gender, rural-urban milieu, culture, struggle, violence and identity-making meaning in everyday life. The thesis reflects a research process that attempts to re-theorise researching the local (concrete and specific) to generate knowledge on the global (abstract and general) as relational constructions.

APPENDIX A

A. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

1. Gender

Male	Female

2. Age ……………………..
3. Mother tongue

isiZulu	isiXhosa	seSotho	isiSwati	Others …………….….....

4. Marriage status

single	married	divorced	widowed	Others ………………………….……

B. HOUSEHOLD DETAILS

5. Where do you live?

Hostel	Work compound	Township	Suburb	Flat	Others …………………… ……………………………

6. What is your status on that property?

Owner	Lessee	Squatter	Tenant	Others ………………………………..

7. Who do you live with?

Alone	spouse	parents	siblings	friends	Others …………………..

8. How many members of your household live with you here?

None	1 – 3	4 – 6	7 – 10	11+

9. How many days of the week do you live here?

Everyday	5 days	4 days	3 days	2 days	1 day

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10. Where else do you live beside the house (accommodation) where you live at work? …..………………………………………………………………..

11. Do you have another home beside this one (where you live presently)?

Yes	No

12. If yes, who lives in this household?

Parents	Spouse	Children	Extended family	Others (specify) …………………....... ………………………………………..

13. Is this where you lived before you came to work here (Durban)?

Yes	No

14. If no, where did you live before you came here?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

15. How often do you go, visit this secondary household?

In a week	In a month	In three months	In a year	Others ………………….....

16. How many extra household(s) do you have familial relations with?

None	1	2	3	4	5<	Others …………………………………………….

17. How would you rate your relationship with each of these households in terms of closeness?

a. Immediate household

Very close	Close	Distant	Very distant	Others ………………………………….

b. Secondary household

Very close	Close	Distant	Very distant	Others ………………………………….

c. Extra household

Very close	Close	Distant	Very distant	Others ………………………………….

C. HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOODS

18. Are you the breadwinner in your family (household)?

Yes	No

19. How many members of your household contribute to household income?

None	1	2	3	4	5 <

20. Do you make any contribution to your secondary household income?

Yes regularly	Yes sometimes	Once in a while	No	Not at all

21. Do you make any contribution to other extra household(s) income?

Yes regularly	Yes sometimes	Once in a while	No	Not at all

22. To how many households do you make monetary contributions in addition to your immediate household?

None	One	Two	Three	Four <

23. How many people contribute income to livelihoods of the following households?

a. Immediate household

one	two	three	four <

b. Secondary household

| one | two | three | four < |

c. Extra households

| one | two | three | four < |

24. How many people contribute non-monetary resources to livelihoods of following households?
    a. Immediate household

| one | two | three | four < |

    b. Secondary household

| one | two | three | four < |

    c. Extra households

| one | two | three | four < |

25. What is the nature of the contribution these members make?
    a. Employment household

| Household work | Child rearing | House security | Others (specify) ………….……………………..…… ……………………………..…………………….………... |

    b. Secondary household

| Subsistence agriculture | Child upbringing | School | Others (specify) ……….……………………… …………………………………………….. |

    c. Other (extra) household(s)

| School | Traditional, emotional, cultural and value system | Socialization | Others (specify) ………………... ……………………….………… |

26. How much is your monthly contribution to secondary and other household(s) livelihoods?
    a. Secondary household

| <R 200 | R200-R300 | R300-R500 | R500-R1000 | R1000 < |

    b. Extra household

| <R 200 | R200-R300 | R300-R500 | R500-R1000 | R1000 < |

27. Where do other contributors to household income (beside you) get their money from?

| Wage income | State support grant | Both wage and state grant | Business (self-employed) | Others (specify …………. …………………………… |

28. If wage income, in what work are they employed?

| Full employment | Contract employment | Temporary, piecemeal work | Others (specify) …………………………..… ……………………………………….…………. |

29. If state support grant, which grant do they receive?

| Old–age pension | Disability grant | Child support grant | Other grants (specify) ……………………………..…… ……………………………………………………….. |

30. If business (self-employed), what business (or businesses) is it?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

31. Do these households have other sources through which they organize livelihoods besides wage in come and state support?

| Yes | No |

32. If yes, what are these sources?

| Stokvel | Spaza shop | Micro-loan scheme | Farming | Criminal activity | Others (specify) ………….. ……………………………. |

D. WORK DETAILS

33. How long have you been working at this firm?

Less than 1 year	1 – 2 years	2 – 5 years	5 – 10 years	10 – 20 years	20 – 30 years	More than 30 years

34. Did you ever have a time of no employment or a break in employment with this firm from the first time you worked?

Yes	No

35. If yes, when and for how long?

…………………………………………..…………………………………………..……

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

36. What is your occupation (or job title here)? ....

37. How long have you been in this position? …………………………………

38. Did your elders (father, uncles) work here before you?

Yes	No

39. If yes, how many were they, when did they work here?

…………………………………………..…………………………………..………

………………………………………...……………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………….………………

40. Where did they live while they were working here?

Compound	Township	Countryside	Squatter in back-room of whites	Others (specify) …..……… …………………..………

41. Who else in your family has worked in this firm? …………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

42. Where did they live while they worked here?

Compound	Township	Countryside	Squatter in back-room of whites	Others (specify) …..……… …………………..………

43. Are you living (staying) in the same place where your elders and family lived (stayed)?

Yes	Yes I did, but not now	No

44. Where did they come from originally?

…………………………………………...…………………………..……………………

……………………………………………………………………...…………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

45. In your recollection, how many times a year did they go back to the homestead a year?

Never	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four times	Every month	Others (specify) ……… …………………………

46. Who ran, organised the homestead in their absence during work? (tick any that applies)

Wife	Brother(s)	Uncles	Chief	Sons	Others (specify) ……………………

47. How did people make their living at that time?

Wage income	Subsistence agriculture	Labour tenancy in a farm	Welfare	Others (specify) …………. ……..……………..………

E. TRADE UNION, POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVISM (and consciousness)

48. Are you a member of a trade union?

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Yes	No

49. Which trade union are you a member of? ……………………………………

50. How long have you been in this trade union? ……………………………...

51. Have you ever been with another trade union before this?

Yes	No

52. Why did you join this trade union?

It's the only Union at work	My political affiliation	It represent my interests well	Other (specify) …………… ………………………………

53. Have you been involved in a strike action?

Yes in every Union organized strike	Yes, but not in every strike	No

54. What other organizations are you active in outside of work?

        a. Political

ANC	SACP	IFP	DA	Others (specify) ……………………………………..

        b. Community

Local subcommittee	Religious fraternity	Local/community security/policing	Others (specify) …….…..…… ………………………………

        c. Welfare

HIV/AIDS care/support	Saving scheme	Burial scheme	Community care	Others (specify) …………… ………………………………

        d. Cultural/arts

Local choral choir	Traditional dance group	Local soccer committee	Cultural/ traditional	Others (specify) …….......... ………………………………

55. How long have you been in these structures?

Less than 1 year	1 – 2 years	2 – 5 years	5 – 10 years	10 – 20 years	20 years or more

56. What community non-wage contribution do you offer (give)?

Youth development	HIV/AIDS support	EPWPs	Skills development	Community services	Others (specify) …… ……………………

57. Is there a member of your household (immediate and secondary) who offers services to the community for non-wage contribution?

Yes there is	Yes, there used to be	No there is not	Other (specify) ………………………... ………..…………………………………….

58. Which member (or members), and from which household (or households)?
………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………

59. What is the nature of contribution given, or made?
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………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………

60. What is the significance of this contribution to the wellbeing of the community and community livelihoods and mobilization?
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………………………………………………………………………………………

61. Are there challenges to this non-wage contribution?
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………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………

62. What are these challenges?

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63. For how long have you been having these challenges?

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……………………………………………………………..…………………………………

64. What do you think are causes (reasons) for these challenges?

………………………………………………..…………………………………………...…

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………..……………………………..…………………

65. What has been your, the Trade Union, the party and, or community response to these challenges?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

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LIST OF PRIMARY SOURCES

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS[160]

Baba Dladla is a former BTR Sarmcol shop steward. Mr Dladla was a NUMSA Regional Organiser in Pietermaritzburg during the time of interviews (three interviews, at NUMSA Regional Office in Pietermaritzburg, February 2007 and August 2007).

Sydney Hlatshwayo is a former chairperson of the Dunlop Ladysmith shop stewards' committee. Mr Hlatshwayo was a NUMSA Regional Organiser at Dunlop during the time of interviews (two interviews, at NUMSA Regional Office at Berea, May 2007 and March 2008)

Baba Nathaniel Matiwane was part of the inaugural Dunlop Durban shop stewards committee and part of the popular Culture and Working Life Project. Mr Matiwane retired from Dunlop in 1992 and was working part-time with Black Sash during the time of interviews (1st interview held at Back Sash offices at Diakonia Centre in February 2008. Subsequent interviews (3) were held at his home at Section A in Umlazi, May and August 2008 and April 2009)

Cyril Mchunu was a Dunlop Ladysmith NUMSA Regional Organiser during the time of interview (one interview at NUMSA Regional Office in Ladysmith, April 2007).

Bongani Mkhungo was part of the inaugural Dunlop Durban shop stewards committee. Dunlop dismissed Mr Mkhungo for travelling to Zimbabwe to mobilise support for MAWU in 1986. I was very fortunate that Mr Mkhungo called me and I had two interviews with him at UKZN campus immediately after he returned from his long stay in England (March 2009). Sadly, Mr Mkhungo passed away in August 2009.

Baba Mthethwa was part of the inaugural Dunlop Durban shop stewards' committee. Mr Mthethwa was a Member of the Provincial Legislature during the time of interviews (2 interviews, at the ANC Regional Offices in Durban, October 2008).

Joe Nene was part of the inaugural Dunlop shop stewards' committee. Mr Nene was a member of Parliament (labour portfolio committee) during the time of

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[160] These interviews were conducted with NUMSA officials as well as former worker leaders. Some were re-deployed in Parliament or various sections of government, others had retired and two were doing life and funeral insurance cover with trade unions

interviews (two interviews, February 2009 at ANC Regional Office, Durban and March 2009 at eThekwini Municipality Councillor's chambers)

Baba Ngidi was part of the inaugural Dunlop Durban shop stewards' committee as well as part of the Culture and Working Life drama project. Mr Ngidi was a Methodist Church Minister and insurance broker during the time of interviews (both interviews were held at his house at Section BB Section in Umlazi, October 2008)

Baba Shabalala is a retired former Dunlop Ladysmith shop steward and NUMSA Regional Organiser in Ladysmith. I had three interviews with him. First interview was at NUMSA Regional Office at Ladysmith (April 2007), the other two interviews were in Matiwaneskop (May 2007)

Vusi Shezi was one of the first MAWU organisers at Dunlop. Mr Shezi was a member of NUMSA Regional Officials during the interview (interview held at NUMSA Durban Local Office in Durban, November, 2008)

Baba Magrapes Zuma is a retired Dunlop NUMSA Organiser. Mr Zuma was an Insurance broker during the interview (interview held at Dunlop shop stewards office in March 2009)

DUNLOP WORKER INTERVIEWS[161]

Baba Aman[162] is a shop steward (two interviews held at Dunlop, August 2008 and April 2009)

Baba Bhengu was a Dunlop worker and took retirement at end of 2009 and is now back in his rural homestead at KwaNgcolosi (interview held at Dunlop, September 2008)

Elphias Buthelezi is Deputy Chairperson of the shop stewards' committee. I also visited his rural homestead at Mangethe (outside Stanger) and attended a family ceremony (interviews held at Dunlop and at NUMSA office, October 2008)

Mr Jali is a former shop steward (interview held at Dunlop, April 2009)

Bombshell Khumalo was Secretary and Trustee of the shop stewards' committee. I also visited his family in Chesterville and his rural homestead at Escourt. He passed away in July 2009 (three interviews held at Dunlop as well at his house at Chesterville between September 2007, April 2008 and March 2009)

Mr Khumalo is the son of Bombshell Khumalo, a Dunlop worker (interview held at Chesterville, August 2008)

Otto Mbatha is a former shop steward (interview held at Dunlop, July 2008)

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[161] These are formal interviews I had with Dunlop workers and some shop stewards. Outside these formal interviews there are numerous occasions of conversations, questions and answers and observation data one collected from Dunlop workers (especially shop stewards) as well as from workers' households. I had conversations with workers after meetings and during lunch at Canteen. I also had numerous conversations and observation data from workers and shop stewards emanating from conversations in meetings as well as social and work related conversations workers and shop stewards had at the shop stewards' office. I was also invited to attend the family ritual ceremonies of a few workers and shop stewards, from which I had conversations and observation with their respective homesteads. These informal conversations and observation data was collected during my active visits to Dunlop and their households over three time spans, May 2007 – February 2008; July – November 2008 and in July – August 2009. I also interviewed six former Dunlop workers in October 2008, who came to Dunlop to update their personal details for receiving their pension surplus that Dunlop was arranging to give to workers employed at Dunlop prior 1986. When I inquired about this, I was told that the surplus emanated from the change of pension fund at Dunlop to a provident fund. As a result workers employed prior to 1986 accumulated surplus when their benefit moved from pension to provident fund and the company was in the process of paying out beneficiaries and, or their remaining beneficiaries. I was also fortunate to organise a focus group discussion at Dunlop with ten of these former workers, who also came to update their details for the surplus pay-out

[162] This is not his actual surname, but this is what workers called him.

Baba Mbhele is a former shop steward, and was re-elected to the shop stewards' committee in 2008 (interview at Dunlop shop stewards' committee office, August 2009)

Thulani Mbonambi, Chairperson of the shop stewards' committee (interview at Dunlop shop stewards' committee office, April 2008)

Baba Mthethwa is Vukile Mthethwa's uncle and Dunlop worker, he also has a son working at Dunlop (interview held at Dunlop, September 2008)

Vukani Mthethwa is full-time shop steward and Bargaining Council representative. I also visited his rural homestead at Ngudwini (interview held at his house in KwaMashu and at Dunlop, July 2008 and February 2009)

Mandla Ngcobo, shop steward (interview at Dunlop shop stewards committee office, April 2008)

Vusi Ndlovu is a former Dunlop shop steward, but was not re-elected in the 2008-2011 committee (interview held at Blue Lagoon, December 2007)

Baba Nxumalo was a Dunlop worker. I met Mr Nxumalo in May at Eshowe and he informed me that he recently got Medical boarding after suffering a stroke at work, and has returned to his rural homestead in Mpaphalala (interviews held at his house at Section G in Umlazi, October 2008 and March 2009)

Baba Shandu was a Dunlop worker and former shop steward. He had worked at Dunlop on Grade 3 (above maximum notch) for 5 years, but was not moved to Grade 4. In May 2009, he resigned and took employment as an artisan in Richards' Bay (interview held at the Dunlop shop stewards' committee office, September 2008)

Baba Zondi is a Dunlop worker (interview held at Dunlop, February 2009)

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Dunlop, September 2003, The In-Company Grading Agreement between Dunlop Tyres International (PTY) Ltd. and NUMSA, Ladysmith

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CWLP, 1990, Dunlop Workers' Drama, video recording, Killie Campbell Africana Library

CWLP, 1992, Interviews with Alfred Qabula, Sam Mthethwa and Nathaniel Matiwane, Geoff Schreiner and Ari Sitas, Killie Campbell Africana Library

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