LRS Labour Research Service

2019 Bargaining Indicators

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all the South African trade unions and their representatives, past and present, too many to name individually, who continue to work with LRS in its efforts to produce relevant and meaningful research and analysis.

It is our hope that this edition of Bargaining Indicators sheds some light on the current state of wage negotiations in South Africa, as well as the possibility of the introduction of a 'living wage'. We also hope to add our voice to the discussions on the future of work in the developing world, and finally to foray into the new proposed standard on ending violence and harassment in the world of work and the issue of dignity in our health facilities.

We wish to acknowledge our partners and funders who have contributed to the work contained in this publication. They include the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Trade Union Competence Centre (FES-TUCC) and National Skills Fund (NSF) whose generous support makes this publication possible.

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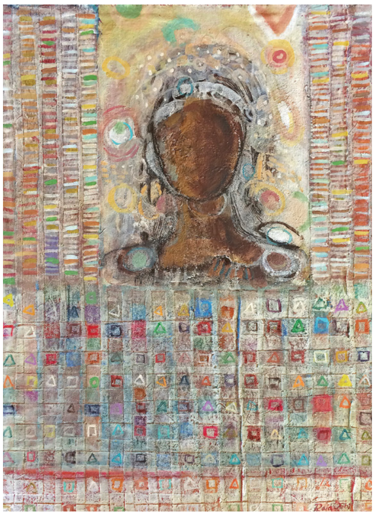

Cover artwork by Raja Oshi

"Untitled III"

Original acrylic mixed media by Raja Oshi.

We found Oshi's work to be particularly relevant to this edition of Bargaining Indicators – with our main focus being women's rights in the world of work. The LRS would like to extent warmest thanks to the artist for making this artwork available for our cover.

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George coordinates the Collective Bargaining Support Programme and Actual Wage Rates Database, AWARD. He is very proud of the AWARD because it has a big impact on unions' collective bargaining. The LRS created the AWARD quite early on when computers were very primitive. George also provides training and advice on collective bargaining and information management to trade unions. He believes in education that contributes to creating a just society. He writes for several LRS publications, including Bargaining Benchmarks and Bargaining Indicator.

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Trenton has conceptualised and implemented a range of interventions with trade unions and labour support organisations in Africa. His main interest is in the politics of trade union processes of organisation and representation, with a special interest in the contemporary organisation of work.

Trenton has a strong interest in social dialogue and corporate governance, with a specific interest in South African multinational companies operating in Africa. He's involved in efforts to deepen thinking and practice that assesses the contribution made by multinationals to the value created across the whole of the economic, social and environmental context within which these companies operate.

Marie Daniel

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Marie joined the LRS in July 2017 with an urban studies and development economics background. One of her recent research passions has been organisation and participation approaches within the informal sector. Marie is intrigued by the manner in which forms of participatory democracy is approached and implemented within South Africa. The labour movement in South Africa is key in promoting participation both internally in and externally. She is very grateful to be in a position, at the LRS, in which she can access information through research and facilitate processes of information sharing to assist unions in meeting their objectives.

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Salomé joined the LRS in August 2018 with a background in academia and academic publishing. She's passionate about negotiations and bargaining. She wrote her PhD thesis on the South African Constitution, with a focus on the negotiations leading up to the peace agreement. This included in-depth research into negotiation techniques and strategies.

The labour movement is key in promoting public participation in South Africa's democracy. Salomé's position at the LRS enables her to access information through research and facilitate processes of information sharing to assist unions in meeting their objectives.

Dr Daniel B. le Roux

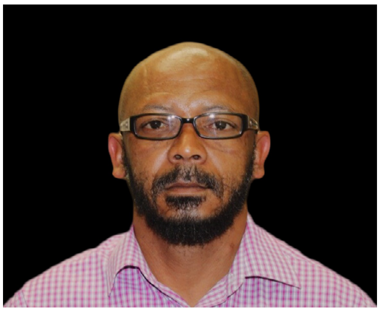
Dr. Daniel B. le Roux commenced his tertiary education at the University of Pretoria where he completed a BIS (Multimedia) degree with majors in Computer Science and Multimedia Design. After working as software developer in London he returned to South Africa in 2004 to commence post-graduate studies at Stellenbosch University. For his Masters thesis he investigated the operation of complex, socio-technical systems by performing a comparative analysis of the dominant information systems development paradigms on the basis of their ability to cope with increasingly dynamic and unpredictable requirement sets. His Doctoral research investigated the manner in which user communities of Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) systems manage misalignment between their requirements and the affordances of ERP artefacts.

The study adopted, as theoretical and conceptual basis, Sensemaking theory as propagated by Karl Weick. Over the past five years he has focussed on the effects of the rapid advancement and adoption of mobile computing devices (smartphones in particular) and the manner in which the ubiquity and pervasiveness of these devices would influence, firstly, behaviour in personal and social contexts, and, secondly, cognitive processes and capabilities. He established and heads up the Cognition and Technology Research Group (CTRG) at Stellenbosch University (see http://suinformatics.com/ctrg).[1]

Nosipho Twala

Educator & Facilitator

Nosipho is a gender and social justice activist. She is passionate about creating safe and inclusive spaces. Nosipho facilitates and designs Gender Programme education workshops and seminars, coordinates programme-related campaigns and manages the administration of workshops and seminars.



Mario Jacobs

Mario Jacobs is a former trade union official with 24 years' experience in the South African labour movement. Part of his trade union work involved research in the field of labour law and labour market developments. He has an MPhil (Labour Law) from the University of Cape Town (UCT) and a MA (Social and Labour Economics) from the University of Campinas, Brazil. He is a researcher at the Labour and Enterprise Policy Research Group (LEP), based at the law faculty, UCT. His current research interest includes Global Value Chains (GVC) and Collective Bargaining. His PhD research question is: What form of union organisation and bargaining strategy is needed to hold lead firms in and alongside value chains accountable?

Nina Benjamin

Gender Programme Coordinator

Since joining the LRS in 2007 Nina has taken part in very exciting projects. She has worked with gender activists in trade unions, women in formal and informal employment, men and women in local communities in Gauteng Province, men and women in the health and education sectors, and activists from a range of NGO's. Nina does research and education work focused on supporting activists in labour and civil society organisations in creating a more gender equal society.

Dr Shane Godfrey

Shane is Senior Researcher at LEP. He has published many articles on collective bargaining, worker participation, trade unions, and industrial policy, the relationship between labour market regulation and small business development, labour market trends and non-standard employment, skills development, and decent work. He is co-author of a number of books.

Contents

Introduction

This edition of Bargaining Indicators comes with a slightly new approach. The LRS covers a vast range of labour issues, and this year, we aimed to cover three of those areas of research. Firstly, we explore the current state of wage negotiations in South Africa, as well as the possibility of the introduction of a 'living wage', something which has not yet been quantified in South Africa.

Poverty and inequality are the greatest obstacles to the full liberation of South Africans from an oppressive and divisive past, but the South African economy is under strain. Trade unions struggle to bargain for better wages and conditions of employment for workers. Retrenchments and outsourcing make it hard for trade unions to retain members. Amidst these difficult conditions, trade unions negotiated above inflation wage increases and raised the minimum wage floor across industries. But these achievements competed with the high price increases in the economy.

We also hope to add our voice to the discussions on the future of work in the developing world. Technology is increasingly effecting our everyday lives, and researchers warn of the effect these changes will have on employment and work as we know it. However, there is a lack of research being conducted in the developing world concerning the longer term effects of automation on jobs. We've set out to help fill this gap in the research. What we've found is that the nature of work in the near future will be 'flexible', and this could have serious implications for the social protection of workers.

Finally, we foray into the new proposed standard on ending violence and harassment in the world of work and the issue of dignity in our health facilities. It may be argued that the issue of violence and gender-based violence (GBV) is addressed by other conventions and recommendations, but our research emphasizes the need for a stand-alone convention and recommendation given the way violence has been normalised.

Section 01 Wages & the Living Wage

Collective bargaining plays an important role in regulating industrial relations, and unions play an essential role in this process. The current state of the South African economy, which is strained at best, is affecting trade unions' ability to bargain for better wages and conditions of employment. Despite these difficult conditions, trade unions have managed to negotiate above inflation wage increases and raised the minimum wage floor across industries.

In this section, George Mthethwa explores how viable these increases have been amidst the rising prices of basic commodities. The report describes wage outcomes, but also focuses on a broader range of conditions of employment found in collective agreements collected by the LRS.

Following this, Trenton Elsley writes about the Decent Standard of Living (DSL) measure, concentrating on the ability of people to achieve a 'socially determined acceptable standard of living' to enable them to participate fully in society.

01

Wage Bargaining Review 2017-2018

by George Mthethwa

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Introduction

Trade unions play an important role as a core component of the industrial relations sphere in South Africa. Trade unions negotiate agreements such as recognition agreements, agreements covering wages and conditions of employment, retrenchments and health and safety in various workplaces across the country.

Unions also protect their members from government policies and regulations that undermine workers and favour employers. Although the government makes labour policies and regulations, it is also an employer of thousands of workers in the public sector. Strong trade unions are necessary for effective collective bargaining, which an important way of regulating industrial relations.

However, the current state of the economy is affecting the ability of trade unions to bargain for better wages and conditions of employment for workers. Trade unions are losing members through retrenchments, outsourcing, dismissal and technological changes. The economic situation makes it difficult for unions to recruit and organise workers because workers fear losing their jobs in these difficulty times. Some of the workers who've lost jobs have entered the informal employment economy and accepted below minimum wages in order to earn a living.

As a vanguard of workers, trade unions negotiated above inflation wage increases and raised the minimum wage floor across industries. But these achievements competed with the high price increases in the economy. The competiveness is unbalanced because workers' wages increase once a year while the prices of goods and services increase throughout the year. Sometimes prices will increase higher than wages, for example, water and other services increased by 11.1%, fuel 8.7% and electricity 7.7% in December 2018. Trade unions managed to secure median wage settlements of 8%. The recorded median wage increases for 2018 and 2017 were the same.

This report aims to stimulate discussion and to inform strategy development and action during and after wage negotiations by unions. Though the report contains rich information, it does not tackle every strategic and tactical challenges faced by unions in collective bargaining. The report describes both wage outcomes, and a broader range of conditions of employment found in collective agreements collected by the LRS.

Definitions

Bargaining Council:
These agreements are concluded between associations of employers and one or more trade unions.

Cash Wage or Nominal Wage:
This is the amount of money that an employer pays a worker, for example, if a worker earns R3 500 per month then that is the worker's cash wage.

Consumer Price Index (CPI):
Measures the change over time in the general price level of goods and services that households buy for the purpose of sustaining themselves (consumption). Put simply, CPI is a weighted average of the price of goods and services that households purchase. CPI is used to measure the price level in the economy and is published by Statistics South Africa on a monthly basis.

Median Wage:
A median wage is the boundary between what the highest 50% of workers are paid and what the lowest 50% of wage earners are paid. Thus, if the median wage in South Africa is R3 033, it means that 50% of workers are earning above the median wage and 50% are paid below it.

Minimum Wage:
This is the lowest wage (entry level) permitted by law or a negotiated collective agreement.

Plant Level Agreements:
These are agreements that are concluded between a single employer and one or more trade unions. Bilateral agreements include large national companies with many plants or branches as well as small employers with only a single outlet.

Real Wages:
This refers to the value of the wage in terms of what it can buy, that is, the purchasing power of the wage. It is called a real wage because it has taken the effects of rising prices (inflation) on workers' wages into account.

Sectoral Determination:
These are agreements covering workers in designated or specific industries.

Acronyms

AMCU:	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
AWARD:	Actual Wage Rates Database
BCEA:	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
CEPPWAWU:	Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing and Allied Workers Union
DOL:	Department of Labour
FAWU:	Food Allied Workers Union
HOSPERSA:	Health and Other Service Personnel Trade Union of South Africa
MEIBC:	Metal and Engineering Industry Bargaining Council
MIBCO:	Motor Industry Bargaining Council
NBCCI:	National Bargaining Council for the Chemical Industry
NBCRFLI:	National Bargaining Council Road Freight Logistical Industry
NEHAWU:	National Education, health and Allied Workers Union
NUM:	National Union Mineworkers
NUMSA:	National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
PSCBC:	Public Sector Coordinating Bargaining Council
SACCAWU:	South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union
SALGA:	South African Local Government Association
SAMWU:	South African Municipal Workers Union
SARPBC:	South African Road Passenger Bargaining Council
SASBO:	South African Society of Bank Officials
SATAWU:	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
UASA:	United Association of South Africa

Key Summary

Cost of Living

The term inflation means a sustained increase in the general level of prices for goods and services. It is measured as an annual percentage increase.

The annual average inflation rate as measured by Statistics South Africa's Consumer Price Index declined to 4.7% in 2018 from 5.3% in 2017. The decline is largely attributed to slower food price inflation that averaged 3.3% in 2018 from 7% in 2017.

Employment rate

The employment rate in South Africa was 43.1% in the fourth quarter of 2017 and increased to 43.3% in the fourth quarter of 2018 reflecting a 0.2% increase.

Growth Domestic Product (GDP)

The GDP is an indicator or tool used to measure the country's economy. It represents the total of the market value, or prices, of all final goods and services produced in an economy during a period of time. GDP is expressed as comparison to the previous year or quarter.

The South African economy grew by 1.4% in 2018 compared to 3.1% in 2017. The growth declined due to economic recession which shrunk by 2.7% in the first quarter and 0.5% in the second quarter of 2018. GDP growth was driven primarily by finance, real estate and business services sectors and manufacturing industry increased by 4.5% and contributed a 0.6% point. The transport storage and communication industry increased by 7.7% and contributed a 0.7% point.[2]

Wage outcomes

Collective bargainin1g in 2018 continued the trend set in 2017. Trade unions managed to secure median wage settlements of 8%. The median wage increases that came into force during 2018 was the same as those of the previous year (2017).

The median minimum wages in all industries was R4409 in 2017 and increased to R4812 per month in 2018. This translated to an increase of R403 or (9.1%). The average minimum wage was R5232 in 2017 and increased to R5399 in 2018. This translated to an increase of R167 or (3.1%).

Electricity, gas and water supply sectors attained the highest median minimum wages of R12073 per month. The agriculture sector had the lowest median minimum wage at R3512 per month in 2018.

Construction attained a median wage increase of 6%, Agriculture 7%, Community 7%, Finance 7% and Transport 7%. Electricity, Manufacturing, Mining and Wholesale recorded a median wage increase of 8% in 2018.

The lowest minimum wage in sectoral determinations was found in domestic workers who work 27 ordinary hours per week or less in Area B, at R1641 in 2017 and increased to R1722 in 2018. This translated to an increase of R81 or 4.5%.The highest minimum wage in sectoral determinations was found in the private security Area 1 at R4102 in 2017 and increased to R4377 in 2018. This translated to an increase of R275 or 6.7%.

Sectoral determinations that cover vulnerable workers recorded the lowest median minimum wage of R3169 per month in 2019 and bargaining council and plant level attained R4456 and R5207 respectively.

Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the outcomes of median minimum wages and wage settlements from various collective agreements and sectoral determinations for the period of 2017-2018. In 2018, the Labour Research Service reviewed 557 collective agreements.

The agreements were negotiated at various bargaining councils and decentralised levels (see **Table 1**) in different sectors covering an estimated 2 534 483 workers. The LRS also examined nine sectoral determinations that cover an estimated 5 075 109 unorganised workers (through legislated nominal minimum wages) (LRS, 2018).

The LRS sourced the collective agreements through visiting union offices and using email, telephone and fax correspondence. The process of analysing the collective bargaining agreements was affected by the uneven cooperation from union regional offices in submitting the documents to the LRS.

Table 1: Sample Size (Workers Covered by CBA) 2018

Standard Industrial Classification Major Division (SIC)	Number of Wage Agreements 2018	Estimated number of workers 2018
Agriculture	**40**	**3 224**
Community	**50**	**1 530 975**
Construction	**10**	**78 645**
Electricity	**11**	**44 505**
Financial	**40**	**37 201**
Manufacturing	**145**	**448 180**
Mining	**50**	**107 934**
Transport	**30**	**112 815**
Wholesale	**181**	**171 448**
Total	557	2 534 483

Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Wage category:
The category of worker used is generally located at the minimum entry level wage or the lowest wage in the bargaining unit.

Median and Average Minimum Wages By Industries 2017-2018

Table 2: Minimum Wages 2017-2018 All Industries

	Hours of work (weekly)	2017 Median Minimum Wage (Rands)	2018 Median Minimum Wage (Rands)	Actual Wage Increase (%)	Average Inflation (%)	Real Wage Increase (%)
Median	**45**	**4409**	**4812**	**8**	**4.7**	**3.3**
Average	**44**	**5232**	**5399**	**8**	**4.7**	**3.3**

Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Table 2 shows the wage increase in both the median and the average minimum wages for the period 2017-2018. The median minimum wages in all industries was R4409 in 2017 and increased to R4812 per month in 2018. This translated to an increase of R403 or (9.1%).

The average minimum wage was R5232 in 2017 and increased to R5399 in 2018. This translated to an increase of R167 or (3.1%). Actual wage increase was 8% in 2018. When we factor the average inflation rate of 4.7%, workers gained a 3.3% wage increase. The average median minimum wage was higher than the median minimum wages in 2017 and 2018.

Table 3 (on next page) shows that median minimum wages differ within industries. Electricity, gas and water supply attained the highest median minimum wages of R12073 per month followed by transport and community at R8249 and R7427 per month respectively in 2018.

Agriculture had the lowest median minimum wage of R3512, followed by wholesale R3897, Finance R3933 and Construction R4070 per month in 2018. The table also shows that Wholesale, Manufacturing, Mining, Transport and Electricity attained the highest wage increase of 8% in 2018. Agriculture, Finance and Community showed a median of 7% wage increase, while Construction attained a median of 6% wage increase in 2018. The lowest median real wage increase was found in Construction at 1.3% and the highest median wage increase was recorded by Wholesale, Manufacturing, Mining, Transport and Electricity at 3.3% in 2018.

Table 3: Median Minimum Monthly Wages By Industries 2018

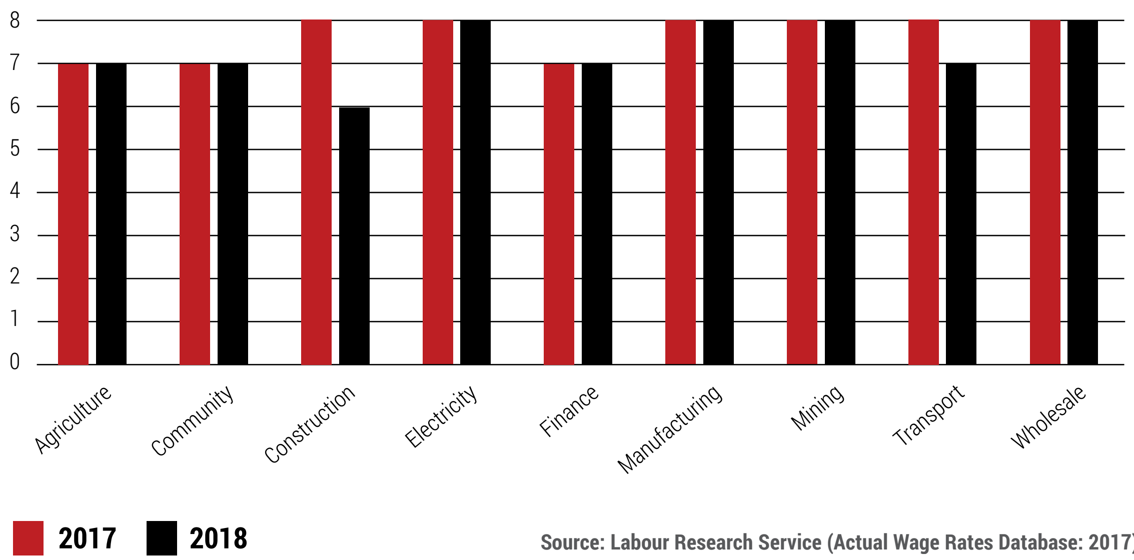
	Median hours of work (weekly)	Median minimum wages 2018	Median Actual wage increase %	Average Inflation % 2018	Median Real Wage Increase %
Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing	**45**	**3512**	**7**	**4.7**	**2.3**
Wholesale	**45**	**3897**	**8**	**4.7**	**3.3**
Financial	**45**	**3933**	**7**	**4.7**	**2.3**
Construction	**44**	**4070**	**6**	**4.7**	**1.3**
Manufacturing	**45**	**4938**	**8**	**4.7**	**3.3**
Mining	**45**	**6318**	**8**	**4.7**	**3.3**
Community, Social and Personal Services	**45**	**7427**	**7**	**4.7**	**2.3**
Transport	**45**	**8249**	**8**	**4.7**	**3.3**
Electricity, Gas & Water Supply	**45**	**12073**	**8**	**4.7**	**3.3**

Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Median Minimum Wages Increase % by Industries

The graph below shows that electricity, manufacturing, mining, and wholesale industries attained the highest median wage settlement of 8% in 2018. The lowest wage increase was found in Agriculture (7%), Community (7%), Construction (6%), Finance (7%) and Transport (7%) in 2018.

Figure 1: Median % Wage Increases by Industries 2017-2018

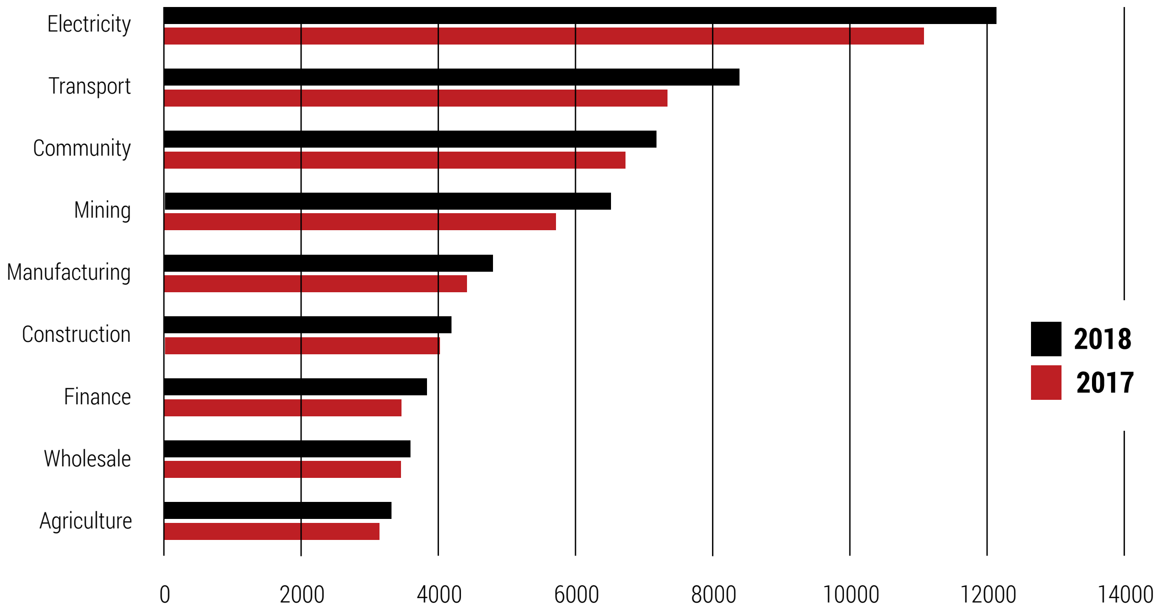


Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Median Minimum Wages by Industries

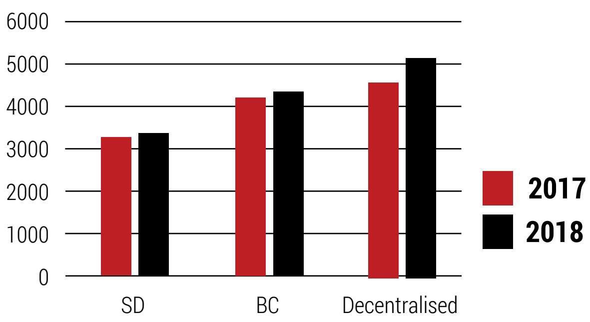
The graph below shows the wage gap between workers employed in different industries in 2017 and 2018. The highest wage floor was found in the electricity, gas and water supply (R12073) per month in 2018 and lowest was in agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing (R3512) per month in 2018.

Figure 2: Median Minimum Monthly Wages by Industries 2017-2018



Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Figure 3: Median Minimum Wages by Sectoral Determination, Bargaining Council and Plant Level 2017-2018



Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

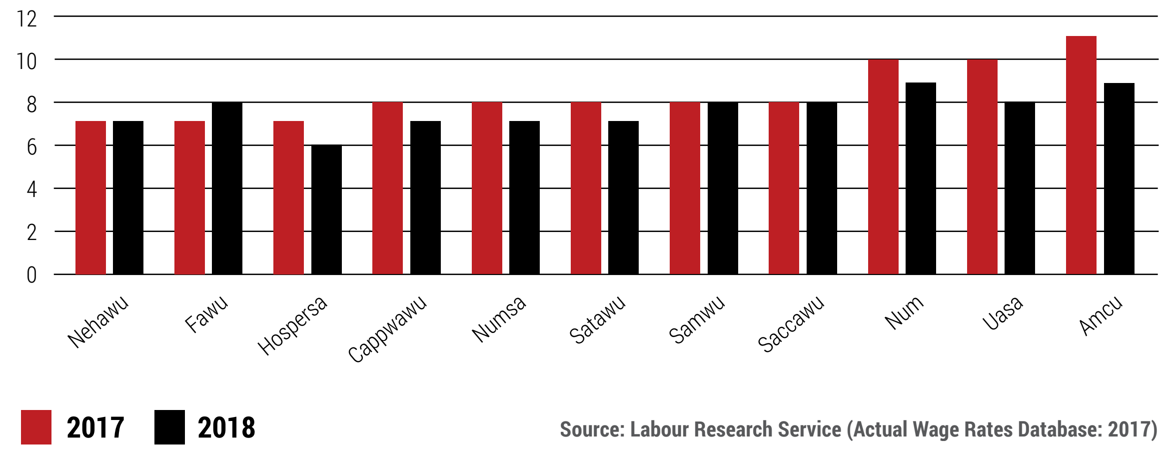
Bargaining Level Wages

Figure 3 gives a comparing median minimum wages between sectoral determination, bargaining council and plant level bargaining in 2017-2018. The sectoral determination attained the lowest median minimum wages of R3169 per month followed by the bargaining council at R4456 per month in 2018. Plant level agreements showed the highest median minimum wages of R5207 per month in 2018.

Trade Unions Wage Settlement

From the graph below, the highest median wage settlements was recorded by NUM and AMCU at 9% in 2018. The lowest median wage settlements was attained by HOSPERSA at 6% in 2018.

Figure 4: Wage increase by Trade Unions 2017-2018

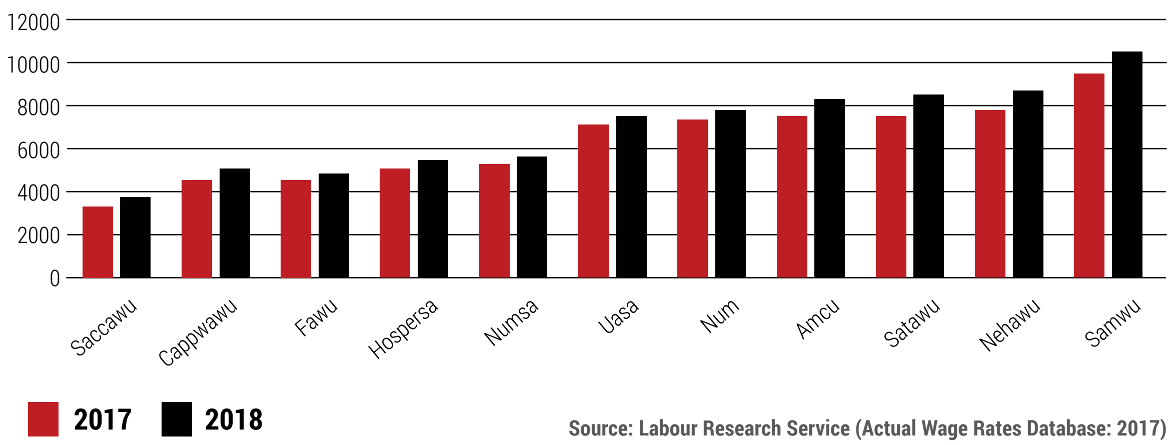


Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Trade Unions Median Minimum Wages

The graph below shows the wage gap between unionised workers in different industries in 2017 and 2018. The highest median wage floor was attained by SAMWU at R10390 in 2018 and the lowest was recorded by SACCAWU at R3897 per month in 2018.

Figure 5: Median Minimum Monthly Wages by Trade Unions 2017-2018

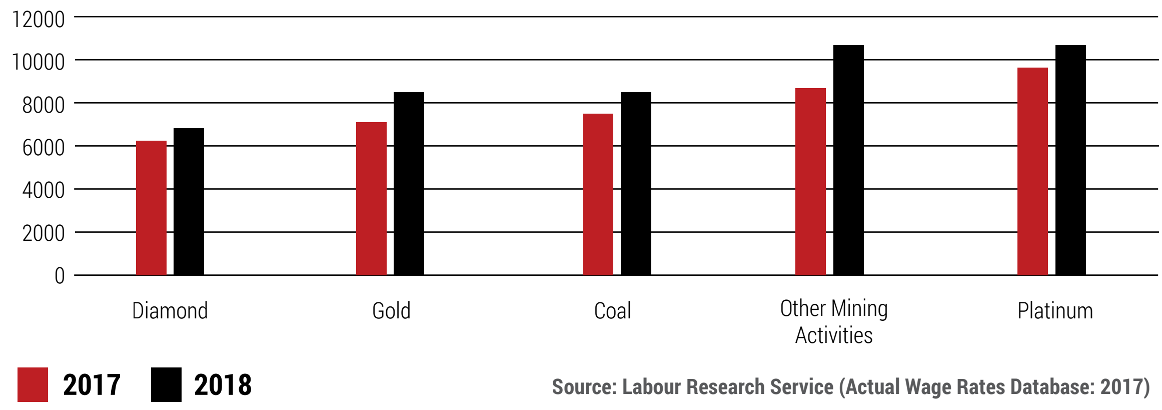


Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Mining Subsectors Median Minimum Wages

The graph below shows the platinum sector achieved the highest median minimum wage of R10776 per month while the diamond sector recorded the lowest median wage of R6773 per month in 2018.

Figure 6: Mining Subsectors Median Minimum Wages 2017-2018

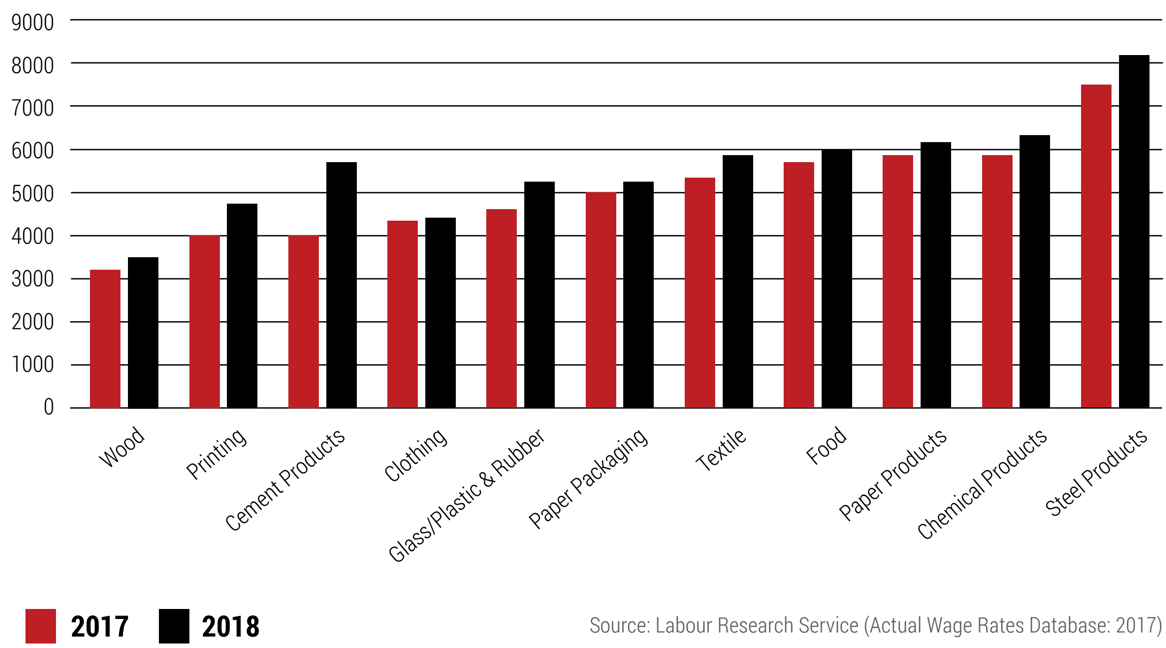


Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Manufacturing Subsectors Median Minimum Wages

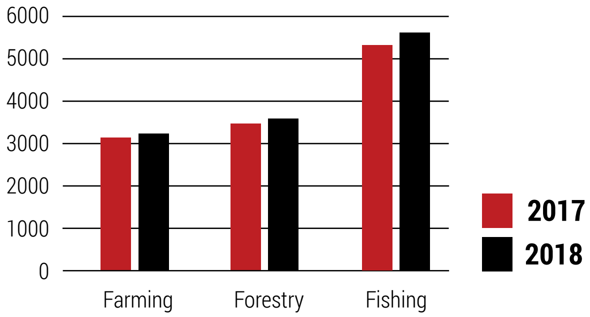
The graph below shows steel products achieved the highest median minimum wage of R8059 per month while wood products recorded the lowest median wage of R3524 per month in 2018.

Figure 7: Manufacturing Subsectors Median Minimum Wages 2017-2018



Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Figure 8: Agriculture Subsectors Median Minimum Wages 2017-2018

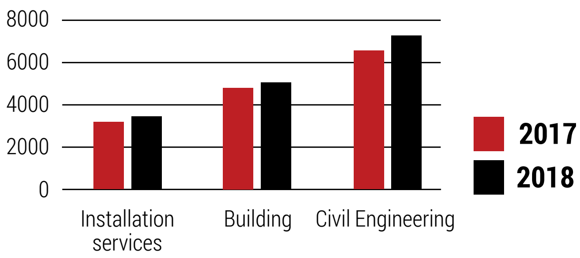


Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Agriculture Subsectors Median Minimum Wages

Figure 8 shows farming showed the lowest median minimum wage of R3169 per month while fishing recorded the lowest median wage of R5656 per month in 2018.

Figure 9: Construction Subsectors Minimum Wages 2017-2018



Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

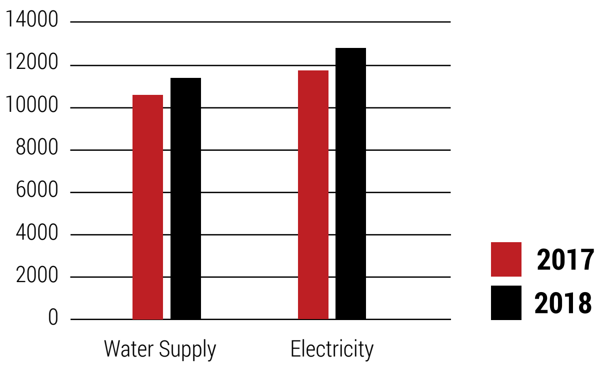
Construction Subsectors Median Minimum Wages

Figure 9 shows that Installation Services achieved the lowest median minimum wage of R3551 per month while Civil Engineering attained the highest median minimum wage of R7124 per month in 2018.

Electricity, Gas & Water Subsectors Median Minimum Wages

Figure 10 shows that Water Supply achieved the lowest median minimum wage of R11393 per month and Electricity attained the highest minimum wage of R12812 per month in 2018.

Figure 10:Electricity, Gas & Water Subsectors Median Minimum Wages 2017-2018

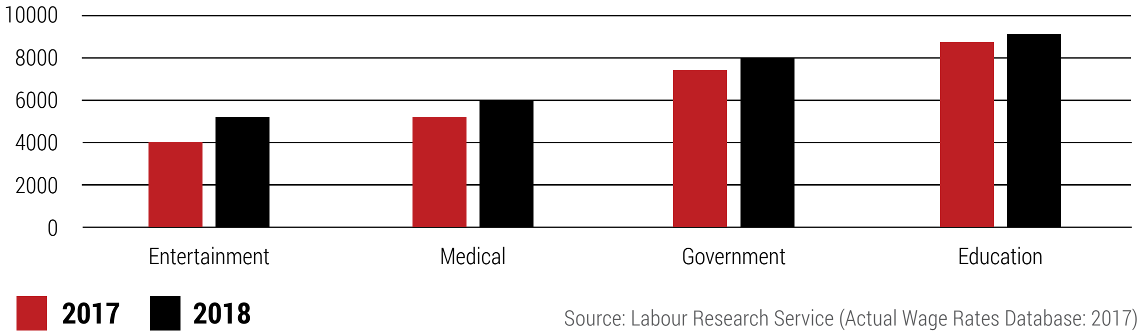


Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Community Subsectors Median Minimum Wages

The graph below shows Entertainment achieved the lowest median minimum wage of R5730 per month while Higher Education recorded the highest median wage of R9450 per month in 2018.

Figure 11: Community Subsectors Minimum Wages 2017-2018

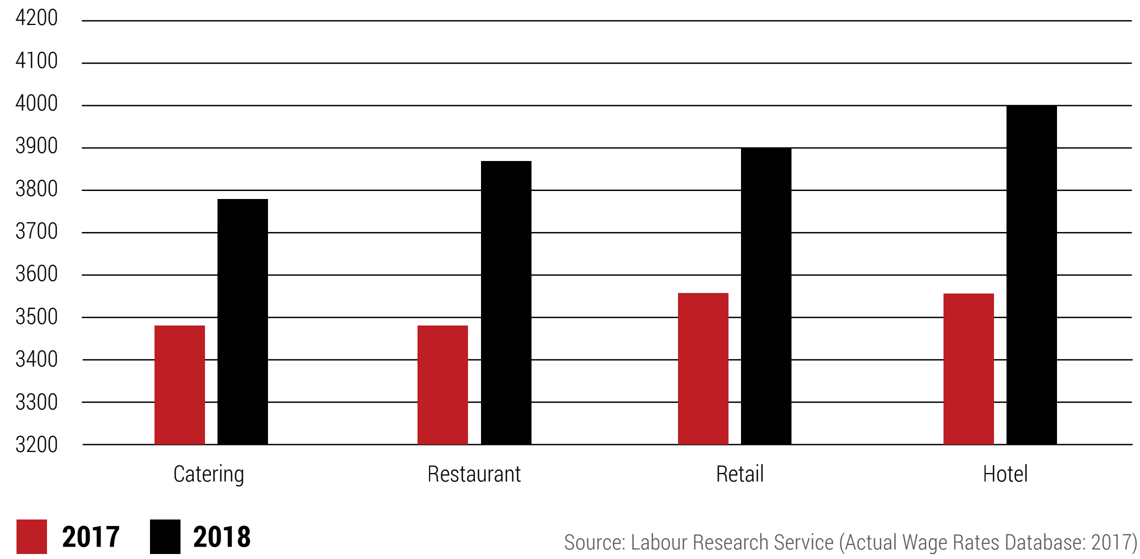


Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Wholesale & Retail Trade Subsectors Median Minimum Wages

The graph below shows that Catering achieved the lowest median minimum wage of R3779 per month while Hotel recorded the highest median wage of R4000 per month in 2018.

Figure 12: Wholesale and retail trade subsectors median minimum wages 2017-2018



Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Minimum Wage Rates across Sectoral Determination

The lowest minimum wage was found in the Domestic Workers (who work 27 ordinary hours per week or less in Area B) earning a monthly wage of R1722 in 2018. This amount is R1778 lower than the national minimum wage of R3500 per month. The highest minimum wage was found in the Private Security Area 1 and 2 earning a monthly wage of R4377 in 2018. This amount is R877 higher than the national minimum wage of R3500 per month.

Table 4: Minimum Wages Rates across Sectoral Determination 2017-2018

	Occupation	Monthly Wage 2017	Monthly Wage 2018
Domestic Workers (who work 27 ordinary hours per week or less) Area B	Cleaner	1641	1722
Domestic Workers (who work 27 ordinary hours per week or less) Area A	Cleaner	1788	1875
Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)	General Worker	1905	1999
Domestic Workers (who works more than 27 ordinary hours per week) Area B	Cleaner	2318	2431
Domestic Workers (who works more than 27 ordinary hours per week) Area A	Cleaner	2545	2669
Taxi (Marshall)	Marshall	2564	2564
Wholesale & Retail Trade B	General Assistant	2953	3148
Foresty Workers	Labourer	3001	3169
Farm Workers	Labourer	3001	3169
Hospitality (less than 10 employees)	General Assistant	3193	3385
Taxi	Driver	3219	3219
Wholesale & Retail Trade A	General Assistant	3223	3387
Contract Cleaning Area C	Cleaner	3273	3273
Private Security Area 3	Security	3414	3643
Hospitality (more than 10 employees)	General Assistant	3559	3773
Contract Cleaning Area A	Cleaner	3592	3592
Private Security Area 1	Security	4102	4377
Private Security Area 2	Security	4102	4377
	Median	**3097**	**3194**

Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Minimum Wage Rates across Bargaining Council 2017-2018

The lowest minimum wage was found in the Hairdressing & Cosmetology Trade (Kimberley) Division 103 Kimberley earning a monthly wage of R1463 per month in 2018. This amount is R2037 lower than the national minimum wageof R3500 per month. The highest minimum wage was found in the new tyre manufacturing earning a monthly wage of R12314 per month in 2018.

Table 5: Minimum Wages Rates across Bargaining Council 2017-2018

Bargaining Unit	Industry	Monthly Wage 2017	Monthly Wage 2018
Hairdressing & Cosmetology Trade (Kimberley) Division 103 Kimberley	Hair Salon	1380	1463
Electrical Area N	Installation	2346	2477
Furniture Manufacturing (Western Cape)	Manufacturing	2713	2903
Furniture Manufacturing (Pretoria)	Manufacturing	2714	3500
Food Retail, Retail, Catering & Allied Trade Area B	Catering	2917	3897
Clothing Group B (Frankfort, Parys & Vredefort) Clothing	Manufacturing	2932	3166
MIBCO Sector 4,5 & 7 Only Area A	Retail	3046	3258
Textile (Blanket) Isithebe Area	Manufacturing	3098	3532
Fast Food, Restaurant, Catering & Allied Trades (Employers with 10 or less employees)	Catering	3208	3507
Meat Trade Gauteng	Retail	3281	3904
BIBC-North West Boland Area C	Construction	3308	3506
Restaurant, Catering and Allied Trades Wits	Restaurant	3420	3659
Sawmilling Sector (NBCWPS)	Manufacturing	3450	3900
Textile (Blanket) Urban Areas	Manufacturing	3525	3807
Fishing (Inshore)	Agriculture	3553	3820
Textile (Home Textile)	Manufacturing	3730	3998
Laundry, Cleaning & Dyeing D/C (WC)	Laundry Services	3735	3933
Clothing Group A (Millinery)	Other Business Services	3950	4247
Grain Co-Operative MGK	Manufacturing	3961	4238
Clothing Group A (Garment Knitting)	Manufacturing	4039	4342

Continued: Table 5: Minimum Wages Rates across Bargaining Council 2017-2018

Leather (General Goods & Handbags)	Manufacturing	4117	4446
MEIBC (Construction Site)	Manufacturing	4177	4459
Fishing Deep sea	Agriculture	4294	4595
Fishing (Mid-Water Trawl Chamber)	Agriculture	4391	4743
MEIBC	Manufacturing	4586	4862
BIBC-Overstrand Area D	Construction	4691	5127
Glass (NBCCI)	Manufacturing	5375	5375
Canvas Goods BC	Manufacturing	5484	5868
NBCRFLI	Transport	5066	5497
Textile (Wool & Mohair Broking)	Manufacturing	5314	5739
Textile (Woven Crochet)	Manufacturing	5508	5949
Leather (Tanning)	Manufacturing	5587	6006
Textile (Non-Woven Textile)	Manufacturing	5691	6146
Leather industry National BC (Footwear)	Manufacturing	5888	6329
Petroleum (NBCCI)	Manufacturing	6000	6000
Textile (Woven Cotton)	Manufacturing	6028	6495
SARPBAC	Transport	6071	6617
Motor Ferry Industry BC	Transport	6143	6712
FMCG (NBCCI)	Manufacturing	6175	6576
Civil Engineering	Construction	6237	6713
Fibre & Particle Board Sector (NBCWPS)	Manufacturing	6529	6986
Industrial Chemicals (NBCCI)	Manufacturing	6671	7105
Sugar Manufacturing & Refinering (Illovo) Umzimkulu	Manufacturing	6736	7241
South African Local Government Association (SALGA)	Government	6916	7324
Pulp & Paper Sector (NBCWPS)	Manufacturing	7007	7007
Pharmaceutical (NBCCI)	Manufacturing	7525	8089
Textile (Wool & Mohair Processing)	Manufacturing	7571	8177
Transnet SOC Limited	Transport	7702	8249
PSCBC	Government	7916	8470
New Tyre Manufactures Employer's Association	Manufacturing	11402	12314
	Median	**4638**	**4994**

Source: Labour Research Service (Actual Wage Rates Database: 2017)

Conditions of Employment

Hours of Work per Week:

Section 9 of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) stipulates that an employer may not require or permit an employee to work more than 45 hours in a given week.

Workers covered by collective agreements attained an average of 45 hours' work per week, Sectoral determination had the most hours of work, at 45 hours per week.

ALLOWANCES

Night Shift allowance as % of basic wage:

In terms of section 17 of the BCEA, any work performed after 18:00 and before 06:00 the following day is considered night work. An agreement is required between the employer and employee in this regard. An agreement between an employer and an employee to generally work shifts would not meet the requirement of the BCEA unless such an agreement specifically makes mention of working night shifts and the employee is aware of such a requirement.

Subsection 2 (b) of the BCEA require employers to make sure that transportation is available between the employee's place of residence and the workplace at the commencement and conclusion of the employee's shift.
Collective agreements provided a median of 12.8% night shift allowance as a % of basic wage.

Shift allowance as % of basic wage:

Shift allowance differs from night shift work. Shift work requires employees to work evening shifts, early morning shifts and rotating shifts. Hence night shift is any work performed after 18:00 and before 06:00 the following day. Collective agreements provided a median shift allowance of 10 % of basic wage.

Acting allowance as a % of basic wage:

In order to qualify for the acting allowance, the staff member is required to assume responsibility for the full range of duties of the vacant position in which he or she is acting. The acting allowance shall be calculated at % of the acting employee's current total package, and is non-pensionable.Collective agreements showed a median acting allowance of 10% of basic wage.

Standby allowance as % increase:

Standby allowances are not regulated by the BCEA and must be negotiated between the employee/employer. Standby allowances will also depend on the sector that you are operating in, that is, bargaining council agreements and collective agreements. If there is no collective agreement or bargaining council agreement, it is up to the employer to decide. Collective agreements showed a median standby allowance of 8.5% basic wage.

Transport allowance in Rands:

A travel allowance is a payment made to an employee to cover expenses when he or she travels for work. This money might be used to cover things like accommodation, food, drink and incidentals. An allowance may be paid to an employee before or after they travel. If an allowance is paid to an employee before they travel, the employee does not need to use all of the allowance.

Collective agreements showed a median transport allowance of R128 per month.

Long service award in Rands:

Long service awards are a great way to thank your employees for their hard work and loyalty to your company. Every business needs employees to function, and having a great team that is willing to go the extra mile is something that is definitely worth celebrating.

Collective agreements provided a median of R809 for completing five years' service.

Housing benefits in monthly Rands:

Housing allowance is a very important element of an employee's working life, particularly now that the rates of house rents have appreciably gone up. Collective agreements provided a median of R1538 per month housing allowance.

LEAVE

Annual leave in working days per annum:

Section 20 of the BCEA defines annual leave as cycle period of 12 months' employment with the same employer immediately following an employee's commencement of employment; or the completion of that employee's prior leave cycle. An employer must grant an employee at least 21 consecutive days' annual leave on full remuneration in respect of each annual leave cycle; or by agreement, one day of annual leave on full remuneration for every 17 days on which the employee worked or was entitled to be paid. Collective agreements provided a median of 15 days annual leave per annum.

Duration of maternity leave in consecutive months:

Pregnant women are entitled to four months of maternity leave, which starts at one month before their due date (Section 25 of the BCEA). However, there are exceptions to this rule for some categories of work, including emergency work, workers in senior management and those who work less than 24 hours a month. Entitlements include at least four consecutive months of maternity leave. Workers may not go back to work within six weeks of giving birth unless this is agreed by the doctor or midwife. Mothers who are pregnant or nursing may not do work which is unsafe for their child. Collective agreements provided a median of four months maternity leave.

Duration of paid maternity leave in consecutive months:

It is not a requirement that employers pay workers during maternity leave. However, some companies may offer maternity benefit packages, which can be claimed from the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF). Collective bargaining agreements provided a median of 4 months paid maternity leave.

Maternity pay as a % of basic wage:

It is not a requirement that employers pay workers during maternity leave. However, some companies may offer maternity benefit packages, which can be claimed from the UIF. Collective agreements provided a median of 45% of basic wage.

Sick leave in days per annum:

Section 22 of the BCEA states workers may take the number of days they would normally work in a 6-week period for sick leave on full pay in a 3-year period. However, during the first 6 months of employment, workers are only entitled to 1 day of paid sick leave for every 26 days worked. Collective agreements provided a median of 12 sick leave in days per annum.

Duration of paid compassionate leave in days per annum:

Compassionate leave is part of family responsibility leave as stipulated in the BCEA. Some collective agreements showed a separation of compassionate leave from family responsibility leave. For example, bilateral agreements recorded 5 days paid compassionate leave per annum.

Duration of paid paternity leave in days per annum:

The BCEA and the Labour Relations Act (LRA) makes provision for Dad to take paternity leave when his child is born. Subsection 2 under section 27 states that an employer must grant an employee - during each annual leave cycle and at the request of the employee,- three days' paid leave, which the employee is entitled to take when the employee's child is born. Collective agreements provided a median of 4 days paid paternity leave per annum.

Shop stewards leave in days p/a (Paid):

Shop stewards who are also Union officials and are elected to represent members in bargaining units that qualify in terms of the Recognition Agreement may be granted paid time-off. Collective agreements showed a median of 10 days paid shop steward leave per annum.

Evidence of provident fund-employer contribution as % of basic

Provident Fund is set up to provide an income for a member on retirement or an income for their dependants if the member dies.

About 65% wage agreements provided evidence of employer contribution to provident fund.

Severance pay - no. of weeks per year of service

Operational requirements means requirements based on the economic, technological, structural or similar needs of an employer. Section 41 (2) stipulate that an employer must pay an employee who is dismissed for reasons based on the employer's operational requirements or whose contract of employment terminates or is terminated in terms of section 38 of the Insolvency Act, 1936 (Act No. 24 of 1936) severance pay equal to at least one week's remuneration for each completed year of continuous service with that employer, calculated in accordance with section 35. Collective agreements provided a median of 1 week severance pay in case of retrenchments.

Evidence of extension of normal benefits to fixed and short term employees:

The Department of Labour proposed an amendment to the BCEA to address labour brokering. The department wants employers to contribute equal or similar benefits for fixed term contract and permanent workers. Sectoral determinations may prohibit or regulate the placement of employees by temporary employment services, sub-contracting and contract work;

Minister may publish sectoral determinations covering employers and employees who are not covered by other determinations About 8% of collective agreements provided evidence of extension of normal benefits to fixed- and short-term employees.

Evidence of policies with regards to labour brokers:

Labour brokering is a form of providing labourers or job seekers to client companies on a temporary basis. The workers work at the client workplace, but are employed by the labour brokers, not the client. What does that mean? Firstly, the labour broker will be liable for the payroll and other issue related to payroll such as leave and taxes. Secondly, there will be more flexibility on the side of the employer (client) as he/she can get and remove workers quickly without enduring high cost. Workers are unable to join trade unions and those who challenge management can be quickly replaced.

The Department of Labour proposed an amendment to the BCEA to address labour brokering. The department wants employers to contribute equal or similar benefits for fixed term contract and permanent workers. Sectoral determinations may prohibit or regulate the placement of employees by temporary employment services, sub-contracting and contract work;

Minister may publish sectoral determinations covering employers and employees who are not covered by other determinations (DOL labour law amendments: Public Consultation presentation). About 28% of collective bargaining agreements provided evidence of policies dealing with labour brokers in the workplace

Evidence of employer provision of- or contribution to- medical/health cover.

Medical aid is imperative as it provides employees with health benefits such a unexpected medical cost. About 64% of collective agreements showed employer contribution to medical aid.

Evidence of practical measures to raise awareness.

Company need to adopt a policy that will support awareness systems that will encourage workers to do early testing and lifestyle changes that will thereby reduce and prevent further infection. About 9% of collective agreements showed evidence of practical measures to raise awareness

Evidence of practical measures to provide Voluntary Counselling and Testing:

This is an important support structure that the company need to initiate for its employees as to identify those workers who need care. About 3% of collective agreements showed evidence of practical measures to provide voluntary counselling and testing.

Evidence of practical measures to promote confidentiality.

About 3% of collective agreements showed evidence of practical measures to promote confidentiality.

Evidence of practical measures to provide access to treatment:

About 3% of collective agreements showed evidence of practical measures to provide access to treatment.

Evidence of implementation of learnerships:

Workers or students on learnerships can still earn an income while enhancing their skills in the immediate working environment. This will ultimately enhance their career prospects. Learnership provide an opportunity for further learning and obtaining a recognised qualification that can be transfer from one workplace to another. Only 5% of collective agreements showed evidence of implementation of learnerships.

Evidence of implementation of other skills development initiatives:

Skill development is imperative to the workplace as it empower workers and is a driving force to the economic growth and social development in the country. Trade unions need to focus and make sure that companies implement skills development initiative to change or improve their member's earnings and education.

Only 6% of collective agreements showed evidence of implementation of other skill development initiatives while sectoral determination did not show clauses that talk to skill development.

Evidence of funeral assistance or benefits:

The purpose of funeral benefits is to help pay the funeral costs when a member or pensioner passes away. Funeral benefits are also paid out on the death of workers next of kin who are covered by the benefits. About 87% of collective bargaining agreements showed evidence of funeral assistance or benefits.

Conclusion

The report has tried to capture key results in terms of nominal and real median minimum wages and wage increases, and conditions of employment of the collective bargaining processes undertaken by trade unions for the period of 2017 to 2018 in different industries. The report shows that industries' median minimum wages have increased from 2017 to 2018. The highest median minimum wage increase was found in the electricity industry and lowest median minimum wage was recorded in the agriculture industry from 2017 to 2018.

Given the above economic climate, trade unions secured higher wage settlements of above average inflation rate. However, these gains were disrupted by the job losses/retrenchments experienced by different industries or sectors in 2017-2018.

Sectoral determination minimum wages were very low. This is where most vulnerable or unorganised workers are employed. We can therefore conclude that there is wage inequality between different sectors as indicated by the graphs of the different industries.

Unions are encouraged to use accurate and updated inflation and wage figures when preparing for and going into wage negotiations. Such information enables negotiators to negotiate wages that are above inflation and do not relate to an actual decrease in wages.

Non-wage benefits play an important role in the employment relationship for many workers, yet when it comes to the bargaining table they are used as a trade-off chip to get higher wage increases. As illustrated by the report, there's little change or no changes when it comes to non-wage benefits except in individual collective agreements.

Strength of the unions comes from members and therefore unions need to negotiate more economic issues that affect workers rather than be entangled in political dynamics.

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Appendix

Snapshot of median conditions of low wage employment in the informal economy 2018

Median Minimum Wage	R4 812
Ordinary hours of work per week	45 hours
ALLOWANCE	
Night shift allowance as % of basic wage	12.8%
Shift allowance as % of basic wage	10%
Acting allowance as % of basic wage	15%
Standby allowance as % of basic wage	8.5%
Transport allowance in Rands	R128 per month
Long Service Award in % or Rands	R809 (Five years' Service)
Housing allowance in Rands	R1538 per month
LEAVE	
Annual leave in working days per annum	15 Days
Duration of maternity leave	4 months
Duration of paid maternity leave	4 months
Maternity pay as a % basic wage	45%
Duration of paid paternity leave	3 days
Duration of paid family responsibility leave	4 days
Duration of paid compassionate leave	5 days
Shop stewards leave in days p/a (Paid)	8 days
Sick leave in days per annum	12 days
MATERNITY BENEFITS	
Evidence of extension of maternity benefits to fixed and short term employees	2% of agreements
Evidence of employer contribution to maternity pay over and above UIF entitlement.	2% of agreements
Evidence of commitment by employer to pay employee in terms of maternity leave prior to or during maternity leave and to claim against UIF after the fact.	3% of agreements

Evidence of commitment by employer to assist employee in claiming maternity pay from UIF.	14% of agreements
Evidence that maternity leave treated as continuous service	20% of agreements
Evidence of employer maintaining benefit contributions during maternity leave.	7% of agreements
Evidence of leave (other than sick leave) for the purposes of antenatal and post-natal checkups.	19% of agreements
Evidence of time off and/or facilities for nursing mothers.	0% of agreements
Evidence of job security for women wishing to return to work after maternity leave.	6% of agreements
Evidence of provision of childcare facilities.	0% of agreements
Evidence of subsidization of childcare facilities.	1% of agreements
SECURITY	
Evidence of provident fund-employer contribution as % of basic	83%
Severance pay - no. of weeks per year of service	1 week
Evidence of extension of normal benefits to fixed and short term employees	8%
Evidence of policies with regards to labour brokers	28%
HEALTH	
Access to medical cove	64% of agreements
Evidence of practical measures to raise awareness.	9% of agreements
Evidence of practical measures to provide VCT. (Voluntary Counselling and Testing)	3% of agreements
Evidence of practical measures to promote confidentiality.	3% of agreements
Evidence of practical measures to provide access to treatment.	3% of agreements
EDUCATION	
Evidence of implementation of learnerships.	5% of agreements
Evidence of implementation of other Skills Development initiatives	6% of agreements
FUNERAL BENEFITS	
Evidence of Funeral assistance or benefits (VALUE)	35% of agreements

Ubomi Obungahlelelekanga: A life without struggle

by Trenton Elsley

Is this what a decent life looks like?

It's Sunday morning and your family is getting ready to go to church. Mother asks you to switch off all the lights before you leave. Electricity is expensive she says. You hear the toilet flush so you know that your sister is finally finished in the bathroom. Your grandfather is watching television. He is not going with the family. He says he is tired of church. He says he has a better chance of finding God on Kumbul eKhaya.

The church is close by, so you don't have to take father's car. It needed repairs recently, but fortunately the family had some savings to have it fixed. The car helps in a lot of different ways, although father complains that it is very expensive. He says it is like having another child.

It's a chilly morning and everyone is wearing their coats, although it's warm inside the house. Eventually everyone leaves, except grandfather, and you close the gate behind you. You look at the house before you go. It's a modest house, but it's a nice house. The last one would leak when it rained. It worried you, the sound of water dripping into buckets.

A few street lights are still on. Mother tells everyone that the municipality is wasting money. Although it is cold, the air is crisp and clear. You can see for miles on mornings like this. The road is tarred and the streets are clean, so everyone's shoes are still shiny when they get to the church.

On the way back home you run into the supermarket to buy milk so that you can make tea for everyone.

You might prefer a rural setting, you might imagine a smaller family, and you might not be Christian. Even so, I doubt you would disagree with some of the key themes embedded in this story. You would not say that having electricity in the home is only important to some. You would not argue against the importance of having running water and flush toilets in the home. You would not suggest that a decent home is culturally relative. You would support the ability of people to participate in social and cultural activities near where they live. You would agree that having basic services and amenities close to where you live was important.

Despite a long running debate on poverty and inequality in South Africa, we have not had a robust measure of what it is to live, not merely to survive, but to live decently. Simply put, we do not know what a decent life looks like.

Nor do we have a sense of the income level associated with a decent life. The incomes reflected in social dialogue and policy instruments are largely arbitrary. Why is the child support grant R400 per month? Why is the national minimum wage R3500 per month? You might say that social grants are shaped by budget constraints. You might say that the economy cannot afford a higher minimum wage. What you are really saying is that these amounts are more than nothing. What you are really saying is that you don't know how much we need for a decent life and you don't know what a decent life looks like.

We disguise our ignorance by talking about jobs. If everyone could just have a job, then we don't have to worry. But we do have to worry. There is no evidence that the South African economy has the ability to meaningfully grow employment, even under conditions of modest and sustained growth, conditions that are an increasingly distant memory.

It is therefore, hardly a surprise that we do not have clear pathways to a decent standard of living. It follows that efforts to move households from poverty towards decency are difficult to conceptualise, implement, coordinate and to measure.

A new way of looking at a decent life for all

The Decent Standard of Living (DSL) measure focuses on the ability of people to achieve a socially determined acceptable standard of living to enable them to participate fully in society. The starting point for this measure was a set of indicators of a decent standard of living. There was a high level of agreement around these indicators across different sections of society including population group, gender, area type and income status. A set of 'socially perceived necessities' (SPNs) were defined as essential by a two thirds majority of South Africans.

The list is a set of indicators, rather than an exhaustive list of necessities. This approach provides an elegant escape from the immense difficulty of determining the quantity and quantity of a basket of goods that is both representative of the population and also finite.

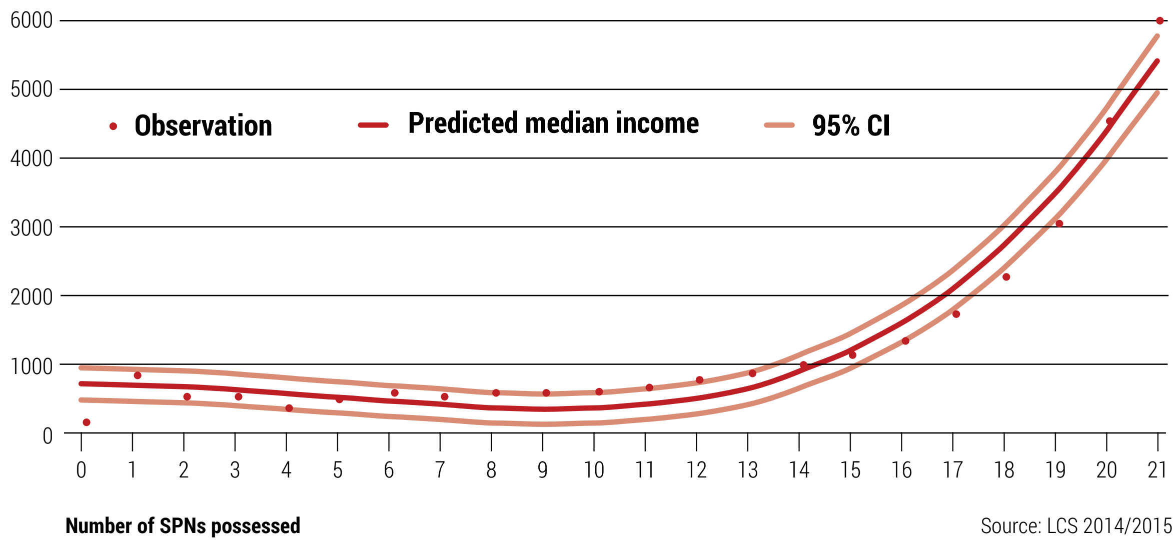
The Living Conditions Survey (2014/15) shows that there is a clear relationship between per capita median income and the number of necessities possessed, although this is not a linear relationship. The number of necessities that are possessed by households increases as median per capita income increases, rather unsurprisingly, although the mix of SPNs at each level might differ.

Percentage of people defining an item as 'essential' with consensus of two thirds or more

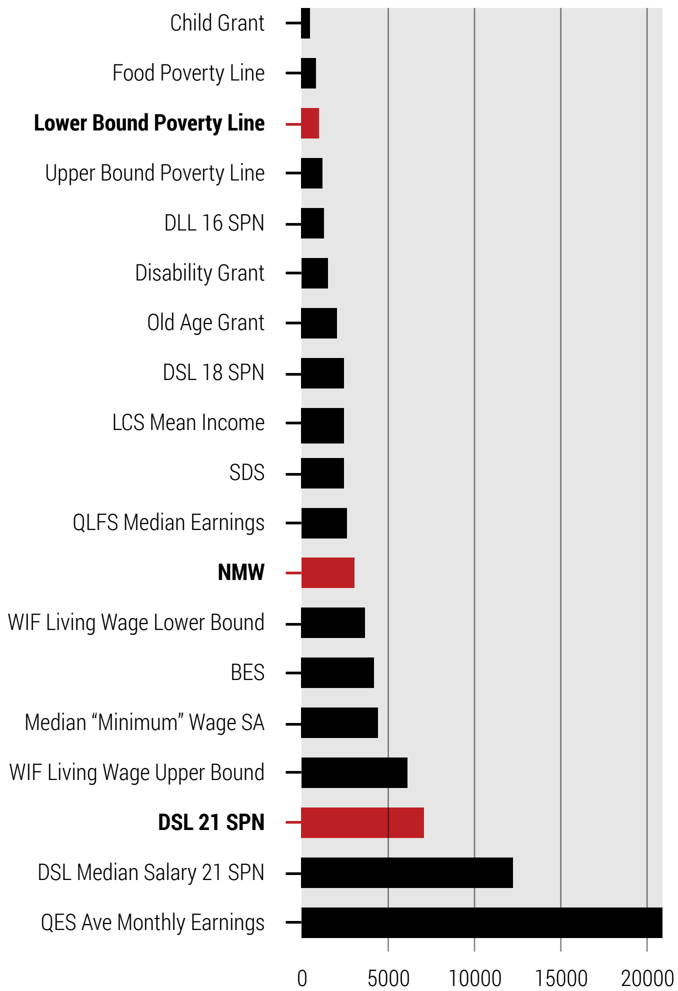
Item	% Defining essential	% Possessing item
Mains electricity in the house	92	89
Someone to look after you if you are very ill	91	83
A house that is strong enough to stand up to the weather e.g. rain, winds etc.	90	70
Clothing sufficient to keep you warm and dry	89	79
A place of worship (church/mosque/synagogue) in the local area	87	93
A fridge	86	74
Street lighting	85	55
Ability to pay or contribute to funerals/funeral insurance/burial society	82	71
Having police on the streets in the local area	80	54
Tarred roads close to the house	80	59
A flush toilet in the house	78	41
Someone to talk to if you are feeling upset or depressed	76	84
A neighbourhood without rubbish/refuse/garbage in the streets	75	57
A large supermarket in the local area	75	53
A radio	74	45
Someone to transport you in a vehicle if you need to travel in an emergency	74	64
A fence or wall around the property	74	71
Being able to visit friends and family in hospital or other institutions	73	88
Regular savings for emergencies	71	32
Television/TV	69	84
A neighbourhood without smoke or smog in the air	69	57

Source: For % defining essential: South African Social Attitudes Survey 2006. For % possessing item: Living Conditions Survey 2014/15.

Median monthly per capita income by number of SPN possessed



Income per person



We constructed a Decent Standard of Living Index (DSLI) so that the income level associated with a decent standard of living (DSL) can be continually adjusted to keep it up to date in current prices.

The median per capita income associated with a decent standard of living in April 2018 was R7, 043 per month.

The national minimum wage sits at about half (50%) of the per capita income associated with a decent standard of living – a life without struggle. There is a vast distance between social grants and the median per capita income associated with a decent standard of living (DSL). The Child Support Grant is 6% of the decent standard of living amount, while the Old Age Grant is about a quarter (24%) of the decent standard of living.

Benchmarks of income, earnings and a decent standard of living in South Africa, 2018

We explored the relationship between the possession of necessities and earned income by looking at the median monthly salary of each adult earner within each household containing an adult earner for each number of necessities possessed. In simple language, what is the wage level associated with a decent life?

The median salary associated with households possessing all 21 SPNs was R12, 028 at April 2015 prices. The national minimum wage of R3500 per month is associated with the possession of about 15 out of 21 SPNs.

What does it all mean?

At risk of disappointing those of you impatient for significant change, we are not saying that a decent life costs this or that amount. What we are saying is that a decent life is associated with certain measures of income. There is an important difference between the two statements.

As much as we would love to see median per capita income of R7000 per month in all South African households, we are not saying that this is what a decent life costs. As much as we would like to see median wages in excess of R14000 per month for all wage earners, we are not saying that this salary level is required for a decent standard life.

The highly unequal distribution of wealth in South Africa is likely to shape the incomes associated with the possession of socially perceived necessities. Put another way, it is perhaps likely that South African households that possess all the socially perceived necessities have higher per capita income than is required to possess all of those necessities. Conversely, household per capita income associated with households possessing relatively few socially perceived necessities might not reflect the strain of acquiring those necessities or the ingenuity and social networking strategies deployed to acquire those necessities.

It is also not our intention to monetise or commodify all aspects of a decent life. The decent standard of living measure offers us an opportunity to examine what the different aspects of a decent life might be. The decent standard of living measure is an opportunity to see new pathways to a decent life and this is perhaps the most important aspect of the approach.

This approach makes it possible to consider how households can acquire each of the socially perceived necessities. We identify three broad categories or modalities of acquisition. Households can acquire social perceived necessities through (1) social networks, (2) the social wage and (3) the purchase of commodities.
The first category is that of social networks. As an example, socially perceived necessities such as ‘someone to talk to when you are upset’ can be acquired through the household’s own social networks rather than bought.

A second category is that of the social wage, understood here as goods and services that are best provisioned by the state. Socially perceived necessities that could be considered as part of a social wage include ‘tarred roads close to the house’ and ‘street lighting’.

A third category is that of commodity, simply put - goods or services that can be bought with money. Examples of socially perceived necessities likely to be acquired in this way include a refrigerator and funeral insurance.

These broad categories of acquisition are not mutually exclusive. For example, a household may commodify the acquisition of tarred roads close to the home and street lighting by moving to an area where this infrastructure is better developed. This is a however, a relatively expensive mode of acquiring a necessity and there will be significant barriers to entry for many households.

It is no coincidence that socially perceived necessities that can be acquired through social networks are likely to be possessed earlier rather than later. If we consider the socially perceived necessities from the point where the curve of associated incomes becomes steeper (the ‘late jumpers’), we find that a number of them may be classified as elements of a social wage, including street lighting, police on the streets in the local area and a neighbourhood without rubbish in the streets.

The implication is that the development of quality, targeted community infrastructure is likely to assist households in acquiring many of the ‘last mile’ necessities.

The DSL offers more than a series of thresholds around which we can measure how many are below and how many are above. The DSL offers us ideas about how to move households towards a socially-derived vision of a decent standard of living.

This decent standard of living measure provides a framework and rich source of data for future analysis and for informing policies regarding both public and private provision and acquisition of necessities in order to guide and facilitate the realisation of a democratically derived decent standard of living for all in South Africa.

Section 02 The future of Work

Our lives are increasingly affected by technology, and the rapid advances being made are mostly unpredictable. Warnings of job losses are everywhere – spreading fear amongst those most in need. Not only are blue collar jobs at risk, but also white collar jobs like bookkeeping, accounting and auditing clerks. Jobs that have elements that are predictable and repetitive are likely to have these elements of the job automated.

However, most studies being done on the kind of job losses expected are done in Europe and North America. This makes it hard to apply the research in the developing world context, and makes predictions in the developing world precarious at best. Marie Daniel and Salomé Teuteberg write about the possible outcomes in the developing world. Following this, Daniel B le Roux writes about the possibility of automation being a 'driver of economic equality', warning of the instability of the relationship between labour and capital in the changing world. Finally, Trenton Elsley sheds light on value chains and how strength lies in organising them.

02

The Future of Work: Union Reponses

By Dr Salomé Teuteberg and Marie Daniel

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Industry 4.0, the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the gig-economy and the internet-of-things are all terms becoming more generally used when discussing the future of work. These terms share the fact that technology is playing an increasing role in our daily lives and that it will alter the way we perform tasks.

As early as 1930, Maynard Keynes warned that: "We are being afflicted with a new disease of which some readers may not have heard the name, but of which they will hear a great deal in the years to come—namely, technological unemployment" (Keynes, 1930: unpaginated).

Central to the technological advances of our time is an intersection of hardware, software and humans in a context of artificial intelligence (AI) (Baldassari and Roux, 2017). One of the main advantages of AI is described as "its ability to help turn large and diverse data sets into enriched information that can help improve speed, cost and flexibility across the value chain" (Chitrakorn, 2018). While the cost associated with technology like AI is currently high, it is set to decrease and increasingly create workplaces less reliant on employees. The gig-economy, associated with innovations such as Uber and Airbnb, creates situations where jobs are secured through online platforms and employees have often not even met their employer (Smith, 2016).

The previous quote from Keynes illustrates that there has, throughout history, been fears that new technology would replace workers. While this may be true, some argue that the 19th and 20th century has shown that the new jobs created through technology, in fact, outnumber the job losses (Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016). Past president of the The Institute for the Future, Roy Amara, is quoted as saying: "We tend to overestimate the effect of a technology in the short run and underestimate the effect in the long run" (The Age, 31 October 2006).

The Fourth Industrial Revolution will see humans increasingly involved in the design of jobs but less in the actual performance thereof. App developers, cloud computing specialists, data scientists, social media managers and sustainability managers are but to name a few of the occupations seen as synonym to the new wave of technology (Baldassari and Roux, 2017). Researchers predict that the new world of technology will bring a demand for more skilled labour in these fields (ibid). However, Osborne & Frey (2013) posit that not only are blue collar jobs at risk of automation, but also white collar jobs like bookkeeping, accounting and auditing clerks. Jobs that have elements that are predictable and repetitive are likely to have these elements of the job automated. Jobs at risk include cashiers, clerks, and mining and maintenance workers, as many elements of these jobs are both predictable and repetitive.

Based on a literature review, desktop research and engagements with unions in various retail network alliances, this paper provides an analysis of what the future of work could entail in a developing context, and more specifically, Africa. The first section of the paper focuses on the retail sector as a case study relating to technological innovations. This sector is chosen in particular as it is a sector in which technology could have a direct bearing on employment based on the number of low skilled workers. The LRS is further well located to utilise the primary research it conducts through its supporting role in the UNIGlobal Shoprite, Massmart and Pick n Pay Network Alliances.

How relevant are some of the predictions regarding technological innovations in the developing world? The second section of this paper aims to answer this question by locating the impact of new technologies and different debates within the retail sector. Through the LRS's involvement with unions in the retail sector, it is possible to develop insights into the challenges unions are facing as a direct result of attempts at more "streamlined" supply chains. While it is difficult to predict to what extent job losses could be experienced in the sector, it becomes apparent that the future of work within the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution will take on a more flexible format which could have serious implications for the social protection of workers. These dynamics are deliberated in the third section of the report.

Based on foregoing findings, the following two sections reflect on what responses the future of work will require from labour movements. Where section four considers national responses, section five focuses on the workplace and what those engaged in collective bargaining will have to look out for. The report concludes with broad recommendations for collective bargaining and broader campaign development. Although the report focuses on retail, the recommendations are formulated for all sectors and in support of cross-sectoral and cross-border alliances.

Technological Changes in the Retail Sector

Retailers are increasingly shaping their models based on convenience and the experience of shopping. E-commerce, which entails ordering shopping online, is becoming more and more prevalent. PrimeNow, for example, is a division within Amazon through which a delivery is made within one hour of ordering online (Smith, 2016). Services such as these allow customers to free up more space to dedicate to, among others, leisure or family. What is central to creating such systems of convenience is what is referred to as Big Data and the Internet of Things. The collection of data based on preferences and shopping trends makes it possible to develop software that can filter through thousands of items to match an item with a suitable buyer. Amazon has gone as far as to develop “anticipatory shopping software” (ibid.). Based on a buyer’s previous browsing preferences, the software will assess whether the shopper is likely to buy a product and if so, start the shipping process even before the customer has pressed the “buy” button.

Based on the idea that the act of paying is associated with negative, retailers are moving towards automated stores in which customers do not have to make use of any till facility or encounter any employee. High-tech automated convenience stores are becoming more frequent across Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shangai (Chitrakorn, 2018). These stores have no checkout, cash or salespersons. Each shopper has a unique ID through a mobile app and pays for the purchases through the app. To prevent theft, a sensor on the shelves can detect if an item has been lifted by a customer. Such an item will be directly linked to the shopper’s ID. Amazon has launched a similar store concept through “Amazon Go” that is also run through a mobile app. When a customer leaves a store their credit card is charged directly which means there is no line for checkout (Kestenbaum, 2017). An Irish company, Everseen, has gone a step further where no mobile phone is required once a shopper is registered. The store will recognize your face and run the purchase accordingly (ibid.).

In addition to the advantages customers could experience through automated stores and e-commerce, retailers have much to gain. Retailers would require less floor space in future as shopping goes online (Singh, 2008 and Omarjee, 2017). Retailers might only keep smaller stores in set locations as showrooms, but the remaining trade would take place through online platforms from central distribution centres. There will also be less reliance on actual employees. Automated tills; digital price displays through which thousands of prices can be changed within minutes; robotic shopping carts as well as robots that restock shelves and direct customers are but to name a few innovations set to decrease the reliance on human labour (Bhattarai, 2016).

Such a decreased reliance on human labour will not only have cost-saving effects, but also avoid the demands of organized labour such as providing workers with adequate social protection.

Figure 1: Robotic shopping cart and robots that restock shelves and direct customers.

What Is The Reality In The Developing World?

The debates arguing that jobs are at risk of being replaced or computerized is to a large extent based on studies conducted in Europe and Northern America (Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016). While this may be true, there are some who argue that this is not the norm. Arntz et al. (2016) conducted a study in which they compare different countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Although most OECD members are high-income economies with a very high Human Development Index (HDI) and are regarded as developed countries the findings could have potential relevance to developing parts of the world:

"We further find heterogeneities across OECD countries. For instance, while the share of automatable jobs is 6 % in Korea, the corresponding share is 12% in Austria. Differences between countries may reflect general differences in workplace organisation, differences in previous investments into automation technologies as well as differences in the education of workers across countries" (Arntz et al., 2016: 4).

Although a similar study could not be found for developing countries it starts to illustrate that the future of work is a context-dependent phenomenon. Services such as automated stores and online shopping are associated with middle to high-level income groups. When we are considering Africa, it is well known that affordability and literacy levels differ to that of the global North. The Living Standards Measure (LSM) is a tool used in South Africa to group people according to their living standards. It divides the population into 10 LSM groups, 10 (highest) to 1 (lowest). A successful retailer such as Shoprite's majority of buyers is located in the mid-range LMS as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 2: The target LSM divisions of some of the Shoprite divisions

Brand	Summary	Target market	Store count RSA	Store count Non-RSA	Store count Total
SHOPRITE	Affordable and accessible, Shoprite caters to the mass middle-income market by providing its lowest prices on basic goods, including groceries and household products. As the Group's original and flagship brand, Shoprite owns the most stores in South Africa, and is the main spearhead for growth into Africa.	LSM 4 – 7	458	155	613
Usave	The chain's simple philosophy – "When we save, Usave" is backed by a strategy of small-format stores offering a limited range of basic foods at everyday low prices to lower-income consumers. The small-format stores are an ideal vehicle for the Group's expansion into Africa and allow far greater penetration into previously underserved communities in South Africa.	LSM 1 – 5	302	65	367
Checkers	Convenience, quality and freshness define the Checkers brand. Time-pressed upper-income consumers in search of a world-class shopping experience enjoy great value on a wide selection of groceries, household products, fresh and convenience foods and speciality lifestyle ranges of wine and coffee. Located in shopping malls and other convenient premises across South Africa and some neighbouring countries, the brand caters to discerning shoppers in affluent residential areas.	LSM 8 – 10	202	7	209
Checkers Hyper	Checkers Hyper offers the same speciality food selections and great value as Checkers, but within large-format stores that encourage bulk rather than convenience shopping. The general merchandise ranges are far wider in Hyper stores, focusing on categories like small appliances, pet accessories, garden and pool care, outdoor gear, home improvement, homeware, baby products, toys and stationery. Checkers Hyper stores operate in South Africa only and are found in areas with high population densities.	LSM 8 – 10	37	–	37
OK Furniture	The OK Furniture chain brings affordable quality to homes across Africa. With its vast geographic spread of stores, the brand offers a wide range of furniture, bedding, loose carpeting, electrical appliances and home entertainment products at the lowest prices, cash or on credit. Choice quality goods and exceptional service define the 'no problem' shopping experience.	LSM 5 – 7	338	69	407
OK Power Express MORE FOR YOU	This chain of small-format stores sells a carefully selected range of white goods and home entertainment products, as well as bedding and loose carpeting. Located mainly in high-density areas, shoppers can choose to pay with cash or take advantage of competitive credit options.	LSM 5 – 7	24	5	29

There is a case to be made that a large percentage of the buying power in developing countries is located in an LSM bracket that does not necessarily support automation processes.

The development of automated stores and Big Data represents complex systems operated at very high costs. In 2017, Amazon admitted that "scaling this technology [automated stores] for uncontrolled numbers of people is too taxing, it takes the system beyond its capacity" (Kestenbaum, 2017).
As the cost of automation decreases this could change, but it is difficult to foresee when as automation is further reliant on infrastructure - like good internet connections. Automation can, therefore, be regarded as a slow process that has to overcome economic, societal and legal hurdles which are often more pronounced in a developing context.

It further has to be acknowledged that the experience a retailer is trying to create in the developing world could differ fundamentally from that in the global North. Retailers in sub-Saharan Africa could have already started the automation process, but it becomes a branding decision. It relates back to the experience they want to craft in a context where price is valued more than convenience.

Another potential consequence of automation is increased economic disparity, which makes for bad social capital on the side of MNCs in developing countries. Daniel le Roux (2018) makes an argument for automation being a 'driver of economic inequality':

"Businesses around the world are cottoning on to the value of transferring labour from human workers to machines. Automation can increase efficiency and decrease labour costs. It helps employers to avoid complex challenges like wage increase demands, labour protests and strikes. Consumers also benefit from automation when products and services become cheaper because of reduced input costs.

"But while there are numerous benefits to automation, recent economic trends in the developed world suggest that it may also be a key driver of economic inequality."

Some are also more cautious regarding the role of technology in retail and the extent that automation would actually lead to job losses. Kestenbaum (2017) reasons that technology is important but will remain as only a tool in which the connection between a consumer and a product is made. It is not the answer to all the challenges existing in the sector. Arntz et al. (2016) bring forward the idea that predictions of a jobless future are based on an occupation rather than job-task approach. When considering that certain tasks within one occupation rather than a whole occupation could be automated, it becomes apparent that the job automatability has been overestimated. Where previous studies estimated the percentage of job losses based on automation through an occupation-based approach to be 47% in the US, a task-based evaluation brings such estimations down to 9%. It is yet to be discovered what similar percentages in developing countries will represent.

While this section, on the one hand, proves that the future of work is content driven and that some argue that the extent of automation is often exaggerated, it is anticipated that routine or predictable tasks are more susceptible to displacement than non-routine tasks. Such predictions place a sector such as retail at a higher risk than an industry such as Information Technology (IT). It is predicted that while the jobs themselves may not entirely vanish, the jobs will be 'redefined'. If a job radically changes, a worker may indeed not have the new skillset.

Flexibility in the Retail Sector

Automation comes at a cost and to compensate for these additional costs, retailers will continue to reduce costs such as labour:

"All on-demand mobile services keep sales costs low by using an app for ordering, payment, and feedback. But the biggest part of this rebalancing is labour costs. As an aggregation and distribution channel for people providing personal services, a company with an Uber-All business model creates scale that has been difficult to realize heretofore. In addition, by engaging people to provide personal services on demand, companies can lower the overhead costs associated with full-time employees by taking advantage of broader shifts in labour markets" (Smith, 2016: 387).

The reality is that work is starting to take on a more flexible form in which workers are not protected and jobs are not secured (Omomowo, 2011). Outsourcing of work is fundamental to a value chain in which cost dominates all decisions. Outsourcing becomes a way for organisations to rid themselves of less-skilled workers and to have that work done at a lower cost.

Within the Shoprite, Massmart and Pick n Pay Alliances, to which the LRS provides strategic research support, it has become evident that these companies are moving towards a more flexible workforce.

A company such as Massmart is also bringing in the position of "general assistant" in which employees need to be able to multi-task and conduct various jobs at the same time. Employees are not adequately compensated for performing multiple tasks which in turns drain productivity (Massmart Alliance Meeting, 2017). Throughout these network meetings complaints relating to temporary workers and the conditions under which they are employed are heard:

"Key-time employees who are employed in Shoprite are not treated like employees nor according to our labour laws."

"The company survives through key-time employees."

"We need to be assisted with international campaigns against the employment status of key-time employees and/or to eliminate precarious work."

In an article written on how employers should structure work contracts towards the implementation of technological innovations the following is stated:

"…if your labour contract does not contain strong job security provisions or minimum-hours guarantees, count your blessings—and do not let the union negotiate those in during the next round of bargaining. However, employers that are signatory to a labour contract containing job guarantees over the life of the CBA, work-hour guarantees, and/or restrictions on the right to lay-off workers will want to jettison these provisions when the parties bargain for a renewal agreement. … picture the retail establishment that wants to phase-out its cashiers and move to an automated check-out system, and, thus, reduce the workweek of its 10 full-time cashiers to part-time, only to find its hands tied with a guaranteed 40-hour workweek" (Korval, 2017:).

The above quote clearly states how employers are seeking more flexible workforces in the advent of the fourth industrial revolution. The steps employers are willing to take to free themselves from a permanent guaranteed workforce is in line with what retail workers are experiencing on the ground. Unions are constantly faced with employers whose main objective is to terminate all permanent contracts that provide employees with any form of social security.

While the outsourcing of work may become more prevalent, Tavis (2017: 8) speaks to one of the risks posed by a "loosely connected network of part-time workers". It is said that workers subcontracted into any company will be disengaged from the actual organization, its vision and objective.
Many businesses rely on elements of teamwork to advance and promote the company. This desire would not exist within a group of neglected contract workers and could result in negative long-term consequences such as losing institutional knowledge and damaging their reputation as an employer.

Unfortunately, these negative consequences are yet to be seen, especially in a sector such as retail in which employees are regarded as replaceable. As a result, unions and workers will have to be cautious of the tactics employers will use to ensure flexibility within their workforce.

A Response: The Broader Framework

The future of work is not only a concern within the workplace but also on a national level. As automation increases those with inadequate skills may be left behind and unemployment rates could soar. Within national debates the potential loss of jobs brings forward arguments for compensatory measures (guaranteed basic income and wealth redistribution), legislation protecting the rights of workers (realistic minimum levels of pay and benefits, restoring a decent work-life balance, and removing the impediments to union organizing) and ensuring sufficient (re-)training especially for low qualified workers (Arntz et al., 2016; Hodgson, 2016; Wright, 2018). New ownership models are also being discussed; if workers are replaced by robots, they could still be assured an income if ownership was to be shared among workers. As a result, worker cooperatives become more prevalent (Hodgson, 2016).

Labour, civil society, the private sector as well as government become key stakeholders towards developing a skills transition or relevant compensation measures. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) framework and the G20 Policy Priorities on the Future of Work identify the following key areas towards stimulating debate:

- **"Preventive labour market policy:** What role can labour market policy play in preventing technological unemployment and support the creation of quality jobs in times of structural change? Which instruments are necessary, in particular regarding skills in the digital world?
- **Social security in the digital age:** Which mechanisms of social security can be provided for workers in the digital world? How to reform existing social security systems to include new forms of work (e.g. crowd working, free-lancers, self-employed)?
- **Future proofing labour law:** How can the legal frameworks evolve in response to a growing diversification of new and/or non-standard forms of employment without putting standard forms of employment at risk?
- **Agile industrial relations:** How to make co-determination work for all workers, including in new types of employment (e.g. platform workers)? What are appropriate collective bargaining solutions? How to foster innovation to harness technological change for better work? Is there a place for "innovation spaces" within companies to try out different arrangements of work organization, work design and working time?" (Ramutloa, 2017).

An analysis of relevant policy frameworks addressing these issues is beyond the scope of this report. It is, however, crucial that labour acknowledge these issues and work towards national campaigns to ensure pro-active debates and change. Altenburg, Kulke, Hampel-Milagrosa, Peterskovsky, and Reeg (2016) who conducted a study on retail modernization in developing countries explained how "despite the far-reaching impact of the supermarket revolution, this challenge has so far hardly been debated in development policy circles (Altenburg et al., 2016: 1). There is much to be done on the part of all stakeholders involved. In the absence of such pro-active action and policies, the tendency of capitalism to exacerbate income inequality will increase.

A Response: Bargaining at the Workplace

With regards to the future of work and bargaining in the workplace, this report highlights four areas that deserve attention.

The first is the need for trade unions to revisit the way in which they organize through an acknowledgement of the broader value chains in which they operate. Although the focus of a union is in the workplace, broader value chains and the dissemination of power are starting to play a more prominent role. Value chains describe where a company or operation is situated in the bigger picture of production and how it is situated there, or rather what power it has in the bigger picture of how things are produced. This has implications for organising and bargaining. Knowing where and how a company is situated in a value chain can help the trade union understand how to best negotiate for better pay or conditions of work. Revisiting strategies will have to be done on a step-by-step basis but will start, for example, through a retail worker looking beyond their own workplace at something such as distribution centres that influence the functioning of the company as a whole. Having a presence in such areas of operation will increase the power of a union in relation to the employer.

The second concerns the way in which union, themselves will utilize technology:

"The advent of the Internet has seen a variety of contrary claims about their adoption by trade unions. Some have argued that the increasing use of the ICTs will further undermine the role of the traditional representative organisations, including trade unions, in favour of more issue-oriented groups, protest networks and/or individualised forms of participation. Alternatively, there has been interest in the notion of e-unions, virtual unions or cyber unions, where the ICTs are harnessed to reinvigorate and modernise union practices…

In fact, it is only the labour that will decide where they want to stand. In this digital economy, only the powerful can survive.

Therefore, the workers continuously need to develop IT skills and to be on the alert so as to market them at every opportunity. Internet and e-commerce technologies are just tools, what the labour market is going to do with these tools will decide the future of the labour market" (Singh, 2008: 639-640).

Utilising technology within unions will become increasingly necessary if they were to target the broader value chains along which companies operate. As explained in the quote above, the organisations who have mobilized against big retailers or companies have been big NGOs and consumer movements in the Global North. This poses a challenge for unions. How do they respond to these big NGOs? NGOs operate differently as they do not have members - they report to a board. Should unions start thinking of alliances with quite different organisations or should they start utilising technology to expand their own campaigns? These are but a few questions that stand to be answered.

The third relates to the expansion of the traditional role of unions.

Traditionally trade unions would have focused on issues such as wage increases, benefits and working conditions during negotiations. Going forward, automation in the workplace will require an increased focus on issues relating to "education, training, and legal support in an increasingly complex environment" (Hodgson, 2016: 213). If the fourth industrial revolution is to result in a positive effect on employment, the reskilling of the workforce is pivotal. Tavis (2017) place employers on a continuum of options.

The first option is where companies decide to invest in their workers through training to include them in the technological transition. A national policy framework with strong labour movement and civil society would assist in moving employers towards the positive end of the continuum.

The fourth issue speaks to the tactics employers will implement to start reshaping their workforce towards automation and a more flexible workforce.

As stated earlier, employers will try to bring in clauses like the following to ease their transition to automated functions:

"Management, in its sole and absolute judgment and discretion, shall have the unlimited right to lay-off, eliminate the jobs of, and/or reduce the workweek of bargaining unit employees during the term of this agreement. The Employer shall have the right to open or close departments as it deems appropriate and to use new and improved methods (including automation) which it deems to be in the best interests of its business" (Korval, 2017)

Language like this will allow employers to sub-out the warehousing and delivery services to a drone operation that can do it more cost-effectively because their associates' labour costs are negligible. Based on the issues identified, the following section concludes with some key recommendations for unions faced with the challenges of the future of work.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the world of work will be altered from how we know it to be today. While this report acknowledges these changes, it also emphasizes that fourth industrial revolution is context dependent and that the effect could be different in a developing country compared to a developed country. The question becomes less to what extent employers will try to replace humans with machines but rather to what extent they will want to employ a more flexible workforce without commitments towards social protection and decent wages.

Going forward, employers will increasingly try to structure their employment contracts to accommodate the transition to a more flexible workforce.

Within bargaining processes unions' negotiators should thus focus on ensuring clauses such as the following:

- Guaranteed minimum working hours
- Job guarantees for the length of the CBA
- Restrictions on staff dismissals
- Restrictions on sub-contracting
- Protection of non-permanent workers
- Education and training (including re-skilling to meet new skills demands)

If the fourth industrial revolution is to result in a positive effect on employment, the reskilling of the workforce is pivotal. Unions will need to form part of a process in which there is a crafting of approaches to ensure the re-skill of workers.

There is further a need for labour movements to start looking at the broader value chains in which they operate. Such a broadening could result in more power in the hands of a union compared to employers. The way technology will be utilized by unions themselves is important in this regard. As technology is influencing all sectors it will also influence unions going forward. E-unions, virtual unions or cyber unions are becoming a reality. In this way, technology becomes a tool that can be utilised by unions to enhance their own influence. In addition to bargaining within the workplace, there is also the need for national debates to ensure the required skills transition or relevant compensation measures.

Such broader campaigns targeted to influence policy formulation include the following:

- Compensatory measures (guaranteed basic income and wealth redistribution)
- Legislation protecting the rights of workers (realistic minimum levels of pay and benefits, restoring a decent work-life balance, and removing the impediments to union organizing)

Training demands/programmes: ensuring sufficient (re-)training especially for low qualified workers

Change has been inevitable throughout history. There is, however, no reason why change cannot be accommodated for adequate social protection, compensation measures and/or training and (re)skilling opportunities for workers. Bargaining is a pivotal tool in ensuring workers receive protection and would gain immensely from being supported by broader support and awareness campaigns. Capacity building to equip negotiators to bargain in complex environments is crucial. Employers will increasingly try to by-pass any responsibilities in the changing nature of work. Should this become the norm, the tendency of capitalism to exacerbate income inequality will increase.

Although the report focuses on retail, in particular, the recommendations are formulated for all sectors and in support of cross-sectorial and cross-border alliances.

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Many South African jobs could soon be automated, and the country isn't prepared

By Dr Daniel B. le Roux. Senior Lecturer, Stellenbosch University

Businesses around the world are cottoning on to the value of transferring labour from human workers to machines. Automation can increase efficiency and decrease labour costs. It helps employers to avoid complex challenges like wage increase demands, labour protests and strikes. Consumers also benefit from automation when products and services become cheaper because of reduced input costs.

But while there are numerous benefits to automation, recent economic trends in the developed world suggest that it may also be a key driver of economic inequality.

A growing body of scholars and thought leaders has warned that this new wave of the technological revolution could change the relationship between labour and capital in an unprecedented manner.

Importantly, these modern Luddites are not necessarily anti-technology. Their concern is with the way in which increasingly smart technologies exacerbate economic inequality. It does this by devaluing low-skilled labour and hollowing out the middle class, as is evidenced by trends in productivity and median household income in the US.

Limited work has been done to study the potential impact of automation on economies in the developing world. That's what prompted me to investigate the situation in South Africa. I used data collected by Statistics South Africa for its Quarterly Labour Force Survey and an automation index produced by academics from the University of Oxford. From this, I was able to estimate that occupations performed by almost 35% of South African workers – roughly 4.5 million people – are potentially automatable in the near future.

But the country appears ill-prepared for this reality. There is little discussion at policy level. Hardly any research has been done to investigate possible future scenarios. There's also a great deal of uncertainty about how the uptake of automation technology may further drive inequality and preserve the asymmetry in the country's economy.

Unpacking the data

South Africa is already one of the world's most unequal economies. Its unemployment rate hovers at around 27%. It is also no stranger to labour protests and strikes, making automation an attractive option for managers and capital owners.

The data I worked with indicate that roughly 14 million South Africans work in around 380 different occupation types. 64 of these occupations, employing an estimated 3.6 million workers, have a 90% or greater probability of being automatable in the near future.

These occupations include, for example, cashiers, tellers, secretaries and telephone salesmen.

The occupations of another 2.6 million workers, of whom 900 000 are employed as farmhands and labourers, have an 80%-89% probability of being automatable.

Workers of all skills levels are at risk. Accountants, auditors and dental technicians are all highly skilled and their jobs are extremely susceptible to automation. In the US, a number of automated tax services are already available.

But trends suggest that people in low and medium-skilled occupations are generally more at risk than those who require extensive education.

So it is not surprising that the country's previously disadvantaged population groups are more exposed to job losses due to automation than their white counterparts. Half of all black South Africa workers are in occupations with an 80% or greater probability of automation; so are 47% of coloured workers. For white employees, however, the proportion is only around 30%.

These differences are indicative of the manner in which technological advancement upholds the status quo by favouring skilled workers and those who can afford higher education. Despite these risks, it seems likely that as an ever-expanding range of automation technologies enter the market, many South African business owners will seize the opportunity to limit their dependency on human labour. This will have a negative effect in an economy that is already struggling to grow and create jobs.

No preparation

But there seems to be very limited high-level discourse about how South Africa plans to navigate this wave of technological advancement.

Elsewhere in the world, US presidential candidate for 2020 Andrew Yang is building his entire campaign around this issue. He is promising to introduce Universal Basic Income, through which every American over the age of 18 years will receive US$ 1 000 per month from the government. This, he believes, will provide security and enable mobility for workers displaced by automation.

A number of European countries are also currently running large-scale Universal Basic Income experiments to investigate its potential as a response to automation.

For South Africa, with its large number of low-skilled workers, a dramatically improved education system is an obvious and critical concern. Despite high unemployment, there remains a scarcity of skills in a wide variety of areas. This suggests a mismatch between supply and demand in the labour market.

It is also important to understand how technologies will displace work in future. This understanding can help to better inform young South Africans' career choices.

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Breaking the Chain: Value chain analysis as a tool for renewing trade union bargaining and organising strategies

By Trenton Elsley, Shane Godfrey and Mario Jacobs

It is by now common cause that the traditional industrial workplace and the permanent, full time, direct employment relationship that went with it are no longer the norm. The workplace is increasingly fragmented and reshaped by processes of externalization and the reorganisation of production. Even the traditional industrial factory setting now involves several layers of outsourcing.

The security and cleaning functions are two clear examples of the contracting out of work previously undertaken by employees of the factory. Depending on the sector, the externalization of functions may include transport & logistics, catering, and even production itself. In many instances, prices are being set more by buyers than by producers, which can have the effect of shifting the locus of power away from the workplace and the company where the trade union is strongest.

All of this has created a crisis of organisation and representation for trade unions as their traditional membership is reduced and dispersed, industrial demarcation is reshaped and employment relationships are rendered more indirect and more insecure.

The trade union movement must of course move beyond lamenting the state of things to the development of strategies for dealing with these new realities. In this chapter we will argue that value chain analysis presents a way for trade unions to re-see the workplace and to examine what possibilities exists for renewing bargaining and organising strategies based on a new understanding of how production is organised.

Introducing value chains

The easiest way that we have found to begin to understand value chains is to break a familiar product down into the share of value that goes to each of the main areas of its production.

There is an example using a shoe on the following page. By looking at the size of the shaded areas it is easy to see where the most value is captured. It is clearly the retailer with a third (33%) and then the brand company with over 20% that get most of the value of the shoe.

The way that value is distributed in the manufacture and retail of a mobile phone is another good example. Again, it is obvious who gets the biggest share of the value of the phone and who gets the smallest share.

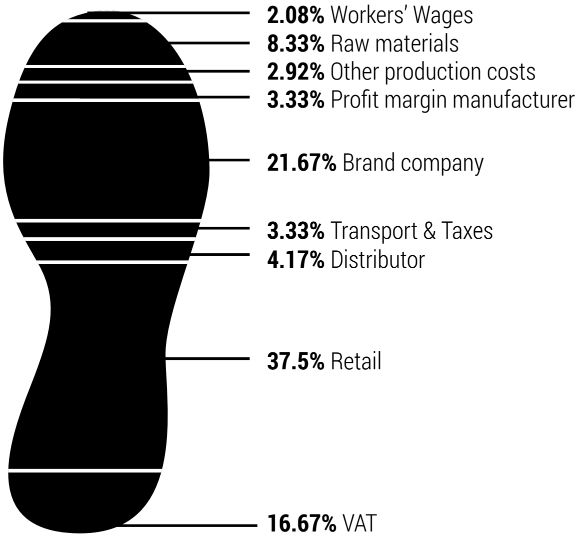
These two simple diagrams begin to describe the different parts of the production process of the shoe and the mobile phone. You might not have known exactly how the price of these products was shared between the different parts of the production process, but you probably do know a number of things about the products. You likely know who the big brand companies are and you certainly know the main retailers in your own country.

You know that there are many sectors and sub-sectors that can be involved in the production and sale of even one product or service. In the case of leather shoes, you know that there is animal farming somewhere down the production chain and that the leather must be processed. The plastics and metal sectors might be drawn into the manufacture of the soles of the shoes and the lace holes. The laces themselves will come out of the textile sector. We are talking about the input-output structure of the mobile phone and the shoe when we break down the different aspects of the production process and the different sectors that are involved in the manufacture of the product. We are talking about what goes into each stage of production (input) and what results from each stage of production (output).

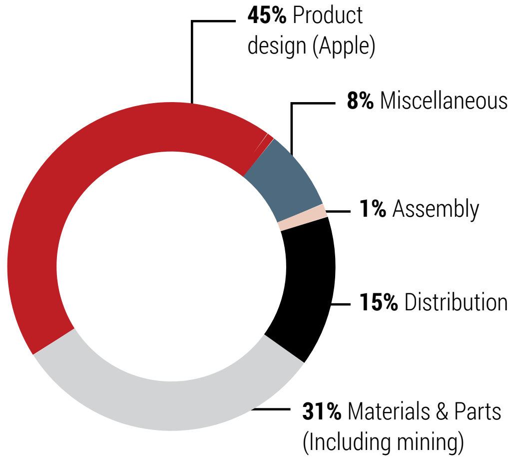
There are four quite simple elements to value chain mapping.

1. Input-output structure (What materials and labour go into the processes of production and what is produced at various stages?)
2. Geography (Where are the companies, operations and workers in the value chain?)

Price analysis of a running shoe



How the value of a mobile phone is shared



3. Institutional framework (How do laws and regulations affect companies and workers in the value chain?)
4. Governance or power (What power do the different companies in the value chain have? What power do workers have?)

The second element of value chain mapping is geography. This describes where the different parts of the production process are located. Trade unions have become increasingly aware that the boundaries between sectors and economies are not as defined as they once were. Globalisation means that we it is possible to buy a T-shirt at (i) a store near us that is (ii) branded by an American company, (iii) manufactured in Bangladesh and (iv) the material sourced from China.

This geographical spread of the production process also means that the clothing and textile workers in the different locations are not employed by the company that "makes" the T-shirt. The different workers in the geographically dispersed production process of the same product are governed by different laws and regulations, they are paid differently and they work under different conditions, even as they contribute to the production of the very same product. When we begin to talk about labour laws we are talking about the third aspect of value chain mapping – the institutional framework that the production process is situated in. This includes the legislation and policy environment in each of the countries that are involved in the production process. As you well know, the institutional environment can differ greatly between countries. Worker rights and trade union development, for example, are far more developed in South Africa than they are in Bangladesh.

The main message of the diagrams of the shoe and the mobile phone is what share of the value of the product goes to each sector. It is this sharing or lack of sharing of the value that shows us that there are power relations in the process. Now we are talking about the fourth aspect of value chain mapping, governance. Governance is a fancy word for power. The different companies in the production process do not have equal power in relation to one another. Quite often, a dominant client company in the value chain determines the price of the different parts of the production process, which determines the money available to pay workers at the outsourced firm. So, the dominant client firm influences the conditions of employment, but doesn't employ the workers.

Perhaps now we can say what a value chain is. A value chain is made up of the companies in the various stages of the production process that produce a final product, including the company at the end of the value chain that sells the product. These companies perform their role in the value chain on a long-term basis, regularly interacting with the companies that supply them and the companies that they supply to in the next stage of the process. Finally, there is power being wielded in the value chain. This power might be wielded moderately by strong companies to coordinate the value chain, but it can be exercised rigorously to exert control over companies in the chain and push prices down. Power is what distinguishes a value chain from an ordinary supply chain (Godfrey & Jacobs, 2018).

We can distinguish between two types of value chain. "Producer-driven commodity chains are those in which large, usually transnational, manufacturers play the central roles in coordinating production networks (including their backward and forward linkages). This is characteristic of capital- and technology-intensive industries such as automobiles, aircraft, computers, semiconductors, and heavy machinery."

"Buyer-driven commodity chains refer to those industries in which large retailers, marketers, and branded manufacturers play the pivotal roles in setting up decentralized production networks in a variety of exporting countries, typically located in the third world. This pattern of trade-led industrialization has become common in labor-intensive, consumer goods industries such as garments, footwear, toys, housewares, consumer electronics, and a variety of handicrafts. Production is generally carried out by tiered networks of third world contractors that make finished goods for foreign buyers. The specifications are supplied by the large retailers or marketers that order the goods."
(Gereffi, 1999b in Kaplinsky & Morris, 2012)

Value chains and the division of labour

The value chain approach grew out of what is known as world systems analysis, which examines history over long periods and on a global scale. A key concept of world systems analysis is the axial division of labour. The working of the axial division of labour divides the global capitalist economy into three zones: the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery. The main determinants of whether a country is in the core, semi-periphery or periphery are producer monopolies and competitiveness. Trade is the 'grease' the makes the axial division of labour work.

Prior to the 1970s global trade was dominated by the export of raw materials from undeveloped countries (on the periphery) to the developed economies of Europe and the United States (in the core of the world economy). The raw materials were used to manufacture products in Europe and the United States for use there, but many of these manufactured products were also exported to the countries of South America, Africa and Asia.

From about the 1970s, however, many firms in developed countries started to locate their manufacturing operations to developing countries, mainly because there was relatively cheap labour in these countries. Developing countries continued to export a lot of raw materials to developed countries, but now the pattern of global trade comprised significant exports of manufactured goods by developing countries to developed countries.

The axial division of labour between the core, semi-periphery and periphery of the world economy describes the geographical spread of the main sectors of the global economy. Even so, we can use this set of categories to understand to what is happening to the workplace and how people are employed.

The core, semi-periphery and periphery of the workplace are similar to the zones produced by the global axial division of labour. The wealth made by the main firm is distributed unequally to the employees, with the core employees getting the biggest share and those on the periphery getting the least. The risks go in the other direction. The workers on the periphery are in the most precarious jobs and bear the biggest risks of income and job insecurity, whereas those in the core are more secure and experience less risk. (Godfrey & Jacobs, 2019).

Over the last 20 to 30 years there have been a lot of changes to how people are employed.

You could say that in the core are workers who are employed by the company, are full-time, and who have indefinite contracts (they are permanent). These workers have reasonably secure jobs, they often get access to training and promotions, and some might qualify to join the company medical aid scheme and pension or provident fund. These workers are more likely to be trade union members. There has been a gradual decline in the numbers of workers in direct, full time, permanent or indefinite employment and the conditions of service associated with this form of employment, which tend to be better than that for other forms.

The workers in the semi-periphery are in less secure employment. While they might be employed by the firm, they might not have full time employment and they might employed for only a short period. They are employed by a service provider, but do their work at the firm (e.g. a cleaner or security guard). If employment at the firm is going to be reduced, it will usually be the part-time and temporary workers who are retrenched first. Such workers therefore do not have very much job security or income security. Their conditions of service and pay are strongly influenced by the terms of the contract between the client firm and the service provider.

Although they are employed by the service provider, their employment often depends on the contract being renewed with the firm at which they are providing the service. If the contract ends without being renewed they may well be retrenched. Such workers also often have lower pay and worse conditions than if they had been employed doing the same work by the client firm. Furthermore, fewer of these workers are union members. If they are, it will usually not be the same trade union that organises at the firm.

In the retail sector, we see a blurring of the boundary between the core and the semi-periphery. Permanent part time workers are the new norm in many large retailers. These workers are permanently employed, but are only guaranteed 80 hours per month. Despite their status as permanent employees, they effectively have half of a job.

Workers in the periphery have even riskier jobs. They have low skills and are employed by labour brokers or labour only contractors to do work at the firm. These contracts are frequently short-term and insecure, and workers will not have access to training or any chance of advancing themselves at the firm. This is the most extreme form of contracting. These workers remain the employees of the labour broker, although they do their work at the client firm and this arrangement might continue for many years. These workers are least likely to be members of a trade union. Informal traders that cluster around large firms and factories can also be seen as part of the periphery of these firms.

We see that many workers are being pushed towards the semi-periphery and periphery of the workplace, rather than being employed in the core of the company. This trend fragments workers and presents serious challenges for both worker organisation and the representation of worker interests.

Trade unions and value chains

The work of a trade union is to make connections between workers. It starts with making the connection between two workers side by side in the same workplace. Then we make the connection between those workers and workers in other operations of the same company. Then we make the connection between workers in different companies in the same sector. Then we make connections between workers in different sectors of the economy. Ultimately, we wish to make the connection between workers in different national economies around the world. This work of making connections between workers proceeds through trade unions, national centres, federations and confederations and global unions and federations.

Organising workers and representing the interests of workers are central to making these connections between workers meaningful. Ideas and ways of thinking that help us renew our strategies for organising and bargaining are important.
Value chain analysis offers just such an opportunity.

When we look at the diagram of the shoe, it suggests that workers and even the manufacturer of the shoe do not have very much power, since they get such a small share of the value of the shoe. In a similar way, the companies that are assembling mobile phones for multinational companies also have very little power.

"Today, transnational corporations dominate the global economy, controlling some 80 per cent of world trade through their own operations and those of their business partners, organised in global value chains." (Fichter, 2018)

Previously we said that there are two basic types of value chains, producer-driven and buyer-driven value chains. Understanding the character of the chain that a company is situated in provides clues to where power is located in the chain and therefore what power that the company that you are interested in has.

The implication for trade unions is that there is not much room to bargain pay and conditions upwards at some shoe manufacturers or at an electronics assembly company situated in a mobile phone global value chain.

Large retailers in particular have tended to assume powerful positions in modern day value chains. There has been a significant penetration of very large South African and international retailers into the sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region. The major South African retailers are Shoprite, Pick n Pay and Walmart/Massmart, while clothing retailers such as Foschini and Truworths are also opening stores in the region. This development has created a network of manufacturers, intermediaries, and retail outlets in the SSA region, part of which is entirely regional and part of which is an extension of global value chains.

Centralised distribution

The Group has invested in an extended centralised distribution network that enables us to seamlessly manage the supply of products to our stores across the continent.

As the first South African retailer to receive the renowned ISO 9001 accreditation for import and export handling, we continue to pursue our strategic lead in supply chain management. Our International Trade Department sources products from anywhere in the world with extreme efficiency, assuring our customers of choice, availability of products and value for money. We have invested substantially to create a network of advanced distribution centres. Their accompanying transport operations are supported by sophisticated information management systems. A substantial portion of the investment in information technology and logistics infrastructure has been devoted to upgrading and expanding our distribution network.

Trade unions in value chains

Let's zoom in on one aspect of the retail value chain to see what ideas it can provide us with when thinking about bargaining and organising.

When mapping retail value chains, the distribution function presents itself a strategic link in these chains. It is a key means of integrating and coordinating the value chain at the point at which it meets the retailer. A major source of efficiency and competitive advantage for retailers lies in the distribution function. The trend has been for large retailers to increasingly centralise this function and in doing so to invest large sums of money in this area of operations. The Shoprite Holdings annual report (2017) makes it clear that the distribution function lies at the heart of the retail business.

Distribution centres are key to the work process in retail operations. While retail stores remain relevant, the stores have also been reduced in some respects to empty vessels that are filled from distribution centres. The Shoprite distribution centre in Cape Town also supplies its African store operations.

The South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU) has become aware of the strategic importance of distribution centres and has stepped up its efforts to organise these workplaces. The work of UNI Global Union in establishing a series of shop steward alliances organised around multinational retailers in Africa has allowed us to begin to map the value chain in the sector more systematically.

The Shoprite/Checkers distribution centre at Brackenfell is a 50,000 square metre facility with approximately 1,400 workers onsite across three shifts of continuous operations. Conversations with shop stewards at the company suggest that the average Shoprite store size is around 100-200 workers. This distribution centre is therefore a very large workplace by retail standards. In addition, we understand that Shoprite-Checkers exerts a high degree of control over its transport fleet, although it reportedly uses a mixture of in-house and contracted transport.

Over 100 Shoprite stores in SA currently don't order stock manually, because the distribution system knows what they need already and automatically replenishes the stock. This centralizes an important aspect of store management away from the store to the distribution centre.

There are at least three different labour broker companies contracted at the distribution centre. Pickers move around the distribution centre on motorized vehicles building up individual orders for stores, before dropping them at areas where multiple orders are optimally packed for transport. The picker is guided by a voice prompt-and-respond system through a headset that advises them of the location of a product and the quantity to be loaded. The system recognizes individual voices and will only engage with the correct voice respondent. This management by technology effectively isolates and controls the worker. The company is also piloting individual training booths, not unlike a telephone booth, inside the workplace. These training booths offer a modular learning programme that a worker can move in and out of. This kind of on-the-job training system supports faster induction training and would limit the need for workers to have to leave the workplace for further training.

When thinking about regional value chains, a retailer like Shoprite struggles to centralise the distribution of perishable goods in particular, although the Shoprite Foodmark brand supplies over 200 stores outside of South Africa. The cost of intra-African export is high and they talk of red tape, bureaucracy and complex and inefficient import protocols with long time lines. It reportedly takes a container from Cape Town about 3 months to reach a country like Ghana. Perishable goods cannot survive the process.

This means that the retailer must source or develop suppliers of fresh goods in the countries to which it exports. Shoprite has 640 supplier farmers outside South Africa, with approximately 20 employees each according to Shoprite, resulting in about 12,800 livelihoods. There are 450 such suppliers in South Africa, but often much bigger, commercial entities. The table below provides a summary of Foodmark's efforts in this regard as of 2017.

Now we are beginning to map a regional agri-food value chain as it relates to retail multinational companies.

A new distribution facility was recently completed in Cape Town that is four times as large as the Brackenfell facility at 200,000 square metres and was projected to employ something like 5000 workers. Labour employed at the new centre will reportedly be 100% outsourced.

Despite its efforts to date, SACCAWU's foothold at the distribution centres remains limited to certain layers of administrative staff and to the company's transport division. The difficulty of organising a point in the value chain does diminish the importance of that point. SACCAWU's recognition of the strategic importance of these distribution hubs is what will fuel future efforts to organise. They will no doubt confront failure in future, but there is no surer path to success than the markers provided by what does not work along the way.

The starting point for beginning to integrate basic value chain thinking into unions is the local level

In a paper titled, Organising In and Along Value Chains, Fichter (2015) highlights the dominant role played by transnational corporations (TNCs), also referred to as multinational companies (MNCs), in modern value chains. He encourages trade unions to develop bold new approaches to fight the power of transnational corporations by securing their local and national power base within and along global value chains.

- The paper describes levels at which trade union movement can begin to act.
- Local Level
- National or Sectoral Level
- Global Level

Returning again to the retail sector, UNI Global Union has secured a global framework agreement with Shoprite, the largest retailer in Africa by far. This work at the sectoral and global level has delivered gains on the ground and the organisational gains won by an affiliate in Swaziland on the back of the global framework agreement bear testament to this.

UNI's conscious alliance building strategy has yielded several multinational networks, which are a critical resource for building trade union transnational power, now and in the future.

On the other hand, our work with trade unions in Africa suggests that it is unrealistic to expect shop stewards and even organisers to map vast global value chains. Value chain mapping can get very complex very quickly and it is important to maintain a clear focus to avoid being drowned in complexity. It is also true that for a number of unions in Southern Africa, the value chains clustered around retail operations quickly disappear over the border to South Africa, where the majority of manufactured goods come from.

The starting point for beginning to integrate basic value chain thinking into trade unions in Africa is the local level. It is useful to maintain a focus on the labour (worker) component of value chains, since this is the main currency of trade unions wherever they may be situated in a value chain.

Local unionists and workplace representatives can start by collecting information that can be helpful in negotiations with management and which begins to map one or more (global) value chain. Fichter provides some useful prompts to help a local unionist begin to map important aspects of the value chain.

Shoprite local fresh goods procurement in Africa, 2017

Country	No. of local farmers	% of Shoprite requirement
Ghana	70	40
Nigeria	102	50
Angola	76	25
Uganda	50	45
Malawi	82	20
Zambia	69	70
Mocambique	104	50
DRC	2	20
Namibia	58	45
Madagascar	24	50

When thinking about the different products and services of the company, ask where the products do or services of the workplace go, who are the (major) customers? How do they get to the customers (major logistic / transportation contractors)? Where do the materials, parts and components used in the workplace come from? Who are the major suppliers of materials? Who delivers products and services to your workplace? Can these links be followed further upstream (backwards to the suppliers of the suppliers) and downstream (forward to the customers of the customers)?
When thinking about suppliers and customers, ask what do you know about the major suppliers and business customers at your workplace? (ownership, turnover, profit, number of employees and agency, contract workers, etc.) Can you judge the role and importance of those companies in the value chain? Are there relevant competitors? How important is their product that you use to them? Is the supplier / customer a small / large unit in a larger corporation? What are the working conditions in those companies? What is the composition of the workforce (skilled / unskilled, men / women, permanent / temporary, etc.)?

When thinking about representation, ask which union(s) represent employees at the workplaces of suppliers or customers? Is there an employee representative body? Is there a union contract?

Some of this information is already available, some of it can be readily accessed. But some of it will take time to gather, and may lead to questions or resistance from management if it is expected to provide the information.

The next figure illustrates an effort by trade unionists in the retail sector in South Africa to map the labour component of production from where they are situated in stores. We asked shop stewards and officials to look around the store and identify jobs done by workers from other companies, to identify those companies and then further interrogate who organises them or does not organise them.

The unions identified a range of occupations and functions in the workplace and named the companies that provided these functions. They went on to identify which unions currently organise these workers and discussed potential obstacles to their own union starting to organise these workers. In South Africa, the main obstacle to organising these externalised workers is a political one.

The union's own constitution might be a barrier, but also the policy of their federation of one sector, one union. The situation differs from country to country. Zimbabwean unions appear to have fairly narrow sectoral scope, while unions in Mocambique are free to organise across sectors. This is not to say that that where there are legal and political barriers to organising, unions cannot build power in value chains. It does however mean that different approaches will be required, approaches that are sensitive to national contexts.

In another exercise, these retail unions considered three questions.

1. Where are sites of power in the value chain?
2. Where are potential sites of organising (existing and new)?
3. What is the possibility of establishing a presence there?

The Zimbabwean retail union identified that they could organise workers who work for the clearing agents on the border. It turns out the union already has membership there. The union also has organisational presence in the warehousing operation. The retailer has its own central warehouse in Zimbabwe and this warehouse and the drivers are organized. While some parts of the value chain can seem very distant from a shop steward in a store, it emerged in our discussions that the union actually had a presence at an agri-wholesaler positioned way down the chain. Rather than just being an interesting observation, the framing of the discussion in value chain terms allowed the union to recognize where that company is situated in relation to other companies that they organise.

What are the jobs in the store done by another company and their workers?	Who employs them? Name the company.	Who tries to organise? Your union / other/ nobody	Are there legal barriers or political barriers to organise them?
Cashier	**Not Outsourced**	SACCAWU	None
Security	**Outsourced** Silver Solution, Safe Guard, G4S, SIVA, Fidelity, Ross	SACCAWU, SATAWU, TAWUSA, NTM	Legal Regulatory confusion / Political
Merchandise	**Outsourced** Unilever, Clover, Tiger Brands, Fair Cape	SACCAWU, FAWU	Political
Cleaning	**Outsourced** Mr Clean, Bidvest, Priority Prestige	SACCAWU, SATAWU, TAWUSA, NTM	Political
Drivers	**Outsourced** SAB	SACCAWU, SATAWU, TAWUSA, NTM	Political

Ideas from the local level for renewing strategy

We have attempted to introduce the trade union reader to the concept of value chains.

Knowing where and how a company is situated in value chains can help the trade union understand how to best negotiate for better pay or conditions of work and how best to direct its organising efforts to build power in value chains. We share the belief that trade unions should act at a local, sectoral and global level in their efforts to tackle inequality in value chains. We also believe that cultivating an understanding at the local level among shop stewards and organisers is key to underpinning efforts at other levels.

It is in this spirit that we give shop stewards the last word, by sharing their ideas for renewing bargaining and organising strategies based on a developing understanding of value chains. This group was drawn from different unions that organise at South African multinational retail companies with operations in Africa. Their ideas embrace the local, the sectoral and the global.

We must network among ourselves across different companies.
We can strengthen visibility of the union at shop level.

We can promote the equal participation of both men and women in trade union activities.

We need to identify all forms of employment and include them. Some workers do not know they can be organized. Support functions such as cleaning and security need to be unionized. There needs to be cooperation between unions if necessary.

We can use regional trade union offices as a space where workers can be organized. This could provide a space for organising. This strategy provides a way of dealing with how retailers rotate workers between workplaces to prevent them from organising.

We can focus on the sector that gets the biggest share of the value in the chain.

We can develop our own standards. Unions need to set their own standards for workers in the absence of national laws or a global framework agreement.

We must pursue global framework agreements with all major companies in our sector.

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Section 03 Gender

In this section, Nosipho Twala discusses the importance of the proposed International Labour Organisation (ILO) standard on ending violence and harassment against women and men in the world of work. Such a standard was adopted by the ILO on 21 June 2019. The standard was adopted as C190 - Violence and Harassment Convention, 2019 (No. 190). Twala uses two significant movements namely the #MeToo movement and the Total Shutdown Intersectional Women's Movement against GBV (#TotalShutdown) as examples highlighted the extensiveness of gender-based violence in the world of work in both well-known and powerful industries and marginalized sectors.

Further, Nina Benjamin recalls her experience of being a facilitator in a pilot social action project at the Meadowlands Clinic in Soweto, Gauteng. The pilot was aimed at bringing together different actors in the health system to take up actions that will collectively impact on reducing the high levels of gender based violence in the Meadowlands Clinic.

03

The new proposed standard on ending violence and harassment in the world of work

By Nosipho Twala

On 21 June 2019 C190 - Violence and Harassment Convention, 2019 (No. 190) was adopted by the ILO.

The proposed International Labour Organisation (ILO) standard on ending violence and harassment against women and men in the world of work is extremely important. Some people may argue that the issue of violence and gender-based violence (GBV) is addressed by other conventions and recommendations, but a stand-alone convention and recommendation is essential given the way violence has been normalised.

The two significant movements, the #MeToo movement and the Total Shutdown Intersectional Women's Movement against GBV (#TotalShutdown) highlighted the pervasiveness of gender-based violence in the world of work in both well-known and powerful industries and marginalized sectors often invisible to public scrutiny. This also demonstrates the prevalence of violence at work and how it is both tolerated and endured by an especially high percentage of women seeking to obtain or maintain employment.

This paper will focus on:

- The need of a stand-alone standard on ending violence and harassment in the world of work;
- The impact of violence and harassment on women workers in the workplace;
- Strategies to put gender-based violence on the trade union movement and workplace agenda;
- A new approach to collective bargaining;
- Strengthening the hand of the trade unions to give gender based violence greater prominence, urgency and ensure that there is equal application to individuals of any gender identity and to all workplaces.

Demanding a New Global Standard

There are more than 500 multilateral treaties aimed at protecting nations against a variety of ills, from anti-corruption measures and control of greenhouse gas emissions to those that tackle doping in sports and substance misuse. Despite this, no single UN treaty addresses violence and harassment in the world of work.

In its 2016 meeting of experts , the ILO noted that gaps in legal protections relating to violence and harassment in the world of work include a lack of coherence in laws; a lack of coverage of workers most exposed to violence; and an overly narrow definition of the term "workplace." The ILO also noted that criminal justice approaches are not sufficient for responding to sexual harassment and bullying and that an employer's general duty to protect the health and safety of workers often excludes protection from violence.

Where laws do exist, they are often weak, or their related policies, practices and resources are too inadequate to be effective. A study by the World Policy Analysis Centre revealed that more than one-third of the world's countries have no laws against sexual harassment at work, leaving nearly 235 million women vulnerable. Similarly, the World Bank's "Women, Business and the Law 2018" report found that 59 out of 189 economies had no specific legal provisions covering sexual harassment in employment.

A global coalition of trade unions, gender activists, labour rights and human rights organisations are demanding a new global standard to end violence and sexual harassment in the workplace. A global convention on ending violence and harassment in the world of work has the power to offer recourse, protection and savings by reducing costs of absenteeism, turnover or litigation. A convention with a strong focus on preventing and remedying gender-based violence at work would support trade unions negotiate policies and agreements that would establish procedures for processing complaints, as well as preventing sexual harassment. The question is not whether we need a global treaty to protect women from the endemic issue of abuse and harassment at work, but rather, why we don't have one yet.

Who's at risk?

A key objective of the convention would be to promote a systematic approach to prevention and elimination of violence and harassment at work. Some workers may be at greater risk of harassment and violence at work because of the sectors they work in. Migrant workers and those in precarious employment may not have equal protections against workplace violence under labour laws as other workers because of the discrimination they face because of their gender, sexual orientation, immigration status, race, ethnicity, or other status. Domestic workers, for instance, described psychological abuse where their employers make them feel humiliated and invisible. They are often afraid to report sexual harassment because they work alone in intimate spaces and private homes.

Women workers and gender non-conforming workers are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment at the workplace. Sexual violence and harassment remain a barrier for women to enter and evolve in the labour market, or to perform certain jobs. Gender-based discrimination remains high across the world and often occurs at the recruitment stage based on grounds of pregnancy, potential child bearing and rearing and the dress code. For instance gender non-conforming workers say that they are not hired if they "come out" at the job interview. For many, advancing their careers meant accepting work opportunities where the expectation of LGBTQ inclusivity simply is not on the table. Some considered a liveable compromise because employers are not investing in diversity.

At the same time, the continued segregation of women in precarious, low paid and low status jobs and positions, increases the risks for these women workers. Violence and harassment in the workplace has an impact not only on workers and employers, but also on their families, communities, economies and society as a whole. Women are particularly vulnerable to violence and harassment at work, which hinders their economic empowerment and independence. Gender-based violence both reflects and reinforces inequalities between women and men.

The impact of domestic violence on the world of work.

Domestic violence often occurs behind closed doors in the secrecy of one's home. But statistics show the effects of domestic violence spill over into many areas. One in three workers have experienced domestic violence (Canadian Labour Congress). Often abusers will try and prevent victims from getting to work, causing them to be late or to have to miss work. An abuser can do a number of things to make life really miserable for the victim in the workplace. They may excessively call, email, or text victims while they are at work, come into the workplace, or stalk them.

Over 80 percent of domestic violence victims report that their work performance was negatively affected. Absenteeism and poor work performance can leave victims vulnerable to discipline, and some even lose their jobs. Here are some direct quotes from domestic workers:

"Dealing with my ex-husband left me feeling anxious and tired due to lack of sleep."

"It affected the pleasure my work usually gives me."

It is the job of the employer to try and make sure that all workers are safe at work, but it is also the role of trade unions. Work can be a safe haven for someone who is experiencing violence at home.

The financial security of a job and some time away from their abuser can help a person experiencing violence seek support or make a plan to leave the relationship. Co-workers and others in the workplace can also experience the negative effects of domestic violence through increased workloads, stress, calls or visits from their co-worker's abuser, and other potential safety risks.

Health and safety is one of the cornerstones of the labour movement, they have to ensure that employers provide a safe and healthy environment for workers. This means being free of violence and harassment in all forms.

The role of trade unions

Unions play a key role in raising awareness about violence and harassment among their members. According to the ILO Bureau for Workers' Activities' report on violence against men and women in the world of work, there is a strong connection between access to decent work, non-discrimination and being protected by a trade union.

Unions play a key role in putting gender-based violence on the agenda, raising awareness about sexual harassment among their members, negotiating policies and agreements that establish procedures for making and processing complaints, as well as preventing sexual harassment.

Ending violence and harassment in the world of work is a union issue. Unions must ensure that work is safe for everyone as well as protect the rights of all workers, including young women seeking employment. If one worker is vulnerable, all workers are affected. Unions create connections and a sense of belonging amongst their members. This means unions play an important role in breaking the barriers of silence and isolation that, too often, come with gender-based violence.

Many collective agreements contain clear language about workplace violence. Today, unions are working to add new language that addresses gender -based violence as a workplace issue. For example workplace safety planning, paid leave for victims, protection from discrimination or adverse action, and access to a women's advocate or other designated support persons within the workplace.

Unions must take the lead to end violence and harassment against women. They can provide education around what gender-based violence looks and sounds like, and what resources are out there for workers who are experiencing violence, whether they are victims or perpetrators. The other thing that unions can do is to ensure that negotiators get training on putting language and clauses in collective agreements that deal with gender-based violence at work. They can also ensure that collective agreements provide paid leave for victims of gender-based violence and harassment. One of the things that keeps women in violent situations is fear of loss of financial stability.

Union participation is essential to eradicating violence and harassment. The unions should be innovative, organize, fortify their structures and bring the labour rights of all workers, men and women, to the collective bargaining table. They should do this from a human rights perspective that guarantees workers' dignity. Trade unions must monitor the violence and harassment that workers face. It is essential for labour unions to be permanently connected with the global society, establishing agreements that facilitate egalitarian measures against the exploitation, violence, and harassment of workers in the various countries that are key locations for the investment of global capital.

Trade union gender structures have been actively popularising the convention and working hard to build partnership and buy-in from government and employers organisations. Some trade unions have already included gender clauses focusing on GBV in the collective agreements. They have convened forums and dialogued with different stakeholders in order to get consensus.

For example both COSATU and FEDUSA have developed successful campaigns focusing on the standard. The male champions for gender equality in the trade unions are coordinating the campaign in their trade unions. The gender coordinators of the federation are part of the International Labour Conference (ILC) delegation. They are working tirelessly to lobby their peers in the region to buy-in.

Conclusion

Negotiators for the standard report that they have consensus on almost everything. Their only area of disagreement was the inclusion of LGBTQ workers. There is a debate currently of whether trade union gender activists should adopt the convention with a list groups covered or adopt it without a list and domesticate it in our own countries. If we go with the latter suggestion, we stand a chance to exclude other vulnerable groups. The question is, do we want a comprehensive convention that supports and protect all vulnerable groups? Or do we want to adopt the convention and exclude other vulnerable groups?

Employers should also take into account factors that can increase the likelihood of violence and harassment against employees even where it may be committed by a member of the public. For instance, requiring workers to work late at night but without offering them transport home can leave female workers more vulnerable to harassment or violence on public transport on their commute home.

The trade union movement should activate a global campaign to influence the member states of the ILO so that the standard takes the form of a binding international instrument.
The proposed instruments, could take an integrated approach and recognize the interactions between anti-discrimination laws, labour laws, occupational safety and health laws and other civil laws to provide essential protections for workers, and complement the penalties under criminal provisions, which often focus solely on the most extreme forms of violence and harassment. The definition and coverage should be inclusive of all forms of violence and harassment including sexual harassment. It should recognize that gender-based violence is a form of discrimination.

For the first time in history, we are edging closer to that convention and to protecting women who are prevented from freely exercising their right to be part of a safe workforce. By ratifying the convention, signatories will be committing to applying it in their national contexts. The Conventions can accelerate national legislation and regulation, and can mobilize authorities, businesses and society to address a widespread problem. The moral case for tackling this issue is clear. But so is the economic case. Violence and harassment result in direct costs to businesses due to absenteeism, turnover, litigation and compensation. There are also indirect costs in terms of reduced productivity and harm to the business's own reputation and market competitiveness.

References

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"Meeting of Experts on Violence against Women and Men in the World of Work (3– 6 October 2016)," http://www.ilo.org/gender/Informationresources/Publications/WCMS_546303/lang--en/index.htm (accessed May 18, 2018).

Ending violence and harassment at work 2 violation, there is little by way of international law specifically addressing violence and harassment in the world of work.

Akhtar and Moore, 2016 (1969, p. 171) .

The Issue of Dignity in Our Health Facilities

By Nina Benjamin

For the past 3 years in my capacity as a LRS staff member, I have been a facilitator in a pilot social action project at the Meadowlands Clinic in Soweto, Gauteng. The intention of the project is to experiment at a local level and in one locality.

The project brings together the different actors involved in the health system, including all the providers as well as beneficiaries, to take up actions that will collectively impact on reducing the high levels of gender based violence in the Meadowlands Clinic.

Together with a co-facilitator we supported a core group of worker- and community leaders' work with a collective impact[4] and emergent learning[5] approach to experiment with actions for reducing the levels of gender based violence in the clinic. In addition to this, this core group was encouraged to then share what they are learning across their organizations: in the union, through clinic and district health forums and through the community organizations and structures they are part of. All of this as a means of influencing what is taking place in the health system more generally.

Over this period we have seen a decrease in the levels of violence in the clinic. More recently, however, the core group in Meadowlands report feeling increasingly frustrated at their attempts to sustain the initiative in a context of deteriorating facility infrastructure and working conditions. In our monthly forums with the core group, numerous challenges[6] in the health system have been discussed.

For the purposes of this paper I will focus on two key infrastructure challenges: the lack of effective sanitation facilities; and the working conditions of community health care workers who form part of the Ward Based Primary Health Outreach Teams (WBPHOT's). WBPHOT's form an essential component of the primary health care provision promised by Government.

While Health institutions are public places there is almost an unconscious entering of the private space when the patient or worker uses the toilet or when the health care worker working in the community enters the home of a patient. Within the gendered sphere of health care as devalued reproductive work,[7] we are seeing a further devaluing of conditions and work associated with some of the more intimate aspects of the patient and staff's conditions in the health system i.e. the individual use of sanitation facilities and the health care work provided in the home of the patient.

In our monthly forums, the Meadowlands Core Group members have started exploring the intimate experience of the patient and staff member who is forced to use the toilets of the public health facility.

For the Core Group a key approach to addressing Gender Based Violence in the health system is about restoring the dignity patients and staff will experience with proper sanitation facilities, as well as the dignity of care workers will experience when their work is recognized as being essential to the functioning of the health system and their conditions and remuneration reflect their status as employed health care workers.

Sanitation and Dignity

Every time we use a clean, functional toilet we are exercising a basic human right to dignity, the dignity of the person using the toilet but also the dignity of the worker who is cleaning the toilet. Dignity, in the words of a member of the Core Group, "is about having a private, clean, safe space that at times is the space that allows you to regain your composure when you feel stressed or vulnerable. For workers it is about having the proper protective clothing and equipment".[8]

Patients attending the health facility and staff working in the facility are away from home and forced to use the toilets in the health facility. Even though sanitation is a cornerstone of public health, patients and staff speak about unhygienic conditions; a lack of sufficient toilets; an absence of toilets for patients or staff with special needs and the absence of maintenance. A 2016 Public Health Facilities audit[9] by the Office of Health Standards Compliance (OHSC) results identify the lack of cleanliness as a challenge in clinics in all of the nine provinces. While no specific mention is made of toilets, one can infer from the survey that the lack of proper sanitation is a key feature in what is being described as the lack of cleanliness.

Inadequate and unhygienic sanitation services affects the clinic population differently. Elderly chronic patients at times soil themselves if there are not sufficient toilets catering for their special needs. With unhygienic conditions women and girls face the possibility of reproductive tract infections. During menstruation and pregnancy it is even more critical that women have adequate sanitation facilities. Where the toilets are situated, the lighting used and the proximity of security guards, are all factors that play a role in whether women and children feel safe using the toilets in the clinic. Keeping the toilets clean also falls largely in the hands of the female cleaning staff at clinics. The lack of proper protective clothing, equipment and the appropriate chemicals, puts at them at huge risk of falling ill. All of this is happening in the clinic, the very health institution that is responsible for supporting wellness and raising awareness about healthy living.

Union representatives, Clinic and District Health Committee Members, Ward Counsellors, representatives from community structures all form part of the Meadowlands Core Group. All of the actors in the group are committed and passionate about restoring dignity to the staff and patients working and attending the clinic. Focusing on improving the toilet facilities is one example of different actors working together to address a challenge that affects everyone. The union representatives are committed to addressing the occupational health and safety issues facing the cleaners as well as the inadequate conditions of work i.e. the lack of adequate toilets facing health care workers and support staff in the clinic.

The Clinic Health Committee representatives are committed to highlighting the different needs of all of the clinic population. Representatives from the community organizations and ward committee together with the Clinic Health Committee are committed to encouraging patient responsibility in maintaining the toilets clean and preventing vandalism. The Clinic Health Committee also acts as the “eyes” and “ears” of the community in following up on existing and planned interventions at the clinic. The intention is to bring on board the clinic management as part of the ongoing lobbying for improved maintenance and resource allocation e.g. building of toilets for people living with disabilities; increasing the numbers of toilets taking into account the specifics needs of the women, men and gender non-conforming people who attend the clinic, proper signage indicating where the toilets are situated; ensuring that materials like soap and paper towels are regularly available and employing sufficient staff to maintain the toilets.

Communication with the Department of Health remains a challenge for the core group. Inadequate sanitation facilities is one example where the voices of women, people living with disabilities and the elderly are ignored. Through the gender sensitization discussions in our monthly forums, the trade union and Clinic Health Committee are encouraging all voices to be heard at the facility level through the management committee, through the district and provincial bargaining forums and through the District Health Committee[10].

In the group there is a growing awareness of how the concerns and needs of women or the elderly are very seldom taken into account in the provision and design of sanitation facilities. One example in the Meadowlands Clinic Context is the ramp for wheelchairs which clinic staff describe as completely “wheelchair unfriendly”.

Dignity for members of the Ward Based Primary Healthcare Outreach Teams WBPHOTS

WBPHOT’s are the first national attempt to formally integrate community health and care workers into the public primary health system[11]. With the primary health care system there is a focus on addressing what the World Health Organisation[12] defines as the social determinants of health i.e. the conditions in which people are born live, grow, work and age. There is an expectation on the part of the Department of Health that while professional nurses with their clinical training are largely responsible for the curative aspect of health care, the WBPHOTS will have the range of skills, competencies and attributes to provide community and home-based interventions, care and support[13].

WBPHOTS might have a similar ring to the word Robots, the robots that ostensibly will be taking over the workplace with the 4th Industrial Revolution and promising a move away from manual labor, yet the working conditions facing community health care workers resemble more that of the Victorian era[14] than some futuristic society.

I arrive at the clinic at 08.00am. I take my backpack with all my kit and then I take about a 45minutes walk from the clinic to where I am working. I am working in an informal settlement doing home visits. I visit 6 households per day. In each household I spend about 1 hour where I bath the patient, make her porridge, make sure that the patient takes all the medication that is necessary for the day and then visit another patient. Not all of the patients are sick in the same way every day. Perhaps I will have a chronic patient, a HIV positive one and an elderly person. After 15.00 I have made all my visits for the day. I walk back to the clinic so I will arrive at the clinic after 16.00. I will need to give a report to the facility manger. Then I will take a taxi home just before 17.00[15]

Public Health and Social Development Sectoral Bargaining Council (PHSDSBC) Resolution 1 of 2018 on the standardization of remuneration for community health workers in the department states that a community health worker who forms part of a National Department of Health Data base will receive a non-service remuneration payment of R3500.

A google and dictionary search did not provide any definition of the term "non-service" so the conclusion one can draw is that non-service remuneration is actually a stipend of R3500. The use of the term "non-service" instead of stipend seems disingenuous creating the impression that the payment is something more than a stipend. While a stipend is an acknowledgement and form of compensation for the work performed, the community health care worker is not considered an employee with the rights and benefits afforded to employees under South African labour law. If the WBPHCOT is seen as an essential part of the primary health care system, why is it that the role of community health worker has shifted just slightly above volunteer? Is it because the work being performed is seen as "women's work", the reproductive role that is supposed to come naturally to women and is therefore not real work, not salaried work?

The PHSDSBC Resolution speaks of ensuring appropriate implementation and management of occupational health and safety processes for all members of WBPHOTS. The workplace for the Community Health Care Worker is primarily the home.
The community health care worker travels from home to the clinic and then walks to her[16] primary place of work i.e. the homes of her patients. She is most likely to be walking alone and will carry out her work alone. She is not provided with a cellphone or airtime to raise any kind of alarm if she is in danger. Inside the home she is expected to assist patients with essential services like bathing patients without any support or equipment for lifting or supporting the patient exposing her to overexertion, possibilities of tripping and falling and musculoskeletal injuries. Without sufficient and proper protective clothing and gloves, she runs the risk of exposure to infectious diseases. In the work of cleaning and disinfecting the work areas, there is the possibility of exposure to harmful chemicals if the Department of Health has not been provided her with the appropriate cleaning and disinfecting chemicals.

An ever present risk in the homes she visits is the threat of violence from the patient, the family members and neighbors. Then there is the question of sanitation, or toilet facilities for the community healthcare worker. What provision is made for her to relieve herself or does she have to wait until she returns to the clinic after the home visits? So when the resolution speaks about OHS measures, it is important that the voices of the health care workers are heard and that the specific challenges of their work and workplace is understood and appreciated.

Back at the clinic the community health care work has no real work space. In an Albertina Sisulu Executive Leadership in Health Program 2015 publication *Rapid Appraisal of Ward Based Outreach Teams*[17] And appraisal of teams in selected districts and sub-districts in all 9 provinces the problem of physical space and a general shortage of essential office equipment, stationery, access to phones was identified as a challenge in functioning effectively. WBPHOTS are located in clinics but are not made to feel part of the clinic, they have no dedicated physical space, or place to keep their work materials and are generally left feeling like they are "imposing and adding further to the over-burdened clinic staff workload."[18]

There is then also the challenge of team leadership. The PHSDSBC Resolution identifies the professional nurse as being accountable for the oversight of community healthcare workers. The resolution makes provision for the professional nurse to be supported by trained enrolled nurses. There is a dire shortage of trained nurses in our health facilities, making it difficult for the existing clinic staff to fulfill these leadership roles leaving teams without team leaders. The absence of team leaders or reluctance on the part of proffesional nurses to take on the leadership roles further exacerbates the community healthcare workers sense of isolation.

Community Health Care Workers are treated like the housewives of the health system, expected to serve with a smile and with no consideration for their own safety and wellbeing, while denied the status of worker, denied a salary, without support and without the required tools. What they do is not seen as work, where they work is not seen as a workplace and what they say is not heard.
In our monthly forums in the Meadowlands Clinic we have observed the members of the WBPHO Team leave in the morning and return in the afternoon, quietly going about their business, visible but silent. All of the role players in the Core Group have committed themselves to breaking this silence.

Conclusion: Strengthening Social Dialogue for Collective Impact

Over the past three years the Meadowlands Core group has focused on creating safe spaces to encourage dialogue between the different role players in the clinic and community. This has led to a wide range of actions from different role players committed to reducing the levels of gender based violence in the clinic. The LRS has supported the Core Group in creating these safe spaces and this has been important in role modelling ways of engaging and working collectively.

Historically the Clinic Health Committee and Trade Union have worked in isolation or competed with each other. With their common commitment and passion to restoring dignity for patients and workers they are exploring ways of having a more collective impact where they are officially represented. They are using their different spaces of engagement and bargaining to have their voices heard and are exploring joint engagement with the Department of Health MEC at a District Level.

Presently the union engages with clinic managers at a sub-district level and the Department of Health at a provincial bargaining council level. They are now exploring the possibility of labour and the community representatives both meeting at district level with the Department of Health to place the restoring of patient and worker dignity at the heart of future collaboration.

Endnotes

1 https://theconversation.com/profiles/daniel-b-le-roux-513954

2 www.statssa.co.za

3 https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C190

4 Collective Impact is the commitment of a group of actors from different sectors – to a common agenda for solving a specific social problem, using a structured form of collaboration. Solutions are co-created from the lived experience of all the actors involved.

5 Emergent Learning starts with an open-ended framing question, and then uses a set of process to assist participants to collectively learn from experience and adapt their strategies in real time.

6 Examples of issues raised in the monthly forums between the LRS facilitator and Meadowlands Core Group: Lack of staff, equipment and maintained infrastructure; operational managers are expected to fight for resources; low staff morale and the absence of effective communication channels between the staff and Department of Health management; EPWP workers brought in as a source of cheap labor and taking on some of the core functions in the clinic and the Department of Health encourage patients to exercise their rights but not their responsibilities in relation to their health and the staff at the facilities.

7 There is a gendered separation of social reproduction from economic production with women largely responsible for social reproduction. In this context care work as social reproductive labour is considered to be part of a woman's natural role in society and is mostly not recognized as work. So when care work does take place within the public, it continues to struggle to be recognized and valued.

8 Participant from Meadowlands Clinic Core Group at the 12 June 2019 forum.

9 http://www.samed.org.za/Filemanager/userfiles/Public%20Health%20Facilities%20audit%20results_Office%20of%20Health%20Standards%20Compliance%20briefing.pdf

10 Clinic Health Committees meet at a District Health Committee level who can address the District Health authorities

11 https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/62/COPC/COPC%20Reports%20Publications/wbot-report-epub-lr-2.zp86437.pdf

12 https://www.who.int/social_determinants/sdh_definition/en/

13 https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/62/COPC/COPC%20Reports%20Publications/wbot-report-epub-lr-2.zp86437.pdf

14 I find my occupation to be one of those that some would not even consider. Even though the salary is nothing to make anyone stay, I enjoy my job because I know I am helping people in need. I would say the worst part of my job would be the working conditions. It is very unsanitary. Even though my job is not known to be the most pleasant job, I try to make the best out of what I have to help cure innocent patients. We women were to stay within the will that God had assigned to us. Just like Florence Nightingale looked up to God, I looked up to her. She is my inspiration of becoming a better nurse each and every day. https://victoriannurse.blogspot.com/

15 Health Care Worker participating in a LRS workshop 21-24 May 2019.

16 Use "her" as the overwhelming majority of healthcare workers are women.

17 https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/62/COPC/COPC%20Reports%20Publications/wbot-report-epub-lr-2.zp86437.pdf

18 ibid

KNOWLEDGE IS TOO IMPORTANT TO LEAVE IN THE HANDS OF THE BOSSES.

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